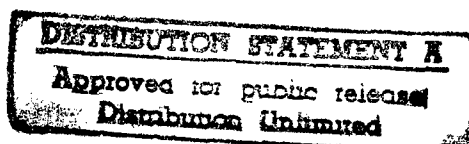


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18 SEPTEMBER 1991



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Near East & South Asia

PAKISTAN

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Near East & South Asia

PAKISTAN

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U.S. Attitude Seen as Harassment for Imperialistic Gains

91AS1154D Karachi JASARAT in Urdu 18 Jun 91 p 5

[Editorial: "The New U.S. Threat"]

[Text] The U.S. hostile and perverse attitude toward Pakistan is now surfacing. The latest proof of this is the threat issued by Secretary of State James Baker in the context of Pakistan's efforts to obtain ballistic missiles from China. Mr. Baker, after meeting with the Pakistani senate deputation led by Wasim Sajjad, warned that such dealings would further aggravate the relations between China and the United States. He also said that procurement of ballistic missiles would cause serious security problems in this region.

He has also warned China that if it supplied surface-to-surface missiles to Pakistan and Syria, bilateral relations between China and the United States would be affected. All this is going on even though no agreement for procuring ballistic missiles has been signed between Pakistan and China. A spokesman for the Chinese foreign ministry refuted the U.S. accusation and said that no talks about supplying ballistic missiles to Pakistan had taken place. The spokesman further said that China had provided some traditional weapons to Pakistan in the past. The United States should be satisfied after this explanation by China; however, this will not happen. The U.S. accusations against Pakistan will continue. The main reason for this is the imperialistic designs of the present U.S. Government.

The United States wants Pakistan to keep the old servile attitude and work for the interests of America. President Bush and his government do not like the idea of an Islamic government in Pakistan. They do not want Pakistan to implement a program for self-sufficiency and to make its own decisions in order to stabilize its economy. Since the IJI [Islamic Democratic Alliance] government has refused to bow down to the American pressure or accept its conditions, the U.S. Government is left stupefied.

The United States is using various methods to harass Pakistan. It suspended its economic aid last year. The Government of Pakistan has still managed to continue its nuclear development program by using its own resources and aid from friendly countries. This development also bothers the United States. It was felt that Pakistan would suspend its peaceful atomic program after economic aid to Pakistan was stopped.

The United States has started a new tirade against Pakistan using the Chinese ballistic missiles as an excuse. The United States knows well and understands that Pakistan is a peace-loving nation and has never attacked any country. It knows that Pakistan has no such plans. However, our past experience has proved to us that trusting unreliable friends hurts us. Therefore, Pakistan must strengthen its defense in order to rebut any attack.

As for better and friendlier relations with the United States, Prime Minister Nawaz Sharif has made it clear that

he wants to have good relations with the United States whether or not it gives us aid. International etiquette and fairness demands that the United States should also demonstrate similar feelings and deal fairly with Pakistan. It should not issue meaningless threats and harass Pakistan. Pakistan is very weak in resources and strength when compared to the United States of America. However, Pakistan will never compromise its national pride and self-respect.

Relationship With U.S. Remains Strained

Conflict of Interest Exists

91AS1277A Karachi JANG in Urdu 11 Jul 91 p 3

[Article by Irshad Ahmed Haqani: "Pakistan-United States Conflict of Interest"]

[Text] It is an open secret that the relationship between Pakistan and the United States of America is very strained, tense, and problematic in the areas of mutual interests and ideology. The Pakistani Government sent a high-level deputation to the United States in order to bring about a better relationship between the two. In order to hide the expected failure of this deputation, the government announced that its main purpose was not to get the U.S. aid reinstated but to remove some misunderstandings and establish contacts. After the visit, as usual, there was the announcement that the trip was greatly successful, and that the goals for which this trip was taken were achieved. However, such whitewash does not fool anyone. Facts are facts, after all, and these are exposed with time. Thus the latest news is that the president and the prime minister of Pakistan did not participate in the 215th anniversary of the U.S. independence at the U. S. embassy on 4 July. This is the first time that the leaders of both the government and of the nation were present in the capital and neither participated in the U. S. Independence Day celebration. The absence of President Ghulam Ishaq Khan and Prime Minister Nawaz Sharif was the proverbial tip of the iceberg representing the cold relations between the United States and Pakistan. The remainder of this iceberg below the water level holds much more serious implications than does the visible tip. Our leaders were absent from the U. S. Independence Day celebration because the United States has not shown any flexibility in its attitude toward Pakistan's nuclear program. In addition, it is making demands on our basic existence and our important national affairs, which are contrary to our interests. For example, according to an IJI [Islamic Democratic Alliance] Member of the National Assembly, the United States wants Pakistan to relinquish its historic and legal stand on the Jammu and Kashmir issue and declare it as an independent region. If this suggestion is implemented, the United States will then want Pakistan to reduce the number of its armed forces. The United States also wants Pakistan to reduce its army from 500,000 to 100,000 soldiers. The true purpose and the negative result of this would be that Pakistan would be required to accept India's supremacy in this region and function as a satellite state under this powerful nation. American journalist Barbara Kroost wrote, after Rajiv Gandhi's assassination, that an agreement between him

and Ziaul Haq had been reached over the Kashmir issue. All details and maps were ready, and all that was left to be done was to sign the agreement. Even after repeated denials by the government of Pakistan and its foreign office, the American journalist is still firm on her stand. Mrs. Bhutto, the former prime minister and present opposition leader, said while commenting on this supposedly last interview with Rajiv Gandhi that the facts appeared to be correct. She said that when she tried to discuss the Kashmir issue with Rajiv Gandhi, when she was prime minister, he gave the impression that India and Pakistan had already agreed on this issue.

We believe that the United States is really putting pressure on Pakistan now to improve its relations with India and accept a similar solution of the Kashmir issue, as agreed upon between President Ziaul Haq and Rajiv Gandhi. We also believe that our government is ignoring the U. S. pressure and is not willing to accept the horse-trading (quid pro quo) that President Ziaul has agreed upon because the situation has changed, and the Afghanistan problem has also changed. There is no danger of Pakistan taking over Kabul. However, it seems to be a fact that our nuclear program is not the only reason for the strained relations between Pakistan and the United States of America. There are differences over the size of the armed forces, the Kashmir issue, and our relations with India. The government of Pakistan has not bowed its head to the United States of America over any of these issues, and the main reason for the deteriorating relationship is this stance. This could be the reason the president and the prime minister did not participate in the 4 July celebration at the U. S. embassy. If our assumption is correct, then it appears the relations between Pakistan and the United States will get worse. The United States will use every means available to increase its pressure. It will not only continue suspension of economic and defense aid, but will take additional steps to increase pressure on Pakistan. The United States simply will not refrain from using any means to twist Pakistan's arm.

America is a superpower. It is drunk with power, the euphoria of victory, and "Enola Gayism." President Bush has formulated a plan of a "new world order," and no other nation will be allowed to change this plan from the way the United States wants it. It seems that the fears that General Mirza Aslam Baig expressed during the Gulf war about the attitudes of the United States and its designs were very erudite. The government of Pakistan tried its best to establish good relations with the United States at that time and later on. However, none of its efforts succeeded, nor does it seem that they will succeed now.

Therefore, it would be wise for the government of Pakistan to take the Parliament and the nation in its confidence about the U.S. pressure and the problems that arise as a result of it. It should not submit to anyone and should maintain its independence, pride, and consideration for its own interests. We do not want to strain our relations with the United States of America; however, its international and regional philosophy is totally different than our own international and regional philosophy. The government

should accept this fact, and implement its policies in light of it. It must inform the nation about important facts and request its moral and material support. This will help strengthen it. Available information hints that, despite failures in its experiments, the government of Pakistan still wants to improve relations with the United States of America. The recent meeting between Sahabzada Yaqub Khan and Prime Minister Nawaz Sharif, and Sahabzada's being given an important mission points towards this possibility. If our government still hopes relations will improve, then it should realize that it does matter what level or through which person it works; there will be no positive results. The United States wants to "dictate" its terms and preferences under the "new world order" and will force acceptance by others. It does not show any flexibility in its attitude over any issue. This will not protect our basic national interests or satisfy the United States of America.

Aid Suspension Continues

91AS1277B Karachi JANG in Urdu 6 Jul 91 p 3

[Article: "Suspension of U.S. Aid"]

[Text] The ban on U. S. aid to Pakistan will definitely affect Pakistan's defense and developmental plans. However, the conditions under which the United States is willing to reinstate aid to Pakistan are not acceptable to any proud and independent nation. The United States wants to make Pakistan helpless and make it a delicious morsel for India to devour. To counter this situation, the prime minister has adopted a policy of self-reliance. This policy demands that national resources not be wasted, that frugality in every affair of life be practiced, and that nondevelopmental projects be suspended. All waste of government funds, examples of which have been given by the Auditor General of Pakistan in his report, should be stopped. Corrupt government officials involved in these actions should be strictly dealt with.

Blocked Missile Sales

91AS1277C Karachi JASARAT in Urdu 22 Jun 91 p 3

[Article by Ghulam Mohammed Khalid: "Pakistan and Ballistic Missiles"]

[Text] Mr. James Baker, Secretary of State of the United States, has advised Pakistan to give up the idea of purchasing M-11 ballistic missiles from China. Mr. Baker told a subcommittee of the Senate on 12 June, "If China supplies M-11 ballistic missiles to Pakistan, then serious dangers will emerge in this region." This new warning from the U. S. Secretary of State is not a surprise development. The reprocessing plant deal with France could not be completed because of the U.S. pressure. The United States is not putting hurdles in the path of Pakistan's safety and security for the first time. This unacceptable attitude toward Pakistan is not new; it has been there from day one. It demonstrated its negative policy for the first time during the 1965 war by imposing restrictions on the shipment of spare parts to Pakistan. Thus, it endangered Pakistan's independence and security by this act during wartime in

Pakistan. Relations between Pakistan and the United States have seen many ups and downs since then, and an atmosphere of mutual trust was never really established. A pact was signed between Pakistan and the United States in 1959 according to which the United States was to help us if we were attacked by another country. However, the United States' actual policy has been entirely to the contrary.

Mr. Stalin had invited Prime Minister Liaqat Ali Khan to the Soviet Union in 1949. The prime minister was also invited by the U.S. Government at the same time. He accepted the U.S. invitation, and ignored the Soviets. Diplomatic sources called the rejection of the Soviet invitation a serious diplomatic mistake. The fact is that there was no actual foreign policy formed in Pakistan at that time. Pakistan had participated in the Baghdad Pact in 1955. This pact became famous as CENTO [Central Treaty organization]. Later, it also joined the SEATO [Southeast Asia Treaty Organization] pact. After participating in these two pacts, Pakistan did not think it necessary to form its own foreign policy. This step was taken in view of the U.S. interests and its own national security. The purpose of these pacts was to end communism, and Pakistan cut itself off from the Soviet bloc to please its friend. India benefited from this action, and today India has the position of a "mini superpower." It has attained this position by being a friend to the United States and not fully joining the Soviet bloc. The Soviet Union and India signed a defense pact, and this pact brought about an imbalance of power in south Asia.

The Soviet Union provided India with modern technology and also gave modern weapons to its army, navy, and air force. Under this pact, the Soviet Union gave India submarines and fighter planes. India acquired nuclear technology through the Soviet pact and blasted an atomic bomb in 1974, proving that south Asia was at its mercy. It is strange that the United States did not see any danger in this region at that time. Instead, it provided more economic and military aid to India. The U.S. Government also permitted the sale to India of the supercomputer necessary to make nuclear weapons.

Pakistan became a victim of Indian and Soviet aggression in 1971. It lost half of its territory. At that time, Pakistan was passing through a very difficult phase; however, the United States saw no danger in this region then. It ignored the very serious situation in East Pakistan by saying that it was part of the internal affairs of Pakistan. Aggressor India had Soviet support when this situation emerged at an international level. At that time, the United States activated its seventh naval fleet. However, this was just a hoax. The naval fleet kept sailing around in the Indian Ocean while a free nation was divided into two parts. The United States failed to do its duty as a friend.

Countries all over the world are expressing concern over the problems that Kashmiri Muslims are facing because of India's stubbornness. The United States just does not see any danger emerging in the political situation from the atrocities being committed by the Indian armed forces in Kashmir. The only danger it sees is the ballistic missiles.

A spokesman for the Chinese Foreign Ministry has rejected the story of this imaginary deal. He said Pakistan and China were not discussing any deals about missiles at this time. It is important to think here: Which international laws have given the United States the right to interfere with any country's internal affairs. If the modernization of weapons and ammunition is an international crime, then why are other countries not accused of it? If India has committed no crime in becoming a nuclear power, and if Israel did not commit any crime by becoming a nuclear power in the Middle East to turn the balance of power in its own favor, then why are we being warned about a very minor agreement about some weapons?

Pakistan has always tried to make sure that this region is free of all dangerous weapons. It has tried to convince other nations to sign mutual pacts to save the region from the dangers of war. However, India has not allowed Pakistan to succeed in its plans because of its own ulterior motive. The prime minister of Pakistan has presented this proposal again. The U.S. government should try to understand Pakistan within the framework of this proposal.

Opposing Islamic System

91AS1177D Karachi AMN in Urdu 2 Jul 91 p 3

[Article: "U.S. Opposing Islamic System—Noorani"]

[Text] Karachi, 1 July (AMN News)—The founders of Pakistan obtained this region in order to establish an Islamic country, and the main purpose of establishing this country was to have an Islamic type of government. These feelings were expressed by Ilama Shah Ahmed Noorani, president of Jamiat-i Ulema-i Pakistan. He was addressing a deputation of Anjuman Tulba-i Islam from Baluchistan that had come to visit him under the leadership of Abdul Hakeem Inqlabi. Qazi Ahmed Noorani Sadiqqi, central vice president of Anjuman Tulba-i Islam was also present at that time. Ilama Shah Ahmed Noorani said that the history of Islam tells us how Muslim youth succeeded in changing the course of history to raise the proud head of Islam. Even now the forces of sin are afraid of the prowess of the Muslim youth. They are trying to vanquish the Muslim youth by introducing them to terrorism, Klashnikov culture, prejudice, nudity, and vulgarity. He said that the United States and its allies were afraid of the increasing powers of Islam. They want to mislead the Islamic youths while implementing the "new world order," and to destroy the new generation of Muslim youth so that an Islamic government can no longer be established. He told the working members of the Anjuman that they should fight prejudice, terrorism, and vulgarities with full strength. At the time, the Anjuman Tulba-i Islam invited Ilama Shah Ahmed Noorani to the training camp in Baluchistan and to participate in and address their jihad rally. Ilama Noorani accepted this invitation.

Recall of Diplomats Demanded

91AS1177E Lahore NAWA-I-WAQT in Urdu
3 Jul 91 p 3

[Text] Islamabad (NAWA-I-WAQT report)—Senator Hafiz Hussein Ahmed, deputy secretary general of Jamiat-i Ulema-i Islam (F), condemned the recent visit of U.S.

diplomat, Mr. Christopher in Raboh. He demanded that our foreign ministry declare the American a persona non grata for interfering in Pakistan's internal affairs and deport him. Talking to the NAWA-I-WAQT reporter here today, he said that the U.S. diplomat had met three or four times with the Qadiani party leaders in Raboh. This is a dangerous development. Before it, the U.S. ambassador, Mr. Oakley, had insulted some Parliament members when he participated in a reception in the Industry and Trade Building. Thus, American diplomats are increasingly interfering in Pakistan's internal affairs, and our foreign ministry should file protests against this attitude.

Commentary Urges Islamic Unity Against U.S.

*9IAS1100B Peshawar MASHRIQ in Urdu
21 May 91 p 4*

[Article by Kalim Akhtar: "Unity of Islamic Countries Can Stop U.S. Designs To Rule the World"]

[Text] The U.S. "new world order" plan is being viewed as a new economic and political strategy that will put the leadership of the world and the key to national governments in the hands of the United States. The world is being told that whatever the United States wants will happen now. Any nation that obeys the United States will be treated like any small nation is treated by a great power. In other words, world politics is being made dependent on the United States and the history of each nation will be written the way the United States wants it. This is how the United States perceives it.

The truth is that a chapter in world history ended when the "Islamic revolution" in Iran ended centuries of the rule by the shahs in Iran and at the same time did not accept superiority of either of the two superpowers, the United States or the Soviet Union. It did not only change the fortunes of the people of Iran, but also the beliefs of the world and a superpower like the Soviet Union became scared of the Islamic revolution.

The founder and protector of communism, the Soviet Union, began to feel the presence of the Islamic revolution and attacked Afghanistan to protect itself from the mounting danger. It had two purposes. One was to shield Afghanistan from the Iranian Islamic revolution and the second was to stop the spread of this revolution in the Soviet Muslim provinces. The fact is that had the Soviet Union not invaded Afghanistan, the next country to have an Islamic revolution would have been Afghanistan. Anyhow, the Soviet assumptions proved to be incorrect. It could neither vanquish Afghanistan nor could it realize its dream to reach the waters of the Arabian Sea. Instead, the affects of its defeat were felt in Eastern Europe and destroyed the communist governments in those countries. Before long, Poland, Hungary, Czechoslovakia, and Romania were freed from the communist regime and the Berlin Wall also fell. West and East Germany were rejoined.

The rout of the Soviet army in Afghanistan and the fall of communism in Eastern Europe changed the Soviet status. The Soviet Union, once the second- most powerful nation

in the world, became very weak and the "Soviet Bloc" just disappeared. The United States emerged as the only power in the world and, historically on 16 April 1988, the "Soviet Bloc" met its fate when the Geneva Pact was signed. Amazing new developments began to take place in Eastern Europe and it would not be wrong to say that the new historical period began at that time. The United States is writing the world history on its own and its first chapter is called the "New World Order."

The fact is that the struggle between the superpowers was helping the underdeveloped countries. The nonaligned nations of the Third World had helped balance the power. The new role of the Soviet Union has left a vacuum in world politics and the Soviet leaders have also felt it. The Russian leader Gorbachev recently said that the Soviet Union is reconsidering its former role in the world politics. We believe that it is not possible under the present circumstances. The badly deteriorated economic conditions in the Soviet Union and Eastern European countries will not permit this. The Soviet Union itself is requesting U.S. aid.

Despite all these problems, observers of international politics have begun to notice a vacuum. Large and small countries, especially China and Japan, are reacting to the U.S. design to have "world imperialism."

The echo of the U.S. "new world order" was heard again when Iraq went on its knees against the United States and its allies. Some countries thought that President Saddam Husayn was going to give a dramatic twist to the situation when he had ignored the U.N. Security Council's 15 January ultimatum. However, it did not happen and Saddam Husayn, wisely or unwisely, did exactly what the United States wanted. At this point, Saddam Husayn's personal and political identities lost their importance in the Islamic world. Some even went as far to say that President Saddam Husayn played a role that has benefited the enemy and hurt his friends badly. The founder of Socialist Party, Michel Aflaq, is now being considered a Catholic who had awakened the Arabs to counter Islam. They go as far as to say that since Salauddin, the hero of the religious wars, was a Kurd, therefore, all Kurds are being persecuted now. There are as many rumors as there are mouths! Had President Saddam Husayn accepted the advice of those who were trying to establish peace, there would not have been a war and Iraq would not have been razed to the ground. Anyhow, the United States benefited greatly from the Iraqi defeat. It had wanted to land its armed forces in Saudi Arabia for a long time and the U.S. armed forces are present in the Middle East. No one can say when these will go back.

The presence of the U.S. armed forces in the Middle East is a danger to Islamic countries as the Israeli attitude always has been hostile and aggressive. The situation has become more tense and it is trying to sabotage the efforts of the U.S. Secretary of State James Baker to hold a peace conference. It does not want a solution to the problems of the Middle East and wants to take over Islamic countries forcibly. As for the second article of the new world order of

the United States, "democracy" tops its list. The United States has announced that democracy will be implemented in the countries that do not have it. The United States thinks that it will establish democratic governments in various countries with the help of diplomacy, economic aid, or CIA conspiracies and will keep them under its influence. Islamic countries like Saudi Arabia, Jordan, Morocco, and the United Arab Emirates, which are ruled by kings will be greatly effected by this movement for democracy.

As for Pakistan, various opinions are expressed about the government system here. Malik Maraj Khalid, former speaker of the National Assembly, believes that the army should be involved in Pakistan's democracy. According to him, Pakistani democracy just does not meet the needs of the people and the nation. Field Marshal Mohammed Ayub also used to say the same thing and had started a basic democratic government in the country that was dismissed by the political leaders. Indonesia's Abdul Rahim Sukarno had also started a "controlled democracy." Anyhow, the democratic form of government is a major problem in Islamic countries.

The other article of the new U.S. world order is related to economic system. The United States wants personal property ownership system in every country and is opposed to nationalization. Interestingly enough, many countries, in addition to the Soviet Union and China, agree to it. Pakistan is one of the countries where industry is being returned to private ownership. The policy of nationalization adopted by the first PPP [Pakistan People's Party] government is being phased out and many industrial organizations that were nationalized in 1971 are being returned to private organizations. The important article in the new world order is acceptance of Israel. The United States wants all Islamic countries to recognize the existence of Israel and the recent war has put the Arab countries in a strange situation. Israel has become very bold after the Iraqi defeat and many Islamic countries such as Egypt, Syria, and Turkey have begun to think about recognizing Israel. Egypt has already agreed to the Camp David agreement with Israel and the Turkish stand in the Gulf war was very evident. Its interests and benefits are tied to Europe and has benefited from its close ties to the United States.

As for Pakistan, it always had good relations with the United States and was its ally in the SEATO [Southeast Asia Treaty Organization] and CENTO [Central Treaty Organization] pacts. However, the United States did not help Pakistan much because (1) it has been a friend of China since 1949 and the United States did not like it; (2) Pakistan did not recognize Israel; and (3) it did not send its army to Vietnam. Now the United States is putting pressure on Pakistan over the new technology issue and is demanding that Pakistan put an end to its nuclear energy program even when Pakistan insists that its program is for peaceful uses. However, the United States has stopped economic aid to put more pressure on Pakistan. Pakistan has accepted this challenge and has raised the slogan of self-reliance and is adamant that it will not stop its nuclear

program. Recently, a U.S. Congressional committee passed a resolution asking that Pakistan stop helping Kashmiri freedom fighters or its aid will be further reduced. This means that the United States wants to keep Pakistan under its pressure in every situation and this is the basic premise of its new world order!

The new wave of thought that has emerged in Islamic countries after the Gulf war has raised some new voices that cannot be ignored. The Arab countries are feeling that they are being "advised" to be subjugated and if they are not careful, they would be enslaved. Thus, while the United States is under the delusion that the history is being written according to its wishes, the nations in the East are also thinking about how to protect the history and to act in order to salvage the history instead of "guarding the graves." They also know that they will have to unite their political forces.

Therefore, the unity of Islamic countries is a must now and this unity can save these countries from slavery and also solve the Kashmir issue. Islamic countries should raise the Kashmir issue in the Security Council or the General Assembly and also make the Palestinian issue a UN topic. If the Security Council approves the 13 conditions to rebuild Kuwait just to protect U.S. interests and implements them strictly, then it can also require implementation of the Security Council resolutions passed about Kashmir and Palestine. This united effort of the Islamic countries can change the course of the U.S. new world order, and Pakistan and Iran can play crucial roles in this effort.

Resentment Continues Against 'New World Order'

U.S. Desires Instability in Asia

91AS1426A Peshawar *THE FRONTIER POST*
in English 10 Aug 91 p 10

[Article by Ejaz Hanif: "American Designs in South Asia"; quotation marks as published]

[Text] After the collapse of Soviet power there is a profound change in the American priorities. Today America's immediate concern is not to thwart expansion of communism, but its priorities would be to expand and keep intact her hegemony around the globe, to secure natural resources for her economy and to nip any growing regional power in the bud. For the first two priorities America besides applying other tactics is also encouraging the capitalist economics and to achieve the last America would not hesitate to take any step. Iraq was the first victim in this regard. America crossed all the limits while crushing this promising Muslim power.

It is logical to presume that Japan and Germany may emerge as new superpowers, but this phenomenon would take a long time. Today America's only headache is regional powers, which can frustrate American designs by mutual collaboration. Hence in coming years America would not let any country to be strong beyond a certain limit.

In South Asia, changed circumstances have deprived India and Pakistan of their previous status. Pakistan no longer enjoys strategic importance because of Soviet withdrawal from Afghanistan. India has also lost its blackmailing position. The first indication of the above-mentioned thesis came in the shape of the stoppage of American aid to Pakistan through 'Pressler Amendment' and the extension of its application to India.

Ideal situation in South Asia in the framework of neo-colonialism will be the dismemberment of India into 2 or 3 states and a weak Pakistan. Many circles are already linking Rajiv Gandhi's assassination with a CIA conspiracy aimed at creating instability in the country particularly in southern India.

Kashmir's accession to Pakistan would make Pakistan stronger. But an independent Kashmir would be highly suitable in the framework of neo-colonialism, because there would be a bitter enmity with India on historical grounds, and would develop a hostility with China on geographical basis, because at present China is occupying some areas, said to be a part of Kashmir. An independent Kashmir would also encourage regional nationalism in Pakistan. Here it seems apt to mention that the idea of confederation, floated and propagated by some disgruntled Pakistani politicians originated from UK, a full-time collaborator the United States.

Some of the opinion circles are already suspecting CIA's hand in the murders of Z.A. Bhutto, Indira Gandhi, Zia-ur-Rehman, General Zia and now Rajiv Gandhi. According to this theory, any strong leader in South Asia is not in American interest. And now in changed circumstances this need of America has become more acute. Because strong leadership in India, at one hand would not bow down to American pressures and Indians would not pay the role of an American stooge and on the other hand weak leadership in Delhi would not be able to exercise its hegemony in the region, which is an American need. Similarly a strong leader in Islamabad will not yield to intimidations. A strong leader in a resourceful and promising Muslim country like Pakistan would have a tremendous influence on the Muslim masses all over the world because Muslim ummah have everything but strong and courageous leadership.

In short, in the framework of so-called New World Order, it will be in the interest of neo-colonialists, to first get South Asia shaky, by the continuous process of internal instability, then one of the states would play the role of a bully of mighty of the mightiest and control the region accordingly. India is the most suitable country, for this role, because India is an independent entity having no emotional attachment outside the region. Moreover the majority of Indian people, the Hindus, have a deep grudge against Muslim world because of a thousand-year rule of the Muslims over India. India also has a clash of interests with China.

As for Pakistan, this Muslim country is simply ineligible for the aforesaid job due to a host of reasons. Unfortunately, today, when the spectre of new-colonialism is

haunting the Third World, the South Asian situation is very hopeless. India is pre-occupied with relentless secessionist movements in East Punjab, Assam, Tamil Nadu, Bihar, Mizoram and in other parts. Hindu fundamentalism is generating hatred in the Indian society. Minorities are feeling scared, particularly the Indian Muslims, who are the prime target of Hindu fundamentalism.

Even hatred is rising between the Hindus themselves. There have been clashes between upper and lower cast Hindus. But the Indian rulers do not seem aware of the hovering dangers. They are denying the Kashmiris, their right of self-determination, and are busy in crushing their movement in the most inhuman and ruthless fashion.

Pakistan is also facing a severe law and order problem at least in one of the provinces i.e. Sindh. Pakistan is also confronting with the aggressive Indian designs in Kashmir and Siachin. Afghan problem has yet to be solved.

Economic conditions in South Asian region are already bleak. Bangladesh, Sri Lanka, Nepal and India are the poorest countries of the world. Unfortunately there is no strong leader in the whole region. Z. A. Bhutto was hanged, Zia-ul-Haq was killed in a mysterious plane crash. Now Rajiv Gandhi is assassinated and the reasons being given for his murder are not convincing. Moreover, the Congress is rapidly losing ground in India. In recent election, despite the highly favourable circumstances, Congress failed to get even simple majority. It is obvious that in the next elections Congress, sans a 'martyr' like Indira and Rajiv, would not do well. The post-Congress era can be assessed even today. Religious hatred, regional and communal antagonism, uneasiness among the minorities, which are already marinating Indian society, would become acute.

Anyhow, time is not yet completely out. The new government of Narasimha Rao should rethink its priorities. It should settle the problems with the neighbours, particularly with Pakistan. It must allow the Kashmiris, their due right of self-determination, and should satisfy its disgruntled minorities.

Pakistan should also extend the hand of friendship to its neighbour and both the countries should expend their energies on improving the lot of their masses, instead of burning their resources in wars with each other. Peace, prosperity and fraternity were never so badly needed as they are now. Once this region was bound in the 'New World Order' it would be very hard for the people in this region, to get out of this framework.

'U.S. Responsible for All Problems'

91AS1426B Peshawar *THE FRONTIER POST*
in English 7 Aug 91 p 8

[Excerpt] Karachi—The Awami National Party president Ajmal Khattak has held the United States responsible for all the problems being faced by the people of Pakistan today. He stressed the need for unity among the patriotic and democratic forces to take the country out of the crisis. He urged the rulers to adopt a rational approach otherwise

they would have to face great difficulties. He also asked the opposition to adopt a positive approach and avoid agitational politics.

He was addressing newsmen at Karachi press club on Tuesday in its "Meet the Press" programme.

He said that the vested interests had created problems in the country and those who were trying to aggravate the situation were playing with the future of the country. He urged the political leaders to find out ways and means for solution of the problems to strengthen democracy and promote national integrity.

Referring to internal and external threats to the country, he held the U.S. imperialists responsible for the threats on the borders. He said that the U.S. decision to withdraw economic support from Pakistan had enhanced our economic and political problems. He said that it was high time the patriotic and democratic forces gave serious thought to these matters.

He said that the changes taking place in the world were also affecting Pakistan. The United States under the cover of new world order wanted to continue its policy of exploitation with Pakistan as the main target, he added. [passage omitted]

Soviets 'Betrayed Third World'

91AS1426C Islamabad THE MUSLIM in English
24 Aug 91 pp 6, 8

[Article by Mohammad Yasin: "Betrayed Hopes"]

[Text] The events taking place in the Soviet Union are full of excitement. The suddenness of it all has sent the world reeling, throwing it in the throes of surprise, apprehensions and thoughtfulness.

The Soviet revolution in 1917 had shaken and changed the world as well as the concepts of the old world, jolting the imperialist powers out of their complacency and generating freedom movements in the colonies of the then great powers. In the Soviet Union, the feeling was aptly summed up by the revolutionary poet Mayakovsky who said in one of his poems on the revolution in these words: "We marched behind the blood-red flag impelled by years of work and days of sheer starvation. We opened Marx and Engels/every tome, as in our home we open wide the shutters but without reading we understood alone, whose side we're on and in which camp we're fighters."

Every revolution is based on idealism and hopes going beyond the realities on the ground. Vladimir Mayakovsky, who is considered to be the most inspired poet of the Soviet revolution, committed suicide because it is said that he was under pressure from party leadership to toe the dogmatic party line. He resolved his conflict between his revolutionary idealism and the party line by ending his own life. He did not betray his commitment to the masses for whom he crafted poetry. The Soviet revolution inspired the poets, artists and creative writers the world over. They were impelled by the misery penetrating the lives of the common people and their exploitation by the feudals and

the affluent poet Brecht, inspired by the revolution, identified himself with the masses and their suffering.

In our own part of the world, the poets were infused by idealism and enthused by pathos of humanity. The poetry of Iqbal sparkles with idealism inspired by the revolution in the Soviet Union. He had conditionally sanctified socialism. The progressive movement in the subcontinental literature was wholly inspired by the Soviet Revolution. Perhaps the best poetry, fiction and criticism in Urdu as well as in other Pakistani and subcontinental languages were inspired by the Soviet Revolution. In fact, the very idiom and shape of our literary culture underwent a change under the socialist influence. All in all the metamorphosis in the literary milieu was salubrious. Of course this movement spurred a reaction which had its own good points.

The politics in the sub-continent and the parts forming the present-day Pakistan underwent a sea change under the impact of the socialist revolution in the Soviet Union. Apart from the communist movement, that the Soviet experience inspired in India and later in Pakistan, the ideals of socialism infected the objectives of the non-communist and even anti-socialist political parties. Take the manifesto of any political party; it does have provisions which is more or less identifiable with the socialist objectives.

The labour movements in the sub-continent too drew inspiration from the new ideology. Even the ultra-conservative political parties in Pakistan have been compelled to have their labour wings.

When polemics entered the socialist world, the strands of it penetrated the left politics in Pakistan. It led to the birth of a hundred and one brands of socialist factions. Decadence in the Soviet Union led to the decadence of socialism in the rest of the world and more so in Pakistan.

Revisionism in the Soviet Union threw up the kind of new leadership that came up with the slogans of glasnost and perestroika. The new ideology aggressively preached a variant of Western type economic order a democracy. The parties of the left in this country were thrown in total disarray following the changes that swept across the socialist bloc. Having lost contacts with the masses by losing their foothold in the labour movement in this country, the leaders of the parties of the left were virtually isolated. They got immersed in the in-fighting and ideological hair-splitting. They became more of the polemicists than adherents of the socialist creed—more of red mullahs and drawing-room intellectuals than the hard-boiled socialists. They sipped cups of tea, smoked cigarettes and talked of the revolution that they had ushered in the country just by logic. So we lost a well-read and intelligent generation to the revolution that never came. The more pragmatic of them sought sanctuary in the established parties like the PPP [Pakistan People's Party], PNP [Pakistan National Party] and ANP [Awami National Party]. Some turned to business and minted money.

The Soviet had counter-balanced the Americans and their allies in the global politics. At least the smaller countries

felt more secure in the continuing rivalries between the two Super Powers. The policy of appeasement adopted its world role and responsibility. Ultimately the Soviet Union under Gorbachev has been reduced to a shadow of its former self, acting at the behest of the United States and its allies. While the United States and its allies attacked Iraq, the Soviet Union nodded at what the United States was doing there. If the United States were to launch attack against any other country tomorrow, the Soviet Union would be just sitting, watching idly just hoping to win a smile of approval.

If the situation in the Soviet Union had gone in favour of the coup leaders, the Third World countries would have felt much more secure than they are now from the machinations of the United States and its plans to enforce a new world order. Free from the domination by the United States, the USSR would have been able to play a neutralising role in the world politics by keeping it at bay. Why should the Soviet Union be dictated to by the United States? Has the United States got more of morality? The Americans have not stopped short of aggressing on tiny states in order to protect and procure its national interest. Going over the track-record of the United States, one comes across instances upon instances of the American support of the brutal dictators in Asia, Africa and Latin America. In Pakistan the Americans have supported the dictators like Ayub Khan, Yahya Khan and Gen. Zia. In the rest of the world too, there are countless number of instances of the support to the dictators by the United States.

Conscientious Americans have investigated into the cases of the assassination by the CIA of the leaders of the hostile governments the world over. The United States has aided and abetted the governments whose track record in the sphere of human rights was the most despicable. Yet the Americans have continued to harp on the theme of human rights. Israel has deprived the whole nation of Palestinians from their fundamental rights but the United States has protected Israel and allowed that country to perpetuate all kinds of excesses on the Palestinians. Israel committed aggression in Lebanon but the United States turned its eyes off Israel and looked the other way. The United States chose to stay silent on perfidies of Israel.

The Soviet Union has betrayed the Third World and it has in the process become the willing and pliant ally in the hands of the United States. The leadership in Moscow would do as the United States would bid it to do. The surge of sympathy in the West for Gorbachev and company in the wake of the aborted attempt to get rid of them, speaks immensely of the extent to which Gorbachev had gone to bow before the dictate of Bush and Co.

Third World countries would need to be watchful of the designs of the United States of America and come up with bold strategy to face the music.

U.S. Imports Reportedly Bugged

91ASI426D Islamabad *THE MUSLIM in English*
20 Aug 91 p 6

[Editorial: "An Eye-Opening Lesson"]

[Text] The revelation that radio equipment Iraq purchased for its armed forces from Britain was so fabricated that in all

circumstances every message transmitted through it would first be received at a secret eavesdropping station at Cheltenham near Oxford is bizarre, to say the least. Of course, the Iraqi buyers were not aware of this conspiracy built into their purchase. The result was that the CIA-managed establishment at Cheltenham knew of every move the Iraqis would make in the war. Indeed, well before they started planning for war. And the Iraqis themselves were totally unaware that they were bugged from the very start! This would explain, even if only in part, why the Iraqis were already dead ducks when the U.S.-led attack was mounted upon them. The dictator in Baghdad was so comprehensively duped as to be his own prisoner and executioner. He was all bluster before the first shot was fired. He was also talking of making mincemeat of the invaders, or sending funeral processions back to the United States. But the clown-dictator didn't have the foggiest idea what a hearty laugh they were having at Cheltenham, in the Pentagon and, most certainly the loudest in Tel Aviv.

There is no inclination on our part to shed any tears for the suicidal maniac in Baghdad, although the people of Iraq do deserve much sympathy in their wretchedness which defies imagination. That said, let us see if there is no moral for us to draw from this stunning eye-opener. How much of such sensitive equipment do we have in service in our civil and defence radio network? How much of it has been procured (and presumably paid for through the nose) from the same sources? Or, from the sisters of those sources? It is transparently clear that Saddam's suppliers were working hand-in-glove with CIA and both were working for a joint purpose. There is no reason to be less than wary about supplier so similar sensitive equipment from other sources in other countries in the Western alliance. Indeed, the line dividing the Western alliance and the Eastern is now too fine to be of any significant import in matters like these. The United States and USSR share intelligence gathered from sensitive spots in the Third World.

The disclosure of the betrayal of Iraq by manufacturers and purveyors of wireless devices should open our eyes to the risks in blindly handing over our own telecommunication network to the highest bidder from abroad. But that is just what we are blissfully embarked upon. To the best of our knowledge, the government of Pakistan has not taken any, or in any case adequate, precautions to ensure that our telecommunication network owners of tomorrow would not be fully tuned to Cheltenham or some other eavesdropping station with the same purposes and motives—to betray us to the enemy. This is no ordinary matter. We would implore with all our sincerity and concern that the government of Pakistan take a lesson from Iraq's experience. The first step ought to be instant and that should be a thorough check of our telecommunication and wireless services in the civil and security sector and ensure that we have them utterly bugging-proof. And there should be a review of the procedure being adopted for the wholesale privatisation of telecommunications. We must be sure that there is a safe disconnection between our national secrets and the enemy's ears.¹

Beg's Stand Against U.S. Brave, Correct

91AS1426E Islamabad THE MUSLIM in English
20 Aug 91 pp 6, 8

[Article by Shireen M. Mazari: "The Army That General Beg Leaves Behind"]

[Text] While General Beg is not the first Pakistani General to retire according to normal routine, his retirement has come at a critical juncture for the country. Given the Pakistani nation's experience with military dictatorship, there were those within the power elite as well as those outside who found it difficult to believe the General would in fact retire—despite his adamancy regarding this from the start. No doubt some even hoped he would renege on his commitment and rescue the politicians from themselves! The general state of lawlessness, anarchy and civil strife that rents the country asunder at present certainly would have provided more than an adequate pretext. Perhaps that is why the Americans and some other Western diplomats were so nervous regarding General Beg's retirement.

Yet it is not only to General Beg's credit, but to the Army's as an institution, that General Asif Nawaz took over as COAS [Chief of Army Staff] in the normal, procedural fashion. This is the point that must be acknowledged, for General Beg epitomised the emergence of a new professionalism and corporateness within the Pakistan Army—reflecting a growing politicisation with increased professionalism and thereby contradicting existing theories of practorianism.

After eleven years of the Zia dictatorship when the military ruled directly and indirectly by pervading the whole spectrum of public-civilian institutions, it would be naive to assume that the new professionalism of the Army is similar to that of the military in Western democracies. That the Army is politicised cannot be denied, but General Beg showed how politicisation did not have to lead the military into taking over the political institutions, nor did it have to undermine the military's professionalism. At every step, it has been a political decision to keep the Army within its professional domain, beginning with General Beg's becoming the COAS after Zia's death.

Given the fact that the nation's politicians have at different junctures sought to exploit the military leadership's political ambitions, they approached General Beg in the same fashion. After all, it was the civilian leadership that went scuttling to Rawalpindi rather than having General Beg come to them. Since then, politicians and journalists have legitimised the military's political role by seeking political advice and comments from the military leadership. When the civilian leadership courts senior military officers, and journalists ask for comments on the country's politics rather than on professional aspects of the military even on occasions like military exercises, they are all giving the military's political role a legitimacy.

Keeping in mind the temptations and the Zia legacy, it is no mean feat that General Beg retired as COAS three years to the day. Yet General Beg was a thoroughly political animal. He made a political decision to support the nation's gradual move to democracy because the lessons of 1971 had been learnt by the Army. The antagonism between the military and civil society was intense as a result of the Zia period, and it was present at all levels of the polity.

Equally important was the fact that the political polarisation that was the hallmark of the Zia period was not restricted to civil society—it was there within the military as well. To restore the corporateness and professionalism of the military necessitated a withdrawal from politics. This had become imperative because the Army had amassed a number of new weapon systems that needed to be integrated and rationalised through proper strategic and tactical doctrines.

That General Beg was astute at the political game was apparent when he gave his first press briefing and held forth on all manner of diverse and controversial issues for over two hours. It was to be the first of many such encounters, and what was interesting was not only the answers he gave but the manner in which he seemed to accept hostile and often rude demeanours.

Under Beg, the Army gave an uncharacteristic importance to public relationing and the promotion of Brigadier Riazullah to Major General reflected the new importance of the ISPR [Interservice Public Relations], with General Riazullah being the perfect man for the post. He opened up a whole new relationship between the military and civil society.

The information and accessibility to the military has been all the more unique since civilian State structures, especially the bureaucracy, continue to remain as inaccessible as before. While debate and suspicion continue over this new "opening up" of the Army, and the media blitz of Zarb-i-Momin was definitely an overkill, there is no doubt that in the long run this policy is providing an insight into the military which is informative and educative—and education always has a positive impact in the long run.

However, arguably, General Beg's most important contribution has been his emphasis on seeking out long-term benefits, often at the expense of limited quick solutions. He was instrumental in expanding the base of indigenous weapons production that had been laid by Zulfikar Ali Bhutto. According to some sources, it was General Beg who played a leading role in opting for the production of a local MBT (Main Battle Tank) rather than increasing the dependency on the United States of America by purchasing the Abrams MI tank. It is no wonder that out of the three services, the Army will feel the U.S. aid cutoff the least.

Of course, General Beg's tenure as COAS will be remembered most vividly for his concept of strategic defiance and his overt support for a nuclear-weapons option for Pakistan—in fact his strategic doctrine was to a large extent

premised upon this option. With his seemingly contradictory posture of "supporting" Saddam Husayn and his ambivalent stance on the sending of Pakistani troops to Saudi Arabia, he finally provided his detractors with ammunition to undermine what they saw as his growing popularity.

No one bothered to listen to what General Beg had said about Iraq in his December 1990 speech at the POF [Pakistan Ordnance Factory?], Wah, where he had identified Iraq's reaction to U.S. Gulf policy as defiance, but has specifically stated that such defiance would be feasible only if a country did not isolate itself regionally, and did not aggress against the sovereignty of another State. At the same time, he clearly expressed the view that the U.S. Gulf policy was harmful for the region and for the Muslim World. If we see this in the light of the post-Gulf war American policy, it can be argued that General Beg has a valid argument at the very least.

Nevertheless, for General Beg the Gulf war and United States, military success proved to be politically costly. Within the country, those in the ruling elites who had felt uncomfortable with his vociferous support of the nuclear weapons option and what was seen as his antipathy towards the United States of America, now found a pretext for condemning him. At the same time, the Americans who saw a historically pro-American institution gradually question U.S. policies, felt decidedly uncomfortable with General Beg. It was difficult for them to twist the arm of the civilian government on the nuclear issue when the COAS was calling for a nuclear-weapons option for Pakistan. Again, General Beg's determined effort to develop a concrete military relationship with Iran was a long-term threat to their own ambitions in the region. Therefore, for the United States General Beg's Gulf statements provided the arguments they needed to develop the anti-Beg propaganda and ensure that the Pakistan government saw to Beg's timely retirement.

The desperation that Beg drove them to was reflected in what sources reveal to be their adamancy in June that Beg's successor be publicly announced before the Waseem Sajjad delegation visiting Washington would be allowed to have access to the American leadership. Yet all that Pakistan got out of the visit finally was the Lagomarsino Amendment whereby the United States recognised and gave legitimacy to India's nuclear capability—requiring it to stop possessing any "additional nuclear explosive devices" in FY 1992-93 in order to maintain eligibility for U.S. aid.

While some have felt that General Beg had lost the political game since the end of the Gulf war, in fact, in the long run, he may well emerge the winner if we see the impact of his three years as COAS not only upon the military but also upon the nation as a whole.

He channelised the politicisation of the military into a new professionalism whereby the Army could express its views within the framework of a new "nationalist" ideology on a variety of national problems, while overtly displaying its increasing professionalism. For an Army that had seen

increasing political polarisation within itself and in the national polity, this was a critical development. A deliberate political decision in this regard has been the delinking of the military from the Zia legacy. While the civilian elites exacerbate the political divisions by marking the death anniversary of the late dictator, the Army as an institution has astutely kept away after paying due homage at his burial.

What the Americans and other detractors of General Beg fail to realise is that his public postures reflected to a large extent the views of the institution he represented. For the first time, under General Beg, an important segment of the ruling elite managed to discard its anti-communist, pro-West legacy. Equally relevant, General Beg's postures struck a sympathetic chord with the nation which for too long has seen its ruling elites develop mind-sets that are shaped by alien premises and external forces. This perhaps is the greatest political victory for the General.

Status 'Would Be Like Bhutan'

*91AS1426F Islamabad THE MUSLIM in English
17 Aug 91 p 10*

[Article: "Fazal Says Government Has Shelved Nuke Programme"]

[Text] Maulana Fazlur Rehman, Secretary General of Jamiat Ulema-e-Islam [JUI] has alleged that IJI [Islamic Democratic Alliance] government had agreed in principle to abandon its nuclear programme accepting the pressure of United States which had imposed economic restrictions on Pakistan.

Talking to newsmen on way to Dera Ismail Khan from Lahore on Independence Day. He further alleged that present regime had also agreed to resolve the dispute on Kashmir in the light of American desires and plan.

Maulana Fazal said that existing situation had forced us to take notices of ill-advised policies of present regime. He further said that an independent Kashmir would merge on the world map while Pakistan would have to reduce its forces to one lakh only as pointed out in new world order and Pakistan's status would be reduced just like Bhotan and Nepal.

He said that it had been proved that IJI government did not enjoy the support of majority of house and everyone was blackmailing the government.

JUI Secretary General said that government had betrayed the nation by not adopting original Shariah Bill and defying the commitment of enforcement of Quran [Koran] and Sunnah and it had rejected the agenda based on the recommendations of Islamic Ideological Council. He said that present regime had no moral justification and right to remain in power because it was dealing at the cost of country's stability and independence. He further stated that Federal government had usurped the rights of provinces and it was not ready to give constitutional powers to provinces.

Closure of BCCI Part of Order

91AS1426G Lahore *THE NATION* in English
(Supplement) 10 Aug 91 pp III

[Article by Syed Shabbar Raza Rizvi: "BCCI Murder Conspiracy Against Muslim Banking"]

[Text] The Bank of Credit and Commerce International [BCCI] was established by a Pakistani and incorporated at Luxembourg in 1972. The founder of BCCI, Agha Hassan Abidi, had established successfully UBL [expansion not given] in Pakistan with the collaboration of Saigols. Agha Hassan had developed good relations with some rich Arabs of UAE [United Arab Emirates]. In 1972, after the nationalisation of UBL, he launched BCCI with the collaboration of these Arabs and soon after its head offices were shifted to London.

Within a short span of time, BCCI established 150 branches all over UK. Moreover, BCCI had opened its branches in 70 countries of the world. All these branches were doing excellent business. Within a short span of time BCCI became a bank of Muslims. The reason was that before the inception of BCCI there was no bank or financial institution which was owned or backed by allegation was that BCCI legalised the black money of ex-ruler of Panama. One of the allegations against the BCCI was that it dealt with the money of drug traffickers, smugglers and dealers of arms.

In accordance with the report of weekly TIME, BCCI from the very beginning was being financed by the rich Arabs and ex-President of the BCCI had loaned huge amounts of money to some Arabs so that they could buy the shares of the Bank without returning that money to the Bank. There is nothing unusual in this as Western banks also extend loans to the expected or would be share holders. Another allegation is that the BCCI keeps its financial deals secret. Even this allegation is totally absurd. The question is what the Swiss Banks do? Don't they keep secret the dealings of their clients? Has anybody ever checked their business? It is a known fact that the business of Swiss Banks is absolutely secret and this secrecy, as a matter of fact, is the main attraction of these Banks. That is why they have their clients and depositors from all corners of the world. If some employees had committed a crime, they could be charged and tried under the law but why an institution which had its branches in 70 countries was closed suddenly and its assets were frozen? Was it for the first time that some individuals associated with an institution were found involved in some illegal acts? Can we say with certainty that never ever an employee of the Muslims. It was Agha Hassan Abidi who took the initiative and did the needful.

BCCI drew its strength from the fact that wherever it opened its branches, Muslims closed their dealings with other banks and started banking with the BCCI. The wealth of Muslim citizens of different countries started pouring into BCCI, as a result, capital of BCCI swelled within a short span of time. The European banks, particularly Bank of England could not digest this sudden and speedy rise of BCCI.

It may also be noted that most of the higher and important staff of the BCCI belonged to Pakistan. It may also be noted that the Western world is extremely biased against Muslims and would not accept any innovation or progress both in science and finance from them. The launching and rise of the BCCI perturbed the Western world. At the time of action against the BCCI, its capital as estimated by the Bank of England was 200 billion pounds.

BCCI, apart from its banking operations, started several other institutions for the support of Muslim scholars, poets, students, etc. It had also started extending loans to small Muslim traders and businessmen which brought positive results into their business and lives.

The West could not accept the BCCI for all these reasons and it became an eye-sore. There was a great difference in quality of services being provided to the clients by the BCCI and other banks in the West. More than 16,000 jobs were provided by the BCCI throughout the world and most of these employees proved themselves excellent bankers. No wonder, BCCI became known as a BCCI empire. Having developed a strong bias against the bank for these very reasons, the West levelled various allegations against the BCCI and its employees before its closure. For instance, an American Court sentenced five employees of the BCCI sometime ago in a case where the Bank of England has been implicated in any illegal activity?

The stark reality is that the BCCI had made its name as a Muslim bank. It provided an alternative and a refuge to the Muslims and the people of Third World from the Western money lenders for which it has paid the price. The recent action and closure of BCCI is a part of so-called New World Order. The Muslim wealth has been taken away by the non-Muslims by one swoop.

The Muslims of the world have been deprived of a large sum of money overnight. More than 16,000 employees have been rendered un-employed. Unfortunately, most of them come from Pakistan. The death of the BCCI is a very severe and irreparable loss to the Muslims and in my opinion this was the worst jolt after Gulf War inflicted upon the Muslim world.

U.S. Detests 'Independent Policy'

91AS1426H Lahore *THE NATION* in English
14 Aug 91 pp 1, 4

[Article by Saqlain Imam: "After Iraq Pakistan May Be the Next Target"; wording as published]

[Text] Lahore—Those who destroyed Iraq's for keeping up its sovereignty can now also hit Pakistan, keeping in view what they have done to the BCCI recently, said two main organizers of the Commission of Inquiry for the International War Crimes Tribunals (IWCT) to indict U.S. President Bush. The IWCT has been established by a former U.S. Attorney General, Ramsey Clark.

Mr. Bill Doares, a U.S. International Coordinator and British member of the IWCT while condemning the U.S. Administration for its bid to dominate the world, said that

Bush was responsible for destroying the world peace as he hit the which defied the influence of American multinational companies.

While talking to intellectuals, political activists and journalists at a local hotel on Tuesday, the two human rights activists fixing the responsibility of the Gulf war on George Bush also held Gorbachev and other collaborators responsible for the killings of hundreds of thousands of Iraqis as none of them stop the United States from waging a brutal war.

Mr. Doares, a New York-based human rights activists said Pakistan was now facing a provocative U.S. Administration propaganda campaign against its nuclear programme and Islam. The hawks in America and other western countries do not want to allow any Third World country to run its independent foreign policy.

He said the enormous blow inflicted to the democratic process in Pakistan in August 1990 was connected with the U.S. policy vis-a-vis Gulf so that Pakistan could not play any role which was not in line with the U.S. designs. He said, similarly, the late Bhutto's regime was removed because of its independent foreign policy.

He said due to Iraq's independent foreign policy the U.S. Government destroyed Iraq. Similarly, Bank of Credit and Commerce International (BCCI) had become a threat to the western banks' monopolistic control over the finances in the Third World so it was demolished, said Bill.

He said the charges which were levelled against the BCCI were not different from the activities of Chase Manhattan Bank but only the BCCI was bulldozed. He said such U.S. acts would further aggravate the miseries of the people of the Third World.

Mr. Hugh Stephens, the British activist, noted with a serious concern that the human rights situation was far from improved in the Third World countries including Pakistan and Saudi Arabia. Regarding Pakistan, he further said it was disturbing to see that a former Prime Minister was intimidated and harassed while her husband was in jail, facing criminal charges.

Replying to a question, Mr. Bill Doares said Stephen Solarz, a U.S. Congressman, was a 'fraud' and a CIA agent.

To another question, he said the detractors of Bush did not gear up their criticism to prevent the President from implementing Middle East Peace Plan. In fact, the peace plan was a part of manipulations in which Bush did not give even a special status to Palestinian while actually he added, there should be a sovereign government of true representatives of Palestinians.

If Bush sincerely wanted to implement his peace plan and wanted to compel Israel to accept the conditions of the plan, he should have also, at least, put economic curbs on Israel if not going straight into war against it. He also said though he did not have mandate to say something on the violation of human rights in Kashmir, he personally would oppose Indian atrocities.

On a query, he said John Major was a war criminal like George Bush but he considered the position of Gorbachev as a bonafide coward. "Gorbachev did not take initiative to prevent war." He said the right approach towards the Gulf crisis was that the United States and other countries should have considered Iraq's occupation of Kuwait a local dispute of Arabs. But he sarcastically said, on that occasion Bush appeared as a most compassionate human being in the world.

He said: "At present we don't discuss the pretext of the war, but the war crimes of the U.S. President. He fabricated a story of horror about Saddam and manipulated a world opinion and the UN said that Saddam was a serious threat and waged the war against the innocent people."

Criticising the role of the United Nations [UN], he said it had been reduced to a mere rubber stamp as it was a hostage to the United States. He also criticised the undemocratic structure of the UNO [UN organization] and demanded the abolition of the Security Council. He said no country from the sub-continent took part in the proceedings of the Security Council when resolutions were being passed on the Gulf crisis.

Replying to another question, he said the Gulf war was not meant to relieve the world from a tyrant. "It was a war for the Wall Street, Banks, Oil Companies and their profits. About \$60 billion worth construction contracts have been won by the U.S. multinational companies after the war in order to reconstruct Kuwait only." He agreed that the IWCT should also probe this aspect of the Gulf war.

Later, Asma Jehangir General Secretary of the Human Rights Commission of Pakistan addressing the gathering said no Third World country could have ever gained anything from a war. She said the U.S. policies had widened the gap between the North and the South. She also criticised the expressions which the North media was using for the killings in Iraq and other Third World countries. "They use barbaric expressions for the killings in Iraq," she added.

China Opposes West's Hegemony Plan

91AS14261 Lahore THE NATION in English
11 Aug 91 p 6

[Article by Mushahid Hussain: "China's Worldview"]

[Text] A week-long visit to China helped in providing a useful perspective on how Pakistan's closest ally and northern neighbour looks at the changing world and how it is slotting itself internationally. Among the important international developments that are influencing China's worldview include the decline and weakening of the Soviet Union, the situation in the Middle East and the Persian Gulf region after the end of the Gulf war, the normalisation of China's relations with Asian countries like Indonesia, Vietnam and India and the American grand design through the much-touted "New World Order."

Three aspects of the evolving Chinese worldview are important. First, China sees a linkage between internal

stability that draws strength from socialism with an assertive international profile, which, in turn, helps China to fill part of the vacuum created by Soviet political impotence. Second, the Chinese are pursuing their foreign policy goals in a low-key manner without making much noise or talking big, but the approach is a concentrated and substantive one seeking to galvanise support among its natural allies in the Third World, particularly countries in Asia. Third, China has been consistently underlining the need for a New International Political Order, the vision of which is different from the one being propounded from Washington. The Chinese, in fact, are apparently convinced that the American-projected "New World Order" is part of an ideological grand design of the United States to weaken socialism in China as well after the developments in the Soviet Union and they are, therefore, particularly sensitive about "instability and turmoil" being fomented again as was the case in June 1989.

China sees the U.S. conception of a New World Order being essentially a continuation of the Old World Order which was based, as one important Chinese personality put it, "on hegemony and inequality among nations, with one notable difference that today the United States considers itself as the sole Superpower." Conversely, the Chinese see their vision of a New International Political Order, a theme consistently hammered in recent years by Deng Xiaoping, as being based on the Five Principals of Peaceful Co-existence with, as one Chinese leader said, "the most important being non-interference in internal affairs and the sovereignty of states." China is going about promoting its vision of a new world that is in marked contrast to the U.S. perspective in an organised manner with its leadership undertaking visits to various countries. For instance, Premier Li Peng went on a journey to the Middle East and the Persian Gulf, while President Yang Shang Kun visiting Indonesia and Thailand plus the Foreign Minister touring Malaysia. An important conference on foreign policy was also convened in Beijing during July 22-26 and in September the Chinese Foreign Ministry plus a number of think-tanks are organising a major international conference in Beijing to promote the Chinese view of a New International Political Order.

Chinese relations with the Soviet Union have considerably improved with Communist Party Secretary-General Jiang Zemin touring Moscow in June, the first such visit by the top Chinese party leader to the USSR since 1957. The Chinese are however, actually aware that, as they put it, the Soviet leadership made "serious mistakes" and they are, as a prominent analyst put it, "not such whether Gorbachev will survive since he also made mistakes. The Chinese cite three historical mistakes to Soviet leaders in the past which have resulted in the present predicament. These mistakes, according to the Chinese are:

- Pursuit of hegemonic policies in foreign affairs, with Afghanistan, relations with China and Cambodia serving as examples of such manifestation of Moscow's hegemonic aspirations;

- Failure to solve problem of ethnic minorities giving rise to frustration and deprivation among the non-Russian population that roughly constitutes 45 per cent of the Soviet Union;
- Wrong priorities with too much military spending, as a result of which people suffer shortages in consumer items.

As far as Mikhail Gorbachev is concerned, the Chinese view his principal "mistake" as "starting political reforms without completing economic reforms." The Chinese also feel that the ouster of Gorbachev "will be bad because it will lead to turmoil and uncertainty and return of those who are labelled as 'conservative.'"

Interestingly, the Chinese are treating the United States and the industrialised countries of Europe plus Japan as a collective entity with some suspicion. In other words, the Group Seven countries (United States, UK, France, Germany, Italy, Canada and Japan) are being lumped together as an entity that would like in the words of an important Chinese official, "to dominate the world, the only difference being that Western Europe wants partnership with the United States, while the Americans want to do it alone."

The President of the PEOPLE'S DAILY which is the official organ of the Communist Party Central Committee, Gao Di, also stressed this theme when he said that "since the Soviet Union is not able to compete with the United States, the United States thinks they should dominate the world now or perhaps the Americans think the world can be dominated by the United States plus six other countries of Group Seven." Similar sentiments were expressed by Vice-Premier Wu Xueqian, who is in charge of foreign affairs and also served as Foreign Minister for a number of years, during his meeting with Pakistani journalists when he said that "according to my knowledge and information on the recent Group Seven Summit in London, these countries' leaders said that the role of the United Nations should be strengthened, although their motives may be different when they talk of strengthening the United Nations. There is an opinion which says that the Group Seven wants to dominate the world via the UN. This is not possible, since the United Nations today has over 150 members."

As far as Japan is concerned, although Chinese political and economic relations with it are strong, Beijing takes a long-term view of Japan's role. There is the clear realisation that Japan is "already an economic power and it will inevitably transform itself into a political power but Japan should be opposed if it seeks to become a military power." In fact, one influential Chinese went to the extent of saying that according to his information and analysis, "the United States does not want the Soviet Union to return the Kurile Islands to Japan because then the Japanese will not be so dependent on the United States politically and militarily as they are now."

Regarding South Asia, there are three significant changes in China's perspective. First, China is quite concerned about the problem of ethnic minorities in the Soviet Union, which has expressed itself in a religious dimension as well. The theme of "Islamic fundamentalism," given

China's own Muslim majority province of Xinjiang, which borders Pakistan as well as Afghanistan and the Soviet republics of Tajikistan, Kirghizia and Kazakhstan plus Tibet and Mongolia creates a certain amount of fear and concern. Second, largely because of this concern, the Chinese view of Kashmir has been considerably diluted since 1974, the last time China publicly supported self-determination for Kashmiris. When asked about Kashmir, Vice-Premier Wu Xueqian remarked that "the Kashmir issue is an old issue between India and Pakistan for many years. We always hope that this dispute should be handled through peaceful and political means between India and Pakistan." Third, China's relations with India are expanding in the political, cultural and even military spheres. The Indians, for example, have launched a major cultural offensive through exhibitions, and films, an area where Pakistan is lagging far behind because of bureaucratic bottlenecks in Islamabad. In June 1991, the Indian Army's Director-General of Military Intelligence, Lt.-Gen. D. K. Khanna visited China at the invitation of People's Liberation Army (PLA). He was returning a visit made to India earlier this year by an important Major-General of the PLA. The Deputy Chief of General Staff of the PLA, General Xu Xin has also accepted an invitation to visit India, which will make him the highest ranking Chinese military officer to visit India in 33 years.

Better relations between China and India need not be worrisome for Pakistan whose own China connection is on solid footing. The Chinese never forget their old friends and as an important Chinese leader, referring to relations with Pakistan, remarked "close neighbours are better than distant relatives." However, Pakistan should endeavour to continue to put effort in this relationship which is vital to Pakistan's security. It is unfortunate that of late not much thought has gone into this aspect with no Ambassador posted to China since March.

Chinese Positioning 'Heartening'

91AS1426J Karachi DAWN in English 8 Aug 91 p 11

[Article by Sultan Ahmed: "China Strives To Fill the Void"]

[Text] Quietly but steadily China is striving to fill the void in the international arena created by the crackup of the Soviet State apparatus, the collapse of socialist order there and USSR's increasing dependence on the West, particularly the United States

China, the third largest state in the world after the USSR and Canada, does not regard itself as a great power now, and far less as a super-power, despite its apparent strength and immense potentials. Instead China's leaders describe their country, which has ten times the area of Pakistan, as a developing country and not as one anxious to fill the second superpower slot left vacant by the overwhelming disorder in the Soviet Union. But the Chinese leaders, firmly guided by Deng Xiaoping from behind, realise that they can fill that void and save the world from being dominated by the United States, as it is now, if they

continue to be on the right track economically and diplomatically as they are doing now without fanfare. And since the legislature and the Press cannot be at cross-purposes in China, like in the United States, the Chinese leaders are able to pursue their principal goals rather single mindedly.

If the relatively young Chinese leaders see their 1.15 billion people as potentially a tremendous force in the world if their human material and intellectual resources are put to the best use, they also realise that if China is destabilised, as the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe have been it would have fearsome consequences for the whole region.

In the anxiety to avoid the overwhelming chaos of Eastern Europe, the Chinese leaders have opted for comprehensive reforms, particularly in the economic sector, but do not want to opt for the market-dominated reforms too quickly. Nor do they want to abandon socialism as the principle of state policy.

Capitalism, as the Vice-Premier in charge of foreign affairs Wu Xueqian told a Pakistan Press delegation last week, could not take care of the poor at the bottom of society. And in China that could mean a large part of the 1.15 billion people living in the villages who form 80 percent of the population. The people would not permit their struggle during the last 42 years and in the decades preceding their independence to result eventually in greater poverty and more miseries for them.

After Deng Xiaoping got rid of the old guard following the death of Mao Tse Tung and he himself quit all the state posts and brought in a new set of relatively young leaders and initiated his reforms in 1979, China seeks to combine the best of socialism to stamp out poverty with the best of capitalism to increase production all round, and let the market mechanism determine prices and the kind of products which the consumers need.

If, as a result, it has been able to achieve food self-sufficiency largely—something exceptional for a large socialist state—and it produces 60 million tons of steel, and 150 tons of oil and has a surplus in foreign trade of about 10 billion dollars, it is able to envision for itself a far more dynamic role in the world, particularly following the vacuum created by USSR.

Of course, Tiananmen Square tragedy of June 1989, did cause a setback to China; but while the acceleration of political reforms was checked, the economic reforms have continued pretty steadily.

In fact, the World Bank which along with its affiliates lends about 3 billion dollars annually to China had advised the Chinese leaders in 1987 to reduce the pace of their free market economic reforms as at that stage the economy was getting overheated and becoming rather unmanageable. Hence since then there have been a slowing down of the pace of reforms, and more of prudence and serious thinking in respect of each major reform is visible rather than rapid marketisation of the economy.

Chinese leaders say that they have to be cautious as any destabilisation in China can result in destabilisation of the

whole area as hundreds of millions of refugees flood the neighbouring countries. So they want to profit by the Soviet tragedy and avoid repeating the same at home. And the Chinese leaders and writers are very critical of the manner the USSR has jettisoned socialism and opted for massive Western aid which it is not getting or will get at a humiliating cost.

China is moving in three directions to be able to play a stronger role in the world. It is seeking a peaceful merger of the islands close to it and under foreign control. So following the agreements reached, Hong Kong will return to China in 1997 and Macao which is under Portuguese control in 1999. The Chinese find it almost inconceivable that a little far-off country like Portugal can occupy Chinese as well as Indian territories in the past. China hopes that following the merger of the two islands, Taiwan will also return to it. Of course, the merger is to be sought peacefully. Chinese leaders think that increasing freedom in China, greater prosperity and a strong and assertive China, which can become the second power in the world, can persuade the people of Taiwan to rejoin their motherland.

Having declared 1990s as the decade of High Tech, China wants to have close relations with the United States. But the United States appears to be upset by several of the steps China has taken. While the United States particularly the Congress presses for more political reforms, it does not want China to sell missiles in particular or other military equipment, to countries which are not on its side. Nor does the United States approve of the Chinese population policy which seeks to restrict the number of children per family to one and the use of abortion to keep down the birth rate.

But the Chinese argue the Americans do not understand China's problems and try to apply American standards to China in a highly mistaken manner. China's population which was 547.67 million in 1949 when the People's Republic came into being has more than doubled to 1.15 billion. And as China's cultivable land is only 10 to 12 percent of the entire area it cannot afford to let the population grow without any check. And, of course, the Chinese cannot have a high standard of life if the population goes on increasing. As for the Chinese arms sale, the Vice-Premier said it was only a tiny fraction of the global United States arms sale which was more than a third of the total sales.

But the Chinese leaders are aware that while the U.S. Congress wants to play tough with China, the Bush administration is more understanding and wants restoration of the Most Favoured Nation treatment suspended after the Tiananmen tragedy in which according to the Chinese about 300 persons died while the West placed the figure at around 1,800 after far larger estimates initially.

But if the United States is playing tough with China, which regards the Tiananmen tragedy as a thing of the past, Japan and the European states are far more understanding and cooperative. China's economic relations with those countries are expanding fast.

Prime Minister Kaifu of Japan is to visit China later this month, and he will be followed by the British premier John Major next month. And there is always a stream of Third World leaders in China. And China is cultivating more and more of the Third World while regarding Pakistan as the "most friendly country."

Premier Li Ping recently undertook a tour of the Middle East, while the General secretary of Chinese Communist Party Jiang Zemin visited the Soviet Union earlier this year. And, of course, official contacts with the U.S. administration continue, and the U.S. Under-Secretary of State Bartholomew was in Beijing last week to brief China on the recent U.S.-Soviet summit in Moscow.

China had a foreign policy review conference which lasted for five days and ended on July 26. And Jiang Zemin told the diplomats that the success of China's reforms showed that "the system of socialism has great vitality" and China wanted to pursue its independent foreign policy of peace. Peace is the key word in China all the time as peace is essential for progress, and progress for strength, and strength for a larger world role for China.

The Chinese leaders are firm in their disapproval of a world order dominated by a single super-power. They abhor a new world order based on U.S. hegemony. Prime Minister Li Ping told the ambassadors that China's position on the new political and international economic order had won "extensive support from the developing countries." He said: "All countries, big or small, rich or poor, are equal members of the international community. Only mutual respect, equality and mutual benefit can help promote world peace and common development." To help promote such a new world order China is to hold a world conference in autumn.

All that cannot be to the liking of the United States Nor is U.S. dominance in the world acceptable to China. So it is mobilising Third World support for a truly new world order when the union of Europe too, becomes real in 1992.

It is a confident and pragmatic China that one sees today. Government publications are much more open in their analysis and criticism of the Chinese systems. More ideas are flowing into the common pool of thought than ever before. And while China wants to accelerate the pace of its reforms and try alternate methods where earlier reforms did not make much headway, it does not want any kind of destabilising speed.

It is heartening that China still finds Pakistan as the most friendly country in the world. But Pakistan has to move up and become prosperous and strong to sustain such a good friendship.

Indian, Israeli Collusion Alleged

91AS1429D Lahore *THE NATION* in English 8 Aug 91
p 6

[Article by Mushahis Hussain: "Indian-Israeli Collusion"]

[Text] Thankfully, going by public pronouncements, Pakistan has taken the presence of Israeli Commandos in

Srinagar seriously enough for Prime Minister Nawaz Sharif even to invoke a threat of war should any neighbouring country be used as a base to launch a strike against Pakistan. His reference was to persistent speculation that linked the Israeli presence in Srinagar with possible Indo-Israeli collusion against the Pakistani nuclear project at Kahuta, which is located at approximately four minutes flying time from the Indian border.

Earlier, the PLO Chief Yasser 'Arafat reportedly conveyed a warning to Pakistan through Benazir Bhutto regarding a possible sabotage attempt against Kahuta. Benazir Bhutto later emphasised such a sabotage attempt would be "from within", coincidentally, similar to the theme in last year's novel by Steve Shagan on the destruction of Kahuta titled "Pillars of Fire".

Pakistan has been aware of the threat to Kahuta from Israel and in 1984, General Ziaul Haq personally sent a message to Israel via Egyptian President Hosni Mubarak assuring the Jewish state that the Pakistani nuclear programme was not directed against Israel. But the fear of Indo-Israeli cooperation on this count is valid and such cooperation between India and Israel is nothing new as it was only recently exposed in the 1990 book by the former Mossad agent, Victor Ostrovsky, titled "By Way of Deception". This was probably the first insider's account by a former Mossad agent of his parent organisation which presented some unsavoury aspects of Mossad's role although the Israelis were quick to counter it through a rejoinder extolling the Mossad's "achievements" in a book titled "Every Spy a Prince", which also refers to cooperation between India and Israel.

Ostrovsky's 371-page book has revelations on the collusion between India and Israel in the nuclear and defence fields. Although these are basically passing references, they are nevertheless instructive. According to Ostrovsky, among the areas of study allocated for Mossad trainees was that "we studied the Islamic bomb", and he adds: "One of my assignments, in mid-July 1984, was to escort a group of Indian nuclear scientists who were worried about the threat of the Islamic bomb (Pakistan's bomb) and had come on a secret mission to Israel to meet with Israeli nuclear experts and exchange information. As it turned out, the Israelis were happy to accept information from the Indians, but reluctant to return the favour."

Regarding covert defence collaboration between India and Israel, similar to the nuclear intimacy, the book states that a team of 27 naval commandos from India came to Israel to train at a top-secret naval commando base, and their training included "learning penetration techniques, mining landings, communications and how to sabotage ships". Ironically, the Indians were trained at the same base in Israel where the Tamil Tiger guerrillas received training, and where, in a bizarre expression of Israel's Machiavellian approach of cynically supporting all sides, the Sri Lankan government forces were also trained. In fact, the book records a secret visit by the daughter-in-law of then Sri Lankan President Jayawardene to Israel. Around that time, an Israeli Interests Section was also allowed to function in Colombo.

However, unlike other intelligence organisations, Mossad has an interest beyond promoting Israeli objectives, in that it is more an intelligence body that seeks to promote and protect the 15 million strong international Jewish community, and it relies on this community, as evidenced in the book, for support. As Ostrovsky writes, the sole criterion for judging events was one: "There was one simple question asked when anything happened: 'Is it good for the Jews or not?' Forget about policies, or anything else. This was the only thing that counted." Regarding this Jewish component of the Mossad's profile, the book says that all those assisting in Mossad operations overseas "must be 100% Jewish. They live abroad and though they are not Israeli citizens, many are reached through their relatives in Israel. You have at your disposal a non-risk recruitment system that actually gives you a pool of millions of Jewish people whom you can tap from outside your own borders."

The other aspect of the Mossad world view, apart from the Jewish component, is its "target", in other words, "the enemy". Who "the enemy" is, does not need much elaboration as was evident from the classroom lectures delivered to new Mossad recruits. Ostrovsky writes: "For an hour or two each day during the next six weeks, the class was lectured by a Professor on the subject of Islam in daily life: A study of the various sects of Islam, its history and customs, its holidays, what its followers were permitted to do—and what they really did—their restrictions, everything possible to fill in a picture of the enemy and what made him tick." Given this worldview of Mossad, it is no accident that Israel's objectives include an interest in an important Muslim country like Pakistan, hence the support of Israel to India's brutality against the Muslims of Occupied Kashmir.

In the other book on Mossad by two Israeli journalists titled "Every Spy a Prince" with the sub-title "the complete history of Israel's intelligence community". This book also reaffirms India "secret relationship with the Jewish state" and adds that this relationship stems from "common interests" between India and Israel. The authors write: "For India and Israel, the common potential enemy was Pakistan—the Muslim nation committed to helping the Arab countries of the Middle East. The Mossad was deeply concerned to learn that Libya's Col Muammar al-Qadhafi had offered to finance the construction of a nuclear reactor in Pakistan on condition that it be used to develop 'an Islamic bomb' to be given to al-Qadhafi. Israeli operatives even explored the possibility of acting together with Indian forces to destroy the Pakistani reactor."

Another interesting disclosure in this other book on Mossad is that the American Jew caught spying for Israel in November 1985, Jonathan Jay Pollard, had given detailed information to Israeli spy masters including "a CIA file on Pakistan's efforts to build a nuclear weapon, which was of concern to Israel as the greatest such threat after destroying Iraq's reactor in 1981." According to the book, Pollard later confessed that his spying concentrated on information pertaining to Israel's "outer ring of enemies: namely, Libya, Algeria, Iraq and Pakistan".

However, as far as the Muslim World goes, the most damaging exposures are about prominent people in the Arab world being in the payroll of the Mossad: Bashir Gemayel, the Christian leader of Lebanon, was a Mossad agent and so is Adnan Kashoggi, the billionaire from Saudi Arabia. Ostrovsky writes that "Kashoggi himself had been recruited years earlier as an agent by the Mossad. Indeed, his spectacular personal jet about which much has been written, was fitted in Israel. Kashoggi was not getting a base salary from the Mossad the way regular agents do, but he was using Mossad money for many of his exploits. He got loans whenever he needed money to tide him over."

The book by the two Israeli journalists also lists the close collaboration between Mossad and selected Muslim countries whose secret services were trained by Mossad. These Muslim countries included Indonesia, Morocco and the Sudan. According to the authors: "Israel benefited from yet another intelligence toehold in the Muslim World. Indonesia proved to be a valuable base from which to observe Arab diplomats and Palestinian activists." And they add that "Mossad expert helped King Hassan (of Morocco) establish a secret service, and in return Israel received the King's assurance that he would protect the Jews in his country." And in an interesting revelation, the assassination of the Paris-based Moroccan opposition leader, Mehdi Ben-Barka, in 1965 was expedited through the Mossad. The collaboration with Sudan even went further when in May 1982, Sudanese President Jafar Numeri, Israeli Defence Minister General Ariel Sharon and the Saudi Tycoon Adnan Kashoggi secretly met in Kenya to plot a counter coup in Iran against the Islamic Revolutionary regime, the purpose being to reinstall the monarchy through the Shah's son, who was nicknamed by the Mossad as "The Baby Shah". As it turns out, professions of Islamic solidarity among such Muslim rulers are often not just a sham, but also reflect hypocrisy and deceit.

China To Provide 'Complete Defense Technology'

91AS1281A Lahore NAWA-I-WAQT in Urdu 12 Jul 91 p 3

[Article: "China To Provide Complete Defense Technology to Pakistan; Will Charge Only 20 Percent of Open Market Rate; Heavy Artillery Factory in Operation Next Month"]

[Text] Islamabad (TV News)—China has agreed to provide complete defense technology to Pakistan at nominal charges. According to the Indian television news, a Pakistani spokesman told that the Chinese offer is worth about \$20 million which is only 20 percent of the international market rate. The Indian newsman said that Pakistan was building a factory in Texila to manufacture heavy artillery. The factory will be in operation next month. It will manufacture cannons for the new Pakistani tanks and will produce 55-millimeter cannons.

Tension in Sindh Seen Spreading

Troubles With Balochistan

91AS1278A Karachi AMN in Urdu 6 Jul 91 p 6

[Editorial: "Confrontation Between Sindh and Balochistan Uncalled"]

[Text] Mr. Mohammed Aslam Raisani, finance minister and the leader of the Pakistan National Party, expressed

strong reaction over the arrest of a Balochistan minister and other leaders in Sindh and said that this was an example of increasing tension between the two states. He said that this issue was to be raised in the mutual interests council. He also suggested calling a session of Balochistan Assembly to discuss this issue. Meanwhile, Sindh's chief minister, Jam-i Sadiq Ali maintains that the Balochistan minister was taken into custody for his protection. He said in a press conference yesterday that police posts have been established between Sindh since weapons from Afghanistan were smuggled via Balochistan to Sindh. He said that he has requested cooperation of Balochistan's chief minister. He said that despite all the measures being taken at the borders of other states, he did not want to close the border between Sindh and Balochistan. According to reports received from Quetta, Balochs are reacting very strongly to the arrest of Baloch ministers and other leaders in Sindh. They have stopped trains and all other traffic by erecting blockades on the RCD highway. A strike was also observed in Quetta the other day to protest these arrests. They have threatened to blockade all roads leading to Sindh.

This confrontation between Sindh and Balochistan is both deplorable and dangerous. It is deplorable since traditional friendship, brotherhood, and relations between the two states are being sacrificed for a midterm election in a Sindh district. The atmosphere of confrontation resulting from it cannot be changed easily. It is dangerous because, instead of cooperation and understanding between the two states, this is causing open confrontation. This will not only harm Sindh but the economy and political unity of the rest of the country. The atmosphere of cooperation and understanding that was created after the agreement over use of water and other resources among the states should be maintained.

The present circumstance calls for the Sindhs' chief minister release Balochistan's ministers and other leaders immediately. He should escort them to Balochistan himself to show his goodwill. He must try to remove the misunderstandings and anger resulting from these arrests and reinstate the friendly relations between the two states.

Chief Minister Jam-i Sadiq Ali's claim is correct that weapons are being smuggled from Afghanistan to Sindh via Balochistan. However, this is not a new development and it is not appropriate to use this as an excuse to cause a rift between the two states.

The government should require that agencies charged with the duty to stop weapons and drug smuggling more effective. It should require the police and other law enforcement agencies to do their duty honestly and diligently. An atmosphere of cooperation and understanding should be encouraged so that the need for using weapons will not arise. When the law and order situation in the state is improved and the government does its duty of protecting every citizen's life and property, then the avenues leading to use of illegal weapons will be closed automatically. The

best way to stop smuggling of weapons is to allow all citizens in the state the right to a license to own weapons. Everyone will have the right to buy weapons for protection and will not need to buy illegal weapons from dacoits. This will also decrease the incidence of armed robberies. The criminals will be afraid to use weapons everywhere, fearing use of weapons by other parties.

We hope that Sindh's chief minister will take immediate action to remove misunderstandings between the two states and return to normal relations. Hopefully, he will take action before the situation between the two states gets worse.

'Liberation Movement' Begins

91AS1278B Karachi AMN in Urdu 30 Jun 91 p 6

[Article: "Movement to Free Sindh Started—G.M. Syed"]

[Text] Karachi, 29 June (AMN News)—G.M. Syed, founder of the Jiye Sindh movement and veteran leader, said that his followers have no viable alternative but to kidnap people for ransom in order to make the southern state of Pakistan a separate country. He said that the activities involving kidnapping were started to raise money for purchasing weapons and the whole state supported those activities. According to the English newspaper, THE KHALIJ TIMES published from Dubayy, the 88-year-old G.M. Syed said in a Rueter interview, "We want independence, freedom, and a separate country. Our first goal is to get independence for Sindh. Later, we shall work on getting total autonomy." He accused the Punjabi Muhajirs of stealing rights of the Sindhis and said that Sindh could prosper only when it becomes a separate country. He said that Sindh was self-sufficient in the areas of food, water, electricity, gas, and other resources, and it had a port like Karachi and the open ocean available to it.

India Massing Troops

91AS1278C Lahore NAWA-I-WAQF in Urdu 6 Jul 91 pp 3, 7

[Article: "India Massed 300,000 Soldiers on Pakistan Border"]

[Text] Washington (PPI)—According to the news received in Washington, India has installed Sham, Trishul, Nag, and Akash missiles in occupied Kashmir after the skirmishes with Pakistani soldiers in Siachen and Kashmir during the last few weeks. It should be remembered that India had installed Sham missiles in various places during the Siachen Glacier campaign. At that time the Pakistani army had totally destroyed a very important Indian military post. It has been discovered that the Indian army has secretly installed Trishul, Nag, and Akash missiles, developed by Indian scientists, in various areas of the Kashmir Control Line. According to these reports, thousands of soldiers have been deployed around these missiles. Some Western diplomats stationed in Washington said that the tension between the two countries has greatly increased because of the frequent exchange of fire between the Indian and Pakistani soldiers in Siachen and Kashmir Control Line regions. India has ordered its navy and air

force to be on the alert after the incidents of firing at the Kashmir border. These sources also revealed that India has amassed over 300,000 soldiers in Kashmir, Siachen, and at borders adjoining Sindh and that the situation is worsening daily. Another source revealed to the PPA correspondent stationed in Washington that India is spending 20 million rupees daily on terrorist activities in Sindh and that RA, the Indian intelligence agency, has trained and armed about 4,000 Hindu Sindhis on the Sindh border and sent them to Sindh and other areas to instigate activities. It was also revealed that after Pakistan launched its three-month operation to curb violence, instigation, and terrorism in Punjab and Sindh, India has assured the instigators that they would be given asylum in India whenever they request it.

Jatoi Interviewed on Political Violence, Turmoil

91AS1339A Islamabad HURMAT in Urdu 6 Jul 91 pp 11-14

[Interview with Jatoi by Qayum Qureshi, Sarfraz Malik, and Khalik Malik; first paragraph is HURMAT introduction; place and date not given]

[Text] Mr. Ghulam Mustafa Jatoi, former (caretaker) prime minister, president of National People's Party, and a prominent leader of the ruling Islamic Jamhoori Ittehad [IJI], thinks that the present situation is not conducive for a national government. Recently, some listening devices were discovered in Mr. Jatoi's room in an Islamabad hotel where he was staying. Some persons gave a lot of publicity to this incident in order to cause a rift between Mr. Jatoi and the Islamic Jamhoori Ittehad government. However, Mr. Jatoi made these efforts ineffective. The present situation in the country calls for the opinions of a veteran politician like Mr. Jatoi. To meet this demand, HURMAT arranged for a panel of interviewers to talk with the former prime minister. The panel was composed of Qayum Qureshi, Sarfraz Malik, and Khalik Malik. We are presenting Mr. Jatoi's full interview without editing as he desires. (Editors)

[HURMAT] Let us discuss about spying instruments first. You said that it appeared to be a conspiracy to cause misunderstanding between you and the present government and the prime minister. The government has ordered an investigation. Do you know who were involved in this conspiracy?

[Jatoi] The issue has been discussed enough. I am waiting for the results.

[HURMAT] We have international pressure on us and our internal situation, such as in Sindh and Punjab, is not very satisfactory. Some people are suggesting that some kind of action is necessary for national reconciliation.

[Jatoi] It is important that the relationship between the opposition and the government is good in any democratic country, especially those with a parliamentary form of government. It is not that important in a presidential form of government because the elected president can serve only for a set term. He is elected for four, five, or six years

directly by the voters. The two major parties in any parliamentary type of government must have good relationships in order to run the government efficiently. It is important that the government and the opposition cooperate so they can serve the people in a friendly atmosphere. The welfare of the people as well as of the nation depend on this good relationship. Since it has happened in many other countries in the world, it can happen in Pakistan also.

[HURMAT] The government and the opposition were not as hostile to each other two months ago as they are now. Who is to blame?

[Jatoi] Both of these groups should be asked this question. I am in no position to say who is responsible for it and who is not. You should ask them what happened to the atmosphere of good relationship and talk of cooperation. Who is acting against the agreement?

[HURMAT] The PDA [People's Democratic Alliance] published a white paper when you were the caretaker prime minister. How much truth is there to the allegations included in the white paper?

[HURMAT] I have said it before and am repeating again today that whatever I said had an entirely different implication. The editorial published in the NATION today has tried to give a different meaning to my statement without mentioning my name. I want to say without any fear, and God be my witness, that as prime minister I never suggested that so and so person should be elected. I always tried to make the best of the opportunity that God had given me, and I wanted the elections to be fair and just. As far as the chief election commissioner is concerned, or the president is concerned, or I am concerned, I want to say on behalf of us all three that none of us did anything improper during the elections. Nothing irregular happened to my knowledge and in the affairs I had control of. Similarly, as far as the chief election commissioner's sphere of influence or that of the president is concerned, I can say that as far as I know no improper thing happened.

[HURMAT] What is this situation where a person calls the Assembly "bogus" and still participates in it?

[Jatoi] I answered this question in one sentence. Why does he sit in an assembly that he calls bogus? If he considers the House unrepresentative and bogus, then he should make sure that he does not become "bogus" himself.

[HURMAT] What do you think about Nawabzada's proposal for a national government?

[Jatoi] He did not say anything new. Such things happen in the world all the time. He has not talked to me about it and I have not talked to him either. Therefore, I cannot answer this question.

[HURMAT] Do you think that the present situation calls for a national government?

[Jatoi] Look, we have a form of government and we have a constitution. The government is operating according to this constitution. I do not think it is necessary.

[HURMAT] Recently (when you had talked to her in passing), Benazir Bhutto said, in answer to a question in the Assembly cafeteria, that "Mr. Jatoi is our own man and he is leaning toward us because of his differences with the IJI." Do you have any differences with the present government?

[Jatoi] I am not her man; I have been her associate in the past and she has been my associate. I was in her party and she was in my party. I had considered her father my leader and have also considered her mother my leader. A time came when we separated our ways over political disagreements. However, political disagreements do not mean that we are personal enemies. I have always opposed such politics. I met her a couple of times in the Assembly. I am glad that we meet each other with proper respect. I will treat her with respect whenever I meet her. I have always treated her with respect. There should be no misunderstanding about our saying "hello" or "salaam" or associating with each other. I think that Benazir and Nawaz Sharif should come together.

[HURMAT] You mean no one should think you are leaning toward them just because you said salaam?

[Jatoi] It is not a question of joining a side. Everyone has an opinion; however, there can be agreement on some issues.

[HURMAT] She mentioned your disagreement with Nawaz Sharif.

[Jatoi] Nawaz Sharif and I have no disagreement.

[HURMAT] You are the senior parliamentarian and the former prime minister. Why do you remain silent in the Assembly and never express your opinion?

[HURMAT] I said a lot when I was the leader of the COP [Combined Opposition Parties]. I fulfilled my duty in every sphere at that time. You heard me a lot when I was the prime minister. Now I remain silent on purpose.

[HURMAT] You can still provide leadership in politics in the Assembly and to the nation. Can you not?

[Jatoi] How can it be that the prime minister says one thing and an IJI member says something else? I want to give full freedom to Nawaz Sharif. The government appears to be making better decisions from what we have seen. I do not want to make any problems for Nawaz Sharif and want to cooperate with him.

[HURMAT] Can we conclude that one reason for your silence is that your comments in any speech will be used by others for their own purposes?

[Jatoi] I am very much afraid of newsmen. They can distort meanings of anything beyond anyone's imagination. I am just scared of newsmen.

[HURMAT] However, the way Benazir used your "hello, hello" for her own purpose shows that it is not just the newsmen, but politicians also can use this practice.

[HURMAT] I have not read or heard about what she said. I am sure that what she said did not mean what you are trying to imply.

[HURMAT] The Sindh issue could not be resolved during the governments headed by Zia, Junejo, Benazir, you, and now Nawaz Sharif. The situation is still bad and getting worse. What do you think is the solution to this problem?

[HURMAT] This problem is about seven years old and started during the martial law regime. The troubles in Sindh began during martial law and the martial law government could have taken care of them effectively. However, it did not happen. The situation became worse during the governments that followed the martial law. It got increasingly worse during Junejo's and Benazir's time. The situation has improved at least in the cities since the present government took over. Things have improved in Karachi and Hyderabad during the last 11 months. The situation worsened again during the last few days. The problem is not of Sindh. Why should people give up their ways if they benefit from them? The situation became worse because no action was taken and no one was punished. No example was set. This problem is not limited to Sindh; it can be found in Islamabad, Lahore, and many areas of Punjab. The unsavory elements are making things worse. This is a national problem which has spread like cancer. I have said before that the first priority should be justice. All we need is justice, justice, and merciless justice. No one should be exempted. Oath should be taken over the Koran that no guilty person be excused.

[HURMAT] It is said that the situation in Sindh can be improved if the influential people cooperate there. What is your opinion about it?

[Jatoi] I believe that everyone is cooperating now. You may have noticed that a landlord's tractor that used to work all day stops working at 4 or 5 p.m. Sindh's 95 percent agriculture depends on irrigation. It means that water must run round the clock, and the farmer must guard the field all night. When no work can be done at night, everyone will lose money. Who would want to disturb peace? Rotten eggs are found everywhere. There are bad people even among landlords, politicians, doctors, lawyers, editors, and journalists. There are good people in every department too. The important thing is to carry out justice without any distinction.

[HURMAT] Were exemptions made in the past?

[Jatoi] There is a difference between a martial law and an elected government. An elected government always has such problems. The martial law regime should have taken care of it, but it did not. I hope that the present government will rise above such feelings and take care of this problem.

[HURMAT] Karachi is Sindh's capital. Is it affecting the rest of Sindh? Benazir has also suggested that Sindh's capital should be moved to northern region. Does Sindh need developmental, economic, and other organizational changes?

[Jatoi] No doubt, Sindh needs new economic development. However, we do not need change in the structure of the state itself. It was also rumored that Karachi should be made a state and be separated from Sindh. No one will tolerate Karachi's separation from Sindh. This will lead to violent fighting. Will Punjab, Sarhad, and Baluchistan be willing to give up Lahore, Peshawar, and Quetta respectively? I want to warn the people of Pakistan to be alert about such ideas.

[HURMAT] You are a friend of Ghulam Mustafa Khar, who had contacts with the RA, late Mrs. Gandhi, and late Mr. Rajiv Gandhi. How can you be a friend with Khar when your patriotism is above suspicion?

[Jatoi] Personal friendship is a different issue. I was personally associated with Khan Abdul Ghaffar Khan. G.M. Syed's opinions about Pakistan are no secret; however, Ziaul Haq had close relations with him. I have known Ghulam Mustafa Khar since 1961. If the allegations against him are correct, then why does our government not take him to court? He was not accused of such a crime even when he was in jail for two years during Zia's regime. You should ask me this question if these allegations are proved in a court of law.

Feuding Politicians Urged To Pursue Dialogue

Politics of Confrontation 'Tragic'

91AS1425A Karachi DAWN in English 17 Aug 91 p 11

[Article by Sultan Ahmed: "Towards A Confrontation?"; quotation marks as published]

[Text] The face-off between the government and the opposition is tending to degenerate into a confrontation. That this should happen less than ten months after the third general elections within five years is tragic. Political leaders as a whole have to own the responsibility for this unfortunate development.

Ms Benazir Bhutto and other opposition leaders had earlier wanted the assemblies to complete their five-year term. And that applied to the Sindh Assembly as well, she had said.

But now, following the 12-hour hunger strike observed by the opposition People's Democratic Alliance [PDA] on August 4, an All-Parties Conference (APC) of 23 parties, with eight of them represented in the assemblies, have called for immediate fresh, free and fair elections, "after the appointment of a caretaker government, which has to be different from the present cabinet."

If the elections are not held immediately the opposition parties would be constrained to reign from the assemblies, says the Lahore Declaration adopted by them. And thereafter they may start open agitation and come out into the streets.

The call for immediate elections has not been accompanied by a specific deadline for the process. Evidently the opposition wants to keep that option open. And yet all this is very unsettling for the country, and can upset the

sweeping economic reforms announced by the government in an effort to repair the heavily damaged economy.

Leaders on both sides have taken extreme positions. The ruling IJI [Islamic Democratic Alliance] leaders hold the call for a national government, holding of all parties conferences and demanding fresh elections as not only anti-democratic and unconstitutional but also anti-national.

But the PPP [Pakistan People's Party] finds that it is being persecuted, particularly in Sindh, and its members in the national and provincial assemblies are being coerced or seduced to quit their party. Hundreds of its members have been arrested and innumerable cases filed against them. Clearly, the effort in Sindh is to annihilate the party. And the Centre appears to be applauding the efforts of Jam Sadiq Ali towards that end, although it may not approve of all the means employed by him.

While the Advisor to the Prime Minister [P.M.] on Information, Sheikh Rashid, has dismissed the APC as an assembly of the defeated parties which are unaware of the nation's aspirations, Jam Sadiq has described the APC as "a collection of disgruntled, defeated and desperate leaders who want power not to serve the nation but for personal gains." The official rhetoric against the APC and its participants is bound to become more strident in the days to come.

But the APC holds that the "present non-representative, anti-democracy, incapable and devoid of popular support, government and the assemblies have lost the justification to continue."

The opposition has drawn strength for agitation from the allegation that the October 1990 election was heavily rigged. The PDA had come out with its white paper providing details. Mr Ghulam Mustafa Jatoi, the former caretaker Prime Minister, too, had earlier spoken of the rigging and said that it was designed to keep prominent political leaders like Nawabzada Nasrullah, Khan Wali Khan and Maulana Fazlur Rahman out of the assemblies. And now Naveed Malik, who was Advisor to Mr Nawaz Sharif when the latter was Chief Minister of the Punjab, speaks emphatically of the manner the elections were rigged and admits he was one of the persons doing that, and was member of the two election cells set up at the Governor's House and the Chief Minister's House for carrying out the rigging. All that has undermined the legitimacy of the Government to an extent.

Having come to power through such disputed means, the IJI Government could have softened the opposition to it by conducting itself in a fair and open-handed manner. Although it seemed that was what the victorious Nawaz Sharif had wanted, that is not how the things have moved. It began with President Ghulam Ishaq sending too many References against the PPP leaders, some based on charges of corruption, to the courts. The leaders of the IJI who were in office or in the assemblies were excluded from such references. This has discredited the accountability process.

Meanwhile, Pir Fazle Haq, deputy information secretary of the IJI, has made a stinking attack on the President holding him responsible for the deteriorating law and order situation in Sindh, but praised Mr Nawaz Sharif as the best leader the country could have now.

Although Pir Pagaro, Mr Ghulam Mustafa Jatoi and Maulana Samiul Haq of the JUI [Jamiat-i-Ulema-i-Islam] did not attend the APC, which is seen as triumph not attend the APC, which is seen as triumph by the government, they do hold views very different from IJI leadership on the political situation in the country. Pir Pagaro is of firm view that what we have now is a "civilian martial law" and he never tires of repeating that.

The Jamaat-i-Islami which has been closely associated with Mr Nawaz Sharif and was earlier his brain trust, is tangling with the MQM [Muhajir Qaumi Movement] frequently after having lost its electoral base in Karachi to the latter. And the JI [Jamaat-i-Islami] is sore that the Prime Minister is favouring the MQM and paying frequent courtesy visits to Mr Altaf Hussain.

The JI chief Qazi Husain Ahmed has called for a ban on the MQM and also advised his partymen to explore alternatives to the IJI coalition. Mr Nawaz Sharif has described such statements as provocative, making the Jamaat leaders pretty embarrassed on that score.

While we do not know what form the confrontation between the government and the opposition can take, and whether there would be attempts at reconciliation or for a working arrangement between them through third-party intervention, the people are tired of the divisive politics of the last five years. They are upset by the allegations of political skulduggery that goes on all the time.

After seeing the outcome of three elections within five years—following only two direct general elections during the previous 38 years—they do not expect a better government after another early election. And on their part, even if they cast their votes honestly and intellectually, they are not sure the elections would not be rigged, ballot boxes stuffed or stolen, and the announcements of election results not manipulated.

The fact is that if the ruling party members do not want another round of elections soon, one would have thought the opposition legislators too would be reluctant to give up their seats and contest fresh elections. While the possibility of the elections being rigged again could not be ruled out, the exercise has become much too costly, particularly after an end to the ceilings on election expenses and the candidates being now free to spend unlimited amounts of money. The richer man or a free spender is now more likely to win than the less endowed. And many of the legislators who won the last elections have yet to recover their electoral investment. A few of them are complaining bitterly how heavily they had lost through the last three elections whether they won or not. Clearly, those who are in the assemblies have a common clue to stay on, particularly when they know their sacrifices may not produce better results.

But it is for the government to ponder over where it has gone wrong, and how has it come to squander its large political asset so soon? How is it that a government which has two-thirds majority in the NA [National Assembly], an overwhelming presence in the Senate and its own governments in the provinces, and a weak, disorganised and confused opposition, is finding itself in hot waters so often? The government has courage and vision to reach far-reaching agreements on the sharing of Indus waters and on distribution of the federally collected revenues. It has also come out with a series of economic reforms in quick succession brushing aside conventional resistance.

If Mr Nawaz Sharif has not been able to capitalise on all that, it is because where his government succeeded economically it failed politically. It should not have targeted the principal opposition party, the PPP, for decimation. In that, the responsibility of the P.M. is far less than that of some other wielders of authority. They should have restrained their animosity towards the party rather [than] be goaded on by it. And the accountability process should not have been so partisan.

Nor should the Centre have allowed Jam Sadiq Ali to go all out for the annihilation of the PPP and permitted him to employ all the tricks and tactics possible for that. What is happening in Sindh is indefensible and undemocratic.

The retiring Chief of Army Staff has been cautioning against driving the opposition to the wall. He maintains the problem in Sindh is political, and not a simple law and order one. Hence, efforts have to be made for reconciliation between the two forces or a working arrangements. Otherwise, both will lose grievously and the winner may be a third non-political force even without trying, and the country will suffer endlessly for no fault of its poor masses.

Politicians Focused on Appearances

91AS1425B Karachi DAWN in English 14 Aug 91 p 9

[Editorial: "Anniversary Thoughts"]

[Text] As another anniversary of the Independence Day rolls along, it is pertinent to remember what this country was created for. Its founders envisaged it as a modern, progressive, democratic state dedicated to the ideals of Islamic social justice and rule of law as visualised by Quaid-i-Azam Mohammad Ali Jinnah.

Yet one of our tragedies since independence has been that, shifting with the wind, we have often put words into the mouths of our founding fathers and ascribed motives to them that ran counter to their thinking and to the very character of the struggle for the creation of a homeland for the Muslims of South Asia.

It can only be hoped that these sorry attempts at revising history and distorting the Quaid's message will some day come to an end and the truth about our struggle for Pakistan accepted for what it was. Meanwhile, the task of trying to work out some connection between the dream and the sobering reality remains to be done.

It has become a commonplace to say, especially on such anniversaries, that we have strayed far from the principles underlying the creation of Pakistan. An outsider may think that this reflects a national passion for self-flagellation. But we who live in this country know that such dispiriting talk sadly is not all that far from the truth. Our collective failures have been many and, what is worse, we do not seem to be unduly bothered by the pain and disaster that have afflicted us.

Despite appearances, our quest for political stability is no nearer fulfilment today, when circumstances are more auspicious for it, than in more trying times in the past. We have at present all the trappings of democracy—a Parliament, a free Press and a functioning judiciary. But the spirit of democracy continues to elude us and even mock us from a distance. Nowhere is this more evident than in the total breakdown of communication between the government and the opposition. While the latter has shown total irresponsibility by threatening to resign en masse from the assemblies, the former does not seem to relent in its "accountability" of the main Opposition party and in the kind of persecution that has been witnessed in Sindh. Neither has tried to strengthen the parliamentary process.

To sit through the Parliament's proceedings and to watch the reputed leaders of our democracy in action is to fall into a profound depression. It is perhaps this performance, or the lack of one, that is responsible, every now and then, for reviving the ghosts of praetorianism and for exposing civilian governments to the blasts of turbulent winds. The lesson that solid achievement (rather than anything written in the Constitution) is the best safeguard of democracy has still to be learnt by the rulers of this country.

It is a fact, nevertheless, that as a people we have been obsessed with the outward forms of government, paying scant attention to substance and forgetting that the ultimate purpose of politics is to make life better for the citizens. This is probably the reason why our passion for the forms of democracy has not been matched by a like passion and concern for the things that are necessary for creating a just and progressive society: the eradication of poverty, disease and hunger and an end to the conditions that degrade human beings and reduce them to the sub-human level.

Despite our fondness for preaching and moralising, the level of political discourse that we find in this country would suggest that we are not even aware of these problems. All the thunder and fury that we hear in the political arena is about power, all the actions that we see are reflective of a state wherein politics has been reduced to an absurdity, and yet the failings in the political sphere should be no consolation to anyone else. All around us there is not much to enliven the eyes.

None of the foregoing, however, should be taken as a call to despair. It should instead be seen as a goad to action which can only come when the layers of complacency and hypocrisy that blind us are stripped and removed. Only then will

we come closer to the dreams that underlay the founding of this country and do honour and justice to the inheritance left us this day 44 years ago.

Politics Moving 'Into the Streets'

91ASI425C Lahore *THE NATION* in English
12 Aug 91 p 7

[Article by Dr. Inayatullah: "Undisguised Hunger for Power"]

[Text] The recent hunger strike of an assorted group of politicians was a visible demonstration of an undisguised hunger for power. Having lost the election battle and unable to accommodate the reality of defeat and deprivation, they have fallen to the temptation of resorting to all sorts of tactics to disrupt the existing political order and dislodge the parties in power.

The PPP [Pakistan People's Party] spoiled its case of alleged rigging by choosing to contest the provincial elections and later joining the National and Provincial Assemblies [NA, PA] and actively participating in their proceedings. No protest demonstrations were organised, no election petitions pursued. Later crude attempts were made to reopen the elections issue by releasing an advance summary of a white paper. The hullabaloo soon enough, faded away.

The other defeated and disgruntled politicians with little following and less credibility, fighting for their political survival, kept themselves afloat by issuing sensational and provocative statements. Men of the ilk and background of Khar, Malik Qasim and Zahid Sarfraz found in the Press a ready channel for airing wild ideas and accusations. T. I the veteran wanderers continue blowing their trumpet in the wilderness [sentence as published]. And surprisingly enough, even a politician of the stature of Malik Meraj Khalid did not hesitate to attempt luring the Army, to play a political role. Nawabzada Nasrullah the inveterate agitator, joined this free-for-all and has once again assumed the role of a self-proclaimed leader of the caravan.

The unhappy and frustrated PPP shrunk in the Assemblies, manipulated in Sindh, its top leader cornered in the courts, stands confused and confounded. It refuses to play the role of a responsible constitutional Opposition. It just would not accept the new political dispensation. It has finally decided to make common cause with the rejected and discredited politicians to launch a movement against the IJI government. It is not bothered about the wisdom of aligning itself with elements who neither command respect nor support of the people.

How has the IJI [Islamic Democratic Alliance] government fared so far? Till the rumpus of the 12th Amendment, its record of performance was by and large satisfactory. It dealt with the economic issues with considerable skill and success. A new revolutionary economic policy which freed the economy from the shackles of over-control and over-regulation, settlement of vital centre-province issues (water distribution and financial allocations) and the passage of the Shariat Bill, were no mean achievements. Its

handling of the foreign policy issues—(dealing with the Gulf crisis the stoppage of US aid, its relating to the hostile eastern neighbour launching of a new initiative for regional nuclear non-proliferation under auspices of United States, USSR and China, strengthening friendly relations with Iran and China, switching to a new Afghan policy) altogether, has been reassuring.

What made the Nawaz Sharif government lose its pace and aplomb is the escalating law and order problem and the way the Press and the Opposition played it up. The sudden spurt of violent crime in the Punjab caught the government unprepared. The gruesome murders and the unprecedented publicity given to the incidents followed by rumours of its dismissal or a military take over pushed its leadership into a state of mind prone to slip into rash action. The Twelfth Amendment—the way it was drafted and pruned and processed in the Assembly revealed that the government had panicked and was beginning to lose its balance.

The undemocratic and indiscrete ramming through of the constitutional amendment has cost the government dear. The Opposition and the national Press has taken the IJI leadership to task and rightly accused it of violating the time-honoured Parliamentary procedural norms and traditions.

Except for Jam's doings in Sindh and the law and order situation, the Opposition had little really to protest against.

Government's general performance, as stated earlier, was impressive. Now a plausible excuse has been presented to the PPP and others to lambast the government. The brute majority was being used to steam-roll constitutional amendments without debate and discussion. Nawaz Sharif's first blunder was magnified as a crime against democracy and the amendment, however watered down it was, dubbed as a black law aimed at hounding the PPP and compromising the independence of the judiciary.

IJI's folly has provided a new basis for building up a case for extra-Parliamentary action. PPP leadership has found a new stick to beat the parties in power. Its voice has become more strident and its leadership appears to have regained its lost confidence and vigour. Any mistake or even a minor lapse on the part of the government is grist to its mill. It went hammer and tongs against it when a Foreign Office statement unwittingly sought to play down the warning issued by the outgoing COAS [Chief of Army Staff] about a possible military attack from India. Benazir upheld the Army Chief's perceptive observation and projected the issue as an indication of a rift between the IJI government and the army.

It is interesting to see the gimmick of the hunger strike prominently displayed in the Press and highlighted by attractive photographs. Benazir's ten-day ultimatum and the threat of an All Parties Conference [APC] have been blown out of all proportion. This crescendo of ostensibly ominous developments is designed to reach its climax

during the next few days before General Aslam Beg actually hands over to his illustrious successor. And the rumour-mills are operating full-steam.

If the front pages and the material on the editorial pages of the national dailies are to be believed, right from its inception and all through the past 9 months, the Nawaz Sharif government has been in the grip of a non-stop political crisis. First the target was Nawaz Sharif himself. He was described as a lacklustre provincial politician who was innocent of experience and skills essential for a national leader. He knew little about foreign affairs. He was a product of the Martial Law. He was not his own man. He was heading a ramshackle coalition with such extremist groups as IJI and ANP [Awami National Party]. IJI-MQM [Muhajir Qaumi Movement] accord was fragile and would snap sooner than later. Later the guns were turned on Jam's handling of politics in Sindh. A former PPP stalwart was out to split the party and destroy its integrity, by means fair and foul. All his ills and evils were heaped on the central government. Jam stood firm and unrepentant. He would not permit intervention in provincial affairs. He must preserve and protest the provincial autonomy. Provincial Assembly alone could punish him for his wrong doing if any. When the Nawaz Sharif government in a matter of weeks, as if out of a hat, produced solid achievements—water and finances accords and a radical shift in the economic policy which attracted widespread appreciation and acclaim even abroad, the Opposition and the other detractors of the government took spreading rumours and hatching conspiracies. IJI was about to break up. The Army was unhappy with Nawaz Sharif. The President was poised to take constitutional action against him. His days were numbered. A repeat of August 6, 1990 was on the cards. Even when the wild and concocted speculations were neutralised by unambiguous statements and assurances by the President and the COAS the rejected and power-hungry politicians just would not rest. Now a new line was picked up—incite the Army to play a political role. Unabashedly calls for a Martial Law were given by out-of-work political leaders. Again the contradictions and correctives came from the horses' mouth. The Army Chief stood for the restoration of the political press. He would retire at the due date. The mischief-mongers were further rebuffed by the nomination of the COAS's successor, General Mirza Aslam Beg's historic option not to take over government on the fateful day of August 17, 1988 when Ziaul Haq was killed had ushered in a new era for democracy in Pakistan. General Beg's staunch and steadfast stand for a democratic order had stood the test of time.

His most recent-statement highlights "the calculated campaign of disinformation to sabotage the political stability in Pakistan." According to him despite instability in the region, Pakistan is the only fortunate country where a stable political government is in power and the enemy is trying to destabilise it. COAS's utterances and pronouncements—considered at times objectionable by some—have always been motivated by an unflinching loyalty to the country and a deep desire for upholding its integrity and strength. His concern for the success of democracy in Pakistan is unquestioned.

What Nawaz Sharif has to safeguard against is his proclivity to cut corners and bypass the democratic practice and traditions. Hasty action may land him in further difficulties. Governance and decision-making by a "kitchen cabinet" needs to be reviewed and replaced by involvement of larger groups and diverse sources of information and opinion. The Twelfth Amendment served to expose chinks in Nawaz Sharif's armour. Total dependence on the advice of a close friend or an aid could land the Chief Executive in embarrassing situations. He could not just impose his views or those of the inner cabal on the component parties of the Alliance and take the consent of MNAs [Members of National Assembly] for granted. He will have to change his style and methods. Otherwise he may well be in for more mistakes and more trouble.

Similarly he must more viably endeavour to resolve differences between different components of the IJI and its supporters. The recent belligerence articulated by the IJI [Jamaat-i-Islami] against MQM needs to be addressed without delay. The already explosive situation in Sindh can get out of hand altogether if this feud is allowed to gather momentum. Sindh may well prove to be Nawaz Sharif's Achilles' heel. As advised by COAS it may be worthwhile to switch over to the "politics of tolerance and accommodation instead of conflict and revenge." The Opposition need not be "pushed to the wall." The Prime Minister will be well-advised to spend more time in Sindh, at least a week every month, and seek to inject a sense of tolerance and balance in the handling of affairs by the provincial government. Sindh indeed is the acid-test of his political maturity and skills.

Another area requiring his personal attention is the relationship with the national Press. His recent meeting with the editors is a good start. More understanding of the crucial role of the Press in democracy and how the media operates is badly needed. More competence has to be acquired to counter the continuing disinformation being fed into the newspapers. Performance on this account leaves much to be desired. Even the electronic media has been operated indifferently. Inept handling should give way to an intelligent, imaginative, and progressive stewardship. An instance of PR [public relations] function not having been discharged effectively is the revolutionary decision of the government to hand over the Allied Bank to the workers. This unprecedented initiative could have been dexterously handled to build up the image of the government. A great opportunity has been frittered away.

To a large extent, the stability and future of the Nawaz Sharif government will hinge on how masterfully and successfully it handles and controls the crime situation. Law and order is not merely a matter of special laws and police reforms. It demands a wider and comprehensive treatment. It has to be viewed in the larger context of political, economic and social factors and forces which have to be attended to with understanding and speed along with administrative and legal initiatives.

Without a comprehensive and balanced law-and-order-control-strategy and a circumspect and perceptive approach to information and media, there is every

possibility of the IJI government failing to evolve an image of a competent and confident operator. (It also should set right its other priorities. Raising grand memorials costing crores of rupees at a time when funds for the basic human needs of the teeming millions are not available is to say the least myopic and unwise.)

The times ahead are full of perils and pitfalls. The recent spur in the Opposition activity is a signal for an open confrontation. Politics is beginning to move into the streets. Is the IJI government adequately prepared to meet the challenge? The Opposition is bound to score points and gain strength if the situation is handled in a crude or unimaginative manner. The next few weeks will test the calibre of the Nawaz Sharif government and its capacity to overcome political crises.

Democracy 'Increasingly Fragile'

91AS1425D Islamabad THE MUSLIM in English
20 Aug 91 p 12

[Article by A.B.S. Jafri: "Who Is To Stop This Dangerous Drift"]

[Text] Any long-term amity between the government and opposition can kill democracy. So can pointless and bitter bickering. There is a real danger that Pakistan's fragile democracy may be drifting into the latter kind of torrid climate. It is not always wise to probe into causes when this exercise should itself cause more heat. But in the present needless confrontation between the government and opposition it may be worthwhile to see what's what, although it can be said from the very beginning that the whole affair does little credit to anyone concerned. What makes it look sillier is that the two protagonists have done nothing at all to save the dissension from becoming something of a personal tiff.

To begin from the beginning, it cannot be ignored that Ms Benazir Bhutto and Mr Nawaz Sharif started off on an unhappily sour note. This refers to the nature of the origins, so to say, of the two personalities: one daughter of the deposed prime minister [PM], the other political flag-bearer of Gen Zia. Then came the 17-day hesitation before the leader of the largest party in the National Assembly was invited to form the government. A stand-off between the PM in Islamabad and chief minister in Lahore followed.

Premier Benazir's government spent 20 uneasy months and was then pretty unceremoniously, (though, as the courts said) quite constitutionally cashiered. Another election, another round of shouts of "massive rigging," and a substantially altered political map emerged with the Punjab Chief Minister rising to the premiership of the country. The tables were virtually turned on Ms Bhutto.

The institution of a number of cases—references—alleging ugly wrong-doings on the part of the dismissed PM Benazir was unlikely to pacify the steadily developing tensions. But a brief spell of common sense did intervene and one

thought the government and the opposition may, after all, settle down to an appropriate working equation. That, alas, was not to be.

The hurricane speed with which the 12th Amendment was rushed through left all well-wishers of the democratic process absolutely aghast. Premier Nawaz Sharif hasn't been able to give one good reason for that hardly decent haste. Nor the Speaker of the National Assembly. While Ms Benazir was most probably not well enough advised to express publicly her view that the legislatures were "bogus," the conduct of the debate over the issue fell far short of a merit certificate for the government party's arrogant stand in the National Assembly.

And then, the Walton speech of the prime minister in which he is reported to have said that his blood boiled at mention of the PPP [Pakistan People's Party]. (PM hasn't denied this widely reported remark). Ms Benazir returned the compliment with a scarcely less sizzling vow to bring the Nawaz government down, presumably with her estimate of the PPP's street power.

As if this had not been bad enough for all concerned, Ms Benazir was subjected to wholly unacceptable violence while moving in a locality in Karachi. Her car was stoned, even fired upon. This has incensed not only Benazir supporters but also dismayed impartial citizens. As it is, she has Jam Sadiq Ali's incessant onslaughts to endure. The proverbial last straw is hardly needed in such a situation.

This long narrative was necessary to set the perspective. More so, to demonstrate that both Premier Nawaz Sharif and Ms Benazir have wronged much less than these two hopes of Pakistan have been wronged against. First, perhaps by the set of their stars—their past which they have unfortunately failed to shake themselves free of. Even more sad has been the failure of the seniors, in the political sphere as well as in the official stratocracy and stratosphere. As a recognised elder, Nawabzada Nasrullah Khan could have done more for a rapprochement. He has, instead, chosen to widen the gulf and add to the heat of the atmosphere. It is not easy to see how and where the President has played the role of an elder conciliator, a pacifier, a harmoniser. These are most definitely the unwritten obligations of that highest of officers in the constitutional democracy of Pakistan. The Eighth Amendment places as much responsibility on him as it confers powers.

'Shouting Is Utterly Pointless'

91AS1425E Islamabad THE MUSLIM in English
17 Aug 91 p 6

[Editorial: "An Unedifying Affair"]

[Text] However bitter, truth must be told, or what's a newspaper for? All told, this year's independence anniversary has not been as heart-warming as one had a right to expect. Particularly because a democratic outfit is in place. Even more significantly, we have witnessed the handing over of command by one Chief of the Army Staff to his

successor with the utmost propriety—not our proud hall-mark! As far as the people of Pakistan are concerned, they could not have been on better behaviour. They participated in the celebrations with devotion and dignity. Not so their leaders. Those on the government side were prodigally extravagant in squandering public funds on a scale difficult to justify on any account. The function organised at Walton must have broken all records of wasteful spending in search of wholly artificial and uncalled for ostentation and display devoid of mature taste. Those on the other side would not be faulted on grounds of abuse of public money or state machinery. But the opposing big-wigs could have refrained from trying to outshout Premier Sharif & Co. There can be no doubt that, on sober reflection, the inevitable conclusion is that the PM [Prime Minister] spoke in a manner which was unrestrained, even provocative. If he had been less rasping, it is arguable that the Opposition leaders may have given rein to their vitriolic vocabulary. However that be, we are left with the unrelishable memory of an Independence Day which has left more heat but little light behind.

It is surprising how often Prime Minister Nawaz Sharif forgets, or is advised to forget that he at the moment represents the return of the country to democratic culture. It can be conceded without any hesitation that he is young, warm-blooded and not as yet an accomplished master of the democratic idiom. But on the count of years, his rival Ms Benazir can justly claim the same amount of concession. And goodness knows she has suffered infinitely more than Premier Sharif. To that extent a certain measure of bitterness in her tone would be unexceptionable. But Mr Nawaz Sharif has seen nothing but the sweetest face of life. What on earth does he get so bitter about? His speech, when carefully read in detail, leaves one with the profound disappointment of a golden opportunity of creating a happy atmosphere thrown away. And that, too, on a sacred national day.

Ms Benazir Bhutto has not proved to be good at making the best of a good opportunity. From the heady days of her return from exile she blundered her way through 20 incredibly inept months in government and out of it. If she had even an iota of political common sense, she should learn a few lessons from her latest experience in Lahore. All her errors—many and serious—notwithstanding, the people would still respond to honest, as distinct from cunning, politics. The nation is waiting for a genuine people's political movement which the present government is not and does not pretend to be. Ms Benazir owes it to the people of Pakistan to stand by them, to suffer with them and then to rise with them to herald a true people's era. The comfort of Bilawal house, the arrogant style of issuing imperious edicts, the tendency of keeping a distance from the common people, handing out huge dollops of favours to courtiers and ignoring the loyalists with contempt is not the stuff popular politics or leaders are made of. She and her party (where is it, by the way?) are not yet ready for the government. Instead of hankering after power, she should be preparing to return to the people. That's where her road to credible and honourable

premiership starts. Merely shouting at the present government and calling names is utterly pointless. Solid work, not euphoria, is what people's politics is built on.

Opposition Not Tolerated

91AS1425F Peshawar *THE FRONTIER POST*
in English 8 Aug 91 p 11

[Article by Mahir Ali: "Playing Games With Destiny"; quotation marks as published]

[Text] On August 4, leaders of the opposition People's Democratic Alliance (PDA) spent half the day sitting or standing outside Parliament House in Islamabad. In order to make it abundantly clear that the object of their demonstration was not celebratory, they undertook not to partake of food, drink or any other nutritious substance during their 12-hour public appearance. Clearly, devouring delicacies detracted from the seriousness of their project, which was intended to draw attention to recent 'black laws' promulgated by the Pakistan government, the law-and-order breakdown that ostensibly prompted these measures, and the use of the state's repressive apparatus against political activists.

Smaller-scale gimmickry of a smaller order was witnessed in the provincial capitals. Smaller-scale because of PDA big-wigs—such as Benazir Bhutto, Asghar Khan and leaders of the alliance's minor components—put themselves on display in Islamabad. The federal interior minister promised that there would be no police action as long as there was no provocation. That was a characteristically ambiguous assurance, since it depended on one's interpretation of what constitutes a disturbance; besides, agents provocateur can usually be relied upon to provide justification for a baton charge, a few arrests, or worse. But what is perhaps more relevant in the circumstances is that the federal minister's writ does not apply in at least one province.

The token protests did not kindle a confrontation, but they did add a farcical footnote to the current chapter of Pakistan's history. Tragedies are made of sterner stuff. And the greater tragedy, perhaps, is that so much of the burden the country has borne over the past four decades or so is reducible to farce.

A consistent flaw of ruling cliques and parties since the earliest days has been their reluctance to even admit that valid alternative points of view exist—and attitude that naturally rules out accommodation of opposition opinion and relegates all hope of a conciliatory approach towards national problems to the surrealistic realm.

The problem is compounded in no small measure by the fact that most government since 1947, both civilian and military, have wilfully ignored vox populi, simply because the source of their power lay elsewhere. Some have even attempted to justify their dictatorial tendencies by claiming direct reception of vox Dei through antennae necessarily invisible to the less privileged.

An unavoidable consequence of this phenomenon has been that even well-meant measures have often produced less

than salutary results simply because they were mistimed, overzealous, or otherwise insensitive to the pulse of the nation. That is why the first post-dictatorial phase ended with a whimper. The complex-ridden personality of Zulfikar Ali Bhutto could not countenance any sort of rivalry or opposition. And, his superior intellect and charisma notwithstanding, he was unwilling to concede that he could ever be in the wrong.

But he was. Often enough to jeopardise the unparalleled opportunity—he had to rescue Pakistan from the political and economic morass engendered by two decades of misgovernment—not least in allowing the armed forces to recoup their clout after a humiliating defeat, as well as in acknowledging his own vulnerability by capitulating to the clergy in a desperate but inevitably doomed last-ditch effort to save his regime. And he paid for his miscalculations with his life.

The parliamentary and extra-parliamentary opposition's role in the well-orchestrated upsurge that led to Bhutto's downfall and the beginning of yet another blighted and unreasonably long phase in Pakistan's history can also be severely faulted on several counts. But the fact remains that the viciousness and vehemence of the campaign was at least partly a consequence of the prime minister's dismissive attitude towards actual and imagined foes.

More than a decade later, his daughter hinted that she would try not to follow in her father's footsteps. Actually, she couldn't afford to. Benazir Bhutto was catapulted to power on the basis of a wafer-thin majority, through elections that were widely viewed as providential. Deprived of power in the country's largest province, Ms Bhutto was also encumbered by a hostile head-of-state and a suspicious Establishment. The fact that she never stopped lavishing praise on the armed forces throughout her ephemeral tenure speaks for itself.

The tradition of frowning down upon the opposition was nonetheless maintained, and the latter reciprocated from a position of relative strength. It eventually won the battle by conniving with the president, but the war continues. The August 4 hunger strike constituted no more than another minor scuffle in the ongoing tussle.

The current opposition, headed by the same Ms Bhutto, adopted a see-saw approach towards the Nawaz Sharif government, wavering between conditional co-operation and outright hostility. But it is not entirely to blame for the ambiguous attitude, for its conciliatory feelers have repeatedly been snubbed, and it has been subjected to an assault through both judicial and repressive channels. In Sindh in particular, the provincial administration has been remarkably unabashed in its efforts to snuff out the influence of the Pakistan People's Party [PPP] by any means possible.

This is singularly unfortunate, because Sindh more than any other province requires co-operation between all shades of political opinion in order to effectively combat the crime wave that has plagued the region since General Zia-ul-Haq unleashed his vengeance in the early eighties. But, possibly believing that the alliance forged by the

iron-and-gold approach of Jam Sadiq Ali is his only hope of retaining the province, Sharif has more or less abandoned Sindh to the chief minister. He is clearly more concerned about Punjab, a series of murders wherein led the prime minister to indefinitely put off an economically important visit to Japan.

In an emotionally-charged nationally-televised speech shortly after the unexplained bout of bloodshed in Lahore, Nawaz Sharif promised to publicly hang perpetrators of heinous crimes before the blood of their victims has dried, and demanded powers that would make his aim achievable. A constitutional amendment bill was hastily cobbled together which would allow the federal government to establish special courts for suitable cases, as well as exercise it writ unhindered by normal laws in chunks of the country that it chooses to designate 'disturbed areas'.

Despite making the right sort of noises, the government never bothered to elicit opposition—or public—opinion on the proposed measures. The bill, in fact, ran into trouble even before it could be presented in parliament, since components of the ruling Islamic Democratic Alliance as well as valuable allies such as Wali Khan's Awami National Party objected to clauses that would limit provincial autonomy. It is probable that Ghulam Ishaq Khan was also less than pleased with the prospect of some of the presidential powers granted by the notorious Eighth Amendment being neutralised.

So, in order to make it acceptable, the proposal was shorn of the controversial clause. The Twelfth Amendment, as passed by parliament and approved by the president, goes no further than to provide constitutional cover to the existing phenomenon of special courts. It also enhances the salaries and pensions of Supreme Court and high court judges, leaving further adjustments to presidential discretion.

The figures are mildly interesting. For example, the maximum monthly salary payable to a judge of the Supreme Court has been raised from Rs.[rupees]7,900 (Dhl,178) to Rs. 9,900 (Dhl,477). As if anyone in that sort of position could seriously be expected to survive on that sort of amount!

But such absurdities aside, what has intrigued many observers in the manner in which the amendment bill was bulldozed through the National Assembly, without so much as a token debate. Nawaz Sharif may have felt that registering a two-third majority within hours of the first reading was an enviable way of demonstrating his strength. Conversely, it is open to interpretation as a lack of confidence—the fear that an open debate may have quantitatively or qualitatively diminished support for the proposal. Either way, the gesture was deplorably undemocratic. The haste cannot be justified by reference to any national exigency, since establishing special courts has already become standard practice.

Apart from further emaciating the country's already fragile democratic structure, Nawaz Sharif is committing another grave error in naively insisting that additional police

powers and quick trials are the answer to the current crime wave. As it is, police often misuse that vast and virtually unchallenged powers they already possess, and components of the law-and-order machinery are frequently found assisting in the perpetration of various outrages.

Besides, even if one momentarily ignores the galloping corruption level (which is constantly trying-to-outpace the rate of inflation), the judiciary cannot be relied upon to consistently convict the guilty. Slip-ups are possible even in relatively placid circumstances. Given the pressure for 'speedy' convictions, it is perfectly conceivable that courts may ignore the evidence—or lack thereof. And if the prime minister was not resorting to hyperbole in conjuring up the disturbing image of fully-operational gallows in market place, it is quite possible that the noose will tighten around the necks of innocent folks, or those guilty of only minor misdemeanours.

No society that values civilised behaviour can complacently accept such a situation. While each criminal act enhances the public's desire for security of life and property, and one can expect fair amount of support for retributive punishment, savagery on the part of the state should be as unacceptable as the brutality exercised by bandits—especially if there's an unreasonable risk of the executioner's axe falling on the wrong heads. Furthermore, sociologists world-wide agree that there's precious little proof of the efficacy or supposedly "exemplary" punishment as a deterrent. Wrong convictions, on the other hand, would serve to encourage the actual criminals.

Like population expressions of political dissent, crime too cannot be treated as merely a law-and-order problem. Its roots often lie in socio-economic causes—huge disparities of wealth, the feudal stranglehold over much of the countryside and the bitter rivalries engendered therein, as well as the vast degree of power wielded by industrial barons. Attempting to tackle the symptoms of a malaise while ignoring its causes is unlikely to yield the desired results. This is not a particularly profound or original observation, but Islamabad appears to be ignorant of—or inured against—its implications. And it is most unlikely that Benazir Bhutto or any of her companions will bring up this theme during the time they forego victuals in full public view tomorrow.

After all, had Ms Bhutto been a sincere advocate of greater societal democratisation, she could have made a point (and set an example) by holding elections within her own organisation. As things stand, no major political party in Pakistan can be credited with either a mass base or a democratic structure. Even among lesser parties there are only a few honourable exceptions, and several groups revolve around a single unremarkable personality. It is therefore not hard to discern an element of cynicism in the emerging demand for a 'national government'—although the existing regime can hardly be described as international or unusually cosmopolitan, nor can it be accused of being strictly provincial despite its predominantly Punjabi flavour.

The author of the proposal is none other than Nawabzada Nasrullah Khan. It is customary to describe him as a 'veteran' politician; the epithet translates as 'well beyond retirement age'. Unlike some of his peers, however, he has so far succeeded in warding off senility. The fact that he's perennial opposition-wallah has earned him a degree of veneration, but his fortunes are unlikely to change in his twilight years. He came tantalisingly close to being elevated to the presidency after the 1988 elections, but Ms Bhutto's party was compelled to throw its weight behind the incumbent—a course which it has since had plenty of cause to regret. Embittered by the experience, Nasrullah Khan has only recently returned to his old form. His new demand has already won the approval of the PDA, as well as the tentative support of disenchanted elements within the ruling alliance, such as Ghulam Mustafa Jatoi.

The element of opportunism in the call for a 'national government' is accentuated by the fact that it does not appear to be a workable alternative to the present dispensation. The PDA, of late, has also been demanding fresh elections on the grounds that the conduct of the last polls was less than fair. There's more logic in this suggestion, but it cannot be expected to gain currency unless the opposition can provide irrefutable evidence of the sophisticated fraud that is believed to have taken place on a massive scale.

Besides, yet another electoral exercise would not guarantee what the nation craves—stability and prosperity. In fact, it would probably lead to further humiliation for democracy, through what is known as 'horse-trading'. For some inexplicable reason, the phrase conjures up a vision of Pir Pagara betting on an inevitable also-ran at Newmarket. Its actual implications, however, are far more colourless. It means the purchase of parliamentary support or votes. Or consciences, where they still exist. Depending on the buyer's desperation and the relative importance of the person offering himself for sale, the form of payment varies between straightforward hard cash (in suitcases, possibly in foreign currency), privileged concessions (hard-to-get contracts, import licences and choice property at throwaway prices, among other things) and opportunities limited only by the imagination of the recipient (a ministerial berth, for example).

Loadsamoney, in short, can take you far. It's got nothing to do with horses, and it's hard to say why the name of that graceful animal has been maligned. Even humbler members of the same genus would resent the association, although mules—with little pride in ancestry and no prospect of posterity—might be amenable to a comparison. It is highly unlikely, however, that Nawaz Sharif's special courts will ever try those who are demonstrably guilty of political adultery and indecent assaults against democracy.

Given the existing state of affairs in Pakistan, many aspects of which have gone unmentioned in the preceding discourse, it is hard to locate the basis for a positive prognosis. There does not seem to be a light at the end of the tunnel. And should one suddenly appear, chances are it'll turn out to be a Tezgam rather than the elusive beacon of hope.—KHALEEJ TIMES

MQM Chief's 'Uncontrolled Hatred'

91ASI425G Peshawar THE FRONTIER POST
in English 9 Aug 91 p 8

[Article by Murtaza Razvi: "The Height of Spite"]

[Text] Late Saturday night PTV and the PTN simultaneously telecast an interview of the MQM [Muhajir Qaumi Movement] chief Altaf Hussain in which he strongly defended the passage of the 12th Constitutional Amendment, blasting, even more strongly, the Benazir-led opposition to the policies of the IJI [Islamic Democratic Alliance] government. The PTV panel of interviewers, who included Professor Hasnain Kazmi and Mukhtar Zaman, posed carefully phrased questions to which Altaf Hussain laboriously struggled to reply in the light of his self-formulated political convictions. The entire exercise seemed to have been conducted to give voice to MQM chief's vindictive criticism of the PPP [Pakistan People's Party] leadership, both as the ruling party as well as the party in opposition.

While defending the 12th amendment and its "alleged hasty passage" the MQM chief chose to offer parallels of such hasty passages of laws in the past. He cited the example of the passage of the 1972 interim constitution by Z.A. Bhutto who, according to him, forced the opposition to sign the constitutional document threatening that failure to comply with his desire would prolong the martial law. As a result of this "undemocratic attitude" of Z.A. Bhutto, revealed the MQM chief, the entire draft of the 1972 interim constitution was passed within three days. "This is what can truly be called a hasty passage," declared Altaf Hussain victoriously. Henceforth, he went on to criticise the PPP governments of Z.A. Bhutto and Benazir Bhutto in full swing, questioning the PPP's democratic credentials, interspersed with long monologues of praise for the government and the person of the PM [Prime Minister] Mian Nawaz Sharif.

He criticised the treatment extended to the Opposition's politicians by the two PPP governments saying that Z.A. Bhutto had dissolved the NWFP [North-West Frontier Province] and the Balochistan assemblies while Benazir Bhutto, following her father, had dissolved the Balochistan assembly soon after she had come to power after the 1988 elections. He made sweeping references to the manhandling of certain opposition members of the parliament during the Z.A. Bhutto era. However, this stating-the-fact exercise failed to connect with whatever the MQM chief wanted to prove. In fact, the real objective, if any, behind the relating of these facts never surfaced throughout the interview.

Unfortunately, there are several sad precedences of such assembly dismissals and physical assaults on the opposition politicians in the post-independence history of Pakistan. In August 1947, barely a week after the establishment of Pakistan, Jinnah had himself sent home the directly elected ministry of Dr. Khan Saheb in the NWFP while subsequent Governor-Generals in the later years had dissolved the two Constituent assemblies after they felt that

the assemblies were slipping into the hands of their opponents. Within the lifetime of Jinnah, the workers of the Khudai Khidmatgars led by Abdul Ghaffar Khan had been subjected to physical assault and torture by the government. According to the memoirs of the late Pakhtun leader, on August 12, 1948, nearly 2,000 workers of the Khudai Khidmatgars were killed when police opened fire on their gathering near Charsadda.

By relating the past incidences here it is by no means meant to justify the undemocratic behaviour of the Z.A. Bhutto government. The point, however, is that the conduct of Z.A. Bhutto's government in the early years of the PPP rule is as much a part of this country's history as the events that preceded it. Taking Z.A. Bhutto's era on its own and painting it as the black years of the country's politics is both unfair and inaccurate. In many ways, the Z.A. Bhutto era only came as a sequel to many intolerant political practices run amuck in the past. Clearly, the MQM chief with PTV prostrated at his feet could not have had a better opportunity to malign his political opponents.

Debunking the idea of token hunger strike by the PDA [People's Democratic Alliance] leadership planned for the following day (August 4), the MQM chief said that while there were elected assemblies in the country there was no justification for resorting to this kind of protest. He said that during the last PPP government he was advised to go to court if his party had any grievances against the government. The very same courts are present even now, he opined, and that if the PDA had any grievances it should also go and seek justice from court instead of "putting up" a hunger strike.

Defending his hunger strike against the "innocent" citizens killings and arrests by the PPP's Sindh government in April 1990, Altaf Hussain said that that was the only course left open to him at that time. At this point the awe-struck interviewers inexplicably exchanged a sincere glance of appreciation between themselves and, as if totally dumbfounded by the logic of the MQM chief, they went on to ask him for more PPP bashing by inviting a comment on the situation in Azad Kashmir. What they failed to do here was to ask Altaf Hussain why he had put up a hunger strike while there were elected assemblies in the country at that time. The 1988-90 assemblies were surely more representative than the current assemblies because despite a very strong opposition in those assemblies, no one had doubted their legitimacy or the fairness of the October 88 elections as a result of which they had come into being.

Indeed, it would have been more relevant if the interviewers, instead of inviting comments on the Azad Kashmir situation, had asked Altaf Hussain about the feud between his party and the Jama'at-i-Islami. That would have certainly shed some light on the differences within the ruling troika. But then such questions seemed to have been totally out of the scope of the interview. Altaf Hussain, after all, had only been invited to scrutinise the PPP's democratic credentials, and he was assisted well by the PTV panel who rushed to fill in the vacuum whenever the MQM chief fell short of words.

That a person like Altaf Hussain should call into question the democratic credentials of the PPP—the country's largest party with popular mass appeal—should in itself have been a point of debate which was, again inexplicably, ignored by the interviewers. Altaf Hussain, to say the least, is by no means an authority to judge any political party's democratic credentials since his own party, the MQM, if judged on the same scale that he sets for the PPP, fares much lower than the former.

According to the news conferences recently held in the Punjab by the MQM dissidents, MPAs [Members of Provincial Assembly] Naeem Akhtar, Iqbal Qureshi and Younis Khan, have alleged that Altaf Hussain had kept in custody the family members of his party's MNAs [Members of National Assembly] and MPAs in Karachi in order to force the latter to hold a show of support for him in Lahore on July 24. At the same show of support the Altaf-led faction of the MNAs and MPAs referred to their leader as the Ka'aba and threatened the Lahore pressmen of dire consequences if they were not taken seriously. MNA Anees Ahmad went as far as saying that the Punjab journalists, like their Karachi colleagues, would be scared into obedience, if and when the MQM felt the need to do so. It's a shame that the PTV interviewers did not ask Altaf Hussain to shed some light on this aspect of his party's coercive inclinations. Instead, again shamelessly, they chose to confine their questions to the conduct of the PPP.

While vomiting out his venomous accusations against the PPP, the MQM chief further said that by "putting up a sham" hunger strike the PPP was inviting the martial law in the country which was again contrary to the PPP's professed attachment to democracy. He said that the PM Nawaz Sharif's government had an overwhelming majority in both the houses of the parliament and thereby it reserved the right to rule the country. MQM, he said, believed in strengthening the democratic process in the country and was against the PPP's alleged idea of sabotaging it. Here again, the PTV interviewers failed to ask Altaf Hussain since when his party changed its stance from a largely pro-martial law to the pro-democracy politics. For it is no secret that during the Benazir government MQM leadership made it a point to observe a general strike in the urban centres of Sindh and set up special road-side prayer camps in connection with the military dictator General Zia's death anniversary. On other occasions it held massive public rallies in Karachi and Hyderabad in which people beat their chests imploring the army to take over. Altaf Hussain could also have been asked to comment on his party's shameless support to the coercive and totally undemocratic policies of Jam Sadiq Ali in Sindh.

After delivering several ill-rehearsed monologues of hatred, towards the end of the interview, Altaf Hussain had the gall to put up a face of a hypocrite and recite an Urdu verse:

Let the politicians worry about what may be their sole tidings

My message is that of love; let that reach far and wide

According to news reports the prime minister thanked the MQM chief the next day for his lip service to the IJI government the previous night. It is indeed a sad commentary on the country's politics that the very people who are themselves a party to growing political intolerance culminating in ethnic/political terrorism and lawlessness in Sindh should be given such chances to send out unchecked signals of hatred over the state controlled media. It is sadder still that they should be allowed to further their selfish aims in the name of strengthening national interests and earn thanks from an "elected" premier of the country for doing so.

MQM Thrives on Chauvinism

91AS1425H Islamabad THE MUSLIM in English
23 Aug 91 p 6

[Article by Zahid Ahmed Khan: "MQM's Predicament"; quotation marks as published]

[Text] No ethnic organisation in Pakistan has emerged with such alacrity as MQM [Muhajir Qaumi Movement] has done. But in the recent months, there appears to be some serious chinks developing within the MQM. This discouraging development for MQM is due to numerous reasons. Being an ethnic organisation in composition and while trying to wriggle out of this inhibition at the same time for the serious purpose of participating in national politics, MQM has been left with no other choice but to temporise with every new rising star and political development, to secure for itself a respectable political niche in national politics.

Notwithstanding its resounding success in different election, MQM is still not a national party, much less a regional party. By confining itself to the Urdu-speaking people of the urban area of Sindh, MQM has become a sort of a pariah to the more widely dispersed ethnic groups of Pakistan, more or less under the banner of some regional or national party.

Now there is news that the MQM and ANP [Awami National Party] have finally decided to forge a Muthaheda Qaumi Movement. Further, MQM's membership would be thrown wide open on national basis through this new proposed political alliance. This may be a conscious desire by MQM to shun its tight-fisted ethnic make-up. All the same, one wonders what effect this new political alliance between the two parties will have on the people of Pakistan. It may give the MQM and the ANP two ethnic parties, some political gains in the shorter term, but on a long term basis, it is feared that both these parties may turn more and more inwards thus further making them impervious to the more catholic outlook of other more popular political parties of Pakistan.

MQM has never followed a single-minded policy. First it courted the last Martial Law for its origination and subsequent sustenance, then it joined hands with PPP [Pakistan People's Party]. And now it is in close quarters with the IJI [Islamic Democratic Alliance] government. Its relations with other ethnic communities of Pakistan also betrays its inability to cope with the changing developments in the

politics of Pakistan. There were days when it was in close collaboration with the Sindhi Nationalist G.M. Syed, in order to oust the non-Muhajirs and non-Sindhis from the province of Sindh, which obviously included Pathans and the Punjabs. Then, it actually came to blows with Pathans and the Punjabis in Sindh, and now it is at loggerheads with the ethnic Sindhis. One wonders how many more political alliances will it join before itself becoming a real and true political party.

There was indeed a quid pro quo between the IJI and the MQM, for the latter's blind support for the 12th Amendment, and the former's willing assent to arrest the MQM's dissidents in Lahore where Altaf Hussain's ultra-loyalists used such blasphemous language to show their unflinching support in their leader, that it does not bear repetition. Instead of creating any good impression on the minds of the people of Punjab in particular, and on those of other people of Pakistan in general, the conference only heightened their suspicion about the recklessness and ruthlessness of MQM in dealing with its own internal problems.

Accusations

MQM's dissidents are accusing its present leadership of deviating from its true goals. However, they too have still not explicitly stated what these 'true goals' actually were and are. The present leaders of MQM are in no conciliatory mood with the dissidents. Murders, tortures and kidnappings of MQM's dissidents by Altaf's loyalists has only increased the suspicion of the common Pakistanis about the real face of MQM. In fact, this kind of treatment against its own erstwhile supporters and followers has cast into shade the atrocities committed by the first PPP government against its own nonconformists. Here a kind of internal martial law has been clamped. Everyone differing with Altaf is gagged or silenced forever. Recently some former bodyguards of Altaf Hussein were also assassinated.

On the 9th August, 1991, Jamat-e-Islami took out country-wide processions against what it called the reign of terror by MQM in the province of Sindh against its workers. Senator Qazi Hussein Ahmad accused MQM as an American ploy to weaken Pakistan from within. His warning that Jamat-e-Islami can settle its accounts with MQM on its own, should be taken seriously by everyone. In the last Eidul-Azha some of the workers of the Jamat-i-Islami in Sindh were not allowed to collect the hides of the sacrificial animals. Edhi Welfare Trust also complained of such activities by MQM's workers against its social workers. These are not the healthy signs of a political party, which is now angling for other provinces of Pakistan also.

MQM loyalists contend that, if, despite all its suppression of political dissidents in the past, and occasional playing of its Sindh card, PPP is still a national party, then why not MQM be taken as such. A further excuse is that MQM has been cornered by its more powerful opponents, but these are lame excuses.

MQM itself is kind of a dissident group within the overall Pakistani politics, which notwithstanding all its practices

has so far not openly put any great premium on the ethnicity in Pakistan. MQM has failed to shed its ethnic mentality. Hence it has failed to play any appreciably constructive role in the body politics of Pakistan by providing its own staunch supporters any worthwhile national goal or vision. The holding of periodical weeks of cleanliness and charity shows undoubtedly are great things in an otherwise money-laden power politics in Pakistan. But, gain, this is not enough for a political party which is now claiming to represent all the downtrodden people of Pakistan.

The foreign policy of MQM is also hectic. It is very strange, that whereas it is obtrusive against the so-called imperialism of capitalists and the landlords of Pakistan, it is not that much anti-USA as other parties of Pakistan are. Against USSR it is also not that vociferous as it should have been, given the latter's past role in destabilising Pakistan. Again, it is not that much outspoken on the Kashmiris liberation struggle as other parties are. This may be due to the fact that it does not want to enfeeble itself by biting more than what it can chew; but this produces a very bad impression on the minds of conscientious Pakistanis.

Her economic policies, if indeed she has any at all, are also very vague. Occasional diatribes against the landed aristocracy and the capitalists are nothing new for the middle classes of Pakistan. Solidifying its hold on some trade unions in urban Sindh can never be called a real achievement.

Outcast

Another thing which has made MQM an outcast to national politics is that MQM, despite representing religious conservative Muhajir population, has so far not espoused to any appreciable extent the cause of Islam from its platform. This is not to imply that it is a secularist party. PPP in its initial stages notwithstanding having a strong leaning towards socialism, could not avoid proclaiming itself as an Islamic socialist party to command allegiance from the Islam-loving people of Pakistan.

All said and done, one thing is obvious that the emergence of MQM is a healthy sign, but only to a certain extent, in that the politics of Pakistan is no longer an exclusive preserve of the rich and the powerful. Hence, MQM has its positive points also. First is the Youthful character of MQM. It is perhaps the only political party of Pakistan which is thoroughly enthused and manned by young people. There is hardly a grey head in the higher echelons of MQM. This fact speaks for the heady movement of MQM against all opposition to it. But it has also worked against the long-term interests of MQM in more than one way. The cool-mindedness that one sometimes finds in some political parties of Pakistan is totally lacking in MQM and its leadership.

There is still a soft corner in the hearts of the have-nots of Pakistan for MQM and what it stands for. However, it is feared that the personality cult of Altaf Hussein may erode this healthy impression of MQM on the poor Pakistanis.

Small wonder then that some people are branding it as altogether a semi-fascist political party with the founder leader as an impeccable character. But the same charge has also been levelled against Jamat-e-Islami in the not too distant past. An impartial observer, however, can discern that whereas in the case of Jamaat-e-Islami, its founder from the public platform off and on tried to disown any special religious or political prerogative for itself; in the case of MQM, no effort has been made by Altaf Hussein or by his cohorts to deny the personality cult of Altaf Hussein in public. With the dissidents gaining in stridency, one fears that this personality cult of Altaf Hussein may become all the more intractable. If the party is really interested in its manifesto, why is it so cantankerously insistent on keeping Altaf above board? Is he the only person capable of holding together the different segments of MQM? It appears so. MQM and Altaf Hussein are synonymous words now.

Crisis Deepening

91AS14251 Islamabad THE MUSLIM in English
23 Aug 91 pp 1, 3 (Supplement)

[Article by Mohammad Yasin: "IJI (Islamic Democratic Alliance) Vs PDA (People's Democratic Alliance): Farewell to the Civilised Cry"]

[Text] Judging by the vituperative speeches delivered by the Prime Minister [PM], Mian Nawaz Sharif, and the PDA [People's Democratic Alliance] and APC [All Parties Conference] leaders last week in Lahore, it would appear to be that we are heading towards another round of confrontation. Ever since the passing of the controversial 12th Constitutional Amendment in indecent haste, the things are not the same. The prime minister has let slip an opportunity of bringing about grand reconciliation with the opposition headed by the PDA in the course of last eight months. For full eight months, he had all the time in the world at his disposal to sort out matters with the opposition within the confines of Parliament. But his advisors in the bureaucracy and the political arena have done the prime minister an incalculable damage by keeping him away from seeking political settlement of the contentious issues.

It is all too apparent now that the country is in a deep crisis that could have been avoided. Even now the chances of the problems being resolved through negotiations cannot be ruled out. But given the mental makeup of the leadership at the helm of affairs in the IJI government, it looks uncertain that there would be any initiative from the government side to resolve the contentious issues through negotiations.

The decision by the PDA to go on token hunger strike on Aug 4 came as a result of the frustrations suffered by the PDA at the hands of the government. Sindh Chief Minister Jam Sadiq Ali had been given a free hand in destroying the PPP's [Pakistan People's Party] constituency in Sindh. He unleashed a reign of terror on all those who had anything to do with the PPP. It would be unimaginable anywhere else in the world but in this part of the world that the

government in a particular province has been given licence to terrorise the opposition MNAs and MPAs [Members of National and Provincial Assemblies, respectively]. The IJI government of Mian Nawaz Sharif did nothing to stop Jam Sadiq Ali from trampling all the norms of civilised behaviour and decency under foot in pursuit of vendetta. In fact, Prime Minister Nawaz Sharif's speech at the Walton on Aug 14 goes to show that whatever Jam Sadiq Ali has been doing in Sindh has the blessings of the government at the centre. What does it all mean when the prime minister calls Jam Sadiq Ali a Mujahid? Are the people of Sindh infidels? All it means is the Centre's approval of the actions taken by Jam Sadiq Ali against the PDA legislators. Then the PM also said that Jam Sadiq Ali has cleansed the Sindh of filth. To say the least, this statement is the most unseemly one to be made by the chief executive of the government. It would be alright for a military dictator to say that he would finish off the opposition in just two strokes. But it would not be alright for an elected prime minister in an avowedly democratic system to make such utterances.

From the speech delivered by the prime minister on Aug 14 in Lahore and then in Islamabad on Aug 17 on the occasion of the third death anniversary of Gen Zia, the obvious conclusion one can draw is that the government has adopted a hard and undemocratic attitude towards the opposition and would do everything in its power to make the opposition ineffective by guns or gold. Over 20 Sindh MNAs and MPAs who were once the PDA faithfuls changed their loyalties for a government which decried floor-crossing. A couple of PDA MNAs in the Punjab too have come out with the statements expressing their support to the government. This development took place in the wake of the decision by the PDA to observe token hunger strike to express their resentment against the stringent laws, victimisation of the PDA legislators and workers in Sindh and bulldozing of the amendment in Parliament.

The opposition on the other hand has likewise become more strident and bellicose. All Parties Conference was successful in drawing all the parties barring ANP [Awami National Party], MQM [Muhajir Qaumi Movement] and Jamaat to its fold. The gathering of majority of the political parties including PDA on the call of Nawabzada Nasrullah Khan was in itself a major achievement. By forgetting their differences on some of the issues confronting the country and collecting under the umbrella of the APC indicated deep sense of dissatisfaction prevailing in the political parties over the way the affairs of the state are being handled. There was at least unanimity on the point of holding fresh elections under the supervision of an impartial government whether it be an interim government or a national government having representation of all the political parties.

The August 14 public meeting at Mochi gate in Lahore was a step towards building a momentum for a big anti-government movement. By scrutinising the reports of its coverage in the independent and not-so-independent press and having access to the account of the public meeting organised by the PDA in Lahore from independent eye-witnesses, one comes to the conclusion that it was really a

huge responsive gathering outnumbering the IJI rally organised at the government expense at Walton.

The fact that the opposition leader Benazir Bhutto focused by and large on the major issues confronting the country distinguished the PDA public meeting from the IJI's rally at Walton where only threats were poured out by the IJI leaders. The PDA public meeting was significant in that Benazir Bhutto stated in clear-cut terms that consensus on major issues was the only way out to steer the country out of the turbulence. The realisation has dawned on Ms Bhutto that no single party could run the affairs of the country all by itself. Within the PDA fold, this line of thinking was first preached by Malik Qasim who heads his faction of Muslim League. In fact Malik Mohammad Qasim has been consistently talking of the need for such a consensus on major issues since 1977 after Gen Zia staged coup d'etat. Now almost all the major opposition parties have veered round this view.

The new approach to seeking of political problems by Benazir Bhutto is indicative of her self-confidence, vigour and political maturity which she did not display in the days when she was in power. After losing power she has come to realise many of her shortcomings. And she has made confession of her blunders. More importantly she has realized that in Pakistan's peculiar circumstances, no single party alone can bear the heavy burden of responsibility of running the government.

The government on the other hand had become jittery and intolerant of the opposition. Unfortunately the leaders of the IJI government identify themselves with the chequered legacy of the dictator Zia and have taken recourse to the same threats and posture towards the opposition as their political mentor used to hurl.

The attack on Ms Benazir Bhutto's motorcade in Karachi on Saturday evening exactly two days after her huge public meeting in Lahore is not something to be ignored. It's a tell-tale incident. The people who are behind this action are not obviously the friends of this country and the IJI government. They are contributing to the political polarisation and consequential acrimony and bitterness that would do no good to this country. Such dastardly acts would prove disastrous for the nation.

Above all things, the country sorely needs peace and tranquillity, the rule of law and justice so as to bring development and prosperity to the people. It means that there should flourish in this country true democracy. The new COAS [Chief of Army Staff] Asif Nawaz Janjua in his order of the day has stated that army must stay away from politics. Said he: "Let the elected representatives do their job, while we concentrate on acquiring ever greater professional excellence."

Responsibility for making a success of the democratic institutions lies squarely on the shoulders of the political parties. Since the IJI is in power, the greater responsibility lies on its shoulders to let democracy take roots firmly in this country. Its leadership must rise above partisanship and extend a hand of friendship instead of confrontation

to the opposition parties in order to involve them in the development of the country and take on the challenging task of resolving the real issues.

New Political Party Formed

91ASI342B Peshawar MASHRIQ in Urdu 12 Jul 91 p 4

[Editorial: "Merger of Two Political Parties: A Healthy Step"]

[Text] A new party, Pakthunkhawah Qaumi Party (PQP), was formed by merging the two existing parties—Qaumi Inqalabi Party and the ANP [Awami National Party]—in NWFP [North-west Frontier Province] recently. The president of the new party is Mr. Mohammed Afzal Khan, the deputy parliamentary leader of the PDA [People's Democratic Alliance] in the National Assembly, and the General secretary is Afar Sayab Khatak. Merger of two parties with similar ideologies is a healthy step.

All the members and office holders in the PQP are veteran politicians and know the ups and downs of this route. They have associated with the National Awami Party in the past and their sacrifices for bringing democracy back in the nation as members of the ANP are no hidden secret. Expression of difference of opinion is the soul of democracy. The members of ANP who were disenchanted with the leadership, founded the Qaumi Inqalabi Party and the ANP Haqqeqi [real] Group. Now the groups that did not agree with the stand of the ANP leadership have joined them on the PQP platform. We cannot deny the fact that existence of political parties is a must for the growth of democracy in any country and democracy will flourish depending on how strong and effective these parties are at the national level. No doubt, the number of political parties in our country is not something we can be proud of. The speed with which our country should be heading toward democracy is not acceptable, either. The basic reason is that political parties have failed in playing a national role. It is important for fostering democracy at a national level that the ideologies of political parties are known nationally. This is not true except in case of a few parties. The name, Pakthunkhawah Qaumi Party, gives the impression that it will limit its activities to state level only. The party's president, Afzal Khan, strengthened this fear by his speech at the convention. No doubt, organizing committees for Punjab and Sindh were also formed at the convention; however, only time will tell how much support will this party get in Punjab and Sindh with a name like this and what role it will play in the politics there. We believe that the present political and general situation calls for more political parties and leaders to think in national terms. The people of any state they visit should be able to consider them as their leader. Whatever they do or say should make the people of every state think that their feelings are represented. History is witness that no political party whose leadership has limited itself to a region ever became popularly accepted nationally. Advanced nations are getting out of the whirlpool of regionalism and presenting a vision of a new world. The joint decisions of European countries are examples of this trend. The changing situation in the world also calls for our political

parties to get out of the regional problems. Parties with similar ideologies should merge and emerge as national political parties instead of existing as tiny parties. No one will be able to blackmail such a party when it is in power. When it is the opposition party, it will not let the party in power to commit wrong actions. Until this is stopped, tiny parties will be unable to play an important role and democracy will not flourish.

Editorial Views Challenges to Nuclear Self-Reliance

91AS1154C Lahore NAWA-I-WAQT in Urdu 11 Jun 91 p 11

Editorial: "The Challenge of Nuclear Self-Reliance"

[Text] Mr. Ishfaq Ahmed, the new chairman of the Pakistan Atomic Energy Commission, has said that Pakistan has become one of the top twelve nations in the world in the area of atomic science. He said that it was important to be self-sufficient in the area of nuclear technology. The Pakistan Atomic Energy Commission did not only accept this challenge, but also accelerated its efforts to develop its peaceful atomic program. The challenge mentioned by the chairman is not imaginary, but is a real challenge which will help Pakistan rid itself of the energy crisis. It needs atomic power plants for this purpose, for which it has been planning for several years. However, during that period, imports of nuclear technology to Pakistan were made more difficult under the pretext that Pakistan was using the technology to manufacture atomic bombs. Thus the agreement to procure an atomic reprocessing plant from France was canceled, and all Western countries stopped all kinds of nuclear technological aid to Pakistan. Many countries in the world have atomic reactors for producing electric power, but the Western nations made it impossible for Pakistan to import an atomic reactor.

Of course, this situation was a major challenge to the Pakistan Atomic Energy Commission, and to our nuclear scientists and engineers. This is a welcome development that the work to make an atomic reactor in our country is still going on, and Pakistani scientists are trying to obtain expertise in atomic technology. They are running the atomic plant in Karachi on their own, and have succeeded in making nuclear fuel. In any case, the challenge Pakistan is facing in the area of nuclear technology needs trained personnel. Our Atomic Energy Commission in Karachi and Islamabad is giving full attention to meeting this need. The center at Karachi has already given postgraduate training to 200 engineers.

Analyst Examines Foreign Policy

91AS1429A Karachi DAWN in English (Supplement)
14 Aug 91 pp I-III

[Article by M. H. Askari: "A Close Look at Foreign Policy"]

[Text] An American specialist of international affairs once quoted, in the context of US-Pakistan relations, the somewhat apocryphal curse traditionally attributed to the Chinese: "May you live in the most interesting of times!" The

implied irony of the ancient adage could not have been more tellingly brought out than by the painstaking effort which is involved in the readjustment of Pakistan's foreign policy to the realities of the post-Cold War world.

The onset of the nineties has seen the virtual shattering of the main planks on which successive governments during the past four decades based the edifice of Pakistan's relations with the outside world and the present Government has been confronted, from its inception, with the unfolding of this legacy with all its blunt implications.

The assured flow of economic assistance and military supplies from the United States, the strategic advantage accruing from the crisis caused by the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan, the remittances from Pakistani expatriates which have been a critical element in the country's economy since the oil boom and a measure of assured moral and material support from Saudi Arabia, Emirates and other Muslim countries in a bipolar world order all contributed to the formulation of Pakistan's foreign policy in the seventies; these factors can now no longer be taken for granted. Mr Akram Zaki, Secretary-General of the Foreign Ministry, only stated the obvious when, while addressing newspaper editors in Lahore on July 11, he said: "We need to realise our internal imperatives if we are to formulate an appropriate foreign policy."

Curiously, even though there has been almost an unending lack of continuity in domestic politics, the graph of Pakistan's external relations has been on the whole fairly even, except for an occasional rise or fall. The scarlet thread in the policy almost from the outset has been Pakistan's quest for security amidst a perceived hostile environment. Relations with the outside world have therefore been evolved against a set of almost constant postulates through policies adopted by various ruling elites despite the diversity of their backgrounds and the professed differences in their ideological perceptions. This incidentally is also one reason why bureaucrats, civil and military, have been the key element in the handling of foreign policy, rather than the leadership at the top; only Zulfikar Ali Bhutto or Gen Zia-ul-Haq in the latter part of his regime felt confident enough to attempt fashioning the conceptual framework of the nation's foreign policy.

In an epilogue to the latest edition of Prof S.M. Burke's *Pakistan's Foreign Policy: An Historical Analysis*, Dr Lawrence Ziring of the Institute of Government and Politics of the Western Michigan University, points out that even though remembered by the outside world as the man who hanged Bhutto, Gen Zia-ul-Haq took over the reins of the Government "without a foreign policy programme of his own" and "picked up Bhutto's cadence", generally adhering to the course set by his predecessor. After Zia-ul-Haq's death, Ziring goes on to say, "domestic questions were subject to interpretation (but) Pakistan's external needs pointed to a continuation of the relationships and programmes already in train."

Significantly, Ms Benazir Bhutto chose to retain Sahabzada Yaqub Khan, who had been the late General's Foreign Minister since 1982, and during her visits to

various friendly countries, including the United States, China, Saudi Arabia and other states in the Middle East she reiterated her Government's determination to sustain arrangements and commitments made by her predecessor.

It is unlikely that Prime Minister Nawaz Sharif had any intention to depart from the well-trodden path but events, the full dimensions of which apparently had not been foreseen, overtook him. During her visit to Washington in June 1989, Ms Bhutto had received a clear warning of the United States' growing concern about Pakistan's nuclear programme (the CIA Director, William Webster, had unambiguously told the Congress: "Pakistan is engaged in developing a nuclear capability"). All the same, she returned home with the assurance that the American assistance agreement remained intact, at least in the short term.

When Nawaz Sharif took over, he found that the American establishment was no longer in a mood to accept Pakistan's assurances on their face value. As a result, the major challenge to Pakistan's policy-makers today is posed by the cutoff of the US economic and military assistance which came about towards the end of 1990. To make life even more uncomfortable for Mr Nawaz Sharif and his colleagues, the US Ambassador-designate, Nicholas Platt, declared during his confirmation hearing before the Senate Foreign Relations Committee that the aid suspension would be maintained "until US worries about Pakistan (on account of the nuclear programme) are satisfactorily addressed." Platt hoped that the issues involved would continue to be discussed by US and Pakistani officials "but we will not compromise our non-proliferation principles."

Pakistan's close association with the United States dates back to the first Pakistani Prime Minister's visit to Washington in 1950, but the perceptions in Islamabad and Washington with respect to the association have never quite converged. Not too long after his visit to the United States, Mr Liaquat Ali Khan had declared at a public meeting that Pakistan was not a camp-follower of either the Anglo-American or the Communist bloc, but the rise of the civil-military bureaucratic elite to power in Pakistan brought about a qualitative change in the relationship.

The main architects of the policy were Gen Iskander Mirza, Pakistan's Governor-General and later President, and Gen (later Field Marshal) Ayub Khan, the first Pakistani Commander-in-Chief of the Pakistan Army. Under their stewardship, Pakistan entered into a bilateral alliance relationship with Washington and also acceded to two US-backed strategic alliances, the SEATO [Southeast Asia Treaty Organization] and the CENTO [Central Treaty organization]. The United States was motivated by its policy of containment of Communism, whether of the Soviet or Chinese brand; Pakistan was struggling with the circumstances of its birth made difficult by India's hostility. Pakistan's strategic location, bordering both China and the Soviet Union, appealed to Washington in its pursuit of the objectives of the Cold War. Pakistan was seeking means to modernise and re-equip its Second World War vintage armed forces and in the process the

civil-military bureaucracy was aiming at perpetuating its hold over the levers of power. In return for its support to American objectives, Pakistan, according to unofficial estimates, received military aid amounting to \$1.5 billion or \$2.0 billion by mid-1965.

India did not opt for military assistance from the United States but by 1965 it had been in receipt of US economic assistance from the United States to the tune of about \$6.0 billion. It was during the Kennedy Administration that the United States changed its stand in favour of India and at the time of the Sino-Indian conflict in 1962 prevailed upon Pakistan not to exploit India's predicament by forcing a decision of the Kashmir dispute. The India-China war also prompted United States (and Britain) to rush military hardware to India, something that was openly resented by Ayub Khan. Subsequently, in quest of a more favourable balance of power in the region, Pakistan worked for the establishment of closer ties with China. The United States did not feel too pleased at the development but, paradoxically, in 1971 President Nixon made use of Pakistan's good offices with Beijing for the secret contact between his Secretary of State, Henry Kissinger, and the Chinese leaders.

Bhutto who came to power in the wake of the breakaway of East Pakistan demonstrated ambitions to emerge as the leader of the Islamic bloc and the Third World. Initially, the United States did not quite seem to trust him, possibly on account of the somewhat socialistic complexion of the People's Party's ideology and resisted overtures for the resumption of US arms supply which had been embargoed during the 1971 crisis. After his second visit to Washington in 1975, however, Bhutto prevailed upon President Gerald Ford to lift the embargo.

In the meantime, India had exploded its nuclear device and Bhutto had sought guarantees from the United States and other Western powers against possible nuclear blackmail by India. When he drew a blank, he entered into the nuclear reprocessing plant deal with France, which ultimately estranged him from Washington and contributed to his undoing. His successor, Gen Zia-ul-Haq, had a windfall when the Soviets invaded Afghanistan at the end of 1979 and forced Washington to make a reappraisal of its strategic interests in the region. President Jimmy Carter did not react too promptly and Gen Zia, as an American observer of US-Pakistan relations has recorded, saw "a fundamental flaw in Washington's lack of will and inability to stand by its allies, calling its record in Pakistan patchy at best." Washington then came out with the Carter Doctrine which stipulated that "any assault by any outside force to gain control of the Persian Gulf region will be regarded as an assault on the vital interests of the United States...and will be repelled by any means necessary, including military force.

In keeping with the Doctrine, Carter offered Pakistan \$400 million in economic and military assistance, but Gen Zia held the view that "Americans wanted to give a little aid (and) let Pakistan burn its bridges for ever to the Soviet Union." General Zia-ul-Haq showed remarkable patience

and sagacity in dealing with Carter. This ultimately paid off, and President Reagan, who succeeded Carter, approved a \$3.2 billion package of economic aid and military sales for Pakistan. In 1986, this was followed by a further \$4.02 billion six-year package. However, Washington's concern about the nature of Pakistan's nuclear programme continued to grow and the Congress ultimately vetoed any further release of funds to Pakistan in October 1990.

Pakistan's response has been to provide Washington with repeated assurances of the peaceful objectives of its nuclear programme, combined with declarations that Washington will not be approached with "a beggar's bowl." However, Mr Zaki, in his address to the editors in Lahore, pointedly stated that "we must remember that the United States is a very powerful country and hostility towards it will not serve our national interests in any way." Mr Nawaz Sharif, meanwhile, developed a comprehensive formula to ensure nuclear non-proliferation in South Asia but making it clear that Pakistan will not accept a discriminatory regime (vis-a-vis India).

It appears that even if Pakistan and India arrive at accommodation on the basis of a regional regime for preventing nuclear proliferation, the United States will probably insist, on bilateral basis, on some more tangible evidence of Pakistan's eschewing its nuclear ambitions. This is likely to be seen in Pakistan as amounting to interference in Pakistan's internal affairs. The US Administration has also been concerned about the state of human rights and process of democratisation in Pakistan. After the 1990 elections there were indications that Washington now felt satisfied on these two counts. The US Administration also expressed its admiration for Prime Minister Nawaz Sharif's declared objectives of economic liberalisation and attempts to create what Ambassador Platt has called a dynamic, self-reliant, market-based economy, privatising inefficient public sector enterprises and encouraging private investment, both foreign and indigenous. However, Ambassador Platt in his observations significantly stressed that "the future of Pakistan is inextricably tied to how it manages its relations with India, with whom it has fought three wars." In the new world order, he believed, the two adversaries "must leave behind their animosities and actively pursue, not just mutual co-existence, but a friendship that will build lasting trust." This would seem to rule out any US or Western support for Pakistan's advocacy of the right of the Kashmiri people to self-determination and the freedom struggle in the Indian occupied Kashmir. Even more, Washington would apparently want Pakistan to move in the direction of substantial reduction in defence expenditures. Whether the IJI [Islamic Democratic Alliance] government can achieve all this without running the risk of antagonising the military establishment is a crucial imponderable.

Two other major problem areas for Pakistan in the realm of foreign policy are the continuing conflict in Afghanistan and the tensions in relations with India. Mr Akram Zaki, in his wide-ranging discourse on July 11, stated that on Afghanistan, Pakistan sought a political solution on the

basis of the UN Secretary-General's five-point formula, involving Saudi Arabia and Iran in the process and promoting an agreement among the Afghan groups on a political solution. When questioned, he stressed that the policy was based on inputs from all concerned agencies, implying that the military establishment and the Foreign Office were in harmony over the approach. He specifically stated that the Afghan policy is handled by the Afghan Cell in which all agencies are represented, including the Prime Minister and the President. The recent meeting between the Iranian Foreign Minister, the Afghan Mujahideen leaders based in Pakistan and Iran and the Pakistani leaders resulted in a positive declaration but a resolution of the issue was still not in sight. Pakistan's major concern is to ensure that conditions are created for the return of the three million Afghan refugees and the return of Afghanistan to an independent, non-aligned and Islamic status.

Pakistan's relations with India continue to be snagged by the Kashmir dispute, on which the declared positions of New Delhi and Islamabad are irreconcilable, and India's incessant allegation of Pakistan's interference in the East Punjab which has been in the grip of a full-fledged insurgency by Akali militants. Tensions have also resulted from time to time because of large troop movements on the Indian side of the border. The redeeming feature is that there seems to be the will on both sides not to let the tensions boil over. The Foreign Secretaries of the two Governments have already had four meetings and the fifth is scheduled to be held this month. Prime Minister Nawaz Sharif has stressed that all outstanding disputes should be settled by dialogue, in the spirit of the Simla Agreement and the UN resolutions. It is uncertain nevertheless as to how far a minority government such as the one headed by P.V. Narasimha Rao in New Delhi can go in making any major concessions on what has been India's position on Kashmir and other matters.

Pakistan's relations with the Muslim countries, particularly of the Gulf, came under a certain amount of strain during the Gulf War. The popular sentiment of Pakistan was massively pro-Saddam Husayn and the US intervention was regarded as motivated by the desire to inflict a crushing blow on the military potential of an Arab and Muslim country. Even the Chief of Army Staff, Gen Mirza Aslam Beg, spoke out in support of Iraq's posture of strategic defiance despite Prime Minister Nawaz Sharif's commitment on the side of the Kuwaitis and the Saudis. Official spokesmen explained the Government's stand with reference to Iraq's traditionally pro-India (and anti-Pakistan) posture in various international forums on issues such as Kashmir. Shortly before the Gulf War, Saddam Husayn had obstructed a move in the Organisation of Islamic Countries to include Kashmir on the agenda.

Pakistan has always regarded its relations with other Islamic countries as a primary determinant of its foreign policy. However, Pakistan and other Islamic nations now need to reassess the prospects of their capacity to maintain unity and withstand outside pressure in the context of the evolving new world order. There is no getting away from the fact that there is a strong pro-Israel lobby in the United

States and the Islamic Ummah is obliged to find a way to reconcile its aspirations with whatever is going to be the direction of the American policy vis-a-vis Israel in the coming years.

In Pakistan there is a strong feeling that hard-core elements among US policy-makers tend to look upon its nuclear programme with nearly quite as much concern as that of Iraq and this could have grim implications. The American media onslaught against the BCCI [Bank of Credit and Commerce International], since the bank is backed by Arab money and Pakistani professional expertise, is seen as an expression of the influence of the pro-Israel lobby and what disturbs Pakistanis more than anything else is the thrust of this onslaught against Pakistan's nuclear programme. There is a feeling that nothing would please the pro-Israel lobby more than to find a pretext to cut Pakistan to size and minimise its potential to be a source of strength to other Islamic countries.

Whichever way one looks at it, formulators of Pakistan's foreign policy are at a critical crossroads. The impasse over the nuclear programme leading to the cutoff of the American assistance affects practically the entire range of Pakistan's foreign relations.

Prime Minister Nawaz Sharif has reiterated the peaceful nature of the nuclear development programme but made it clear that he stands firm on his principle of not brooking any outside interference or discriminatory restrictions. He appears determined to develop internal resources to meet the challenge posed by the aid cutoff. With a hefty portion of Pakistan's resources committed to meeting the demands of the Defence Establishment and the inescapable contingency of providing for debt repayment, the effort involved in attaining self-reliance will be monumental. This could mean a reallocation of national priorities, across-the-board reduction in Government spending, including Defence expenditure, a vigorous effort to defuse tensions in the region and further identifying of common objectives among Pakistan, Iran, Saudi Arabia, Gulf countries and Turkey and a determined effort to resolve the Afghan problem. Above all, it would call for a measure of internal economic and political stability which continues to elude Pakistan.

Foreign Service Said Deteriorating

91AS1429G Islamabad THE MUSLIM in English
16 Aug 91 p 6

[Article by Dr. Afzal Iqbal: "Are We Short of Diplomats?"; italicized words as published]

[Text] A photograph was splashed in the press this week showing our Ambassador-designate to Libya taking leave of the President and the Prime Minister. The lucky envoy is retired Lt Col Khawar Rashid Pirzada. We are not sending a full Colonel for the simple reason that Col Mu'ammarr al-Qadhdhafi might consider it an affront to his own military status. A rank below him is, therefore, the right choice for accreditation to Libya.

By appointing a Lt Col as an Ambassador we have beaten our own record. In the past we have chosen a Colonel or two, a few Brigadiers, quite a number of Major Generals and an array of full Generals, the latest being the retired Chief of Air Staff. Canada, we are told, had earlier declined an agreement in favour of another Chief of Air Staff who had a penchant for poets but not for poetry. In Australia a former Naval Chief of Staff is our High Commissioner. All arms are already represented in the field of diplomacy. We hope General Beg does not join the ranks of the distinguished diplomats, now that he has doffed the uniform. We hope we can make his stay comfortable in this country.

We have no doubt that the armed forces personnel who are now heading our missions abroad are men of exceptional talent. It normally takes a career officer more than two decades to reach the top but the men in uniform catapult in two weeks all the experience that comes in twenty years of hard work. If an officer of an equivalent rank in the Foreign Service is made a Major General overnight he would certainly earn the ridicule and rejection of his armed forces colleagues. With all his training in suave diplomacy he would not be able to disarm their criticism. In any case he would fail to deliver the goods. There must be some magic in a uniform or how else does a Lt Colonel perform the functions of an ambassador? The next time we should send a *patwari* to Paraguay. He is bound to strike an equation with the president there for he represents the pure land of Pakistan. A *pirzada* is the son of a *pir*. And a *pir* has a prominent role to perform in an Islamic state, particularly when it also happens to be feudal. It is a matter of common observation that these holy men called *pirs* work miracles. The *ta'weez* and the *talisman*, charms, spells and incantations, cure diseases like madness, blindness, barrenness, deafness, dumbness etc. Their chants stop storms and change female into male children. They can double your money and convert your copper into gold. Some such charm has obviously worked with great effect on true believers like the President and the Prime Minister. There is no other way we can explain the nomination of a retired Lt Col as an Ambassador of Pakistan.

An ambassador is the personal envoy of the president and works at his pleasure. If the two are happy with each other who are we to object? But we wish most respectfully to submit that according to our protocol, a Lt Col is equated with a First Secretary in the diplomatic service. Now that we have some kind of a Constitution it would follow that a First Secretary from now onwards, will be promoted Ambassador on this analogy. If an officer equated with First Secretary can be appointed head of mission, why should a regular First Secretary wait for another twenty-odd years to become a full-fledged Ambassador? This is a violation of the spirit of the Constitution. This is a denial of the principle of equality of opportunity, and is certainly a discrimination of the most derogatory category. Ill-conceived acts like the one we have pointed out have helped create a situation which has robbed the Foreign Service of its rights and responsibilities. The Service has

already lost its charm. Young men and women now prefer to opt for Income Tax and Customs in preference to Foreign Service.

It is a paradox that officers of the Foreign Service have to bail out Pirzadas, Colonels and Generals, for they have no notion of the task assigned to them. A weak non-career ambassador is invariably provided with a strong career officer to write his despatches and run the mission. This is how the Foreign Office spoils those who spoil the Service. But then the armed officers are entitled to spoils of office, both at home and abroad.

If they can run Pakistan with such conspicuous success why can't they run a few diplomatic missions? We have known of a Surgeon General serving as an ambassador, we have also known a Lt General serving not only as an ambassador but a Foreign Minister for nearly a decade, we have known a Major General serving for two decades, but we have not yet known a single civil servant commanding a battalion of the army, or manning an office in GHQ. Most civil servants use their talent to curry favour with the sword arm of Pakistan, but they end up in a subservient role, even as a Foreign Minister during Martial Law. Granted that this is the legacy of previous military regimes in the country, granted also that the Army tends to regiment the mind of man into uncritical obedience. But their training is perhaps a little irrelevant abroad where one has to deal with diplomats of other countries who cannot be ordered into submission. The rules of the game are fundamentally different. A whole life-time spent in a certain environment cannot suddenly yield to a radically different set of values and adjust itself to an atmosphere which is not even remotely similar to the climate of a cantonment.

Why, then, can't we leave career officers to their own devices to deliver the goods? Give them guidelines and the resources to carry out the mandate. And above all give them a sense of dignity, and an equal opportunity to participate in the progress of our democratic process. It is time we stopped burdening career men with incompetent bosses. They contribute to the deterioration of a fine service which no longer comprises independent and progressive minds. The tendency is to seek promotions through flattery, intrigue, sycophancy and even betrayal i.e. reporting secretly on one's own head of mission. Once values like loyalty and integrity are allowed to erode, the deluge is not far behind. Principles are sacrificed at the altar of expediency. Our neglect is criminal and our short-cut suicidal.

Patronage is certainly the prerogative of the politicians. They can carry horse-trading by all means to the field of diplomacy, and auction posts to the highest bidder. They can name any one they like to any post. With an industrious Secretary General and an industrialist Foreign Minister (that is what our Prime Minister is). We had vaguely hoped for some signs of sanity. But Hafiz of Shiraz was right in the days of Halaqu Khan, and he is right in the days of dubious democracy. Seeing the follies of rulers he withdrew wisely into his shell and sighed with a measure of melancholy:

Princes alone know the secrets of their state-craft,
Paupers like Hafiz should not be protesting too much!

Media Allegedly Full of Disinformation

91AS1291B Lahore THE NATION in English 20 Jul 91
p 7

[Article by Fazal Qureshi: "Pakistani Media: The Virus of Disinformation"]

[Text] One has heard of virus infecting human being and other living organisms. One has also heard of a strange virus infecting inanimate mechanisms like the computer. Now there is another virus—the virus of disinformation which has widely infected our print media, all over Pakistan.

The virus of disinformation has spread fast and has grievously undermined the health of our media. It has made deep inroads into the body system of the print media nibbling at its credibility and vitality. However, it appears that instead of becoming alarmed at the sudden onset of this grim malady, majority of the newspapers and journals seem not only to be realising the phenomenon but, in many cases, actively aiding and abetting in the spread of this contagious disease at the cost of cherished journalistic ethics and values.

Before we proceed further let us see what do we mean by disinformation. Disinformation in one word means false information planted in newspapers with ulterior motives. It is the product of someone's figment of imagination. Often it is totally baseless or a crafty distortion of truth to achieve political or other gains by demoralising and destabilising the rivals. Typical examples of such information planted in newspapers through unsuspecting or obliging reporters, are stories about chaos, confusion and revolt in rival camps, or that the Federal Government has decided to oust a Chief Minister, or about serious difference between the President and the Prime Minister or between the Prime Minister and the army, or impending promulgation of martial law or national emergency etc. etc. One can also add to this class news based on rumours floating in the federal and provincial capitals giving forebodings of all types of ominous upheavals and disorders in the national body politics.

Obviously the disinformation ailment has been caused by over-indulgence in the pleasures of new found freedom of Press after decades of oppression and suppression under military and civil dictatorships. In another form this freedom is manifested in the blossoming of the print media in English, Urdu and regional languages in all cities of Pakistan. Never before did we have so many newspapers and magazines suddenly mushrooming in the country. In both these manifestations, the practitioners of the print media seem to be overstepping acceptable limits. Therefore, it can be said that this phenomenon of too much freedom and too many newspapers has given birth to the malady of disinformation. In a bid to outclass rivals, in an endeavour to gain maximum readership appeal even some of the well-established national newspapers appear to have abandoned serenity and sobriety for the sake of what may

be called free-for-all journalism. They are competing with each other to print news and views the accuracy and authenticity of which cannot stand even a summary scrutiny.

This state of affairs is also made clear by the fact that never before did we see so many contradictions being issued by all concerned for incorrect news stories. But, what is very disappointing is that media publishers do not seem to be bothered by this unhealthy development.

Undoubtedly much of the blame for spreading of false and baseless information to serve self-seeking interests can, to a large extent, be laid on the doorstep of unscrupulous politicians who would not mind resorting to any tactic to achieve selfish goals even at the cost of democracy, sectarian harmony and national integrity. But if the information concocted by politicians is attributed to them by name, newspapers do not share the responsibility or blame.

The ball is, however, shifted to the court of the newspaper, if its reporters instead of identifying the real source attribute it to unnamed "informed sources." He or she thus becomes a purveyor of disinformation either due to naivety or wilful connivance. With the real source not identified, the responsibility of disinformation squarely falls on the newspaper because it is the reporter's job to check and recheck all information to make sure that the news report is based on truth and not falsehood, speculation or rumour. But a reporter may be encouraged to indulge in reprehensible news reporting if he has, or believes he has, a green light from his publisher/editor to provide even half-baked, unverified news item to enable the newsdesk to add a few more sensational headlines. In such a situation, the editor and publisher share the responsibility.

But, I am quite sure no publisher or editor of a responsible national daily or journal would accept becoming a party to disinformation. Therefore, it is essential that publishers and editors take serious notice of the disinformation phenomenon. While it is understandable that a reporter can be wrong about his facts "in good faith," really believing that the contents of his news story are factual, but the contradiction of a major story is an occasion for investigation. Accuracy has always been regarded as the hallmark of responsible journalism and it is every editor's prime duty to ensure that whatever is printed in his newspaper is based on hard, honest facts.

My complaint is that it is the lack of this type of vigilance in most national dailies that has led to the spread of malady of disinformation. Some may seek protection behind the plea that they have to keep up with their rivals. This may be so but his is hardly a justifiable plea. It is time our newspaper editors and media organisations did something to rectify the situation. It must be remembered that while on the outside everything appears to be fine, there is a strong clearly visible current of dissatisfaction and disillusionment among the readers over the credibility level of our newspapers. There was a time when something appearing in the newspapers had the status of gospel truth

and newspaper reports were quoted as respectable proof of truth of an event or fact. But today, it is quite common to hear discerning readers complaining that nothing appearing in the newspapers is to be believed anymore.

This is an alarming state of affairs and, if allowed to continue, does not portend well for the fair image of our national journalism. It is our duty as journalists, editors, and publishers of newspapers to prevent this downward slide of standards of journalistic ethics. It must be kept in mind that money and circulation are important but not everything. The world over, newspapers with high standards of responsible journalism do not have circulations to match tabloids. I am sure many of our own newspaper editors and publishers would not trade principles for higher circulation.

It is, therefore, time for all of us to sit up and think. Why should we want to take stock of such matters only when forced by some government legislation or angry public reaction. Since we are engaged in building a strong democratic edifice for our nation, it is most important that we consider building up a strong ethical base for the fourth estate. This can be done by self-analysis and self-criticism, both at the individual newspaper level and also at the collective level of media representative organisations. Both CPNE [Council of Pakistan Newspaper Editors] and APNS [All Pakistan Newspapers Society] have, from time to time, set up ethics committees but these committees have not been effective due to lack of powers and agreed working procedure. One of the ways, of course, is to arm the ethics committees with suitable powers, to scrutinise and examine current trends in national journalism and point out the weak points and the black spots wherever they are found.

It is vital that suitable corrective measures are taken to rid the media of disinformation. The newspapers must not allow themselves to be exploited by political or other unscrupulous elements. Unless this is done at all levels of a newspaper setup, I am afraid the disease of disinformation is going to grow and cause irreparable harm not only to newspaper credibility and image but also to our nascent democratic aspirations.

Impending Press Restrictions Attacked

Attempt To 'Gag' Press

91AS1396A Islamabad THE MUSLIM in English
1 Aug 91 p 6

[Text] Official sources have confirmed, according to a news report, that a new draft of the Registration of the Press and Publications Ordinance is under preparation, but said the exercise was still in the preliminary stage. Even in the preliminary stage, the Ordinance, as reported, empowers the District Magistrate [DM] to cancel the declaration of any newspaper or refuse to grant a new declaration. In the previous Ordinance, in such an eventuality, the publisher or printer of the newspaper could go in appeal against the decision of the District Magistrate to the High Court but now, the newspaper would apply

directly to the government against such a decision. Going by the report, the District Magistrate would be competent to impose a ban on any newspaper whose printer, publisher or editor who, in his opinion, is found to be involved in un-Islamic activities. The DM will also be empowered to take action against any newspaper which cannot substantiate any report carried by it through solid proof. Newspapers encouraging or glorifying crime through their reports will also be liable to be banned. If this is the preliminary stage, God alone help us when the finalised Ordinance is enforced!

If ever there was a blatant attempt to gag the national press, this is it. It not only has shades of the infamous amendments made in Sections 499 and 500 of the Pakistan Penal Code by the late dictator Ziaul Haq, it surpasses them by far. The powers proposed to be vested in the District Magistrate are so arbitrary that they would make even the most hardened autocrat blanch. On the heels of the passage of the 12th Amendment, the intention to promulgate this Ordinance, this document of evil, has prompted even the man in the street to voice doubts about the government's real intentions.

There is even emphatic speculation on whether the government intends to use these horrendous curbs on the press in order to cloak its designs on matters of momentous import to the nation.

Not a single one of the proposals to be implemented in the intended Ordinance is acceptable to either the press or the nation as a whole. This pernicious document proposes to not only put the press in shackles but to stifle the voice of the nation. In a day and age when the government is doing its best to acquire totally arbitrary powers through the introduction of draconian laws, the press is the only channel which can keep the people fully informed of what is going on, and there should be no doubt that every attempt will be made to fight the proposed Ordinance. If the intention is to obtain reactions to the proposed measure by releasing to the press portions of the draft of the intended Ordinance and then releasing a watered-down version of the Ordinance, as is usually done, nobody is going to fall for the ploy.

Sharif Hostile Toward Press

91AS1396B Islamabad *THE MUSLIM in English*
8 Aug 91 p 6

[Article by Farhatullah Babar: "Press Curbs: Not Mere 'Imagination'"; quotation marks as published]

[Text] The Information Advisor Sheikh Rashid was quick to deny early this week newspaper reports that a new ordinance was on the anvil seeking to impose fresh curbs on the press by denouncing such reports as 'a figment of imagination and creation of a sick mind'. Giving the lie to the protestations of innocence, however, was the dissenting note of the Law Division objecting to several provisions of the new ordinance, particularly those relating to abolishing the right of appeal to the High Court against orders of the District Magistrate closing down a publication. A senior officer of the Information Ministry confided

to THE MUSLIM on condition of anonymity, that the draft ordinance "has been sent back to us with the advice that the matter be reconsidered as the proposal is pregnant with serious implications."

At a time when the Law Division's objections lay on the desk of the Information Secretary, the tongue-in-cheek denial by the Advisor, of the existence of such a move, has high-lighted the grave suspicions the IJI [Islamic Democratic Alliance] government harbours about the print media and dramatised the government's eagerness to ambush press freedom at the first sign of an opportunity.

It is neither a 'figment of the imagination' nor the product of a 'sick mind' that the government is increasingly being perceived by the press as laying a calculated siege around it. A number of incidents relating to the press during the 9-month IJI rule reinforce this perception.

First, it has been a constant refrain both of the Prime Minister and his Information Advisor that newspapers have been indulging in "irresponsible and sensational" journalism. It was in this refrain that Sheikh Rashid recently told a Karachi-based journal, "Some newspapers have gone far beyond the limits in their criticism of the government" and went on to warn, "Writing baseless things about the prime minister and his team is just not acceptable.... We are very serious about this point."

The prime minister himself even went further. Feeling frustrated with the press, which he no longer perceives to be as obliging as when he took on the PPP [Pakistan People's Party] government a year ago, Mr Nawaz Sharif publicly threatened, on the eve of Media Seminar in April last that he was more than willing to confront a hostile press. Claiming that he was a product of confrontationist policy, he warned the newspeople that he knew how to deal with them. But when the press ignored the warning the prime minister resorted to blackmail. During the Gulf War the prime minister accused some un-named pressmen of being in the pay roll of some foreign powers to sabotage his government's Gulf policy. Unfortunately, however, for the government, neither warnings and threats nor attempts at blackmail yielded the desired results.

Thereafter the government began employing other levers of control. Abolishing the system of free import of newsprint by the newspapers it reverted to the quota system under which newsprint is doled out to obliging publications as patronage. The quota system had been abolished by the previous government allowing direct import of newsprint by the newspapers and thereby removing a major lever of state control over the newspapers. On the pretext of responding to the newspapers demand to abolish the import duty, the IJI government reduced the surcharge on the import of newsprint but quietly reverted to the quota system to retain its stranglehold on the press.

Reimposition of the quota system was followed by mysterious knocks at the newspapers offices by uniformed policemen on the pretext of ascertaining the "credentials of printers, publishers, editors and other working journalists." Seldom before has there been such an indiscreet

display of police power, trespassing into newspapers offices to "physically verify journalists' particulars."

That all this was part of a much larger design soon became obvious when the government passed the Shariat Act 1991, clause 17 of which seeks to circumvent press freedoms in the name of Islam and Shariat. An official explanation later admitted that this particular clause was intended to stop publication of news stories "which are not based on identifiable sources and to put to an end the practice of publishing reports attributed merely to reliable sources.

The Shariat Act was soon followed by the 12th Constitutional Amendment, the implications of which for the print media have not yet been fully highlighted. The Amendment provides for "speedy trial of cases of persons accused of such of the heinous offences specified by law...(which are)...sensational in character or shocking to public morality. Thus the press which the prime minister has more than once accused of 'sensationalism' is liable to be brought within the mischief of heinous crimes and therefore triable by Special and Speedy Trial Courts. It will be an unprecedented move to chain the national press.

Thus armed, the Information Ministry drafted the revised RPPPO (Registration of Printing Presses and Publications Ordinance) replacing the one issued in 1988 and which finally lapsed on March 14 this year because it was never placed before the National Assembly for approval.

The revised ordinance stipulates that a District Magistrate can annul the declaration of a publication but denies the publisher the right to appeal in the High Court. It empowers the District Magistrate to take action against a publication for "offending Islam and the ideology of Pakistan." Any appeal against the action taken would lie only with the government. Curiously, the term 'ideology of Pakistan' has been left undefined in the ordinance, leaving it to the whims of a magistrate to construct any meaning upon it. What is worse, the law was intended to be applicable retroactively thereby enabling the government to close down a publication simply by accusing it of having committed an offence in the past! And taking their cue from the Shariat Act and the 12th Amendment the wise men of the Information Ministry included in the draft ordinance a clause empowering the district magistrate to close down a publication if it indulged in 'sensationalism' of crime or failed to produce material evidence of all news published and which may have been based merely on 'reliable sources'.

It is good that the Law Division has rescued the Prime Minister Mr Nawaz Sharif from unnecessary confrontation with the press by rejecting the draft ordinance even though the Information Ministry has been leading him on the warpath, as it did during the Media Seminar.

Threat to Democratic Development

91ASI396C Karachi DAWN in English 5 Aug 91 p 9

[Article by Dr. Mohammad Waseem: "Voice, Exit and Disengagement"; quotation marks as published]

[Text] The media's protest against the impending Press laws, the PDA [People's Democratic Alliance] leadership's hunger-strike against the 12th Amendment and Jam's arbitrary rule, and some lesser parties' idiom of defiance against perceived conspiracies all point to a common fact, i.e., the 'voice' is getting louder. The current pitch of the 'voice' is very disturbing for the health of the democratic polity in the country.

Will the 'voice' lead to 'exit' of one or more ethnic groups from the political system of Pakistan? Or will the process of 'exit' take another shape, perhaps en masse emigration, or even turning its back on the state in some cultural or economic sense? Will Sindh under Jam take a decisive step towards 'exit' along the pattern of East Bengal which exercised this option at the end of two successive military dictatorships? We have also to analyse the currently worsening law and order situation in Punjab and Sindh as factors contributing to 'exit' of a less extreme nature, such as rampant cynicism and loss of faith in the efficacy of the present state system.

What are others doing. I mean those who are neither raising their 'voice' nor working towards the 'exit' of one kind or another? After all the system has progressively become hostile to growth of citizen orientations. No respite is available from the social malaise, economic misery and administrative straitjacket. Under these circumstances, various strategies of 'disengagement' are adopted by different sections of people in order to survive.

The current factor of 'voice' is neither recent nor unique in Pakistan. 'Voice' operated against successive governments. Today, the majority government of Prime Minister Nawaz Sharif is caught in a situation where its earlier acceptance as lawful authority has been withdrawn by the Opposition. It has progressively alienated its political opponents by seeking to stifle their 'voice'. What has happened is just the reverse of what was desired. It has ended up indirectly boosting up the PDA's will and capacity for raising 'voice'. The IJI [Islamic Democratic Alliance] government's unimaginative policies in Sindh, its ruthless pursuit of the 12th Amendment and the continuing harassment of the Opposition's legislators through various court cases left no choice for the latter to come to the street. Will Prime Minister Nawaz Sharif go the way his predecessor went? Why couldn't he take a more complacent view of the whole thing?

The Prime Minister's dilemma is two-fold. He seems to be constantly 'guided' by the powers that be. That leaves him little choice as far as genuine changes are concerned. Thus, unable to take up a fair political game with his parliamentary Opposition, he was forced to de-recognise the latter. That was his unwitting contribution to his own de-recognition by the PDA. He now finds himself in a cul de sac.

Secondly, the Prime Minister was deceived by his own vast legal powers, largely on the pattern of many of his predecessors. Once in power, successive rulers of Pakistan disregarded the presence of various groups and institutions belonging to legal profession, the media as well as political

parties which have been nurtured in the tradition of raising 'voice'. Both parliamentary debates and street demonstrations have represented the element of 'voice' in Pakistan.

What can be expected from the government when it is faced with 'voice'? Hardly a political response. If one listens to the Interior Minister's warnings or those of various IJI MNAs [Members of National Assembly] and Senators, one finds a constant hankering after the climax. From the Opposition's point of view, this amounts to a push factor, i.e., push towards the 'exit'. Its constituency in Sindh seems to take this indicator too seriously for the Government to realise. Elsewhere, the social elements not belonging directly to any of the political parties have also been getting frustrated over the lack of a response from the Government to their 'voice'.

Most of the people who have been rubbed on the wrong side by the prevailing conditions presided over by the government tend to suffer quietly and somehow manage to survive. That is a blessing for governments in Pakistan. Being devoted to loyalties of family, tribe, caste and creed, people of Pakistan have generally surrendered their initiative to those in powerful positions. But they are not difficult to mobilise as the history of the last four decades indicates. Till then, however, they tend to adopt various disengagement strategies. Among these we can count the suffer/manage strategy, the escape strategy and the strategy of parallelism.

The suffer/manage strategy is, of course, favourable to the pro-status quo forces. You take it and manage to survive, until, that is, you cannot take it any more. Most of the people who have a stake in the system tend to adopt this strategy, mainly because their gains tend to compensate for their losses. An unimaginative government will not realise the importance of keeping the stakes of the opposition in the system. It seems that the IJI Government in Islamabad has lost sight of this aspect of the rule. On the other hand, if you do not leave any space for the opposition, you will indirectly push it to go beyond the suffer/manage strategy of disengagement.

The escape strategy is the longest surviving method in Pakistan. One opts out of the economy or taking up a lucrative job in a multi-national corporation here or promoting the cause of, say, environment. More and more people of talent shy away from the insecure profession of politics. The government is obliged to create circumstances to open itself to them and not force them to take to one of the escape routes and disappear from the public scene.

Parallelism is another strategy of disengagement from the formal economic and political pursuits. Here, people take up clandestine activities either of drug trade, or underground violence or upkeep of sectarian causes. Largely on the lines of parallel economy, the parallel politics is the one carried out on the basis of alienation and marginalisation. In this way, some of the activists chose to disengage themselves from the perceived oppression of the system and develop parallel lines of activity.

How far has Pakistani politics moved from disengagement strategies of those on the wrong side of the government to the 'voice' strategy? How many of the political dissidents are forced to move from the stage of 'voice' to the fateful strategy of 'exit'? The current hostility between the IJI and PDA seems to be approaching the unfortunate point of breakdown of meaningful communications between them.

Obviously, the IJI has a higher stake in preservation of the present system. Therefore, it is obliged to take the initiative. It must remove the irritants in the way of better understanding with the PDA and seek to defuse the tension over its rough handling of the latter, both in Sindh and elsewhere. If history is any indicator, stockpiling legal powers did not help any government in Pakistan. Keeping down the level of political tension, on the other hand, is always in the interest of an incumbent government.

The more people disengage themselves from active politics, the more unhealthy it becomes. The more they are forced to raise their 'voice', the less stable the government will be. The more the public authorities ignore the uncanny and unpredictable powers of hitherto unmobilised ethnic appeal in certain areas, the graver will be the challenge to the state from those opting for 'exit' from the system altogether. But, to understand this, one needs maturity of outlook, coolness of mind, absence of vows to settle old scores and capacity for appreciating the long-term consequences of policies and actions.

Analyst Condemns Proposed Press Restrictions

91AS1382E Karachi DAWN in English 2 Aug 91 p 5

[Article by Nisar Osmani: "Concern at Proposed Press Law"]

[Text] Lahore: The Press reports suggesting that the Registration of the Press and Publications Ordinance (RPPO) is being drastically amended to reintroduce some of the objectionable provisions of the ignominious Press and Publications Ordinance [PPO] of 1963 have created a sense of concern and anger among various sections of the Press industry, generating an atmosphere which would only plague the relations between the Government and the print media.

In fact if recent reports are to be believed, the Press and Publications Ordinance which continue to embitter Press-Government relations from 1963 to 1988 will once again become substantially operative, delivering a severe blow to the freedom of the Press which has all along been the target of arbitrary government actions during the chequered history of the country. To say the least, some of the proposed provisions are both repressive and ridiculous.

A spokesman for the Information Ministry is reported to have commented that the draft of the law is yet to be finalised and that it will not be 'strictly' on the lines of the Press and Publications Ordinance of 1963. The fact, however, remains that the Government has chosen not to deny or contradict the original story that appeared the other day in a national daily, hinting that the RPPO introduced during the Caretaker Government's rule was

not being retained in the form it was promulgated by the latter in September 1988, and that it was being amended to be brought closer to the PPO.

The APNS [All Pakistan Newspaper Society], the CPNE [Council of Pakistan Newspaper Editors] and the PFUJ [Pakistan Federal Union of Journalists], representative bodies of the proprietors, editors and working journalists, respectively, have been demanding that the RPPO which was an improvement on the preceding law should be further amended and some of the obnoxious provisions of the PPO should be altogether removed to make the law acceptable to the Press industry. The decisions of the government to reinforce some of the more repressive provisions of the PPO has naturally, therefore, come as a shock.

Some of the provisions of the proposed law, according to Press reports, will bestow arbitrary powers on the district magistrate and give the government authority which has been misused in the past and is likely to be misused again.

For instance, the high courts will no longer have powers to hear appeal against the decision of a district magistrate when he refuses to grant a declaration or cancels a declaration. The appeal will now lie with the government. In simpler terms, the final authority to grant declarations will be with the governments which have been using it for a full quarter of a century (1963-88) on political grounds—favouring supporters and punishing opponents and non-conformists. The right to grant the declaration will thus once again go to the head of government itself although on paper, it will be in the hands of the district magistrate as was the case when Ayub Khan, Zulfikar Ali Bhutto and Zia-ul-Haq were in power.

A very objectionable provision of the proposed law is that a district magistrate can ban the publication of a paper on a ground that the editor/printer/publisher was involved in an un-Islamic activity or was opposed to the ideology of Pakistan. In a country where, unfortunately patriotism is considered to be the monopoly of the ruling party where opposition to the government is treated as opposition to the homeland and where sectarianism is used to suppress dissent, giving these powers to the district magistrates who might find it rather hard not to oblige the government of the day could be fraught with grave dangers. This will only renew unnecessary controversies making the confusion worse confounded.

Similarly, a paper could be punished for publishing a report which, in the eyes of the authorities, could bring the government into contempt or could challenge its 'lawful authority.' Even genuine criticism of the policies of the government by a journal could invoke a drastic action through a subjective interpretation.

Again, the district magistrate could deny a declaration to an applicant on the ground that he lacked formal educational qualifications. Such a provision in the law during the Raj could very well give a technical handle to the administration to deny a declaration even to Abul Kalam

Azad and Abul A'ala Moudoodi and some other distinguished journalists. Similarly, a journalist could be denied a declaration or deprived of it on the ground that 'his business party' was not financially sound—that it did not have enough bank balance nor a printing press could easily be used against Maulana Hasrat Mohani and Zafar Ali Khan, but this was not done.

The print media justifiably expected that the trend to curtail the curbs on the Press which started soon after the withdrawal of Martial Law in December 1988, would continue to move in right direction. Prime Minister Mohammad Khan Junejo could claim to have relaxed the atmosphere for the Press after the 102 months of Martial Law, including the 30 months of pre-censorship, during the Caretaker Government, the PPO was repealed to be replaced by the RPPO which was an improvement; during the 20 months of Ms. Benazir Bhutto's rule, things were still more congenial to the Press and even the electronic media appeared to be operating a bit more freely. It is indeed said that things should be returning to the black past even when the government claims a comfortable and convincing majority.

One can only hope the present Government would take all the three sections of the industry—the proprietors, the editors and the working journalists into confidence before introducing any change in the law and would keep in mind the stark reality that such retrogressive laws could be used against the present ruling party and that these could hamper the growth of democracy, turning the country into an oxygenless society.

Proposed Press Control Regretted

Widespread Misgivings Exist

91AS1428A Karachi DAWN in English 10 Aug 91 p 11

[Article by M.B. Naqvi: "A New Press Law?"; italicized words and quotation marks as published]

[Text] Shaikh Rashid Ahmad, the Prime Minister's Information Adviser, has denied the government intended promulgating a new Press law. But that has not removed the widespread misgivings.

It may not be fair to accuse Mr. Nawaz Sharif of anti-democratic intent; he can scarcely be so unrealistic. But the intellectual content of IJI [Islamic Democratic Alliance] politics being what it is, a warning is necessary about the consequences of Ministers and Information bureaucracy acting the way their prepossessions and nostrums dictate vis-a-vis the Press.

They routinely prefer tough administrative measures (i.e. arming police and bureaucracy with powers they demand) for improving law and order or even containing the Opposition. In this quest, they are disdainful of citizens' rights. Thus, the IJI regime gave them so many ordinances and 12th Amendment; that bespeaks a mentality borrowed from bureaucracy. An item of the latter's mental baggage is

their paranoia about patriotism and Islamic susceptibilities, almost exclusively concerned with externals and not spirit.

Anyhow what is being feared? The President of the CPNE (the council of Pakistan Newspapers Editors) has spoken of District Magistrates (DMs) being empowered to revoke a newspaper's declaration on several grounds that would indeed be fearsome if formulated in approximately the reported manner: If the editor or owner of a periodical is adjudged to be, or acts as, a friend of the enemy; if he does not regularly offer prayers and indulges in un-Islamic activities; if he *opposes* any lawful authority's action or order. Any of these is ground enough for cancelling a periodical's declaration.

There are two further provisions: the DM is empowered, on his own, to take notice, make a judgement about given matter's objectionable nature and decide (about the declaration). Secondly, no appeal shall lie with the High Court against a thus cancelled declaration.

A second story gave somewhat differently-phrased grounds on which the DM (i.e. government) would shut down a paper. They were summed up as: when the loyalty of the editor or proprietor is adjudged adversely; when un-Islamic activities are committed or supported if obscenity promotion is alleged; and when a report is published that cannot be supported by solid proof.

The trend is obvious: The bureaucracy is to have life-and-death powers over newspapers. All the grounds mentioned are inherently imprecise and catch-all. Making un-Islamic activity, loyalty, obscenity or publishing a report about what people are thinking or talking about being sufficient reason for a DM (i.e. a provincial minister or CM [Chief Minister]) to kill a newspaper is an assault on Press freedom. It is also a cruel joke: assigning top priority to crusade against obscenity or for propagating Islam at a time when there are plenty of painful economic, ethnic (law and order), political and foreign policy dilemmas is bad politics, intended to divert attention from real problems people face.

After all, no society has found objective criteria to judge what is obscene and what is permissible. A government judging an editor's loyalty is an obnoxious impertinence. What earthly criteria are there for judging a citizen's patriotism or love of Islam or suchlike.

Unless someone commits an act that is manifestly against the country's interest, and conforms to objective criteria, how can anyone's loyalty be impugned. To put such provisions in a Press law is reprehensible and anti-democratic. Real-life intention can only be to curb opinions' free expression. The Press is sure to react against such a vague law and counterattack.

Current background is relevant. The IJI Government enjoys a two-thirds majority in the National Assembly and has chalked up a number of achievements: the Indus Water Accord, a new formula for dividing centrally-collected taxes, giving more money to provinces, convening the Council of Common Interests and, of course, its economic

'reforms.' But still it is perceived to be unstable and the country has been reverberating with inspired rumours of its early demise. These things being the staple of newspaper reporting from Islamabad—especially such rumours—the government is said to be angry with the Press.

The bureaucrats do not realise that, while people have a *right* to know, they are used to secrecy. They tend to think of somehow silencing the troublesome inquisitiveness and detest the Press for feeling compelled to satisfy it. Hence their quest for more powers to control (read muzzle) the Press. (Other media and a substantial proportion of the Press is already under detailed government control and quiescent).

Predictably, this government's relations with the independent Press are not smooth. Both sides are mutually wary. This is unnecessary, more so because no civilian government can, in right mind, depart from democratic freedoms or abridge Press freedom and survive.

The current global climate of opinion also underlines this. Why so much suspiciousness, then? My theory is: the IJI leadership does not fully realise the implications of seeming to curtail Press freedom.

We all know this white elephant's record: the Ministry of Information and Broadcasting—or for that matter the Home Ministry. What purpose do they serve? Information officers are supposed to *sell* government thinking and achievements. Should that be a bureaucrat's job? This whole business is misconceived.

The Government has to do what people have voted it for—solve their problems, real ones and not divert them with talk about obscenity or religion or unpatriotic editors. The Press has better things to do than helping or strengthening governments.

The main duty of the Press is telling the truth, discover it in the rubbish of massive government propaganda and hold up the mirror to society. It exists to monitor the government whether it is or is not acting honestly and responsibly—in accordance with law and popular wishes—and whether it is husbanding the economy efficiently in the service of the people. The Press is not a doer of things. It is a lie-hunter, especially those of governments.

Popularising the thinking of a government or tomtomming its achievements is the ruling party's business—and not of the bureaucracy. Otherwise, it is a misuse of public funds. It is also corruption, properly so-called. No doubt, a government needs an efficient Press Information Department (PID) for both liaison and some PR [public relations] with the Press—in order mainly to provide factual information to Pressmen in time. Nothing else. Courting the people for political purposes is the job of ministers and party activists. All the rest of the information empire is a waste of public money.

If the ministers were to communicate directly with the people, shunning the bureaucrats' assistance and advice, they will do a better job of their politics. Whether their

administrative competence is equal to it or not is less important; a minister's job is primarily political—running and leading the country in the direction voters like.

Information bureaucrats have always failed in mobilising popular support for a government. Ayub Khan could not extend his rule by one day, despite the Information Ministry. Nor Yahya Khan lasted a day longer. Zulfikar Ali Bhutto, supposedly a genius in regimenting the Press, had to go when he did and the dutiful Press was helpless.

Doubtless, the Press has some power and prestige. But controlling it has always been counter-productive. Indeed, the control idea is self-defeating: by destroying its credibility, it renders the Press ineffective and politically useless. Why waste time listening to the advice of those who have never helped a ruler in difficulty?

Much the same applies to the Home Ministry. Despite their increasing budget, influence and power, these higher policemen have only presided over a constantly worsening law-and-order situation and a rising crime rate. Do let us judge the tree by its fruit. As for the snooping part of the job, their contribution to the obtaining political confusion and all-round bad blood is supreme. We do need police for the security of life and property and to keep foreign spies out. But that is a provincial subject. What is the huge irrelevancy doing in Islamabad?

Even in provinces, the police force learned to co-exist with crime syndicates. Its thorough-going overhaul is the need of the hour. Political fixing is not its job. At any rate, a political government should, leaving police to fight crime and maintain security, deal with political problems directly and politically.

Affront to Democracy

91AS1428B Peshawar THE FRONTIER POST
in English 1 Aug 91 p 10

[Editorial—"Will the Press go Under Again?"; quotation marks as published]

[Text] It is almost certain now that the IJI [Islamic Democratic Alliance] government has an anti-press law on the anvil which the president will be required to sign as ordinance. Some reports say the draft is still being given shape in the Ministry of Information; some indicate that a summary on it has been sent to the prime minister who has in turn passed it on to the Law Ministry where it is being examined. It is also being said that the IJI government will consult with newspaper editors before finalising it. The draft ordinance called Registration of Press and Publication Ordinance contains the following disabling provisions:

- A magistrate would be able to annul the declaration of a publication and close it down without the provision of a stay order through appeal to the judiciary.
- The magistrate would be competent to decide if a publication has offended against Islam and the ideology of Pakistan and appeal against this action would lie only with the government. The mischief of law will

be retrospective which means a publication guilty ever in the past of publishing anything perceived as anti-Islam or anti-ideology could be closed down.

- The magistrate will require material proof of all news published in the press on the pain of annulment of declaration.
- The magistrate will apply closure if he thinks that a newspaper has sensationalised the incidence of crime.
- Closure will be applied if a publication is deemed to have caused discontentment of the masses through its coverage of news.
- Newspapers will also be published with closure if they allow publication of material considered subversive of the 'lawful government' in the country.

Unfortunately, the government which has come into being after the 1990 elections has concentrated on law-making that threatens that part of the Constitution which grants fundamental rights. Ordinances have been showered upon the public aimed at curtailing judicial review, amendments have been pushed through the parliament that contain draconian aspects and constitute legal retrogression. The president may choose not to sign the anti-press ordinance because it militates against the fundamental right of free expression, just as President Giani Zail Singh of India sat on the law that sought to give the Congress-I government the right to open people's mail. There is enough ground even on the basis of ideology: the abominated PPP [Pakistan People's Party] of General Ayub was thrown out because the Federal Shariat court had found it un-Islamic. The proposed ordinance is worse because it takes away the right to appeal. There are laws against defamation and libel serving as restraint on the press, there is even a law in the offing that will punish those who insult religion and ideology of Pakistan. The biting edge in the coming anti-press law is the requirement to give proof of all news published. Since Pakistan has the regrettable tradition of closed government, speculations based on information passed on by conscientious 'insiders' at times about negative decisions taken by a beleaguered government. Pakistan's corrupt bureaucracy and their equally self-serving political masters are opposed by no countervailing power except the press to prevent them from playing havoc with the institutions of the country. The high incidence of crime has to be highlighted by the press because a totally politicised administration would otherwise ignore crime with political linkages.

Pakistan's free press after 1986 has lost favour with governments because of its reporting and opinion. Freedom of the press has revived constitutionalism after decades of unconstitutional regime. It has challenged the practice of closed government, brought to light political malpractices like horse-trading and exposed the bureaucracy working illegally under political tutelage. As in India, the press in Pakistan has trained its spotlight on the actions of the politicians and disclosed to the people their foibles whenever they have acted against the rules of political and constitutional decorum. Parties which get to form governments behave in a dishonest manner. When they are in opposition, they love the press for the accountability it

causes to take place in the midst of state institutions dangerously weakened by political manipulation. In government, the same parties become uncomfortable with this process of exposure and start drafting laws to somehow by pass the scrutiny of the press. The earlier anti-press law was imposed by a military dictator and the elected governments that followed it chose to live with the law because it

gave them a leverage against newspapers. IJI would be the first elected government to impose press curbs in the country if it actually follows through with the latest Registration of Press and Publication Ordinance. It will be a hara-kiri that the people of Pakistan will not have supported because the national consensus on democracy is beyond any doubt.

Foreign Debt Regretted; Self-Reliance Urged

91AS1429F Islamabad THE MUSLIM in English
18 Aug 91 p 6

[Article by Aslam Sheikh: "Taking Foreign Aid for Granted"; parentheses as published]

[Text] Now that the global aid scenario is changing, we are increasingly talking of self-reliance, and the American Ambassador in Pakistan is reminding us of the end of the Cold War and anti-communism, it is instructive to have a fresh look at our latest aid and debt profile.

Over the last four decades we accumulated a foreign debt of over \$26 billion (the figure does not include the grants without any repayment encumbrance. Of this nearly \$16 billion have been disbursed while another \$10 billion are still to be utilised. Despite our battle cry of self-reliance, we nonetheless went through our ritual of painstaking aid negotiations this year and chose to insist on \$3 million extra commitments for 1990-91 including the US share. This is done to ensure actual disbursement of \$2 billion so that we can maintain our credit-worthiness by returning now more than \$1300 million to service the mature debt.

Of debt servicing of this magnitude, interest represents \$570 million while \$772 million go for capital repayment. Incidentally, debt servicing now represents more than 23 percent of our export receipts (1990-91) and more than 14 percent of our total foreign exchange earnings (this means remittances are a big relief, still running at little less than \$2 billion. By comparison with many other countries this is a fairly heavy burden which is lighter for India and other South Asian countries. The debt servicing of \$1342 million does not include interest on short-term borrowing and IMF charges. We are now taking increasing recourse to short-term loans on fairly hard terms to tide over emergencies like the suspension of normal annual aid or IMF instalments. This year for example US aid commitments contracted in 1987 and that of IMF in 1988 still remain suspended. There are also reports of World Bank sector loans still undisbursed because of our noncompliance with condition attached to such loans. (For some even disbursements from other consortium sources are suspect but officials say everything is proceeding on schedule).

Over the years we have evolved a somewhat diversified pattern as far as source of assistance are concerned. [sentence as published] But here too primarily the sources are Western and are likely to act in concert whenever political or strategic considerations begin to influence the flow of aid. In the seventies for a couple of years the situation changed dramatically when with the oil boom the share of Muslim oil-producers like Iran, Saudi Arabia, UAE [United Arab Emirate], and Libya plus some others substantially increased in our total aid pool.

As of now, of our total debt, consortium sources have contributed more than \$21 billion. This figure of course includes \$4.6 billion owed to the Asian Development Bank, and \$3.4 billion to the World Bank, somewhat different in category from the country donors. The USA has contributed more than \$3 billion, Japan second with

\$2.6 billion, Germany more than \$1.5 billion and the balance shared in relatively small quantities by UK, France, Italy, Netherlands, Sweden, Canada, Belgium, IDA [International Development Association] and the ECC.

We owe roughly \$1.3 billion to non-consortium sources. Of this USSR has to be repaid \$700 million, China \$379 million and rest is shared by some East European countries.

Islamic countries' debt is now calculated at \$893 million. Of this \$350 million are owed to Saudi Arabia, more than \$100 million each to UAE, Kuwait, and Islamic Development Bank with the balance payable to Iran, Libya and OPEC Fund.

It is also interesting to note how our borrowing behaved in the preceding years. Till 1955 our debt was negligible—a total of \$842 million (mainly grant). Between 1955 to 1960 it rose to over a billion US dollars—more than half of this came during the first two years of Ayub's Martial Law. For the sixties the total aid escalated to more than \$5 billion, another \$5 billion came during the seventies. In the eighties (after Soviet intervention in Afghanistan) and between fiscal 1979 to 90 the total flow from all sources increased dramatically and the total disbursements aggregated roughly \$15 billion.

In 1978-79 Pakistan paid only \$435 million in returning the principal and interest. This burden after five years was more than \$500 million, rising to more than a billion US dollars another five years later and is now more than \$1300 million.

Pakistan has so far been able to take this rising load of foreign repayments because of the continued inflow of remittances, mainly from the Gulf. Despite the recent dislocation because of the Gulf War the annual flow is of respectable level. But the overall trend is one of decline from the peak point of \$2.8 billion in 1982-83. Since then we stopped having it so good. In fact the share of the Middle East in total remittances fell down from 85 percent in 1983-84 to 68 percent in 1989-90. It is likely that the new reconstruction activity in the Gulf, specially in Kuwait, may open up new opportunities for Pakistan in the area, reactivating the remittances boom. But it will not be wise to anticipate an unusual surge in the remittances and bank primarily on that for the self-reliance strategy. The realistic approach will be not to expect more than \$2 billion for some years to come.

The overall situation remains uncertain rendering the task of our planners, now drawing up the strategy and the dimensions of the next five-year plan extremely difficult. Self-reliance is a good political slogan for the Prime Minister. But so far there does not seem to be any truly meaningful exercise initiated in the corridors of power for a decisive move towards that objective. One does not find any special reference to that even in the Approach Paper recently released by the Planning Commission. The committee on self-reliance set up in the wake of the surprise US aid suspension seems to have bogged down in semantics. It

is time we hear something really concrete as how the slogan of self-reliance is going to be translated into an action-oriented programme. So far we see no drastic cut in non-development expenditure with "one-dish parties" a forgotten slogan. Our elite continues to take the dependence on foreign aid for granted. We seem to have lost all resistance and will live within our own means!

Economists View Effects of Privatization

'Economic Emancipation' Seen

91AS1427A Lahore *THE NATION* in English
13 Aug 91 p 6

[Article by Ikram Sehgal: "Privatisation Back on Track"]

[Text] The Government of Pakistan (GOP) has taken a landmark economic decision in transferring the ownership of Allied Bank Limited (ABL) into the hands of its employees. Management and labour of ABL had banded together to make the Allied Management Group (AMG), GOP accepting their bid at a debatable Rs[rupees] 70 a share in contrast of the sale of the much more profitable MCB [Muslim Commercial Bank] at a bargain price of Rs 56 a share to a Consortium of private entrepreneurs. Over 7,000 employees of ABL have thus become shareholders in a unique arrangement which has all the elements of succeeding. This represents one of Nawaz Sharif's finest economic initiatives. Following the 180 days of economic history, there had been a 60-day hiatus leading observers to conclude that the government had run out of ideas (and steam). The Nawaz Sharif Regime is firmly back on track in the area of its great strength, economic affairs. Sound economic policies strengthens the political base, the priorities of the present regime, are therefore, correct. Economic reforms take some time before their results become apparent, two-pronged initiatives are recommended for longevity of the government.

Pakistan has seen widely fluctuating economic policies within two decades. Before Zulfikar Ali Bhutto embarked on his odyssey of sweeping nationalisation, the economy was bedevilled by strikes and lockouts in industrial enterprises, a backlash reaction to "robber baron" syndrome in vogue during the heady industrialisation of the Ayubian 60s. Instead of ownership to the workers, enterprises ended up in the hands of an elite handful within the bureaucracy. With a built-in penchant for corruption, nepotism and favouritism, inefficiency and basic indolence turned once profitable industries into a loss-making albatross around the neck of Pakistan's economy. While one must commend some private entrepreneurs for their vision and competence, most had come to clover by bribing politicians and bureaucrats for permits and licences for establishing industries, large loans and credits obtained by them syphoned off systematically as kickbacks for machinery and equipment. This situation was not similar in the Services industry, yet the monopoly of the few gave the owners of the financial institution overwhelming power to channel funds at their discretion to their relations, friends and associates to the exclusion of merit-based aspirants. With the inception of United Bank

Limited (UBL) by Agha Hassan Abedi at the behest of the Saigol Group (who felt they were being discriminated against by the family owned-Habib Bank and Muslim Commercial Banks), the situation started to get better. Before the resultant competition could force the privately owned banks to be more responsive to the needs of the general public, nationalisation took the whole process into a different direction.

The most important factor that needs elucidation (and eulogy) is the formation of the Management-Labour Consortium in ABL. There have been suspicions and grievances about each other on either side, it speaks very highly of the workers that they have imposed faith in their management, it speaks even higher of the management of ABL that they have managed to retain the confidence of the workers. This mutual trust is an awesome responsibility for both, discretion and sincerity have to be exercised in continuing this mutual confidence and team effort into profitability for themselves. On the side of the workers, they will have to exercise restraint in their demands, even sacrificing prerequisites to ensure that the Bank remains a viable financial institution. As regards management, they must ensure that their dealings are honest and above board. Any hint of wrongdoing would be economically disastrous, a feeling that management is syphoning off funds or living the life of potentates could bring down this coalition. Khalid Latif, elected head of the AMG, has led his people with great confidence and purpose into a first victory, down the line he will have to take tough decisions to retain their confidence in his ability and integrity. In any management group there are free-loaders whose services have to be dispensed with. In the first flush of success, the bank's workers have pledged a freeze on their salaries and allowances for one year, this spirit of sacrifice must be emulated by executives up the line. This unique experiment is going to be watched with interest by all and sundry including the management and labour of other State-owned enterprises. The rich elite have aspirations for taking over these enterprises for a song along with their collaborators in bureaucracy. There will be thus a group of people who would love to see Khalid Latif and party succeed, many who would ensure that they should come to grief. AMG is an economic experiment that has much more than the ownership of one bank at stake, in balance is the whole direction of the economy, a comprehensive master plan for management-worker cooperation in maintaining industrial peace and thus a conducive economic environment for more investment. Cohesive management that can withstand internal and external pressures can only be successful by a judicious juxtaposition between the aspirations of the workers of an establishment in relation to the needs of commercial entity. In this respect one commends AMG in making a bid in contrast to the UBL workers who made a non-serious non-commercial offer for the ownership of UBL.

The phase-wise allotment of 51 percent of the shares to the employees and the rest to the general public through the stock market has been an extremely wise decision. Genuine privatisation must be broad-based, the concentration of wealth evokes the fear of "robber barons" ruling the

roost as aforementioned, the adversarial relationship between workers and management in Pakistan has been transformed in this entity into a working cooperation. With the masses taking a monetary interest in their success through the purchase of shares in ABL, the correct balance between entrepreneurship and social obligation will be created. As the sorry state of the social infrastructure in the private sector has shown, our entrepreneur, with honourable exceptions, have not shown any great social responsibilities towards their employees. The public sector has had two great plus points over the private sector insofar as it has continued to provide employment even during a recession (albeit at economic cost to itself) and the employees have had reasonable access to medical, transportation, housing, etc (sometimes to the point of abuse to their privileges). Now a unique situation has come into being that extends the responsibility of apportioning socio-economic requirements onto the workers themselves who now have a prime responsibility to make the institution work even if it entails sacrifices down the line. The participation of the masses in share purchase was thus an important formula for implementation of the privatisation concept for the good of the general public. The decision by GOP that the shares transferred to the employees will be non-transferable for five years is also extremely welcome and wise, it discourages exploitation by brokers. The performance of economies are dependent upon their financial institutions, this is the locomotive that propels the economy forward. In practical terms it creates cash liquidity that can be channelised into working capital or purchase of capital equipment, both for old enterprises and new investments. With the handing over of ABL to its workers a situation has been created where the new entity and the State-owned banks are going to compete with privately owned Banks, the healthy competition will be a tremendous boost for the economy while ensuring better facilities and services to the common man. This is an interesting triangulation where the government has taken a positive step in keeping industry and finance apart. Nawaz Sharif's decision is thus a fulfillment of the promises made to the masses that he will keep their interests paramount to the exclusion of the benefits to his own class. The IJI [Islamic Democratic Alliance] has now seized the high ground by adopting PPP's [Pakistan People's Party] socialist plank, turning philosophical promises made into practical realities. The normal political penchant to proclaim benefits to the masses while lining of one's own pockets is thus avoided.

Some other decisions in the past week have also been noteworthy, particularly the setting up of a four-member high powered committee to speedily develop a package of incentives and compensation for employees of public sector enterprises listed for privatisation. This committee is headed by a minister and has other cabinet colleagues, it has been mandated that at no stage will the interests of the employees be compromised, the PM has been insistent that their welfare must be safeguarded. The PM [prime minister] has thus expressed his continued interest in a sound policy for privatisation while ensuring that the privatisation concept does not degenerate into a fire-sale

from which only a few favourites would benefit. While the rights of the original owners have been kept paramount, the employees will probably have to bid higher than the owners to get the ownership transferred to them. All this is a clear manifestation of the fact that while the privatisation concept was necessary, the implementation procedure needed to be put back on the right track. Kudos are due to the Nawaz Sharif regime for being responsive to the media feedback, there are political points to be made by early noting of the direction of genuine public apprehensions and acting upon it.

There is a wave of renewed hope throughout the State-owned industrial and commercial sector, the limits of which cannot even be defined economically, the prospects are so effervescent. The hardworking management and labour are the best judge of how their enterprises became loss-making, they will be able to rid themselves of any corrupt, indolent and inefficient individuals within their own midst in a democratic display of fairness. Every individual will be confident that his earnings will be commensurate with his input, the jury that will decide this will be that of his own colleagues rather than that his livelihood be made subject to arbitrary justice having no relevance to merit. Motivation is a strong factor in enthusiasm and performance, by creating the sense of ownership, in, however, small a degree, GOP has created unparalleled worker confidence. If GOP will persist with these policies, then we begin to see hope that merit will prevail over nepotism and favouritism. For the Nawaz Sharif Government this may be small step in ensuring social justice, for Pakistan this is a giant step in economic emancipation.

Results Mixed; Problems Remain

91AS1427B Lahore THE NATION in English
10 Aug 91 p 8

[Article by Anjum Ibrahim: Economic Outlook: A Little of Good, A Little of Bad"]

[Text] Recent decisions taken on the economic front leave one bewildered. Ought one to endorse the government views because it has very successfully attempted to bring a semblance of fairness to its privatisation policy; or ought one to condemn the government for taking senseless decisions as regards the disincentives meted out recently to the domestic savings rate. Considering that the government, both past and present, have done little in their economic policies to merit a slap on the back, it is perhaps fair to give them a standing ovation for the good that has been done.

The Finance Minister Mr. Sartaj Aziz proudly presented the government's plan for privatising the Allied Bank. And proud he should be because, at a single stroke, he has made invalid all past complaints against the methodology being employed for privatisation. The allegations that he had to contend against in the past were three-fold. First was the accusation that privatisation in Pakistan was uniquely designed to make the rich richer. And its corollary the poor poorer. This charge was made to stick more or less because the sale was done through sealed bids whose bidders had to

be the rich since they were the ones who could have had the necessary finances. And if they did not have sufficient resources individually then the public witnessed hastily erected consortiums whose members all belonged to the already rich as happened during the sale of Muslim Commercial Bank. No effort was made to put up the shares on the open market so that an average income or lower income earner had at least the option to buy a few shares even if the chance they had the finances to purchase a controlling interest was next to impossible.

By adopting this policy the workers of the privatised corporation also felt threatened as the prime minister had ensured their jobs only for a period of one year. Strikes were becoming the norm as the employees felt that their jobs were on the line. And even though the productivity of public corporations was known to be low because of over staffing yet one could not dismiss the livelihood of so many as being unimportant from an economic point of view since with a rise in unemployment other problems would have accrued.

It was also revealed that bureaucrats responsible for determining who was to get the public corporations used their discretion to ascertain who was the likely candidate to succeed. Hence in certain cases the highest bidder was not automatically the new owner. And it was incomprehensible to a lot of people why bureaucrats with little or no experience in public corporations were given this discretionary power in the first place. Several argued that the highest bidder must be given controlling interest and if he or she could not then run the corporation at a profit then he would be the sufferer and not the government. Why was a second or third highest bidder given the option to match the highest bid? Hence charges of nepotism were being given credence.

As mentioned before the sale of Allied Bank changed all that. The government has announced that it would keep only 49 percent of the shares of the Bank. The employees have agreed to purchase 26 percent of the shares at a cost of 490 million rupees. And another 25 percent will be put on the Stock Exchanges of the country thus strengthening them as well. There is speculation that it is impossible for the employees to come up with the large amount of cash needed but even if the management takes a loan from its own Bank it is still a more preferable form of privatisation than what occurred with Muslim Commercial Bank. One would have hoped that the government had placed a ceiling on the ownership of shares i.e. not to exceed a certain amount so that share ownership was more dispersed and this would also act as a buffer against a take-over bid by any one rich individual or a hastily erected consortium in the future. But one feels sure that the government would rectify this oversight as the methodology adopted for Allied Bank seems designed to ensure that the controlling interest remains with the employees. However, to reiterate, the government seems to have made dramatic inroads in gaining the public confidence over its privatisation policy and one would hope that

the rest of the public corporations targeted for disinvestment would have a similar methodology employed.

But unfortunately what the government has achieved in privatisation it has lost in promoting domestic savings. Savings have an identity in economic theory with investment. The higher the savings the higher the investment. In the past with our low savings rate the governments relied on foreign aid and deficit financing to promote investment, policies which had a disastrous effect on the price level, balance of payment position and foreign exchange reserves. And it has always been realised by our governments that domestic savings are a prerequisite for attaining self-reliance, apparently still a self-professed goal of the present government in the face of drying up of foreign aid inflow. Consequently if savings are lowered then it is a foregone conclusion that foreign debt or deficit financing will have to increase to finance an investment increase which will translate into a GNP [gross national product] growth rate. The former is almost impossible and the latter is not feasible as its cost in terms of losing political support is high. And yet the prime motivation of the government was to generate resources for itself. But to do so through taxing savings was the height of folly to say the least.

Thus the recent imposition of a tax on dividend income and a 10 percent tax on profits that would accrue from saving schemes seems senseless. Of course the first ones to be hit by this would be the fixed income earners. Later the public, already disenchanted with saving domestically, since the rate of inflation is higher than the rate of interest (or profit as it is known), would attempt to take their money out of the country so that their savings at least keep pace with the domestic inflation rate. And calling the whole of Pakistan corrupt or unpatriotic for investing abroad, a common charge levied by our politicians although they always insist that there is a small unpatriotic element, would do little to change the perception of the people that it is financial suicide to save in Pakistan. It is not sensible to blame others for trying to make their money grow at the same rate as the inflation rate and thereby saving abroad as a direct result of the policies adopted by the government.

Many argue that the adverse effects associated with taxing the savings rate would far out weigh the benefits that will accrue from the new methodology for privatisation. It is however preferable to keep them in two separate compartments. In one the government scored high points and in the other it failed miserably. That the failure is incomprehensible simply because it is against the basic premise of economic theory just goes to prove that we need more economists at the Finance Ministry, and not just bureaucrats. It is to be hoped that the Finance Minister takes cognizance of the taxation policy on savings, and despite the fact that it was part of the Budget as we are told, even though it was missed by everyone including Mr. Sartaj Aziz in his speech, it must be discontinued forthwith. The economic viability and indeed our ability to attain self-reliance depends on it.

Process of Naval Chief Selection Examined

91AS1429E Islamabad THE MUSLIM in English
19 Aug 91 p 7

[Article by Tariq Majeed: "Choosing the New Naval Chief"; quotation marks and italicized words as published]

[Text] The Pakistan Navy [PN] is waiting to hear who will be its new chief. The change in naval leadership is not due till early November next. The government, however, may like to announce it much earlier—for a change. Choosing the new naval chief is not likely to be a top-priority task at the Ministry of Defence or in the secretariat of the President. Both the compulsions and considerations for appointing a new naval chief are much less than for a new army chief. The pressures are also much less intense, although present without fail. The task evokes no excitement amongst the senior bureaucrats. For most of the politicians, it lives well beyond their area of interest.

Lack of interest in the naval chief arises mainly from the low priority given to the Navy as an arm of national defence and partly from the fact that it is a long time now since the naval chiefs have done or even said anything that would arouse interest. If someone were to argue that most of the naval chiefs had a common quality of being shy of projecting the Navy to the public, the point would not be debated. The two wars that Pakistan has so far fought were too short to make the nation aware of the Navy's importance. The next war is likely to be quite different in both its opening and duration.

If the next war is preceded by a naval blockade of Karachi and the period of fighting goes beyond four weeks, the Pakistan Navy will become the lynchpin in the country's defence. And how the Navy acquits itself in that vital role, will depend upon what kind of a Chief of Naval Staff [CNS] it does have. A courageous, vigorous, combat-oriented, determined leader will steer the Navy with success in war but a compromising, peace-loving, combat-shy gentleman with ordinary will-power cannot do so.

The government must be having some formula by which it selects the man to head the Navy. We do not know its composition. Neither is there any long line of outstanding naval chiefs in Pakistan to throw light on at least the main ingredient of the stuff of which chiefs of naval staff are made. History of nations, however, is a good guide. It has a verdict on what should be the yardstick for measuring the potential adequacy of a naval chief or any military commander. Now, when a threatening enemy is knocking at the gates to drag Pakistan in another war, history's incontrovertible verdict appears all the more magnified for anyone to see. The verdict lays down only one criterion: the next chief of naval staff should be capable of leading the Pakistan Navy successfully in war.

What are the special characteristics which enable a chief to lead his forces to victory in war? High efficiency in dealing with staff papers and files! Mastery over ceremonials and public relations! Marked propensity for attention to discipline and dress! Great competence at making flowery speeches in formal meetings and enchanting small-talk in

informal parties! These have no relationship to fighting wars not to speak of winning them. What about brilliance at logistical or operational planning? Or deep understanding of principles of war and strategy? Or expertise in the knowledge of professional skills and equipment? It makes more sense but is still far from the answer. A naval chief doesn't have to be an expert in naval planning or maritime strategy of ship-board weapons and equipment. He will have plenty of planners and all kinds of experts around him, with not one but several outstanding figures amongst them. His own expertise in any field can be useful, but in all technical details required for decision-making he will be dependent on his team of specialists. In this respect one naval chief is as good as another.

The qualities for winning wars, and which distinguish one military commander from another, are: courage, determination and the ability to inspire others. The former two qualities are well-known. Their meanings and effects are clear even if these are expressed by different words such as dauntlessness, pluck, boldness or bravery in respect of courage, and resolution, firmness, perseverance or iron-will for determination.

In 1965 Vice Admiral A.R. Khan was the Commander-in-Chief of the Pakistan Navy while on the other side the Indian Navy was headed by Vice Admiral Bhaskar S. Soman. When on 6th September India attacked and started the war, Admiral Khan issued an exhorting command to his Navy: "Hunt out and destroy the enemy." Then as a group of his advisers discussed the possible intentions of the Indian Navy, he reportedly remarked: "Soman will think twice before taking any action; he knows it is A.R. Khan on the opposite side." It is part of history now that the Indian Naval fleet, which in those days was three times bigger than the Pakistan naval Flotilla, was nowhere to be seen in the Arabian Sea throughout the period of war. Either it stayed put in its home ports or operated only within its territorial waters staying well clear of Pakistan warships.

Admiral A.R. Khan's bold decision to pound the Indian port of Dwarka also showed his sense of history—often a characteristic of courageous commanders. Dwarka was the site of the celebrated Temple of Somnath which in October 1024 was conquered by Sultan Mahmood Ghaznavi who demolished the statue of the Hindu deity. The naval bombardment of Dwarka was also meant to draw out the Indian Navy as Admiral Khan was keen for combat at sea. But his Indian counterpart and colleague of the pre-partition days of the British Indian Navy, was not tempted to accept the challenge; he obviously knew something about his challenger that subdued him. The Indian naval chief had already been discomfited by PN Flotilla's aggressive deployment during the Rann of Kutch crisis and by a personal naval gesture of Admiral Khan earlier in 1965. In January that year, while returning with a squadron of PN ships from a goodwill cruise to Indonesia, and bound for Chittagong in East Pakistan, Admiral A.R. Khan decided to sail close to the Andaman Islands where the Indians were in the process of setting up naval radar and other facilities. By an unclassified signal, which was

sure to be picked up by the Indian communications interceptors, he took over command of the PN Squadron which, according to routine, was being commanded by the Flotilla Commander, and manoeuvred the ships to pass very close to Port Blair, the capital of the Andamans. In the process the PN ships also gathered some important information by observation and electronic snooping.

Courage

Courage is defined as "quality of mind or temperament that enables one to stand fast in the face of opposition, hardship or danger." Genuine courage, as is evident by its definition, is necessarily accompanied by determination and decisiveness. It is very unlikely that a man of courage will be irresolute or indecisive. The ability to inspire others is a distinct feature of character of great leaders. But other persons endowed with certain qualities such as compassion and justice are also able to inspire their subordinates and colleagues. In the armed forces, during war or occasions of difficult operations, nothing inspires the men as much as acts or attitude of courage on the part of their senior commander. So the single most essential quality that we are looking for—and the naval officers and sailors are yearning for—in the next chief of naval staff is courage.

Some people may think that the Chief of Naval Staff, located in the headquarters in Islamabad, is nothing more than 'the chief' of 'the naval staff', and that the job of fighting the main war at sea belongs exclusively to the Fleet Commander located in Karachi. It is a misconceived and unrealistic idea.

This is not the place to start an argument that discarding the title of Commander-in-Chief for the heads of the three armed forces in Pakistan was a wrong and negative step even if certain other countries had adopted it unwisely. In each a fighting service, army, navy or air force, there has to be a single central authority for control and direction of strategy and major operations in war. It is not without reason that in the United States which has a vast and decentralised military system the principal authority in the navy is called Chief of Naval Operations and not Chief of Naval Staff. Despite the 'clerical' designation of the naval chief in Pakistan, the functions of preparing the Navy for war and planning to meet the threat to the country's maritime assets and interests remain vested in Chief of Naval Staff. He may delegate all the authority that he wishes to the Commander PN Fleet but he will have to involve himself fully in the conduct of war to ensure that the Pakistan Navy fulfils its mission and justifies its existence.

Field Commander

A man likes the company that agrees with his own inclinations. A daring CNS would naturally want to select daring officers for the post of Fleet Commander and other key operational posts. His resolute manner and bold approach to decision-making will influence the people around him. Those among the staff who may be on the borderline between courage and compromise—and such cases are always there—will invariably tend to lean on the

side of courage. A CNS who is determined to defend the country and vanquish the enemy will seriously equip the Navy for the task. Instead of spending precious time and resources of wasteful ceremonies and superficial schemes he will bend his energy to building up the Navy's fighting power. Determined leaders who have a mission to accomplish never lament over lack of resources but manage to create new resources.

If a Chief of Naval Staff lacks experience in meticulous planning or is deficient in the intricacies of maritime strategy or assessment of total threat, it is no cause for concern. His senior and even middle-rank staff officers can make up for every such deficiency. But if he is deficient in courage, no one can make up for his deficiency. And this handicap will be reflected in every major step that he takes. In war it will have crippling effect on everything and will severely curb the initiative and combat spirit of the commanders of fighting units. The famous characteristic known as 'the fog of war' is mainly a product of fear, i.e. lack of courage.

Air Marshal (Retd) Asghar Khan who was misled in choosing his post-retirement career in politics but was a bold and outstanding Commander-in-Chief of the Pakistan Air Force, alluding to President Ayub Khan's lack of courage in fighting the 1965 war, writes in "The First Round: India-Pakistan War 1965."

"It was inevitable that the personality of the commander (General Ayub Khan) should have a profound effect on the course of land operations and our (weak) response reflected his outlook. The restraint and timidity that was forced on our Army ran counter to the natural inclination of our men and the judgement of our commanders in the field. In most cases they were forbidden to take the offensive even if their assessment showed that they could do so with advantage."

The most deplorable case in which lack of courage played a crucial role was the surrender of our forces in East Pakistan in the 1971 War. The entire episode was no doubt brought about by a covert scheme by certain foreign powers, but it succeeded because in its final phase the Army and the Navy commanders in East Pakistan were morally and psychologically crippled by the fog of war. No one should be surprised if it was a part of the scheme to manoeuvre such men into top positions in Pakistan who either lacked courage and determination from the beginning or had lost it on the way to reach high cadres in their military or civil careers.

Same Paralysis

The same paralysis, for the same primary reason, had also gripped the naval leadership in West Pakistan in 1971. To leave the battle-field and herd the warships of PN Flotilla into Karachi Harbour in the thick of war was an unprofessional and an unpardonable act. Loss of courage results in loss of soundness in reasoning. So some people argued that tying up all the warships in the harbour was meant to protect them against air strikes! Actually the assembly of fully-loaded warships had placed the Port of Karachi in the

greatest peril ever. Merciful God saved us from disaster. The catastrophe of 1971 was brought about by a small group of men who were devoid of strength of character. Such a happening will never be allowed again by the people of Pakistan.

There is no dearth of hardy, resolute and courageous officers and men in the Pakistan Navy, as also in the other two fighting services. Even allowing for the flaws in our system assessment and promotion, which favours the flattering and compromising types, certain percentage of the brave officers does get close to the top-most ranks. The

relevant government authorities must have sufficient data on the contenders for the post of naval chief to assess with fairness who stands where in terms of courage. After all each of the leading candidates, from the date of joining the Navy, has at least forty years of service to his credit.

There is a feeling in the Indian military circles that in the next war the Pakistan Armed Forces will fight to avenge the defeat of 1971. Resolute commanders at the helm of affairs in wartime can make that happen. Let us not disappoint the adversary.—*ed. The writer is a retired Naval officer.*

Causes of Lawlessness Examined*91AS1215E Karachi DAWN in English 9 Jul 91 p 6*

[Article by Eqbal Ahmad: "Anatomy of Disorder"]

[Text] Why, people ask, is social peace so much at risk these days? What has caused this severe and widespread break down of law and order? What can be done about it? Answers to these questions need to be thought out both in the long and short terms. The roots of the current impasse lie in a six-fold crises of Pakistani state and society. These are the crises of legitimacy, sovereignty, democracy, development, distribution and integration. To resolve them decisively and permanently would require structural reforms and sustained work. We need, but do not yet have a political movement or party capable of mobilising and restructuring this polity for modern.

A severe crisis of law and order is upon us; it may overwhelm the country before we find the will and capacity to bring about the needed structural reforms. Hence the need to identify the immediate causes which have precipitated the break down of civil order, and to suggest remedies which might be within the purview of the governing elite.

Almost always, break down of law and order occurs, and the authority of the government is challenged by extra-legal competitors when the rule of law has been devalued by the ruling class. When government and its leaders engage in large scale and perceptible violations of law, they sabotage its legitimacy and undermine both the moral and administrative framework of social order. In the last two decades this has happened in Pakistan at an accelerated pace.

Traditionally, law has been enforced unequally in our society. In the countryside, feudal clans are law unto themselves. In urban areas, high officials, their families and friends are generally exempt from the law. This structure of inequality before the law suited colonial purpose. It helped perpetuate the alienation of elite classes from the people and insured their loyalty to colonial rulers. After independence, instead of undergoing improvement towards equality before the law, elite disrespect for law became generalised. Also, as the size of the elite expanded and communication improved this community-above-the-law became more numerous and visible—objects of envy and extra-legal emulation. The dacoit is a self-made VIP without a pass.

This post-colonial regression can be attributed to the attainment of political primacy by two groups—feudal politicians and military generals—which had previously played the role of subordinates in the colonial system. Together, these two groups are most responsible for our present predicament. Rule of law was devalued, violated, and effectively abolished in Pakistan by three persons—two were military men, and the third was a feudal politician.

Mohammad Ayub Khan devalued it; Z.A. Bhutto violated and weakened it; and Ziaul Haq destroyed the framework

of law and order in this country. Benazir Bhutto and Nawaz Sharif should be blamed for their failure to reverse the rot they inherited. She became, and he may become, a part of the problem by failing to be a part of the solution. Historians are likely also to censure President Ghulam Ishaq Khan. The outgoing dictatorship had invested his office with extraordinary powers; so far he has deployed them for negative and partisan purposes, and not towards positive ends.

In situations of social conflict and violence, distrust and fear of losing turf to competitors are major impediments to the restoration of order and civic responsibility. Such an environment puts premiums on impartiality. When people in positions of power are perceived as partisan they lose effectiveness as leaders and administrators. The government of Sindh, for example, is a partisan entity; it also owes its survival to the exigencies of coalition politics. It is by definition ill-equipped to address the challenges at hand. To pretend otherwise is self-deception or worse—an act of giving priority to private passions over public interest.

From years of administrative indolence and politics of patronage there has occurred in this country an extraordinary fragmentation of power and responsibility. As a result, its governing structure has become progressively irrational, incoherent, and incapable. The state has expanded in Pakistan as it has in India and as it did in Pahlavi Iran—irrationally, without reference to the needs of society. It is immobilised by fatness.

Therefore, learner predators like dacoits and militia prey on it, and the society it is supposed to protect and serve.

Power is centralised where it should not be—in the federal and provincial capitals. It is decentralised at the local and municipal level where a focal point of decision making and execution is needed. Karachi's Mayor Farooq Sattar informs me that there are twenty-five different governing bodies in Karachi. No wonder he is the only big-city Mayor in the world who doubles as an MNA. Similar fragmentation of formal power exists in other cities including Lahore, and nearly all institutions of state except the armed forces.

Parliamentary rule entails the super imposition of informal loci of power over the already fragmented formal-legal structure. In an excellent article in the *Frontier Post* of 5 July, I read that in Punjab the informal locus of power often takes precedence over the formal one, even in times of emergency. Thus, following the mass murder in Lahore key decisions were taken by the Prime Minister's brother, Mr. Shahbaz Sharif, Punjab's Chief Minister departed to Mian Channu when Mr. Sharif took charge. Chief Minister Wynne, concludes the *Post's* commentator, "is only a *de jure* and not a *de facto* head of government."

The confusion is further confounded when myriads of MNAs and MPAs ignore their responsibilities as legislators and interfere with the executive branch of government. Political meddling by Ministers and so-called lawmakers has turned government agencies, including law

enforcement agencies, into 'pork-barrels.' They interfere with postings and promotions, and have injected thousands of lateral entries—including police and revenue officials—into the services. These ahalis, largely of feudal politicians, possess little discipline of work and no sense of administrative accountability. Along with their patrons, they have contributed heavily to the environment of lawlessness and extortion.

The immediate remedies are obvious: If they are serious about solving the problem of law and order our officials, especially the President and Prime Minister, must confront realities. Finding scapegoats will not do. Empty promises will not do. Enacting new, draconian laws shall not do. Coddling of coalition partners will not do.

Pursuit of political ghosts shall not do. Law and order is held hostage by political militia allied to the government, and by criminals wired to power brokers in Sindh and Punjab. By pursuing the Pakistan Peoples' Party instead, they insult public intelligence and further devalue the rule of law.

We desperately need, especially in Sindh, the establishment of impartial authority; the enforcement, without fear or favour, of existing laws; freeze on further governmental expansion and investment in a streamlining and rationalising the existing administrative apparatus; total ban on lateral entries into the services, and punishments by suspension from provincial and national assemblies of members who tamper with administration and the judiciary.

I have discussed only the most salient of functional difficulties, not the structural problems, which underlie the current crisis of Pakistan. These immediate causes are easy to address because they do not require fundamental reforms which all ruling elites tend to resist. They call merely for house cleaning; their correction requires discipline rather than sacrifice. Is our present ruling elite capable of making even this limited an effort?

Factors in Ethnic Strife Viewed

91AS1429C Karachi DAWN in English (Supplement)
14 Aug 91 pp III-V

[Article by M.B. Naqvi: "Impact of Ethnicity on National Politics"; italicized words as published]

[Text] Ethnicity is a factor that continues to undermine national unity and maintaining the nation's integrity has always been a major preoccupation. A country that has had to fight civil wars in East Pakistan and Balochistan and came to be dismembered in 1971 cannot treat the matter lightly. Also, the feelings of Sindhi nationalism have been allowed to become a fresh threat to Pakistan's integrity. The issue therefore, needs to be tackled with courage and imagination.

But Pakistan's national unity is not threatened by only one kind of ethnicity. Attention has so far remained focused on regional identities asserting themselves and demanding both recognition (respect) and a better share in good things of life. The other major ethnicity is based on religion. Look

at India. How it is constantly devouring Indian nationalist feelings—indeed Pakistan itself is a living proof of the strength of the feelings of religious particularism in the sub-continent. In this country, facts of demography—religious minorities are less than 10 percent—have lulled Pakistanis into believing it is no longer an issue. The fact is it is still a subject that can, and does, cause unending unhappiness.

The religious factor takes two main forms: the more obvious one is sectarianism that itself divides several ways. Its divisive potentialities are commonly realised, though politicians tend to paper over the cracks. They ostrich-like, ignore it and hope it will go away. It will not. However, dangerous as it is, it is only a part of our problem.

The other part is more serious but not many people realise its divisiveness. It is based on a narrow interpretation of Islam which holds that Islam cannot co-exist with territorial nationalism; and so the answer is an indivisible Ummah. Establishing a unique Islamic state is held out to be the religious duty of all Muslims which should cover all the Ummah, with Islam as the basis of citizenship.

Now this is a deeply contentious matter. Ummah, as a matter of hard political fact, is not united. Predicating a religious duty—establishing an agreed version (possibly an impossible task) of what used to be formulated as *dar ul Islam* in contradistinction to *dar ul harb*—will be a highly adventurist course. It implies uniting them all, no matter how. Trying to demolish 40 or so nation states so as to build a *dar ul Islam* on which all Muslim schools may agree is a task that can cause irreparable damage. And this is only one of its many implications. How the rest of the non-Muslim world will react is an uncertainty that ought to command utmost care and should discourage romantic adventurism.

The fact is that Pakistan has to live and survive in a world of nation states, as one of 160 or so nation states. And a nation state can only be sustained by feelings of nationhood among its people. There is no way of ignoring this particular aspect. Nationalism, the main spring of the feeling of national unity, can only be sustained when its legitimacy and prior claim on the loyalties of its people is not challenged by other attractive ideas. In Pakistan's case, Pakistani nationalism has been so challenged both by the factor of ethnic solidarity among minority groups based on race, language and culture and the schools that draw their inspiration from a narrow interpretation of Islam, holding Islam to forbid Muslims from entertaining territorial nationalist ideas.

As its inception, Pakistan's entry into the comity of nations was heralded by an address from Quaid-i-Azam Muhammad Ali Jinnah on August 11, 1947. In this, recognising the facts of life and geography, he gave a charter to Pakistan. It was to be a proper nation state to be sustained on territorial nationalism. This adumbration of what was obviously a secular concept embarrassed a great many fundamentalists and they have ever since been trying to forget or sidetrack this basic formulation of a man who is otherwise honoured as the Father of the Nation. And yet,

departing from the course he charted would be as risky as it is frightfully adventurous.

The rhetoric of fundamentalists is louder in Pakistan than anywhere else. It is held that the first and prior loyalty of Muslims is to the Ummah and not to geographical units (states) where Muslims may live. Any number of texts are quoted and they need not be contested. Facts of life, however, are painfully different. And not merely today. Ever since the early days of Islam, what the Muslims have had is a succession of what were fundamentally secular monarchies in various parts of the world.

Demands of religious piety and of statecraft have always pulled in different directions, as shown by persistent conflicts between rulers and religious scholars and teachers. The net effect throughout history has been a clear dichotomy, or rather a parallelism, between the monarch's expediencies in matters of statecraft or even social engineering and a vast number of simple God-fearing and law-abiding Muslims trying to live a good life in accordance with the dictates of Islam as they understood them to be. This dichotomy and resulting contradictions have never been reconciled. All Muslims continue to suffer from this theoretical dilemma: Whether to give prior loyalty to the state that is in its impact secular or continue hankering after according priority to the elusive unity of Muslims, the Ummah.

Although it may be possible to argue in terms of basic Islamic categories to establish that Islam does not really proscribe territorial nationalism, it would occasion needless contention. The question of interpretation of Islam in terms of religious texts or concepts underlying them is best left to scholars who are directly concerned with it. Here it suffices that, placed as Pakistani Muslims are and in the given historical and geographical context, there is no option but to live as an ordinary nation state, one among 160 or so, and make a success of it. Otherwise the task would be first to demolish all 40 or so Muslim states, and if necessary, forcibly unite them into a single Ummah in a political unit before we start on a career as a recognisable unit of modern world.

This is not a practicable or even preferable programme. We have to make a success of what we have: a territorial unit in which Muslims live cheek by jowl with non-Muslims. Pakistan is not at all a state only of the Muslims, as Jinnah had rightly recognised. It remains as multi-religious a state as it is multi-lingual and multi-cultural. Being factually correct, this is a safer starting point.

Although the question of reconciling the *true* demands of Islam with the facts of political life, national as well as international, remains to be satisfactorily accomplished, a rickety balance of sorts has in fact been arrived at through various Islamisation measures. We should leave it at this, unsatisfactory as it is thought to be by both Islamisers and secularists. It is now necessary to take up demands of other ethnicities. The task of allowing for those other ethnic factors in maintaining sound national unity is simultaneously easy (in purely theoretical terms) and hard in real life, as our history of serious troubles shows.

The events of 1971, all said and done, definitely established that relying on a mere amorphous Pakistani or Muslim nationalism plus Islamic solidarity is not enough for Pakistan's cohesion and unity. The distinctions based on language and culture, if not race, are important. We have to take purposeful cognizance of them. As it is, cultural particularisms had resulted in communal feelings and tensions and have already taken the shape of regular Pathan, Baloch and Sindhi nationalisms.

Pathans' insistence on being recognised as an ethnic entity of their own who want to live in Pakistan on terms they think would be honourable needs respectful attention. This desire and insistence on 'terms' annoys Pakistanis nationalists, such as they are. Baloch also insist on being recognised as an honoured and equal member of the family who ought not to be taken for granted—much less ordered around. Insofar as Sindhi nationalism is concerned, Mr G.M. Syed's demands, perhaps still bargaining counters, have to be taken seriously in any case.

'Being taken seriously' does not imply accepting them in toto, although it may be a good tactic to deal with Sindhi nationalists putting the onus of maintaining Pakistan's integrity or actually breaking it (at least in theory) may be an effective way of calling their bluff—insofar as it is bluff. (I believe that some of the more extreme demands are still a bluff). However, the point is that none of these original nationalists, or crypto-nationalists, should merely be asked to 'shut up and put up'. That way disaster awaits us. They have to be reconciled and persuaded; detailed negotiations are needed in order to satisfy their demands for what is essentially an assertion for a separate entity, the crux of which may be winning concessions, recognition and respect. It would be a great tragedy if we have learnt nothing from our 1971 experience.

It is worth repeating that this problem is easy to resolve (in theory) and only certain practical difficulties stand in the way. These practical difficulties arise from, I believe, thoughtlessness. Pakistanis have not done serious thinking as to how their nationalism should be formulated and propagated. Copying the conduct of Indian leadership vis-a-vis Indian minorities of all kinds is a highroad to failure. The Indian mistake, it should be remembered, lay in ignoring the hard facts of both religious ethnicity ('communalism' after 1947) and regional and linguistic ethnicities. They are paying for it.

While we are the successors of those who proved the Indian leadership wrong by creating Pakistan as a homeland for Indian Muslims, we have learnt nothing from that historic experience also. Pakistanis proceeded to copy the ideas, habits of thought and even prejudices of that older Indian leadership, merely making appropriate linguistic changes, consequent upon a different religious and cultural context. That Pakistan has not turned out to be a homeland of all Indian Muslims is both history's irony and a reminder of the vagueness and amorphousness of the term 'Indian Muslims'. The latter, too, are a polycentric entity in which the demands of various ethnic minorities or groups have got to be accommodated.

However, the theoretical resolution lies through the two interacting and overlapping concepts of democracy and federalism. Give democracy the fullest scope by ensuring the enjoyment of *all* civil liberties to all people and organise them into a true federation: problems should progressively disappear. Help from the related concept of devolution would be invaluable as a necessary supplement to the former. Let us not forget the polycentric nature of our society. Even the ethnic entities now loudly demanding respectful accommodation are themselves quite amorphous, embodying different kinds of minorities within their fold.

Within their chosen Pakhtoonistan, Balochistan and Sindhu Desh, too, minorities with undoubted ethnic distinctiveness demand recognition and protection. There is no reason why they should not be accommodated. A proper federation is not like what India's federation is or Pakistan's successive federations have been. All the constitutions of these two countries so far had the Government of India Act 1935 as their model in respect of the administrative structure. They are overly-centralised and reduce the provincial governments into simultaneously subordinate offices of the centre that are in themselves overly-centralised vis-a-vis diversities within the polycentric provinces (without assigning proper shape or powers to local governments). These defects suited the British who needed to retain ultimate power at Delhi in the larger interest of the British Crown. It is foolishness in the case of India and Pakistan.

A federation is a union of so many independent states who freely agree upon sharing certain number of subjects among themselves. It is these subjects that the federation deals with plus an unwritten aspiration on the part of all the federating states to march together in a chosen direction—and here comes democracy—for the common benefit of their respective peoples. If this democratic content in the federal and provincial spheres is assured in the sense of giving as many as possible fundamental rights to common people and ensuring that the state does not cheat in the matter of these rights, a federal unity is as strong as in any conceivable unitary state.

It has also to be understood that the spirit of democracy needs to be emphasised in two distinctive traits: one is the fundamental concept of the individual's rights—fundamental in the sense that the state cannot take them away or abridge or violate or even suspend through cast-iron (i.e. court-enforced) guarantees. The other, and related, characteristic is the orientation of administration (of common affairs). Power and administrative authority should, as far as possible, rest with the people or as near to them as possible. The primary tier of government is thus to be where the people live: locality or village. They should as directly as possible govern themselves and other higher tiers—district, divisional, provincial and central—should deal with progressively diminishing *common* subjects, appropriate to the level.

This is both a pragmatic and theoretical matter, dependent entirely upon the feasibility of keeping as much of government as possible at as low a tier as actually feasible. That is

the spirit or demand of both the concepts of democracy and federation; and devolution of power and functions is the necessary methodology. If an honest effort is made to translate them into practice, our main worry of accommodating the demands of ethnicity into an actually functioning national unity would be met.

Lawlessness, Disorder Continue To Escalate

Government Violates Rule of Law

91AS1422A Lahore THE NATION in English 9 Aug 91
p 9

[Article by Dr. Inayatullah: "Creating Order Without Law and Justice"]

[Text] That Pakistan faces a major problem of breakdown of order is recognised by the incumbent government, opposition, Press and general public that is affected by it. Differences emerge over the cause of disorder and effective methods of restoring order. As reflected in the promulgation of several ordinances and the 12th Amendment, the government regards such breakdown as a result of the slow judicial process, the lack of stringent laws and availability of unrestricted and unlimited unlicensed weapons. Part of the establishment, particularly the Chief Minister of Sindh, attributes it to the disruptive activities of the PPP [Pakistan People's Party]. This article analyses the validity of this approach and offers an alternative explanation of breakdown of order.

Indeed in a situation where state enjoys the trust of society, is accepted as agency serving rather than ruling people, is an effective instrument of order by upholding law based on social justice, minor infractions of law probably could be corrected by some of the measures suggested by government. However, in Pakistan, where deep alienation persists since the colonial period, between state and society, where rulers do not uphold the sanctity of Constitution and law, where state policies subvert social justice, where functionaries themselves contribute to the breakdown of order, and where magnitude of disorder has become enormous, the measures adopted by incumbent government are unlikely to restore order. Based on inadequate knowledge of the causes of breakdown of order, they are likely to prove counter-productive as the following analysis hopes to bring out.

Major causes of breakdown of order in contemporary Pakistan are:

1. Violation of sanctity of Constitution.
2. Disregard of equality before law and due process of law.
3. Subversion of independence of judiciary.
4. Inequitable development policies of the state.
5. Inadequacies of law enforcement machinery.
6. Pakistan's relations with India and Afghanistan.

I. State and Sanctity of Constitution

A state creates order in a society through the creation of a normative and legal system and supports it, when necessary, with coercion. However, when instead of imparting

vitality to moral and legal order, upholding its sanctity and willingly adhering to it, those who control the state (the rulers) frequently resort to coercion for maintaining order, they erode the effectiveness of the legal system and coercion thus contributing to widespread breakdown of order. One of the major causes of breakdown of order in Pakistan is disregard of the law by the rulers and state functionaries, their use of empty rhetoric of morality and religion and their preference for use of force to settle political differences and control crime.

In modern political systems the linchpin of a legal system and the source of law is a written or an unwritten constitution which is a social contract between the state and society that state would serve the society. It enunciates the principles and legitimate methods of acquiring and exercising power. Inviolability of, respect for and adherence to Constitution generally ensures that the rules of the political game are being followed by everyone. This sustains order in the society. However, when Constitution is frequently violated state loses legitimacy or becomes delegitimised.

In Pakistan's short history the sanctity of Constitutions has been frequently violated. At least five Constitutions were prepared including the one drafted during the last days of the rule of Gen. Yahya Khan. Two were not promulgated one due to the dismissal of Constituent Assembly by the Governor-General in 1954. Two were abrogated. The 1973 Constitution was theoretically suspended but virtually abrogated by Gen Zia whose contempt for it is well known. When he permitted its revival it was in mutilated form to suit his political ambitions.

The lack of respect for the Constitution is evident also in their hasty amendment to achieve paltry political ends. The Members of the first Constituent Assembly once amended the then prevailing Constitution to curtail the power of the Governor-General in a conspiratorial manner. Gen. Ayub Khan amended his Constitution at will once to accommodate the wishes of his ministers to keep their posts without losing their seats in the parliament. Z.A. Bhutto once hastily amended the Constitution just to extend the tenure of the Chief Justice of the Supreme Court at that time. Gen Zia introduced Provisional Constitutional Order amending the 1973 Constitution, besides other reasons to get rid of those judges who mustered courage to challenge his arbitrary orders and remind him of the two conditions attached to legitimising his coup particularly the supremacy of judiciary. The Junejo government introduced the 8th Amendment under pressure from Gen Zia on his terms of sharing power—which proved to be only a short-term gain for Junejo as his dismissal in May 1988 showed. Mian Nawaz Sharif has set a record in the history of amending Constitutions by ensuring the passage of 12th Amendment in 39 minutes, ostensibly to restore deteriorating order but according to some analysts to arm the Sindh Chief Minister with additional powers to crush the PPP.

Such lack of respect for the Constitutions is also evident from the practice of the most of the rulers to acquire power

and then refuse to surrender it. They have used various means including dissolving assemblies, disqualifying their political opponents from participation in politics, banning or destroying political parties and rigging of elections.

Our rulers have dissolved five national assemblies and a large number of provincial assemblies most of the time for acquiring or warding off threat to their power. They have framed PRODA, PODOS, EBODS [expansions not given] and other laws. From Governor-General Ghulam Muhammad to our present rulers all have used these dubious laws to disqualify their political opponents from participation in politics and thus keep themselves in power. While the largest number of politicians belonging to several political parties were disqualified under these laws during the period of Gen Ayub Khan, the present rulers used them on a more narrow and precise target—the leadership of the PPP. Ronald B. Atkey, an official Canadian Government delegate who came to observe what is called in Pakistan “accountability” process has noted that:

“President Ghulam Ishaq Khan, acting on the advice of the caretaker Prime Minister Jatoi, acted capriciously, vexatiously and for political purposes in preparing and filing seventeen references against the members of the government dismissed by the President on August 6, 1990 (all of whom were members of the PPP).”

The present rulers, in addition, have used these laws to incapacitate the PPP leadership to effectively run political campaign in 1990 elections to ensure its defeat. The accountability also served the purpose of sending a message from the Establishment to some of the free floating politicians of the futility of supporting the PPP as it would in no case be allowed to return to power.

In clear disregard of the letter and spirit of the Constitution and democratic norms the rulers have shown intolerance for political opposition. Besides destroying their political opponent through character assassination, involvement in false cases and incarceration, the rulers have used repression against opposition political parties and in some cases by banning them. From the first Prime Minister of Pakistan who openly questioned the legitimacy of political opposition to the present rulers, all have tried to eliminate “undesirable” and threatening political parties. In general the greater the popularity of a party and stronger its mass base, the greater was the determination to eliminate it. The crackdown against Awami League and continuing persecution of PPP since the coup of July 1977, are two extreme examples, though other minor parties, such as Communist Party, NAP [National Awami Party] and Jama'at-e-Islami have also suffered this fate.

Pakistani rulers have also used another strategy to defeat and contain the influence of opposition parties—the creation of client parties. The creation of Republican Party by Iskandar Mirza, of Convention Muslim League by Ayub Khan, of MQM [Muhajir Qaumi Movement] and IJI [Islamic Democratic Alliance] by extra-political forces—MQM during Zia rule and IJI during Ghulam Ishaq Khan's Presidentship—are four examples. These client parties enabled their creators to destabilise political arena,

emasculate and defeat opposition parties at least temporarily and thus help them prolong their stay in power. In 1990 elections the extra-political forces apparently on the instructions of the Establishment, also provided funds for anti-PPP campaign in the Press.

Some Pakistani rulers have also rigged elections and a referendum to remain in power and deprive their opponents to come to power thus violating the letter and spirit of the Constitution. Starting with small scale rigging in fifties, it was practiced at increasingly large-scale in 1965, 1977 and 1990 elections. Gen Zia's referendum was rigged. The rigging of election of 1990 stands out as unique in the history of Pakistan for its sophisticated planning and for the fact that rigging was done through a collusion between the rulers, some state institutions and a political alliance—IJI—itself a creation of the state institutions. Besides, unlike the earlier rigging when the purpose was to gain power and defeat the opponents, the rigging in 1990 had an additional goal—the destruction of the PPP.

2. Destruction of Rule of Law by the State

In contemporary societies an essential concept which confers moral legitimacy to a legal system is justice. Justice means equality before law which requires that punishment for a crime should be same for everyone. A second ingredient of law based on justice is the practice of due process of law meaning that an accused is presumed innocent unless proved guilty and proof of guilty is to be furnished by the state according to an established procedure. The concepts of equality before law and due process of law have been extensively violated in Pakistan particularly where military bureaucratic rulers are involved. First, those who have extinguished the source of law, the constitution of the country, which is a major violation of the law, have never been punished. That their actions were given judicial legitimacy did not absolve them of their crimes, as such legitimacy was given when they still held the reigns of power. Even when Gen Yahya Khan's who was declared a usurper (after his removal from power) by a court was not held accountable for his action. Furthermore, whenever, those who violated Constitutions were forced to restore them they did it on the condition of immunity from punishment for any of their actions taken after the abrogation or during the period of suspension of the Constitution. The presence of 8th Amendment in 1973 Constitution symbolises such immunity.

The persecution of PPP since 1977 has particularly eroded the concept of the rule of law and contributed to the disorder in Sindh. The military rulers refused to view the PPP leaders and workers—who protested against the imposition of Martial Law of 1977, the execution of Bhutto, economic and political discrimination against Sindh and against the erosion of its cultural identity—as expressing political dissent. They were treated like ordinary criminals to be lashed and terrorised. The persecution reached its climax during MRD [Movement for the Restoration of Democracy] movement in 1983 involving most of the political parties. Since then disorder has worsened in Sindh. Persecution of the PPP was restarted with renewed

vigour after 6 August, 1990 on behalf of the Establishment by a Chief Minister against whom several cases were registered by Zia regime including killing of six Hurs and kidnapping a son of a political leader and who is suspected of having at one time surreptitious links with Indian intelligence—charges from which he has yet to be duly cleared. Present phase of persecutions of PPP is inflicting deep wounds on the psyche of PPP activists. It amounts to state terrorism which can produce only counter terrorism. This vicious cycle started by the state is likely to contribute to further deterioration in order. The myopic policy of persecution of our rulers may unfortunately produce irrevocable consequences for the country—snapping up the only major link between Sindh and Pakistan.

Equality before law and the due process of law has been violated by most of the Pakistani rulers by sacking, both selectively and indiscriminately, some of the state functionaries. Ayub Khan, Yahya Khan and Z.A. Bhutto removed a considerable number of public servants without following due process of law. Bhutto similarly sacked about a score of Generals without going through such a process. On the other hand when the Hamoodur Rehman Commission recommended legal action against certain Generals involved in atrocities in former East Pakistan, he failed to take the necessary action. Bhutto also removed the constitutional guarantees of security of service to the public servants which made them vulnerable to follow even the unlawful instructions of the rulers. Though since Zia no large scale sacking has taken place, public servants have been victimised for their alleged political sympathies.

Law Should Be Enforced

91AS1422B Islamabad *THE MUSLIM in English*
(Supplement) 16 Aug 91 pp 1

[Article by Mohammad Yasin: "Where Is the Rule of Law"]

[Text] Despite commitment to the Rule of Law by every government and equally so by the opposition, the incontrovertible fact remains that the successive governments have failed to enforce the Rule of Law in Pakistan. The laws made by the governments to which they are oath-bound to enforce have been violated with impunity. From time to time, the human rights groups in Pakistan and the Amnesty International have brought to the fore the instances of gross violation of the laws especially in respect of the criminal and political suspects.

The governments are as much to be planned for this state of affairs as are the opposition parties as they do not pay attention to the gross violation of the human rights and non-observance of the Rule of the Law in the country in a consistent manner. The opposition parties make a hue and cry over the excesses of the governments in power when their own workers are arrested and harassed. However they do not monitor the excesses of the governments in case of the ordinary citizens. And when an opposition party is in power, it forgets all about the rights of the people.

Amnesty International in its report on the situation of human rights in Pakistan in 1990 has apart from focusing

on gross violation of laws in respect of the rights of the criminal and political suspects, also submitted its recommendations to the authorities in Pakistan for the prevention of death and torture in police custody. The report makes a disclosure that it wrote to the Prime Minister of Pakistan in November 1990 to take all possible steps towards the protection of human rights in Pakistan but the AI has received no reply to this letter.

Unfortunately Pakistan has not ratified the United Nations' convention on "Principles on the effective prevention and investigation of extra-legal arbitrary and summary executions." All these principles outlined in the Convention are in accord with the fundamental edicts of Islamic justice and as such they should have been ratified long ago. The elected governments of Benazir Bhutto and now of Mian Nawaz Sharif should have ratified the UN conventions. But they did not do so for unexplained reasons. The Conventions' broad principles are subdivided under three headings namely prevention, investigation and legal proceedings.

The principles under the subhead "prevention" can be summarised as follows:

(1) Government shall prohibit by law all extra-legal, arbitrary and summary executions and shall ensure that any such executions are recognised as offences under their criminal laws, and are punishable by appropriate penalties which shall take into account the seriousness of such offences.

(2) In order to prevent extra-legal arbitrary and summary executions, governments shall ensure strict control, including a clear chain of command over all officials responsible for the apprehension, arrest, detention, custody and imprisonment as well as those officials authorised by law to use force and fire-arms.

(3) Governments shall prohibit orders from superior officers or public authorities authorising or inciting other persons to carry out any such extra-legal, arbitrary or summary executions. All persons shall have the right and the duty to defy such orders.

(4) Effective protection through judicial or other means shall be guaranteed to individuals and groups who are in danger of extra-legal, arbitrary or summary executions, including those who receive death threats.

(5) No one shall be involuntarily returned or extradited to a country where there are substantial grounds for believing that he or she may become a victim of extra-legal, arbitrary or summary executions in that country.

(6) Governments shall ensure that persons deprived of their liberty are held in officially recognised places of custody, and that accurate information on their custody and whereabouts, including transfers, is made promptly available to their relatives and lawyer or other persons of confidence.

(7) Qualified inspectors, including medical personnel, or an equivalent independent authority shall have unrestricted access to all persons in places of custody and to all their records.

(8) Governments shall take every effort to prevent extra-legal, arbitrary and summary executions through diplomatic channels and other like measures.

UN Conventions on investigation lay stress on prompt, thorough and impartial investigation of all suspected cases of extra-legal, arbitrary and summary executions. That requires the governments to undertake and facilitate inquiries to distinguish between natural death, accidental death, suicide and homicide. To achieve this end, the investigative authority shall have the power to obtain all the information necessary to the enquiry. The principles in the UN Convention require the publication of a written report within a reasonable period.

In its last chapter on legal proceedings, the UN Convention requires the governments to ensure that persons identified by the investigation as having participated in extra-legal, arbitrary and summary executions in any territory under their jurisdiction are brought to justice. It recommends that superiors, officers or other public officials may be held responsible for acts committed by officials under their hierarchical authority if they had reasonable opportunity to prevent such acts.

All these recommendations are reasonable and fulfil the requirements of justice. There should be no hurdle in the way of their implementation. They are in accord with the Islamic principles of justice. But the problem is that throughout the history of this country, the successive governments have winked at the disregard of even the existing laws in respect of the criminal and political suspects. How could they be expected to ratify the UN Conventions?

At least there should be unanimity on observance of human rights by the opposition parties and the ruling alliance. All of them put together should arrive at a consensus on the principles enshrined in the UN Convention and give them a legislative cover.

The current acrimony in politics and the main cause behind the law and order problems in the country would with passage of time be removed, if more liberal and humane laws are brought on the Statute Book.

Sindh Leader's Feudal Rule

91AS1422C Islamabad *THE MUSLIM in English*
19 Aug 91 p 9

Article by Dastgir Bhatti: "Sindh's Sense of Deprivation Assumes Horrendous Proportions"]

[Text] Just as the highly publicised official campaign for the voluntary surrender of illegal arms failed to attract any significant response in the troubled province of Sindh, the fortnight long drum-beating by IJI [Islamic Democratic Alliance] to invoke greater participation by the masses in the Independence Day celebrations too generated little

enthusiasm here. Except for a few major towns where the IJI components staged officially organised shows, the Day was visibly marked by lacklustre in the rest of the hinterland, generally referred to as the interior Sindh.

That the people of Sindh are politically conscious was beyond any doubt. Perhaps that is why even after 44 years since the inception of the homeland for the Muslims, they deeply realise that an independence without its essence is meaningless.

One can argue that the people who have constantly been denied the share in political power of the state for which their provincial assembly had the honour to move the first ever resolution must be at a loss to understand why, on earth, are they being systematically converted into a minority in their own historical and cultural homeland? On top of that when the sense of security in the face of rampant lawlessness becomes absolutely non-existent and the citizens are compelled to keep inside their houses before every sunset, how can one expect them to celebrate any occasion, big or small. Another factor causing the lack of enthusiasm, was the repressive policies carried out by the Jam administration during the last one year. Besides, the legislators and activists of the PDA [People's Democratic Alliance], the victims of the administrative high-handedness also included the supporters of Jamaat-e-Islami, the rebel groups of the MQM [Muhajir Qaumi Movement], the PNP [Pakistan National Party] of Abdul Hafiz Pirzada, the Sindh National Front of Mumtaz Ali Bhutto and Dr Kadir Magsi's Jeay Sindh (progressive wing) which have refused to bow before the ironhand rule of the man from Sanghar.

Obviously the brunt was borne the PPP [Pakistan People's Party]—the majority party of the province.

Was his country created for the millions of poor souls or just the chosen few, is now a question writ large on the faces of the thinking people here? Or let us put it in this way that how can the people of Sindh join a pomp and show staged by the short-sighted IJI rulers who are bent upon following in the footsteps of dictator Zia in not only denying them their due representation in the provincial political set up, but were also continuing with the oppressive anti-people dispensation? Openly robbed of their mandate, the Sindhis in their own right painfully feel that they are the most unfortunate people for after a decade long valiant struggle for the restoration of democracy and basic civil liberties, when their sense of deprivation began partly subsiding during the short-lived PPP rule, the ruling coterie once again turned the tables on them on August 6, 1990, as a result of which they are being subjected to an unprecedented political victimisation.

The rule of Jam Sadiq Ali during the last 373 days, has been a copy of the 12th century feudal society which could be witnessed from the Independence Day gifts he has sent to his former party friends in his home district of Sanghar. The former federal minister Shah Nawaz Junejo who had the audacity to fight the 1990 election against Jam Mashooq Ali has been languishing in jail since last year. He was the harbinger of the PDA in Sanghar district and had

fielded Fida Hussain Dero (also in police lock-up) against the then caretaker chief minister on a provincial seat from Tando Adam. Although both the PDA candidates lost the polls to the Jams yet their ordeal seems to be endless since they had challenged the latter's authority.

On 13th of August, the irrigation department of the government of Sindh ordered the closure of the water courses which feed the agricultural lands of both the detained PDA men in Tando Adam and Shahdadpur. Two other PPP leaders from Sanghar namely Mukhtiar Shoro and Abdul Salam Thaheem and a former provincial minister, have also been subjected to the same ruthless treatment. Out of these four victims Shah Nawaz Junejo was charged with his alleged involvement in the firing case on the MQM camps in Karachi. If he was really a culprit then why did the chief minister personally call on him in Karachi jail on the day of Eid-ul-Fitr and stayed with him for three hours. Later during a hearing in a court, Junejo told newsmen that Jam wanted to mend fences with him but now it was too late.

The relentlessness of the PPP leadership of Sanghar district seems to have unnerved the chief minister. Hence he has now decided to cripple them economically.

It is worth recalling that Shah Nawaz Junejo was picked up by the police in the early hours of October 24, 1990, the day of the national polls along with two of his sons and dozens of supporters. His residence was littered with the bullets then and now let his crops run dry.

These are just a few cases of Jam's cruel hospitality towards his erstwhile bosom friends turned criminals.

Over a dozen elected members from Sindh (including Karachi) are rotting in prisons and police lock ups. About the same number have gone underground since they are wanted under serious charges and some 20 have already compromised and switched over to the government responding to the call of their conscience, but conveniently ignoring the conscience of their electorate which runs into hundreds of thousands.

Unfortunately it is in this manner that from August 90 to August 91, members of the very August Houses have been mercilessly humiliated in Sindh.

As for the law and order situation and the miseries of the citizens, the figures collected by various human rights bodies should be an eye opener. According to the details over three hundred innocent persons including females and kids were killed either by bandits or the law enforcing agencies. This includes 75 extra judicial murders in Hyderabad and Sukkur divisions.

Some 60 villagers were killed and over two dozens kidnapped during the last fortnight alone. Similarly the way judiciary is being treated in the case of 32 PSF students granted bail by the high court is horrendous.

Moreover, during the last one year some three thousand people were jailed (many of them released later) due to

their political affiliations and more that the ten thousand youths were arbitrarily thrown out of their jobs.

Many in Sindh subscribe to the view that even during the worst years of the Zia's martial law the authorities could not dare resort to such drastic anti-people tactics in Sindh as have been witnessed during the year-long rule of Jam Sadiq.

While resorting to a blatant carrot and stick policy with the sole motive to earn the loyalties of the PDA legislators and the followers, the Jam administration has not only abused the state machinery, it has also plundered the public exchequer to an unparalleled level. Several facts exposing the illegal and unlawful actions of the administration could not be published because the press is the constituency of the chief minister, as he proudly claims.

Although an unbiased, objective and factual information has become the victims of the circumstances, yet when the time will draw the curtain, and lay open the facts about the vendetta and the embezzlement of public property, the people across this poor country will be jolted. An over-egged pudding that Jam will leave behind him will also prove bitter for the IJI's federal government to digest. But then it will be too late also. The festering wounds of Sindh by that time will not be easy to heal.

Ethnic Terrorism Rewarded

91AS1422D Peshawar *THE FRONTIER POST*
in English 10 Aug 91 p 8

[Quotation marks as published]

[Text] Hyderabad—Sindhi Qaumi Sath [SQS] (a social Sindhi organisation formed with the objective to rehabilitate homeless Sindhis of Hyderabad affected by ethnic riots last year), has taken strong exception to the cheque for Rs.[rupees]30 million recently handed over by Punjab Chief Minister Ghulam Haider Wyne as first instalment to Hyderabad Municipal Corporation's [HMC] MQM [Muhajir Qaumi Movement] mayor Aftab Ahmad Sheikh, terming it as "an award and appreciation [as published] the Punjab government for the massacre of Sindhis during Qila operation and afterwards at the hands of MQM terrorists."

In a press statement issued here on Friday Fahmida Qureshi, central convener of Sindhi Qaumi Sath, has feared that the ethnic terrorists would feel encouraged by this gesture and start a new wave of massacre of innocent Sindhis. She learned that Punjab would be held responsible for the eruption of any new wave of ethnic terrorism in Sindh. She said that SQS was being pressurised by homeless Sindhi families to go to the Punjab and not only stage demonstrations on the mall road as well as in front of Punjab chief minister house but also try to call on Ghulam Haider Wyne and the intellectuals there and apprise them of the resentment created all over Sindh by the said partisan move on the Punjab chief minister.

Fahmida Qureshi opined that with this aid extended for the terrorists by Punjab chief minister, it was now abundantly clear that the Punjab government was party to

ethnic riots in Sindh and the resultant displacement of Sindhis. As such she called upon all political organisations of Sindh to raise their voice against the blatant support of terrorists by the Punjab government. She regretted that by extending support to one party the Punjab government had tried to prove that the Sindhis were responsible for the massacre. If it was accepted as truth then why "innocent panahgirs" were residing in their own homes while the "cruel Sindhis" were compelled to live in the camps pitched in the open in the outskirts of Hyderabad city, she asked. She alleged that with the said aid of Rs. 5 crore Punjab wanted to strengthen ethnic terrorists to force Sindhis migrate from urban areas to rural areas. She said that the Sindhi nation was aware of the "evil agreement" reached between "panahgirs" and the vested interests of Punjab, but said she was confident that designs to divide Sindh would be frustrated.

SQS convener warned what she called the Punjab Prime Minister and chief minister of Punjab not to interfere in the internal affairs of Sindh and stop patronising terrorism in the province; otherwise it would have dire consequences.

Fahmida Qureshi also accused the IJI [Islamic Democratic Alliance] government of implementing a chauvinist political strategy to eliminate Sindhis through ethnic terrorism. For this purpose "panagir" terrorists were being organised on the pattern of Tamil terrorists, she said, adding that this conspiracy was amply evident from the grant given by the Punjab government under the cover of rehabilitating Qila affectees. She regretted that those 500 MQM terrorists, who were responsible for the massacre of innocent Sindhis, had been "applauded" by giving them grant through HMC mayor Aftab Sheikh who is notorious for his ethnic chauvinist views.

Law Agencies Fail To Cooperate

91AS1422E Peshawar *THE FRONTIER POST*
in English 10 Aug 91 p 3

[Article by Syed Haider Ali Shah: "The Story of Operation 'Tribal Storm'"]

[Text] Owing to peculiar geographic, historical and social conditions, there are three tiers of law enforcing agencies in the NWFP [North-West Frontier Province]. The police enforces law in the settled areas, Frontier Constabulary [FC] keeps an eye on the borders between settled and tribal territories, while political [pol.] authorities look after law and order in the tribal area. These law enforcing agencies are not properly bridged together and generally lack harmonious working relationship, thus facilitating the occurrence and proliferation of crime. But as a pleasant surprise, last week an incident was witnessed in which all the three agencies joined hands and worked in close unison to achieve a common objective. The results were singularly encouraging and bright coloured. The case in point is the recovery of four UN officials including a New Zealander, Dr John Stewens and three Afghan nationals, within four days of their abduction.

I was myself a witness to the efforts made by the concerned agencies and remained in touch with the developments taking place during the operation for the recovery of the kidnapped officials. He that will eat the kernel, must crack the nut. For the interest of the readers, the story of how the nut was cracked, is narrated below.

On the 1st of July, a convoy of three vehicles belonging to UN-sponsored Afghan Agricultural Rehabilitation Programme, under FAO [UN Food & Agricultural Organization], was returning from Wana. In the midway, two of them stopped for a cup of tea, while the third kept going. The two vehicles soon resumed their journey, with one of them stopping again for fuel. The other vehicle, a blue land cruiser No. UN-68-167 continuing its journey, was stopped and abducted by a heavily armed gang of desperados, who were travelling in a vehicle, near Said Aman Killi, at a distance of 4 km from Badaber police station [P.S.]. The Zangali check post, on receiving the news of abduction, communicated the same, immediately to the police station. Meanwhile, the programme co-ordinator of FAO, Dr Fitz reported to the P.S. that one of the three returning vehicles was missing. All senior police officials including IG [Inspector General], DIG [Deputy Inspector General] and SSP [Superintendent of Police], Peshawar rushed to the police station Badaber to monitor the situation, arising out of the abduction of the UN officials:

The concerned high command, instead of being gripped with panic, reacted with cool and showed presence of wits. They decided to immediately launch an operation for the safe recovery of the UN officials. Commissioners, Peshawar Division and DIG, Peshawar Range established a close liaison between themselves to carry out the operation. The police, FC and Pol. authorities were blended together to achieve the task. The brass tacks of the operation were chalked out by the SSP, Peshawar, who constituted special investigative teams for the said purpose.

Arbab Alam, DSP [Deputy Superintendent of Police], Inspr. Rafique, SHO [station house officer] Badaber, Sultan Akbar SHO, Nasir Bagh and Inpr. Ghulam Mohammad were sent to the tribal territory [T.T.] in plain clothes to carry out the intelligence work and collect necessary information regarding the whereabouts of the kidnappers and abductees. They succeeded in a single night in knowing that a gang led by notorious criminals Naimat Shah of Malik Din Khel, Farooq Bangash of Kohat and Asmatullah alias Shaetan was involved in the crime. The plain-clothed officials also came to know that the vehicle used in the abduction was spotted in the hujra of Naimat Shah, while Farooq and Shaetan were seen in the abducted land cruiser, moving towards Chora in Jamrud.

On the basis of above information, a speedy operation was jointly planned by the political and police authorities. While the latter provided Walkie Talkies, gas guns, and grenades, smoke and doors-breaking shells and a specially trained gas squad, the political authorities led the operation with zeal, courage and intelligence. In this operation, APA/Bara received minor injury from the blast of a grenade, which were used by the criminals from their

hideouts. But, in the end, the operation proved successful resulting in the arrest of seven desperados, including the gang leader Niamat Shah. Two interrogative teams under SP [Superintendent of Police (rural)] SP (urban) were constituted, before whom the accused revealed that Farooq and Shaetan had shifted the kidnapes and snatched vehicle to one Sher Gul Kuki Khel of Ghundai, Jamrud. This information was communicated to the political authorities, who surrounded the hideouts of the criminals and blocked all the escape routes. The outlaws finally gave in before the pressure exerted by the political authorities. The land cruiser was abandoned at Kacha Gari, and the next day the kidnapes were also handed over to the political authorities. Thus the operation for the recovery of UN officials ended on a successful note, adding a feather to the cap of law enforcing agencies.

But the episode might end up in sending wrong signals to the gangs of criminals. They might be led to presume that they should keep their hands off the foreigners, while the same can safely be laid on the local people of the settled areas, with the concerned agencies remaining finger crossed. Hundreds of cases involving abduction of vehicles and persons have been regularly taking place in the past, but never was seen a figment of the will and courage shown by the law enforcing agencies, which they manifested in the recovery of the UN officials. The hideouts and shelters of all notorious gangs in the T.T. are well known to the law enforcing agencies. They should not now sit on the laurel of UN officials case. Similar diligently planned operations must be launched to wipe out the demonic abodes of all criminal gangs. It's time the government agencies showed that this is not a lawless land, where outlaws of all sorts have a licence to kill and plunder. The credit must be given, where it is due, but the law enforcing agencies would be justly patted on the back, when ordinary people start feeling that life is easier for them, and difficult for the criminals.

'Influential' Crime Condoned

91AS1422F Peshawar THE FRONTIER POST
in English 11 Aug 91 p 10

[Text] The police have busted a 'Youth Gang', all students, who have been killing and robbing in Lahore over the past many months, but have let go a Pajero-riding gang who were caught chasing ladies on the Mall. The Pajero started threatening the lady-driver from the Fortress Stadium and followed her into the Gymkhana Club where luckily the police were able to catch the boys. However, when one of the boys claimed that he was a relative of an important politician now in power, the Pajero was allowed to go without a case being registered against the criminal.

It is quite possible that the Pajero was stolen and the youngsters were going to rob the lady or take her away and rape her. It is also quite possible that the boy was no relative of an MNA [Member of National Assembly] or MPA [Member of Provincial Assembly], but simply used the trick to get away. Since the police doesn't want to get into trouble with the feudal politicians in power, they let the criminals get away after being caught. The news has

given a bad name to the politicians but has also revealed the tendency of the administration to condone crime when it is committed by influential people. The same Pajero is most likely to be out hunting even as this editorial is being written.

Politicians, Police 'Unholy Alliance'

91AS1422G Peshawar THE FRONTIER POST
in English 11 Aug 91 p 10

[Article by I.A. Rehman: "Need for a Rational Approach to Crime"; quotation marks as published]

[Text] In the preceding three instalments of this study we have examined the damage done to the judicial system by rank adhocism of a police mind. The fact, however, remains that serious crime is on the increase and government and society both have a duty to curb it. If the attempts made so far are defective, what can be the right approach. The problem is too big to be met adequately by laymen journalists; it needs intensive studies by law-makers, jurists, administrators and, above all, sociologists.

Hitherto the administration has been reacting to symptoms of complex political and social upheavals. Possibilities of improvements even in this treatment have not been exhausted. The law-enforcing organisations may be handicapped by shortage of personnel or antiquated procedures. The working of normal courts can perhaps be speeded up by what has been aptly described by the Chief Justice, M.A. Zullah, as court management. There are many vacancies in the High Courts that need to be filled. And so on.

What experience has already told us to avoid is ploughing through the judicial system. There is nothing wrong with our laws. There is no dearth of laws to deal with all possible situations. Indeed, the statute book carries many more laws than necessary, laws that have become redundant, such as a law on the preservation of elephants. (If this law cannot be removed from the Code at least the word 'white' may be added before 'elephants'). There is no reason to reject the firm opinion of the Law Reform Commission of 1967-72 that these laws should neither be assailed as of alien origin, because they have been grafted on indigenous traditions, nor as being in conflict with Islamic injunctions, because Islam enjoins flexibility and adaption of penal codes to social evolution. If anything needs to be done to the judicial system it is the essential task of making the judiciary completely independent of the executive.

However, the more important task is to ponder over the factors that have contributed to the rise of heinous crimes. Much has been written about the effects of ethno-political-social currents underlying the crime situation in Sindh and the induction of arms consequent to the Afghan conflict and the growth of the drug mafia. But these factors have aggravated a situation created by the breakdown of the administrative machinery and destruction of police efficiency and discipline through the induction of favourites and the emergence of new links between the police

and unscrupulous feudals and politicians. An unholy alliance has developed between the police and corrupt politicians that serves as an umbrella for criminal gangs. Conscientious police officials can be victimised if they do not concede the wishes of political overlords.

The crux of the matter is that a corrupt state apparatus, especially one given to arbitrariness will not only fail to suppress crime, it will promote crime. If the state treats the rights of the individuals and the demands of justice lightly, a model is set for everybody down the line. If police and executive officials are employed to manipulate polls, to implicate political opponents in false cases or to spare well-connected criminals, they will do such acts in their own or friends' interests. No amount of meddling with the laws or reforms of the judicial process will end crime until the state superstructure is reformed, unless the highest in the land respect the limits to their lawful authority.

It is a moot-point whether by continuously shouting about heinous crimes and harsh penalties we are raising the society's threshold of sensitivity to crime as such. In a decent society ordinary crime should be considered a matter of concern and even minor penalties considered adequately deterrent. The majesty of law is not enforced by courts and the police alone. It flows from the moral integrity of the state itself, from public faith in its impartiality between individuals and between the individual and the state, from the belief that crime shall not remain undetected nor shall it pay. The facilities available to the drug barons, to smugglers, to corrupt officials to enjoy social respect is a strong incentive to crime in Pakistan today.

Ultimately we will have to face the basic issue of our society. We have got so used to dual standards of belief and practice that the rot is not even noticed. We believe in one religion and practice something else, we swear by parliamentary democracy and observe it only in the breach, and we boast of a system of justice which the executive is determined to subvert. The roots of crime, of the variety we are talking about and of the form nobody takes notice of, lie in hypocrisy.

The state leaders often plead that the people get everything, including a crime situation, that they deserve and therefore they must reform before the system is corrected. The truth is the other way round. Our leaders are very fond of quoting Islamic values. It is time they paid heed to the Holy Prophet's saying: 'The people adopt the ways of their rulers.'

Backward Condition Breeds Crime

91AS1422HA Karachi DAWN in English 9 Aug 91
pp 2-3

[Article by Shaikh Aziz: "Dacoity in Sindh: The Final Solution"]

[Text] Since the rise of dacoity during the past decade many solutions have been proposed by the police and other

law enforcement agencies, especially the much debated "operation clean up" in the thick jungles and hideouts of the dacoits.

According to an unofficial estimate, over 2,000 dacoits are currently operating in Sindh comprising some fifty small and big groups. They have their hideouts mostly in the riverian jungles, on both banks of the Indus, and the hilly tracts adjacent to Balochistan.

Despite all fool-proof attempts, the dacoits are never held owing to their accurate system of monitoring. The dacoits have penetrated all departments and information is obtained before action is taken. The result is that any isolated or collective action yields nothing. Instead, poor farmers, villagers and those cattle breeders living in the catchment areas are arrested. The latter are also victimised by the dacoits.

Since dacoity in Sindh has now assumed alarming proportions one solution, more than any other, can probably bring about positive results: the granting of general amnesty.

The amnesty issue has been discussed by a number of political leaders. The granting of amnesty does not mean justifying the dacoits' deeds, but for the cause of peace, it can prove fruitful. The amnesty should be on unconditional surrender and confession before the judicial authorities. They should be asked to settle in their places with assurances from local feudals, and be provided jobs in private and public sectors. The amnesty measure can result in the normalisation of the law and order situation like in the 1950s, when a large number of hard-core dacoits became reformed citizens.

Willing ex-dacoits could be helpful in maintaining law and order by helping the police or private security forces, etc.

Since feudals, police authorities and imprisonment are the main nurseries of dacoity in Sindh, social injustices have to be dealt with. A justifiable farm policy should be formulated so that disputes arising through land distribution and leasing do not become a cause for the rise of lawlessness.

Local committees or panchayats on the union council level should be formed comprising local notables. They must be represented by those dacoits who surrender and promise to live as peaceful citizens. The members of these committees or panchayats must be elected without their political loyalty and affiliation being considered. A clean record and proven social services should be the basis of selection, otherwise the measure would prove another nursery of banditry.

The local police should act on the advice of the panchayat. The panchayat should regularly monitor lawlessness and the rise of any dacoit must be checked in time and its causes removed quickly. It should work in close liaison with other panchayats and notables. The members would have to exert personal influence over law breakers.

In checking the rising trend of dacoity a change in the approach towards the issue is needed. Till now, authorities

have taken harsher means to eliminate a few gangs and think that the problem is solved by doing so.

The fact is that many other sociological causes lie underneath. Studies show that besides the feudals, and police, the lengthy procedure of justice, illiteracy, tribal customs and a strict family fabric also contribute to dacoity.

Case studies must be made, e.g., if Karo Machhi was a case of law and order, why did his son Nooroo Machhi (killed recently) choose to become a dacoit?

Sindh's social structure is feudal. The feudal lord is not only considered a nobleman but also retains the economic power. Through this, he rules the people. He defeated the objectives of the Land Reforms in 1958 and 1972. His will is often anti-human, derogatory and exploitative. The government's policies support this structure. This leads to the creation of dacoits. To break this tendency, a strong peasant society has to be created through legislation and their strict implementation.

According to an unofficial estimate, there are over 66,000 educated jobless youths in Sindh at present. The cities are sealed for them. The doors of industrial sites are slammed on their faces. The industrial sites of Nooriabad, Sukkur, Hyderabad and Karachi have the lowest number of villagers. The federally controlled organisations like PIA [Pakistan International Airlines], Railways, National Fertiliser Corporation, banks, state enterprises have a negligible number of men from rural Sindh.

Even the most menial jobs are filled from urban Sindh. The site of Nooriabad was created to provide jobs to the people of rural Sindh especially to the jobless youth of the districts of Dadu and Thatta, and to improve the economic conditions of the backward districts, but almost all the industrial concerns have preferred people from urban areas and parts of the country other than Sindh. The Kotri site, the biggest after Karachi, is located in the Dadu district. It has the least number of staffers from the district. Even the Piyaro Sugar Mills has the same kind of job distribution.

This job pattern, evident in several other sites as well, has left a army of jobless youth that looks to other sources to survive, including unfair means. It is said that Paroo Chandio and Naseer Faqir used to employ a number of educated persons and paid them handsome salaries.

A little management of the available resources can help solve the problem to a great extent.

Agro-based industries should be established in both public and private sectors in the rural areas. The government should ensure security to entrepreneurs and entire feudals to share in the establishment of such projects. One window service should be provided for securing loans and other facilities for the establishment of industries. While middle-class men should be encouraged in the field of industrialisation, the average rural man should be given jobs in these proposed concerns.

It should be seen to that a quota arrangement in the industrial concerns of urban Sindh is followed. A vigilant

committee should be formed to supervise the implementation of the policy to be chalked out with the consultation of the entrepreneurs, local nobles and elected members. Figures and facts can be published at intervals.

Rural Sindh has the least number of schools and colleges. The zamindar has always opposed any attempt to promote education for he fears that literacy will break his hegemony and political influence.

According to the census report of 1981, there was not a single matriculate girl in the rural area of the Nawabshah district. In the 200 km belt of the Dadu district, no girls college exists.

Intensive measures are needed to promote education without discrimination, not only in the public sector but also through non-governmental organisations.

A department of talent placement should be established under the supervision of a judge of the high court, which should closely work with universities and industrial concerns in both public and private sectors, as is being practised elsewhere in the world. This department through a continuous process, should monitor job opportunities as and when they are created. The provisions of quota, meant for rural Sindh, should also be monitored. This department should have a consulting board, incorporating elected members and should be free from political and bureaucratic snags.

At present the facility of self-employment loans includes a very lengthy procedure. This drawback should be checked and the situation remedied for needy youths.

The working conditions and the workings of the police should be reformed to make this a department of public service. It has to become a department that helps people, safeguarding their rights, and is a source of the easy dispensation of justice. It should help the courts to get offenders punished, and not implicate innocent people in cases.

The need for jail reformation is also there. Today, jail conditions help turn innocent people into dacoits and hardened criminals. The jail conditions must conform to our social demands. Illegal trafficking in the jails is a known fact. The jail has an underworld of its own. This should be put an end to and extra care should be given to achieve the objective of punishment, that can turn the convict into a peaceful citizen.

The slow dispensation of justice is also a source of banditry. Many people avenge their own injustices. There are instances when the accused has been killed on the court premises. The appointment of honorary magistrates chosen from among people with clean records, may help in disposing of the large number of cases pending in courts. Cases of revenue, which often take a longer time than criminal cases should be paid special attention.

Banditry, as seen in any country, is part of the society and social, administrative, legal and economic conditions are responsible for its existence. It cannot be viewed in isolation and has to be judged in the perspective of the total objective situation of the province. It can be attempted as

an issue of law and order, but that is not the only area which needs to be solved in order to bring about normality. A permanent solution lies in other extra-legal measures.

Victims Punished, Not Perpetrators

91AS14221 Karachi DAWN in English 18 Aug 91 p 3

[Article by Nafisa Hoodboy: "Protest Lands Mother, Son in Trouble"]

[Text] Karachi, Aug. 17—A widowed mother who quarrelled with her next-door neighbours for molesting her young girl has been punished by being beaten, rendered jobless and her son thrown in jail.

Razia Iqbal, a labourer in Mehran Towel Factory, narrated to DAWN that she and her son, 13-year-old Waseem were at work in the factory on June 4 this year when the incident took place at their home in Mohajir Camp. Her daughter, 15-year-old Fauzia was asleep when a married man, Yaqoob, who was visiting his in-laws next door, scaled the wall and tried to disgrace the girl. Fauzia resisted and the attacker ran away when her nose began to bleed.

According to Razia when she and her son Waseem returned from work, they were incensed by the reported incident and went next door to complain. The neighbours who, however, defended Yaqoob, and drew a dagger on the widow and her son. Both Waseem, his mother and the assailant, Yaqoob were hurt in that incident. But, according to Razia, the assailant's family being "influential" managed to make out a police case against Waseem, and got him locked up in Landhi Juvenile prison.

The incident has shattered the family—both Razia and her son Waseem were fired by the factory's contractor (relation to Yaqoob). Razia's daughter, Irum (5 years) has developed a dreadful eye disease. The family has already taken so many loans that it can't afford medical treatment.

The Lawyers for Human Rights and Legal Aid [LHRLA] which has taken up the case on humanitarian grounds, is filing a bail application for Waseem on Sunday.

Meanwhile, LHRLA has also written a letter to the DIG [Deputy Inspector General] Karachi outlining the facts of the case. A letter by LHRLA calling for the arrest of the assailants, has pointed out that "two women were outraged and mercilessly beaten up in public but no justice was given to them by the police and the real culprits are free to chase the victims."

Fate of Census Reportedly 'Uncertain'

91AS12151 Karachi DAWN in English 4 Jul 91 p 12

[Article by Izharul Hasan Burney: "Fate of Census 91 Remains Uncertain"]

[Text] Karachi, 3 July: The fate of the postponed Census-91 remains uncertain as the Government has not yet formulated a plan to overcome the factors which had contributed to serious controversy after the preparatory stage of House Listing earlier this year, it is learnt.

A related matter is the indecision about the Local Bodies [LB] elections, also due this year, as the two major exercises cannot proceed simultaneously owing to heavy reliance in both cases on the resources of the provincial governments in general and the district authorities in particular.

One thing is certain, however, neither the LB polls nor the Big Count can be planned for at least the next three months on account of the monsoons which make vast rural areas inaccessible.

That goes in favour of the Census Organisation which is reportedly engaged in exercises to fulfil the Government's commitment on the floor of the National Assembly that the census will be completed this year, concerned circles feel.

It is believed that during the last few months experts have tried to identify the problems and are working out various options to make it smooth and trouble-free.

To begin with, it is agreed that the results of the House Listing operation (November-December 1990) will have to be scrapped and only the marking/numbering of structures will be retained subject to further checking and improvement, sources said.

Secondly, experts are in favour of reverting to the old practice of undertaking House Listing and Population Count simultaneously as the separate exercise has proved its disadvantages beyond doubt.

In other words, the enumerators will fill the forms for the House Listing and the Population Count as a single operation instead of in two phases interspersed with a couple of months.

However, no basic change in the forms or columns is likely; nor can this be proposed as it would involve enormous printing work besides huge expenditure, sources said.

Consensus seems to be emerging that the respondents should be asked to produce National Identity Card, and its number will need to be recorded on the Enumeration Form. For the convenience of the citizens, the I.D. Card of the head of the family might be considered sufficient.

This, sources said, would largely eliminate the possibility of fictitious and concocted information on the part of the respondents.

As a further safeguard, the respondents might be asked to sign or affix thumb impression on the Enumeration Form to bear responsibility for the information furnished to the enumerator.

On his part, the enumerator is already required to sign each form and is liable to penal action in case of mischief.

With these safeguards, experts said, bulk of the population was unlikely to risk penal action for deliberate misinformation, and the results of the census would be reliable and near correct.

At the time of the House Listing operation last year, it was noticed that the field staff was not sufficiently trained or

motivated. Most of them did not put their heart into it as they considered it as "forced labour."

This indifference was largely on account of uncertainty about the payment of remuneration. In the revised Action Plan, this is proposed to be duly taken care of, sources said.

The Government would be asked to release, in advance, the amount payable to the field staff as remuneration. Crossed cheques will be prepared and delivered to the District Census Officers for onward transmission to Circle Supervisors, etc. with instructions that these be delivered to the field staff as soon as they had finished the work.

This arrangement is identical to the procedure adopted by the Pakistan Election Commission which makes on-the-spot payments to the staff engaged for the polling day duties, and is never short of willing workers.

In this connection it is relevant to state here that the Government has not yet paid remuneration to the field staff engaged for the first phase of House Listing last December.

Since the success of any census operation largely depends upon the quality of field work, such a situation is hardly acceptable, sources said.

In fact, it is proposed that remuneration should first be paid to the staff which was detailed on duty for the abortive House Listing operation, experts felt. All claims of suppliers of raw materials like colours, brushes etc., should also be similarly settled without delay, they added.

Problems Related to Urbanization Reviewed

91AS1382D Karachi DAWN in English 30 Jul 91 p 11

[Editorial: "Pace of Urbanisation"]

[Text] It is appalling to think that at the turn of the century, 43 percent of Pakistan's population may be living in urban centres. According to a United Nations Children's Fund report, Pakistan's urban population growth is one of the highest in the world. With an annual urban growth rate of 4.8 percent, the present urban population of 32 million will grow to well over 50 million in the next decade.

What makes the scenario frightening is the fact that the demographic horror that the country faces is generally taken in a spirit of stoic resignation. Despite an annual growth rate as high as three and a half million, the exponential increase of population, which is tending to wipe out nearly all the benefits of economic development, has failed to arouse the concern of successive governments.

However, population increase is but a general factor contributing to the growth of the urban population, the focus of our attention here. A more specific factor is rural unemployment and under-employment of which the prevailing semi-feudal system, coupled with technological backwardness, is the main cause. The pressure on land continues to mount because too much land is pre-empted by too few owners. The agrarian crisis deepens as the mechanisation of agriculture proceeds apace, throwing

more and more rural poor out of job and further impoverishing those with uneconomic holdings. It is thus that the countryside is exporting its crisis to the cities and towns.

A parallel phenomenon of rural depopulation is in evidence in the advanced countries. Thanks to technological advances fewer and fewer agriculturists can produce enough of food and cash crops for the concerned community's needs. The surplus population migrates to the cities where opportunities for absorption in industry, the trade and the services exist. In our case large-scale distribution of land among those who are landless or whose holdings cannot ensure subsistence and massive investment in rural industrialisation alone can reduce the present scale of the flight to the cities. The gargantuan proportions this migration has already assumed warrant an early and adequate response from political leaders, administrators and all others concerned with decision-making.

There are some over-populated Third World countries like Egypt which have a very unfavourable arable land-population ratio. Agriculture in such countries cannot productively absorb a much larger population than is at present engaged in agricultural occupations. Pakistan is fortunate in having an arable land-population ratio which is more favourable, with the result that, given a more equitable distribution of arable land among the rural multitudes, this country's rural economy can provide gainful employment to and retain a large majority of the population the countryside holds at present. This can reduce the tempo of urbanisation to more manageable limits.

Many of our cities, now bursting at their seams, are ill-prepared to welcome the tidal flow of uprooted rural migrants. The municipal services and civic amenities available in the cities are all under tremendous pressure, if they are not approaching a state of collapse. Water is in short supply. Sewage and garbage disposal is in an awful state. Much the same can be said about transportation, schooling and public health facilities. And, lastly, shelter being simply unavailable, new arrivals have to create shanty towns to solve their housing problem. Their dreams of a better life are shattered in a matter of days and they go back in time to life in the Hobbesian State of Nature, which the political philosopher characterised as "nasty, poor, brutish and short."

It is only a small minority which makes the grade and gets adjusted to urban environment. The rest feel frustrated and alienated because their city of adoption has been unkind to them. On the other hand, the new arrivals are seen by the older residents to be adding to their troubles and woes. There are tensions and conflicts. Crime and regional, ethnic and class hatred find a fertile soil in these conditions.

The problems posed by the population explosion and by the accelerating pace of urbanisation are gaining in severity with every passing day. The political system such as we have, the officialdom, which has so far enjoyed nearly total administrative control over the lives of ordinary people, political ideologues, economic planners and sociologists and the opinion leaders in the different departments of activity have all failed to show a full grasp of the situation as it has

been developing for a quarter century. There is perhaps yet time to address these problems scientifically, methodically and courageously and achieve a breakthrough at bearable cost. Tomorrow it may be too late, as nemesis is bound to come in the form of anarchy and upheaval.

Increased Family Planning Urged

91AS1090C Karachi JANG in Urdu 2 Jun 91 p 3

[Editorial: "Rapid Increase in Population"]

[Text] According to a survey taken in January 1991, Pakistan's population is 113 million now and is increasing at the rate 3.1 percent annually. If this rate of population increase continues, Pakistan's population will be over 150 million at the beginning of the 21st century. Pakistan had only 33 million people in 1951 and its increase to 113 million in only 40 years is considered alarming by population experts. The rate of development of resources and wealth in the country is not keeping up with the rate of population growth. Our citizens are not getting the required health care, education, and other basic needs. The money allocated to these two very important areas in our budget is extremely small. Our literacy rate is so low that we cannot even mention other Asian countries with better resources, since it is even lower than a small country like Sri Lanka. Against this background, we do not have to say anything about controlling population growth, making education more accessible, and improving our resources. If we want to live like a proud nation and to raise our living standard, we must take concrete action in solving these problems. Until we actually make solid plans to control population and make education and health facilities available to everyone, our dreams of progress will remain unfulfilled.

Child Labor Thwarting Education Efforts

91AS1382B Lahore THE NATION in English 27 Jul 91 p 5

[Article by Dr. Karamat Ali: "Primary and Secondary Education"]

[Text] The percentage of boys of age group 5 to 9 years going to primary schools is 51 while that of girls is only 28. If we compare this figure with that in India and Bangladesh, we see that 60 percent of the boys and girls of the same age group in Bangladesh and 79 percent in India go to primary schools. Though the number of primary schools in Pakistan has increased (according to an estimate in 1990 it had 90,942 with 85,95,000 students studying there), 50 percent of our population (falling in the 5-9 year age group) cannot find admission in primary schools.

Besides innumerable other problems, the problem of roofless schools and absent teachers force most of the primary school-going children in the rural areas to leave school. Some important factors for this are: poverty, expensive textbooks, the trend of private tuition and lack of educational spirit among the parents that lead to quite a number of drop-outs.

Raising the standard of education demands reforms at every level of the education system. Before recommending

any reforms in this regard, we must review the attempts and policies made in the past for this purpose and analyse the factors causing their failure. The main cause of our policies' failure in the past in fact lies in the lack of steps to implement policies to achieve the fixed targets. For instance, the aim of the first Educational Conference was 'education for all Pakistani children'. Later, the National Education Commission (1959) recommended that primary education be compulsory for all children by 1969 and education up to the middle level by the year 1974. It was also stressed that it would be made obligatory for the parents to send their children to primary schools and that the age of 10 years would be fixed as a limit for admission.

The 1972 Education Policy fixed the target of providing primary education to all male children by the year 1979 and all girls by the year 1983. However, we see that all the above policies with their claims and pronouncements, failed to achieve their ends, even by the year 1991. And these can never be achieved until revolutionary steps to implement such policies are taken.

Two factors mainly caused their failure, these were poverty and the uneven distribution of wealth: and irrelevance (alienation) of the syllabus with the socio-economic and environmental conditions. Though the number of those living below the poverty line has decreased, the distribution of GNP [gross national product] has become more uneven.

The Gini-Coefficient is a scale to measure the GNP's distribution. Its numerical value, which increased from 0.33 in 1970-71 to 0.39 in 1991, shows more unfair distribution of the GNP. This trend leads to the increase in child labour (4.1 in urban areas while the ratio must be greater in the rural areas). In 1981, the ratio of the children subject to physical labour was 6.1 of the whole child population which increased to 15.2 in the year 1987-88. This shows that the apathy of our society forced children of the 5-year age group to labour instead of giving a pen and book in their hands.

The gravity of the situation may be felt from the fact that even if primary education is free of cost and the parents willing to send their children to get primary education, practically they can't, because the money earned through child labour forms a major part of the total family income of the poor.

In the light of the above facts, it is strongly recommended that our new Education Policy must include a programme to open such schools where children from poor families may devote two hours for education and four hours for work that could pay them enough to meet their family requirements. For this purpose, motor workshops and such other workshops should be the part of such schools that would not only train children for different sorts of jobs but also relieve them from ruthless forced labour. In rural areas, the primary schools may give training in farming, cattle-breeding, etc. (thus developing the cottage industry).

The other more important point is that the syllabus of such schools must be related to the local indigenous needs and environment of a particular region/area. To elaborate further, in rural areas, not only should practical training in

farming and related fields be given but also the theoretical part of education must cover the same ground. It must be noted here that to organise and successfully run such educational programmes, a trained staff and team of teachers equipped with the appropriate skills and enthusiasms would be required. The teachers should be trained in a manner that along with the teaching work, they don't hesitate to work with their own hands.

The same syllabus or curriculum for primary schools throughout the country would not be possible as separate syllabi for separate areas, different for girls from those meant for boys would be required.

The medium of instruction must be the mother tongue though Urdu may be taught as a language. The implementation of decisions would need, a strong will, sincere efforts and solid steps on the part of the government. Besides utilising the services of linguists, expertise in various fields of education like Agriculture, Psychology, Mathematics, Sociology, Political Science, Economics, Industry and the Media is a must in the implementation of such programmes. Only then can the target of 80 percent literacy rate and primary education for all the children be achieved.

Secondary Education is also a cornerstone in our education system as it forms a bridge between primary education and higher education. A student's achievement in the higher level of education depends on the quality and standard of secondary education. Besides, it becomes the final stage of education for many students as 50 percent of the students leaving secondary school are not able to continue education and enter practical life, the number of secondary schools in 1987-88 was 12,312 with the number of students being 27,94,000 [figure as published]. This number forms 24.5 percent of the total number of students from the primary to the university level.

Secondary education is no better than primary education in Pakistan. The standard of our secondary education is very inferior according to international criteria. Lack of teachers, staff and laboratory facilities, low standard of textbooks, defective examination system and the increasing trend of tuition are but a few factors mainly responsible for its falling standard. The 1959 National Commission for Education recommended to enhance the level of secondary education from class 9 to class 12. The implementation of the above recommendation was subject to the condition that education would be made compulsory up to class 8 (the middle level). The 1969 Education Policy laid stress on scientific, technical and vocational education. The 60 to 40 ratio of students in these subjects as compared to other arts subjects was targeted by this education policy. Secondly, it recommended to make mathematics and science compulsory at the secondary level. Thirdly, it recommended that arrangements for training in various skills for students may be made so that the students who after leaving secondary school want to start their career in practical life can do so. The 1979 Education Policy not only recommended an increase in the number of secondary schools but also recommended to divide the education process into three phases viz; the primary, secondary and the university level.

Unfortunately, all these policies failed to achieve their ends, despite best recommendations to raise the standard of education. The recommendation of making education compulsory up to the middle level (Class VIII) of education, it must be noted, is useful only if the same type of education system is introduced in the middle schools as has been recommended in the primary schools. In this way the children of age group 5-13 years will be earning for their families as well as getting education and training in the fields of their interest.

Regarding the syllabus at secondary schools, I would recommend that English as a language must be compulsory along with science, social studies, mathematics and history. Also such subjects should be introduced at the secondary level that lead to self-employment instead of dependence on a government white-collar job after the student leaves school and circumstances don't allow him to continue further education. Moreover, electronics and computers must be introduced and agricultural, technical and mechanical courses must also be included in the syllabus. Teachers must ensure that a student should be trained for the field or area of study for which he has a natural tendency and interest, i.e., his particular interest should be discovered and developed by the teachers.

Subjects like Accounts, Business Management and Banking should also be taught so that after completing secondary education, which would take 12 years, a student should not only be able to earn a living for the family but also meet the requirements of admission to institutions of higher education whose academic standard would also be elevated.

Illiteracy Rate Said Increasing

91AS1215H Karachi DAWN in English 4 Jul 91 p 11

[Text] Islamabad, 3 July: High dropout rate at primary level, inadequate spending on education, lop-sided planning and other factors have actually increased the already dismal illiteracy rate rather than reducing it, leading educationalists say.

About half of nearly 3.7 million children who reach the primary school-going age of five either do not enroll or simply drop out, adding another two million people in the category of illiterates," lamented Director of Literacy and Mass Education (LAMEC).

He said that the number of illiterate people now stands at about 57 million.

Different organisations and officials have given their own definitions at different times.

However, proper use of resources, more budgetary allocation for education and innovative planning can reverse the trend.

Dr. Laiq Ahmed Khan, Director-General, Pakistan Institute of Education Planning and Developing agreed: "We have yet to agree on a definition of literacy."

"In 1952 we defined as 'literate' one who could read a clear print in any language. In 1962 the definition said, a literate was one who could read a simple letter in any language and comprehend it. In 1972 the writing skills were made prerequisite for any person to be called a literate. A new definition adopted in 1982 has replaced reading of simple letter to the skills of reading a newspaper," Dr. Laiq adds.

Many experts still differ with the definition of 'literate' as one who can read a newspaper and write a simple letter in any language and term it as inadequate and below the international standards.

The United Nations Education Scientific, and Cultural Organisation (UNESCO)'s permanent representative in Pakistan Bruce Cahill, disagrees with such critics and says a literate is one who acquires a set of knowledge, skills and attitudes and it is up to the country concerned to decide what this set consists of."

Illiteracy is more prevalent among females than males and in the rural areas than urban centres.

According to 1981 census only 16 percent women were literate as against 26 percent men. In the rural areas 26 percent men were literate as against only 7.3 percent of the rural women.

The situation was still worse in the province of Balochistan whose only 1.8 percent of the rural fair sex population consisted of literates.

Farasat Ali Qazi, an expert on literacy research in LAMEC gave many reasons for the low literacy rate in the country and said: "All these reasons are important. They are inter-related and work as an integrated socio-cultural spectrum."

Mr. Bruce Cahill hold the "high rate of population growth as most important factor in the increasing number of illiterates in the country."

Lack of the adequate number of primary schools facilities is another important factor. Financial problems may not be the only reason in this regard.

"With 68,000 small settlements of 200 to 300 people in Punjab 10,985 in Sindh and scattered population in Balochistan makes establishment of schools in these areas uneconomical," Laiq Ahmed Khan said.

Talking about the establishment of "Masjid Maktabas" (Mosque schools) Laiq Ahmed Khan said: "The scheme was meant to make use of the existing mosques building in the small settlements, where the establishment of schools was not cost effective."

The scheme, he said, was very successful in the provinces in Sindh and Balochistan where they were established after proper school mapping and analysing the needs of the areas concerned. However, the scheme was not properly utilized in Punjab where such schools were established at random sometime in the areas where normal schools already existed.

Bruce Cahill cites the non-availability of female teachers in the rural areas as reasons for the low literacy rate among

the rural women as due to some socio-cultural reason girls are not allowed to be taught by males."

Funding has always been a problem. This is more so for a country like Pakistan where a very small fraction of gross national product is being spent on education.

"Education was given less than 1 percent of the GNP [gross national product] before 1972 when it was increased to 1.7 percent of GNP. It remained constant until a couple of years ago when it was raised to 2.1 percent of the GNP," Dr. Ijaz Choudhry, Chairman LAMEC said.

According to international standards, at least 3 percent of GNP should be spent on education. Anything less than that is not considered adequate," he added.

The government introduced Iqra surcharge to raise funds for education. However, Dr. Ijaz said: "Not a single penny was spent on education out of the money raised on this account."

Mr. Laiq Ahmed Khan while talking about low enrolment and high drop out rate in the primary schools said, "Our primary curriculum is irrelevant to the socio-cultural environment in the rural areas where two third of our population lives?

Dr. Razia Abbas, UNESCO literacy ambassador to Pakistan, suggests that the scheduling of summer and other long vacations should be left to the heads of the education institutions so that they may adjust holidays according to the farming seasons of localities.

She added: "Students would be able to help their parents in the field and carry on their studies too."

Dr. Razia who heads university extension and evaluation department of the Allama Iqbal Open University believes making compulsory primary education will still leave another 56 million illiterates in the country. This problem will have to be solved by the adult literacy programmes, she said.

The government also launched literacy and mass education commission to coordinate the literacy programmes, in the country.

In 1986 the commission launched two schemes to achieve the plan targets.

Iqra (Read) pilot project was restricted to the districts of Rawalpindi and Islamabad with a target of 50,000 people.

Under the scheme, Rs. 1,000 were given for the teacher for teaching one person how to read and write. Anybody with basic education could have been a teacher.

Talking about the demerits of the scheme Dr. Ijaz Choudhry said: "The money involved induced the people for corruption. Many people deceived the commission." Secondly, he said, "It was an experimental programme and too expensive to be applied all over the country."

At the same time government started Nai Roshni school for adult education for the whole of the country.

The scheme was meant for the drop-outs of the primary schools, to enable them to complete their primary in two years instead of five.

The scheme was dropped with the change of the government in 1988.

Said Dr. Laiq Ahmed: "The functional literacy programmes for adults did not achieve the results envisaged and the short cut methods employed to improve literacy were expensive."

For these reasons, the government has dropped Mass Literacy Programme in the seventh five year plan instead it says the government will try to achieve maximum enrolment in the primary schools.

Literacy Seen Key to Development

Government Moving Slowly

91ASI287A Lahore THE NATION in English 20 Jul 91 p 7

[Article by Dr. Karamat Ali: "New Education Policy: Our Contemporary Needs"]

[Text] The present government has been indicating the introduction of a new education policy since the last couple of months. It is, therefore, of immense importance to say something at this point about the new education policy because of the following reasons:

- That no recommendations in a precise form have been sent to the government by the teachers regarding the new education policy;
- That the government has not yet announced the new education policy, hence whatever recommendations that are put forward would not be mere opposition for the sake of opposition.

Before putting forward the proposals and recommendations for the new education policy, it is befitting to have a glance at our past education policies. During the past 43 years various educational policies were introduced, yet no attempt was made to amend the ineffective system. Instead, a peculiar individual aspect in place of a holistic, comprehensive approach was stressed each time while introducing an educational policy.

If at one time primary education becomes the focus of our educational policy, at another instance our government would stress upon the importance of higher education. Sometimes the issue of literacy rate becomes top priority while at another time secondary or technical/vocational education assumes central place in the government's policies.

The fallacies of our education policies and hence the dilemma of our educational system lies in the fact that our policy makers while formulating a policy, concentrate on one single aspect of education in an alienated manner, instead of adopting collective, comprehensive approach realising that the aims and standard of education can never be secured until and unless an education policy covering

all aspects of education is not only formulated but its implementation is also ensured.

If at all, we have to compete successfully with other developing nations along with the developed world preparing for the 21st century, human resource development must be the aim of our education and to fulfil that purpose we need to formulate an education policy which is aimed at reforming the education system from top to bottom through all the phases or levels of education viz the primary level; secondary level; the higher level and the literacy rate. I will discuss all these aspects separately in order to finally reach some concrete conclusion.

Human resource development must be appreciated. It is not only the key factor in the progress of a country but it is an agreed fact in the contemporary world that a high per capita income is not the sole indicator of a country's economic, social or political progress. Rather more important are parameters like health, education, food, child mortality rate, average life and socio-economic justice and equity, among them, education being the cornerstone, as the rest of the factors are dependent on it. Also it has been proved through modern research that education has played a key role in the socio-economic and political advancement of the western industrialised nations.

In Pakistan, unfortunately, the rate of growth in GNP and in the per capita income, though satisfactory, has nothing to do with the backward education sector in which we are far behind any developing country. We come in the list of the least developed countries in this respect.

Literacy Rate		
1.	Sri Lanka	81.8 percent
2.	Brazil	77.8 percent
3.	Turkey	74.2 percent
4.	Malaysia	69.6 percent
5.	China	65.5 percent
6.	Algeria	44.7 percent
7.	India	40.8 percent
8.	Egypt	38.2 percent
9.	Iran	36.5 percent
10.	Bangladesh	29.2 percent
11.	Nepal	20.6 percent
12.	Afghanistan	18.2 percent
13.	Pakistan	26.2 according to 1981 census

Male literacy rate in Pakistan is 35.1 percent and female literacy rate is only 16 percent. While the overall literacy rate in the countryside is 17.3 percent, in urban areas it is 47.1 percent.

On the other hand, male literacy rate in rural areas is as low as 26.2 percent, female literacy rate in rural areas is 7.3 percent, compared with the 55.3 percent urban male literacy rate and 37.3 percent urban female literacy rate.

These statistics reveal that on the whole, we are not only far behind other developing countries with respect to the literacy rate but also that a great difference exists between rural and urban as well as male and female literacy rates. The rural female literacy rate, 7.3 percent is the lowest whereas the urban male literacy rate is 55.3 percent. This low literacy rate is mainly responsible for the backwardness of our nation in the socio-economic and politico-religious fields.

During the post-1981 period though, the literacy rate in Pakistan has been enhanced. According to a government estimate, literacy rate in 1988 reached the 30 percent level. However, that pace of increase in the literacy rate in itself is very disappointing considering the fact that during the last decade, we could not even achieve the 4 to 5 percent increase target. More sad is the fact that our definition of literacy counts a person as literate who can write his/her name. According to a very careful study, effective literacy rate in Pakistan is not above 15 percent. Given the circumstances, any considerable change in the literacy rate figure demands revolutionary steps.

The only cause of the failure to achieve a high literacy ratio in our country and the efforts made in this regard lie in our policy makers and their high-up attitude of ignoring the socio-economic environment while taking any steps to enhance the rate of literacy in this society.

Taking a glance at the efforts made in this regard during the past 43 years, we see that in the first conference on the education policy in Pakistan, which was held in 1947, surprisingly enough, the very important issue of literacy rate was missing from the agenda. This issue was touched upon in 1951 when a conference on the issue of literacy rate was held in which the suggestion of 8,000 literacy centres was made with the target of educating one million of the population. But this suggestion remained on paper only, without implementation.

The 1972 education policy was aimed at the complete eradication of illiteracy. Among various recommendations to achieve this target, only one in the form of AIOU could be realised. The projects like the National Council of Adult Education, Literacy and Mass Education Commission, Iqra Project, Nai Roshni, etc., all proved unsuccessful. In fact the prevailing trend of trying to solve the tangled problem with easy, shortcut methods instead of adopting a comprehensive approach caused the failure.

Secondly, the power elite of our society discriminates against the education of the general masses, it is astonishing that our intellectuals and middle class leadership don't even recognise the people's right of education.

The third and most important cause of failure of the above mentioned literacy programmes introduced by the government at different times is our erroneous concept of literacy, which is confined to just reading and writing ability without considering it as a multifaceted problem to be seen in the perspective of the socio-economic needs of society linked with language, technology, civilisation, the individual's and society's economic, social and political situation.

Therefore, while preparing the syllabi for this purpose, we must keep the above facts in mind. A syllabus providing the material of reading in a person's own mother tongue, related to his own environment and culture, fulfilling his economic and material needs will not only interest him but also benefit him. Therefore, a syllabus meant for a Sindhi youth will be quite different from that meant for a factory worker at Lahore. Besides, factors such as age, sex, rural, or urban environment will also need to be given weight while arranging the syllabus for a particular area and class of people for their education. Above all, the course material should be thought provoking and the techniques of forcing things into memory instead of creating thinking abilities would have to be given up.

The literacy centres should equip the masses with such training and skills which help them establish themselves economically in their set-up. For instance, literacy centres in villages can train rural women in handwork which would help them to establish cottage industries along with the theoretical education. Similarly, various courses in farming for the male villagers will not only solve their economic problems, hence giving them an incentive to get education, but on the other hand the agriculture sector will also develop and add to national development.

'Half-Hearted Implementation'

91AS1287B Peshawar THE FRONTIER POST
in English 5 Jul 91 p 12

[Article by Amir Mir: "A Nation of Growing Illiterates"; first paragraph introductory comment; quotation marks as published]

[Text] The average literacy rate in the 35 poorest countries of the world is 50 percent. Pakistan can barely claim 26 percent—and that's the 'official' figure. At the rate we are going, it will take over 200 years to achieve the goal of universal literacy.

The 1973 constitution set out as a principle of policy the imperative need to remove illiteracy and extend free and compulsory education. Yet Pakistan continues to lag far behind in the field of literacy compared to other developing countries.

The two most neglected areas of the national endeavour in Pakistan are unbridled population growth and increasing number of illiterates. Together these factors continue to play havoc with whatever meagre efforts have been made for welfare and development. Of the yearly addition of 3.1 million to the presently estimated population of 109 million, only around 1.2 million enter the educational system while approximately two million have no opportunity to enrol, thus increasing the number of adult illiterates at an alarming rate.

The problem of illiteracy is formidable both in size as well as complexity. From a socio-cultural perspective, the traditional prejudices against educating females still linger, particularly in the tribal and rural milieu. In the economic context, the opportunity cost discourages poor families

from sending their children to schools. These children ultimately become a handicap to society.

According to the last held census in 1981, Pakistan's literacy rate was only 26.2 percent. In comparison the literacy rate in Iran was 43 percent, Libya 50 percent, Egypt 38 percent, Thailand 84 percent, Indonesia 62 percent, Sri Lanka 85 percent and China 83 percent. The average literacy rate is 50 percent among the 35 poorest countries of the world.

The 1981 literacy figure of 26 percent was computed on the basis of minimum standard to read and write. While literacy rates show an improvement, they have not kept up with the population growth. In 1987, there were 18 million illiterates (15 years and above), 12 million of whom were women. The urban and rural population figures show alarming disparities; 47.1 percent against 17.3 percent and between female and male 35.1 percent against 16 percent.

According to official statistics, in 1989 there were 16.5 million children of primary school age out of whom, 8.7 were estimated to be boys while 7.8 million were girls. Of the total of 16.5 million children, only about 50 percent were enrolled in various types of schools (67.6 percent for boys and 34.1 percent for girls).

The number of primary schools has increased from 75,332 to 82,500 thus increasing enrollment. But it is estimated that 35,000 of these schools are open air, with only one teacher—if that—trying to teach 50 to 60 students. Many of these open air schools operate irregularly due to weather and economic conditions, thus making them practically ineffective.

It is also estimated that almost 15 percent of the enrollment at the primary level is outside the relevant age group. Of all the children enrolled, only about 42 percent complete their education. Of this 47 percent are boys and only 33 percent are girls.

Moreover, the policies and plans to improve literacy in Pakistan have also suffered from inadequate financial support, haphazard planning, half-hearted implementation and lack of motivation of the public in general. The current programme for achieving universal literacy caters for only about 200,000 persons a year. At this rate, it will take over 200 years to achieve the goal of universal literacy.

Even if the target of attaining universal primary education by the end of next decade is achieved, the existing huge backlog of 50 million people (about 43 million in the productive age bracket of 10-44), and an estimated eight to ten million children who will either fail to get enrolled or will drop out on the way, before the attainment of universal primary education and elimination of wastage, cannot be abandoned to a fate of perpetual illiteracy.

Our constitution explicitly provides that "the state shall remove illiteracy...within minimum possible period." Decades down the road, we are no nearer to achieving this

objective. It's about time that an effective literacy policy was formulated by the government. This was, and is, the need of the hour.

Urdu Imposition as Obstacle

91AS1287C Peshawar THE FRONTIER POST
in English 11 Jul 91 p 8

[Quotation marks as published]

[Text] Hyderabad—The hegemony of one language under the guise of “national language” imposed on Pakistan as a part of conspiracy hatched by a “cultural chauvinist group” has proved to be main hurdle in the way of national cohesion and integrity a goal being constantly pursued by the country during the last 44 years.

This was stated by Hafiz Qureshi, convener of Sindhi Boli Sath [SBS] (a cultural organisation for promotion of Sindhi language) at a press conference the other day.

He alleged that those reaching the so-called concept of “one national language” were the real enemies of Pakistan. For as a result of these policies the “original” languages of Pakistan would not be promoted and this was bound to create discontent at a massive scale among those speaking these languages.

This, he said, would naturally harm national harmony. He opined that with the progress and promotion of the “original” languages national unity and harmony would be fostered and not undermined as was being propagated by the vested interests. The Sindhi Boli Sath he said had therefore demanded that the regional status presently given to all the “original” languages of the country including Sindhi be abolished and these be declared as “original language” through a constitutional amendment.

He warned the present IJI [Islamic Democratic Alliance] government to stop conspiracy against the “original languages” of Pakistan and to give due status to these languages.

Qureshi regretted that no government during the last 4 years ever made efforts to promote these “original” languages particularly Sindhi. Rather every government tried to finish them. He recalled that the first bloodshed in former East Pakistan had been caused by the refusal of the then central government to accord the status of national language to Bengali.

Enlisting the “excesses committed by successive governments against Sindhi language” he described them part of a conspiracy aimed at finishing the official status of Sindhi language previously enjoyed by it in Sindh. He said first, Sindh university was shifted from Karachi to Hyderabad and secondly a campaign to close the Sindhi medium schools in Karachi was launched under the directives of the first prime minister Liaquat Ali Khan, then the system of Sindhi examination and Sindhi as a compulsory subject was abolished during Ayub regime. In this regard, he recalled, that the Ayub regime had withdrawn the Sindh Civil Service Recruitment and Classification Rules—1952 which was in force since the British period. He said that

the status of Sindhi language as court language was also done away with by withdrawing the Part-4 of Rule No. 33, Sindh Civil Courts Rules 1954.

He said that the Sindhis had joined Pakistan on the basis of Islam and not to the basis of a particular language. He emphasised that the “ideology of Pakistan” was related to Islam and not to a particular language, he argued that then Muslims all over the world “speak more than 3,000 languages and majority of them are not aware of the existence of Urdu language. But they are still Muslims and their Islam is not endangered by the languages spoken by them.

While exposing the double standards adopted by the protagonists of one national given language, Hafiz Qureshi said, “on the one hand they claim that the ‘regional language,’ would not be endangered by the status of national language to Urdu while on the other when voice is raised for the promotion of ‘regional languages’ these same protagonists raised a hue and cry that not only the Urdu language but even Pakistan was in danger.” Citing an example from the history, he said that when the bill to give status of official language to Sindhi language was passed by the Sindh Assembly on July 7, 1972 these “elements” started false propaganda and an Urdu daily of Karachi printed the slogans, Urdu ka janaza hai zara dhoom sey nikley. He wondered that when the PP [Pakistan People's] government declared Urdu as the only national language under 1973 constitution the Sindhis accepted it. But, when the Sindh Assembly passed a bill granting the status of co-official language to Sindhi language riots flared up in which a number of innocent human lives were lost.

The SBS convener alleged that the “cultural chauvenist group was not prepared to tolerate due status for Sindhi language even in Sindh. He said, “this group declares those organisations as one language organisation where they are in majority while claim the status of co-official language for Urdu where they are in minority.” For example, he said, “they are in minority in Sindh Assembly where they claim the use of Urdu to the extent that they are not prepared to listen to the Sindh budget speech if delivered in Sindhi.”

Similarly, he said, even in the municipalities of Tando Jan, Tando Adam, Tando Allahyar, Mirpurkhas and Sukkur where they were in majority correspondence is only in Urdu language was allowed.

He complained that even of TV the “original” languages of Pakistan were not given due time. He wondered the time for Sindhi programme broadcast from Radio Cylon was one hour while from Karachi it was hardly 25 minutes excluding the time allotted for Sindhi.

Concluding, Hafiz Qureshi demanded that the conspiracies to close Sindhi medium schools in Sindh be stopped, Sindhi should be given official status in KMC, HMC [expansions not given], and other local bodies, “original” languages of Pakistan be given more times on TV stations in their respective provinces and the writers, journalists

and scholars of all the "original" languages including Sindhi be given due status and respect.

Efforts Made To Limit Use of English

91AS1382C Karachi DAWN in English 31 Jul 91 p 11

[Article: "Urdu as Official Language: Petitions Filed in SHC"]

[Text] Karachi, July 30: Two identical constitutional petitions have been filed in Sindh High Court [SHC] for enforcement of Urdu as an official and court language as well as educational medium in lieu of English.

In the petitions moved by Citizens Rights Forum and prominent psycho physician Dr. Syed Mubeen Akhtar, State of Pakistan had been made party. [sentence as published]

It has been submitted in the petitions that under Article 25 of 1973 Constitution of Pakistan, English as an official language should have been replaced by Urdu within 15 years of enforcement of the Constitution.

The stipulated period had lapsed on August 14, 1988, but the government, in serious violation of its constitutional obligations and in utter disregard of mandatory provisions of the Constitution has not taken appropriate measures for adopting Urdu as official language even after a lapse of 18 years.

It is further submitted in the petition that the Father of the Nation Quaid-i-Azam Mohammad Ali Jinnah, while addressing the nation on March 21, 1948 in Dhaka, had categorically declared that "the official and national language of Pakistan will only be Urdu," and non-adoption of Urdu as national language was also contrary to the will of the Quaid.

It has also been cited that after the formation of "Modern Turkey" the Turkish language was enforced as official/business and educational language within 24 hours. In Indonesia the national language was enforced as official language within 7 days. China, Korea, Japan, Germany, France and so many other countries are using their national language as official languages.

That in the former State of Hyderabad of Deccan and Bahawalpur Urdu was used as official, court and educational language and nowadays in the State of Azad Jammu and Kashmir Urdu is used as the court, official and educational language.

It is further added that enforcement of English instead of Urdu is a conspiracy and English is still a stigma of the colonial rule.

Stay application have also been moved to restrain the Federation and their functionaries from using English language instead of Urdu as official, court and educational language.

Mr. Saalim Salam Ansari, advocate, is appearing on behalf of the petitioner.—PPI

English Language Blamed for Educational Decline

91AS1429B Karachi DAWN in English 8 Aug 91 p 13

[Article by Abdul Sattar Qamar: "Going From Bad to Worse"]

[Text]

Education Needs Prompt Attention

The nation's economic, social and educational problems, especially the latter have only multiplied since independence.

Despite a manifold increase in the number of schools, colleges and universities, the basic problems remain unsolved. An educationist, Mr Abid Ameerque says that the country has failed to evolve an education system suited to our needs and satisfy our national aspirations.

It is a widely known fact that a solemn assurance given in the directive principles of State policy that free education would be provided to every child has been denied. Primary education in Pakistan is neither free nor compulsory and far from universal. The teaching staff deplores the haphazard and lopsided priorities and stress the need to go into the whole structure of primary education not only revamping the curriculum to make it more meaningful but also find why as many as 70 percent drop out after the primary stage.

The President of the Punjab Teachers Union, Mr Noor Mohammad Khan Babur says that primary education has been totally neglected by the government, thousands of primary schools have no buildings and classes are taken under the open sky in scorching heat and bitter cold.

Let us take a cursory look over the present situation. According to the figure available, there has been some progress in enrolment, but not in promoting primary education. A retired Director of Education says that there were only 8,414 primary schools, 2190 middle schools, 408 high schools, 46 vocational schools, 40 colleges in 1947-48. Now there are 90,942 primary schools, 7,117 middle schools, 5,816 high schools, 305 vocational schools, 593 colleges, 99 professional colleges and 22 universities in the country.

However, there are very few jobs for the educated and skilled. The right to job is now limited to the near and dear of MPAs [Members of Provincial Assembly] and MNAs [Members of National Assembly] and there is a complete ban of recruitment for others.

Political interference in the educational institutions, appointment of ineligible people as teachers and transfers of teachers on political grounds had lowered educational standards and the literacy rate is falling. Enrolment figures are quite misleading because dropout figures are not taken into consideration.

According to an annual report of the Ministry of Education, out of 100 children enrolled in class I, only 40 reach class V and 25 reach class VIII. So far as higher education is concerned, a University Grants Commission survey says

that only three percent reach that stage. The budgetary allocations for education have also continuously decreased. This is despite the fact that 100,000 children are added every month to our population.

A farmer of Rohillanwali says that he wants to send his children to school but he cannot afford the expenses required because he makes only Rs[rupees]500 per month.

A mill worker says that industrialists should open free schools for the children of their employees.

The issue of curriculum load became a matter of serious concern since 1978 when a new curriculum under the 10 plus 2 pattern of education was introduced. Children, parents and teachers found it difficult to cope with the new curriculum and demanded that it be suitably reviewed.

In a nutshell, our planning so far has been from the top to the bottom, whereas we need to proceed from the bottom up. We have tried to follow the education pattern prevalent in most advanced countries and have catered to the needs of the small percentage of the children who belong to the upper classes. That our higher education is dominated by the upper classes is corroborated by a survey on the sociology of education which says that 80 percent of our university students and graduates come from the top 20 percent of our society.

Another expert thinks that "the poverty sector, which is the majority sector, is barred from these institutions." In fact, in the matter of education we are still slaves of the West. Some time ago, the famous educationist Edward Shils had said; "Pakistanis and Indians are not intellectually independent countries. They are still intellectually provinces of the British metropolis. Schools and colleges in Pakistan remain psychological prisons with a hidden curriculum inculcating conformity."

This mental slavery of ours can be attributed to our inexplicable attachment to the English language. However, an educationist thinks the declaring the English subject as non-compulsory or optional would shut the doors of foreign services for Pakistani-educated persons.

Barrister Taj Mohammad Khan Langah says that Seraiki should be introduced as a medium of instruction in Multan, Bahawalpur, Dera Ghazi Khan Divisions and Dera Ismail Khan, Kashmore, Jhang, Bhakkar, Mianwali, Sargodha Districts.

True, Urdu was introduced as the medium of instruction at the school level and later at college level in some

subjects, this was done because there was no other option. At the same time, special care was taken to retain English as medium of instruction in special schools meant for the upper classes and in seats of higher learning. It was a well planned conspiracy by bureaucrats.

The biggest crime committed by the vested interests against millions of young boys and girls in the countryside and those belonging to the lower strata in the urban areas was to deprive them of job opportunities by successfully advocating the continued use of English for Government and private business, thus making education through the medium of Pakistani languages absolutely meaningless.

All this was done and is still being done in the name of national integration and innocent people are being made to believe that if the use of English or Urdu is discontinued in offices, the country would disintegrate. What is most astonishing is that of well-educated people and intellectuals fail to realise that it is not a question of English versus Urdu but of English versus Pakistani languages like Seraiki, Punjabi, Sindhi, Pushto, Balochi, Hindku, etc.

So long as English continues to be used in government offices, education through the medium of Pakistani languages will be meaningless and this will retard their growth. An education committee identified a number of issues that have led to the accretion of curriculum load in various parts of the country. At times, like in some metropolitan cities, it arises from the unrealistically high aspirations of parents, teachers and students and the competitive spirit that has afflicted our society.

A student's worth is invariably judged by parents, teachers and educators by the percentage of marks obtained at the annual examinations. In most schools, in fact, marks are the sole indicator of a student's worth. Consequently, many schools recommend to their students to buy books which are not prescribed by the Education Department but which will help them do well in the annual examinations.

Parents are compelled to run parallel schools in their homes with the help of private tutors for their children. Sometimes to meet demands of society, schools are pressurised to include new topics in the curriculum. Computer literacy is one such subject which has lately caught the imagination of the people. The introduction of computer literacy in the school curriculum may now be a necessity. However, it is debatable if it is desirable to introduce it without developing the necessary software. But what is not debatable is that introducing computer literacy in schools without making proper curriculum adjustments will definitely add to curriculum load on students.

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