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INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

Abida Hopes for Better Relations With U.S.

92AS0864A Islamabad THE MUSLIM in English
30 Mar 92 p 4

[Interview with Syed Abida Hussain, Pakistan's Ambassador to the United States, by Dr. Basharat, during her recent visit to her hometown; place and date not given]

[Text] [Question] Do you feel that Pakistan-U.S. relations have improved since your appointment as ambassador to the United States?

[Answer] Somewhat yes. I feel there has been some improvement in U.S.-Pakistan relations. When I reached Washington in the last week of November 1991, we were at an impasse. Today it can be stated that not only the sale of spare parts for our strategic equipments [have] been resumed but also the United States is now looking at the entire non-proliferation question in a regional light and is pressing India to agree to a nuclear free South Asia.

[Question] Do you then expect the resumption of U.S. aid in the near future?

[Answer] Aid is never without strings. Pakistan would rather build a relationship with the United States in the light of the changing world order which is based on trade rather than aid. In many ways we have forsaken aid and aim at self-reliance. Besides, the United States had increasing demand for assistance from the former communist nations with herself facing a recession.

[Question] Does this mean that there is no hope for our economy to improve?

[Answer] I do not believe that aid and economic improvement go together. Certainly there are visible signs of growth in our economy. And we are adopting various ways of expanding our capital market. This has nothing to do with aid. Israel and Egypt, for instance, get billions of dollars of U.S. aid but have poor economies. If we want economic growth and development, and I believe we do, then we must learn to do it by ourselves instead of continuing to foster a mentality of dependence.

[Question] What about the purchase of military equipment. Can Pakistan afford to buy all her military equipment?

[Answer] Military equipment is being sold at competitive prices by many countries of the world, especially former communist countries. I believe that Pakistan is able to purchase what we need with our resources. It is because of the Prime Minister's policy of self-reliance that we have been able to tell the United States and the world that we have achieved the ability of nuclear deterrence and this makes us strategically less vulnerable.

[Question] What about Afghanistan? Is the government following the American line?

[Answer] The government policy on Afghanistan has been reoriented to benefit Pakistan. The situation seems to be improving in favour of a peaceful settlement. Mr. Sevan is saying that major changes can be anticipated in the very near future. After the withdrawal of Soviet troops, Pakistan supported the attempts to achieve military victory for more than three years. Now if there are prospects for a negotiated settlement, there is no reason to hold back. The policy shift has, therefore, been in Pakistan's enlightened self-interest.

[Question] Does the United States have any interest in the Kashmir problem?

[Answer] When the Indian foreign secretary visited the United States last month, 20 U.S. congressmen wrote to President Bush inviting his attention to gross violations in Held Kashmir by India. When I met President Bush on 11 March, I also took up the matter of Kashmir on the instructions of the prime minister. The response was positive. The chairman senate will soon visit the United States as a special envoy of the prime minister to further discuss the Kashmir situation. [sentence as published] We believe that the United States has sufficient influence over India to persuade her to comply with pending UN resolutions on Kashmir, and that Pakistan has rendered a strategic service to the United States during the Cold War. Then Pakistan is within her right to demand a strategic return for the settlement of the Kashmir dispute through the United States.

[Question] Why is the United States allergic to Islamic fundamentalism?

[Answer] The United States encourages Muslim extremists to counter communism during the Cold War. Today extremism has acquired a momentum of its own which disturbs the United States as Islamic extremists are strongly anti-U.S. But the majority of Muslims are moderate and not extremists. Whipping up a paranoia against "modern fundamentalism" in the United States is entirely unjustified. We in Pakistan who are predominantly Muslims and committed to modernization, moderation and humanism, must do all we can to resist being vilified on the basis of our faith.

[Question] What do you think will be the shape of U.S.-Pakistan relations in the coming years?

[Answer] Hoping to maintain cordial and friendly relations with the United States, we seek to enhance our student exchange programmes, technological and scientific and cultural exchanges. We hope to widen the base of U.S.-Pakistan ventures in business and we also hope to work together for a more just and peaceful world. We seek U.S. help in getting justice for Kashmiris. We want to cooperate as a responsible and sovereign nation in achieving harmony and peace throughout the world as Muslims, as humanists and as denizens of planet earth

who have the ability to make life better for ourselves and for those around us. Thank you Madam.

U.S. Influence on Internal Politics Seen Overbearing

92AS0894A Karachi JASARAT in Urdu 9 Apr 92 p 5

[Article by Mohammad Ali Khalid: "American Raid on Pakistani Politics"]

[Text] Now that we have enjoyed independence for 45 years and are breathing free air in an independent nation, why are we suddenly feeling that we are not independent any more? Instead, economically, politically, and socially, we are living in a kind of colonial system. Our government, military, bureaucracy, investors, and landlords are enjoying the fruits of independence. The common people could not benefit economically after independence, as they should have. The question now arises as to who is responsible for all of this. Should we blame our government and become quiet, or should we continue our struggle to keep our nation on the right track? Should we criticize the continuing benefits that are reaped by the military, the monied people, and the landlords, or should we see how the whole nation has done its duty? One thing is clear: the common man was not included in government after independence. People still believe in "long live this" and "death to that" politics. The common man emotionally joins himself with some political party or politician; however, in practice, this has no relationship with the organizations involved in developmental work. This is a great misfortune, and we must pay attention to it. In addition to blaming the United States in our slogans, we should also analyze our own weakness and negligence. The United States is a superpower. Its policies, ideologies, principles, traditions, and economics are all designed to benefit America. The United States is a stable nation from defense, economic, and technical points of view. Therefore, it is useless to face the United States with emotional slogans and criticism over unproved facts.

When Pakistan was established, in addition to independence, we also inherited colonial traditions. The black rulers replaced the white rulers. Instead of establishing a new nation after independence, the privileged class took over. This class controlled national affairs; therefore, this class began to control the entire economic system. In this new nation, the military played a very important role. Because of India's expansionist designs in Hyderabad and Kashmir, our army had to fight India. India got ordnance factories during the partition, and afterwards the Pakistani Army had no resources. The United States was the only source for India and Pakistan for military aid. The Americans collected defense information about both countries. Military advisers from both countries presented a list of their weapons to the Americans. Then U.S. President Truman ignored this list because of a possible war. However, during these negotiations, the Americans learned that Pakistan was a more appropriate

market for their weapons than India, where the strong Congress Party government was established. They knew that the military would take advantage of political problems and take power, and that it would be controlling Pakistan in the future.

Therefore, the Americans began to give their attention to Pakistan's military generals and began to study the mutual conflict on the politicians. Ghulam Mohammed was the first Pakistani leader to offer the United States facilities to establish the first intelligence station in Pakistan. He was a member of the bureaucracy established by the British; therefore, he considered the U.S. economic system very appropriate. He had a lot of faith in the establishment of close relations with the United States of America. However, the U.S. policymaking organizations had always supported "iron man" Ayub Khan. This was the first practical step that the Americans took in the new country. American organizations were opposed to political action and the establishment of political parties in Pakistan. Their analysis was not very encouraging in this area. They wanted to see a strong military rule in Pakistan that would agree with them in the future for strategic benefits in the Middle East and to stop the establishment of Soviet influence. There was no room for the Pakistani people's desires in these efforts. All this was dependent on U.S. vested interests. However, we should not assume from this that American policymakers wanted to bring a dictatorship to Pakistan. Internally, our bureaucracy, capitalist groups, and landlords wanted a "strong ruler" instead of a civilian government. They were trying to establish a government headed by an "independent ruler" who would help them protect their interests. At that time, there was no importance given to the nation's desire for a democratic government. Most of the political parties did what the government wanted them to do. In other words, the ruling class had a strong influence on them. Whatever the reason for this, if our nation had a philosophy, if the newspapers had done their duties, and if there were powers that could lead our society, then a dictatorship would never have been established. However, when the ruling class was more interested in a dictatorship in order to protect their own interests, then the Americans saw no problem in following this route. After all, their eyes and ears were this same ruling class. Thus, the "honeymoon" of American policymakers and Pakistan's ruling classes is still continuing. Ayub Khan is gone now. The face has changed, but the style of government is still the same. On 23 September 1953, the director of the U.S. Navy wrote to the chairman of the American joint chiefs of staff committee, Admiral Arthur W. Radford, that Ayub Khan was an ideal ruler. He said that Ayub Khan was a most influential military officer, and that his hold on the military was firm. He also said that Ayub Khan made all decisions about the army by himself. It was said of him that he was very pro-American and that he openly praised the abilities of the U.S. defense forces. However, his desire for grandeur and tendency to mix his politics with his military career was considered his weakness. It can easily be understood from this U.S. report that the

Americans kept a close eye on the future and learned about Ayub Khan's political ambitions. The Indian newspaper, INDIAN EXPRESS, published some documents belonging to the U.S. State Department on 3 September 1987. According to these documents, high-level American officials were very impressed with Ayub Khan. An American consul stationed in Lahore wrote to the U.S. State Department on 14 October 1955 that the United States should strengthen General Ayub Khan's position in Pakistan, because his hold on the armed forces was very strong. After this letter, Admiral Edfert, then chairman of the U.S. joint military command, had written in a report after visiting Pakistan in 1955 that Ayub Khan was ready to take over the country. At that time, the United States was concerned about protecting its interests in the Middle East. The United States was opposed to an Islamic nation when President Nasser announced Egypt's control over Suez. They made Pakistan a member of CENTO [Central Treaty organization] in order to isolate Egypt. At that time, then-U.S. Secretary of State John Foster Dulles went to see Hamid-ul Haq Chowdhury, then Pakistan's foreign minister, at the latter's hotel. A visit by the foreign minister of a world power to our foreign minister was considered a victory for Pakistan's foreign policy. At that time, the United States was working on its long-range goals. When then Pakistan's prime minister, Suhrawardi said in answer to a question on 9 December 1956 as to why we did not unite Islamic nations to counter the United States and Great Britain instead of being their servants, he had said, "zero plus zero plus zero is zero. Therefore, instead of adding all the zeroes, we have to move forward." This was the answer that still has us in its clutches. Our foreign policy hovers around this answer and anyone who tries to get out of it, gets stuck in the quagmire of our traditional foreign policy. At that time, the army was increasing its influence on country's affairs. Ayub Khan's entry as defense minister was a major breakthrough. DAWN declared in its 28 October 1954 issue that Ayub Khan's speech given as the defense minister was the best ever. Now the former commander in chief of the Pakistan armed forces, General (Retd.) Mirza Aslam Beg, says that the martial law periods of 1958, 1969, and 1977 were mistakes. He says the country was divided into two parts because of these. Meanwhile, in Afghanistan, a stable government has been established in spite of all the conflicts and fighting. However, we can compare his statement to crying after the milk has spilled. After all, an accident is a natural occurrence after a train is derailed. Ayub Khan was gradually getting stuck in the trap of power hunger. He mentioned his meeting with Alan Dulles, U.S. CIA chief, on 5 May 1958 on page 70 of his autobiography, "Friends, Not Masters." When he took power after enacting martial law, the U.S. National Security Council's policymaking agency welcomed the establishment of martial law in its 5 December 1958 meeting, and assured Ayub Khan of all kinds of cooperation. Martial law was welcomed in Washington, and the following martial-law governments were given strong support by the U.S. Government. Details of these will be given later in this article. In sum, we can say that the

political system was not given the opportunity to develop itself. Strong organization was not established. Tradition controlled the politics, and Pakistan was breaking up. At that time, the leader of the world's top superpower, Richard Nixon, was leaving us "alone to nature," [as published] as mentioned in his book. Their naval fleet, loaded with nuclear weapons, never left the newspaper headlines to reach the real war zone. These are the kinds of misfortunes of Pakistani politics from which we could never emerge. The fact is that as a nation, we had dug our head like an ostrich into the sand of our problems. We had ignored the fact that other nations learn from their misfortunes. Instead, our misfortune made us even more deranged. Ayub Khan, whom the Americans had thought to be the of their wishes, and who had expanded his power using martial law, later told Istanbul newspaper TURKMAN in an interview, "I was greatly shocked by the loss of East Pakistan. I have learned one lesson from my long experience in the government, and that is that we soldiers can become good fighters, but we cannot become good politicians. It does not matter how good our designs are or how honest we are; we cannot be successful. Politics do not always stay the same. No one should be stubborn. If the people do not want someone in power, then that person cannot remain in power by using force. Yahaya Khan was not wise. He could not see what was happening around him. He should have relinquished power and not insisted on remaining in government; however, he could not do it. That was his mistake." Ayub Khan admitted his mistakes too late. He left blemishes on the body of our nation that can never be erased. He established the whole system for his personal rule. After this system, his next successor caused his demise. This system is still enforced, and is suppressing the desire of the nation to remain alive. The system should be broken. It has no strong base. All the political ills of the present time are happening because we are trying to save the system. All ruling classes and political parties are being used, with or without their knowledge. This nation is fighting a definite war to save its identity. The people who are trying to save this system are trapped in it. They have to surrender their weapons in front of the nation.

Editorial Criticizes U.S. 'Preoccupation' With Islam

92AS0891A Karachi TAKBEER in Urdu 19 Mar 92 p 5

[Editorial: "Has America Gone Crazy?"]

[Text] The United States, after its rival superpower was dissolved, resulting in the end of the cold war, should have breathed a sigh of relief. It should be satisfied. Instead, however, the United States is more puzzled and scared; it seems like it has lost its senses and become mad.

It has lost sleep over the fear of imaginary Muslim fundamentalism. Its fear and worry about this imaginary danger surpasses its fear during the Soviet era. The precautionary steps it is taking now were not taken even

against the Soviet Union. Pakistan, Iran, Afghanistan, Iraq, Libya, Turkey, and the nine newly independent Central Asian republics appear to be devils to it. It seems that the specter of fear is in front of its eyes, and the United States is hyperventilating with fear.

Just take a look. China is being warned not to provide long-range missile technology to Pakistan. The United Nations is being used and told not to help reorganize the mujaheddin in Afghanistan so that they might establish a government there. The self-styled champion of democracy is scared of Afghans establishing a democratic government and is busy establishing royal rule there. It wants to kill the Iraqis from hunger so that another strong army cannot stand up there. It is making plans to totally annihilate Libya. It is condemning Korea and telling it that if it does not change the routes of its commercial ships in the open seas, it will be attacked. Why? Perhaps it suspects that Scud missiles are being sent to Iran through these. Pakistan is being pressured to abandon its nuclear program and is being told that the United States will not provide it with things that Pakistan has already paid for and signed an agreement on. Muslim countries in Central Asia are being threatened that no one will be more opposed than the United States of America if they try to sell nuclear weapons technology to the Islamic world. A low-level minister of state in Pakistan is being asked to appear in the United States of America to clarify why he visited Central Asia. What did he do there? What kind of relations are we establishing with the Central Asian countries? What is the purpose of these efforts? Poor Sardar Asif left for the United States of America like a five-cent slave to give clarifications.

All these actions and pranks do not show the greatness of the United States; they just show its fears and weaknesses. Because of these, all the remaining indicators of friendship and good will are disappearing from the Islamic world. Now it would not be surprising if the increasing mischief of the United States of America might result in unity among all Islamic countries. If not the rulers of the Islamic countries, the people there ask, if the United States has the right to have nuclear weapons, then why does not Iraq? The United States has the right to have all kinds of weapons. Why is Pakistan not allowed to have enough for its defense? If the United States can provide high technology to India without asking China or Pakistan, then why cannot China provide its technology to its trusted friend, Pakistan? If the United States has the right to sell Patriot missiles to Israel, then why cannot Korea sell Scud missiles to Iran? If the United States has the right to establish diplomatic relations with various countries after ending the cold war with the Soviet Union and China, then why cannot Pakistan establish friendly relations with the Central Asian republics on the basis of their historical, cultural, and traditional Muslim ties? These are questions that the United States cannot answer satisfactorily. Until the United States provides an appropriate answer to them, all its warnings and steps to remove the imaginary

dangers from Islamic fundamentalism will not really reduce them. Instead, it will cause this danger to increase even more.

Has the United States really gone mad? Is it incapable of understanding even such a simple thing?

U.S. Military Plane Reportedly Arrives in Capital

92AS0892A Karachi AMN in Urdu 11 Apr 92 p 3

[News Report: "Secret Cargo From U.S. Plane Moved"]

[Text] Islamabad, 10 April (AMN News)—The arrival of a huge U.S. military transport plane at Islamabad airport the other day refreshed our memories of the days when, during the Afghan war, U.S. weapons were being supplied on a large scale. The residents of Chah Sultan, near the airport, also saw large trucks carrying the mysterious cargo unloaded from the airplane. Neither diplomatic sources nor government agencies issued any explanation from Islamabad. The Foreign Ministry is also quiet about this, and the people are confused by this secrecy. They wonder what gift Uncle Sam has sent. The mujaheddin did not express any concern, and it seems they are aware of the American plan, under which they are getting this cargo.

Editorial Condemns Arab League as Ineffective

92AS0864C Islamabad THE MUSLIM in English
31 Mar 92 p 6

[Editorial: "These Jokes Have Gone on for Far Too Long"]

[Text] No international institution has been so consistently inept and incompetent over more than half a century as the Arab League [AL]. Monday morning's newspapers once again blared: "Arab League fails to break (Libyan) impasse." As if the Arab League was expected to! The only purpose this body services—if it can be called a purpose—is to faithfully symbolise the moral lethargy and political atrophy of the Arabs. The Arab League has never produced anything suggestive of positive achievement in any field where the Arabs have stood in need of unity, amity and self-reliance or self-respect. For the most part of its unedifying career the Arab League has played a patently anti-Arab role, acting as the instrument of British and French imperialism. Since the end of World War Two, the AL has been the most active tool of the United States, which is just another way of saying Israel.

The only organisation which is bigger in size than the Arab League is the Organisation of Islamic Conference (OIC). The OIC is also a proportionately bigger disaster. The OIC is supposed to be representative of not only Arab states but the whole lot of Muslim countries. The OIC has the distinction, like its elder sister the AL, of never being around when needed. When Menachim Begin mounted a full scale war on Lebanon in 1982, both

the Arab League and the Organisation of Islamic Conference were conspicuous by their total absence from the scene. Both remained underground for the entire length of the Lebanon crisis. Neither the Arab League, nor the OIC moved throughout the Iraq-Iran war. Neither was in evidence throughout the Gulf War. Between the two of them, they present a vivid picture of not only the comprehensive disarray of the entire Muslim world but also its all but total subservience to powers passionately engaged in annihilating the chances of unity in the family of Muslim peoples in the world. The bigwigs in the AL and the OIC talk of the unity of the Ummah and at the same time leave no stone unturned to sabotage its integrity and also honour.

Why should this be so? The answer is not far to seek. It is so because there is hardly a Muslim country which can show a truly representative and democratic government. The powers that be in the Muslim world—barring very, very rare exceptions—do not represent the people and hence do not serve the people's causes. Most of the rulers in the Muslim world, even those not hereditary crowned heads, are there as a result of manipulation of political forces. It would not be entirely incorrect to say that quite a few remain in power simply because they serve the interests of some big power in the West. So long as democracy, that is responsible government, is kept out of the Muslim world, we shall have these bad jokes like the Arab League and the Organisation of Islamic Conference. Only the other day the Saudi monarch displayed the mentality which is the bane of the world of Islam. He categorically ruled out responsible government by declaring that the kingdom would not allow the introduction of elected government. If that is how the Muslim states wish to stay, why not disband these organisations which either do nothing or do only what is not in the interests of the Muslim peoples?

Sharif Hold Talks With King Fahd

92AS0864B Islamabad *THE MUSLIM in English*
30 Mar 92 p 6

[Text] Islamabad, 30 March—Prime Minister Mohammad Nawaz Sharif called on King Fahd Bin 'Abd al-'Aziz at the Royal Palace in Makkah Mukarramah Sunday night. He remained with the King for more than an hour.

According to a message received from Jeddah both the leaders discussed various issues confronting the Muslim world, particularly Afghanistan and the problem of Kashmir. The prime minister was accompanied by Federal Minister for Petroleum and Natural Resources, Chaudhary Nisar Ali Khan, Mian Shahbaz Sharif MNA [Member of National Assembly], Majid Nazami and Pakistan's ambassador Muhammad Waliullah Khan Khaishgi. The King was assisted by Prince Sultan Bin Abdul Azia, Dy. Prime Minister and Minister for Defence and Aviation Prince Saud-Al-Faisal, Foreign Minister and [word indistinct] Nazer, Minister for Petroleum.

King Fahd appreciated the role of Pakistan regarding the Afghan problem and expressed the hope that the days were not far off when this problem would be solved and millions of Afghan refugees in Pakistan would be able to go back to a free Afghanistan with honour and dignity.

The Prime Minister, Muhammad Nawaz Sharif said that Saudi Arabia under the dynamic leadership of King Fahd has been playing a very constructive role in the Afghan issue. He said that the kingdom of Saudi Arabia has helped Pakistan in every eventuality. Saudi Arabia and Pakistan, he said were in fact one soul in two bodies. "Our interests are common and objective one and the same," he added. Reciprocating the Prime Minister's remarks on the role of Saudi Arabia in the Afghan problem, the King said that in the future they would be ready to play any role given to them in this regard.

King Fahd said that the relations between the two countries are deep rooted. I consider Prime Minister Muhammad Nawaz Sharif as my brother, the King added. The King prayed for the success of Nawaz Sharif in his objective of making Pakistan an economically advanced and prosperous country.

Accepting an invitation by the Prime Minister to visit Pakistan King Fahd said that he considers Pakistan as his second home and that he would undertake a visit at some convenient time in the near future. "I love the people of Pakistan from the core of my heart," he added.

The Prime Minister also thanked the government and people of Saudi Arabia on their stand on Kashmir issue.

According to a message received from Jeddah, Prince Turkey Al-Faisal called on the Prime Minister Mian Muhammad Nawaz Sharif at the Conference Palace Jeddah yesterday. He remained with the Prime Minister for some time and discussed matters of mutual interests.

REGIONAL AFFAIRS

UN Secretary General Views on Kashmir Attacked

92AS0890H Islamabad *THE MUSLIM in English*
20 Apr 92 p 7

[Article by Mirza Zaman Khan: "Ghali's Views on Kashmir Negate UN Charter"]

[Text] In his first press conference, after taking oath of office as the Secretary General of the United Nations, Boutros Ghali, in reply to a question with regard to the Kashmir dispute, expressed the views which were wholly unjustified. What the U.N. Secretary General said was that "the U.N. resolutions on Kashmir are not binding and are unenforceable." He opined that "the U.N. resolutions on Kashmir could be enforced only provided there is an agreement between the parties—India and Pakistan." He also expressed the view that "only those

resolutions of the Security Council are binding or enforceable which have been adopted under Chapter VII of the U.N. Charter."

What Boutros Ghali has said is both shocking and surprising because, as chief executive of the United Nations, he has been guilty of not only dereliction of his duties but also of encouraging aggression by bigger countries against their smaller neighbours. This would, indeed, set a bad precedent in the matters of interstate disputes and international affairs, and would render the United Nations impotent and ineffective.

What Boutros Ghali has said is tantamount to negate the very aims and objectives and the principles and purposes of the establishment of the United Nations itself.

It was on 1 January 1948 that India invoked Article 35 of the U.N. Charter and filed a complaint with the Security Council wherein serious charges were levelled against Pakistan. India had thus brought to the notice of the Security Council a situation in the State of Jammu and Kashmir, which in its view, had threatened the maintenance and preservation of international peace and security. In response to the Indian complaint, Pakistan also invoked Article 35 of the U.N. Charter and filed a countercomplaint against India with the Security Council. Since then the Kashmir dispute has been on the agenda of the Security Council.

Both India and Pakistan had approached the Security Council to help resolve the Kashmir dispute between them. They had affirmed their intention to conform to the U.N. Charter, which is evident from the first resolution of the Security Council, adopted on 17 January 1948. As a consequence of the Indian complaint and countercomplaint of Pakistan, the Security Council recognized the urgency of the situation in the State of Jammu and Kashmir. It considered the Kashmir dispute, and through its resolution, adopted on 20 January 1948, maintained that "it may investigate any dispute or any situation which might, by its continuance, endanger the maintenance of international peace and security, that in the existing state of affairs between India and Pakistan, such an investigation is a matter of urgency." It was a result of the urgency of the situation in Kashmir that the Security Council adopted a resolution whereby it decided to establish United Nations Commission for India and Pakistan [UNCIP].

The UNCIP was invested with a dual function "first, to investigate the facts pursuant to Article 34 of the Charter; second to exercise, without interrupting the work of the Security Council, any mediatory influence likely to smooth away difficulties, to carry out the directions given to it by the Security Council, and to report how far the advice and directions if any, of the Security Council, have been carried out."

Since the situation in the State of Jammu and Kashmir was very grave and required urgent attention of the Security Council, the Council, therefore, through its

resolution adopted on 21 April 1948, enlarged the membership of the Commission from 3 to 5 and maintained that "the continuance of the (Kashmir) dispute is likely to endanger international peace and Security." The urgency of the situation in Kashmir was such that in its resolution adopted on 3 June 1948, the Security Council reaffirmed its resolutions of 17 January 1948, 20 January 1948 and 21 April 1948. This is a proof positive that the situation in Kashmir was likely to endanger international peace and security.

In pursuance of the Security Council's resolutions, the commission visited India and Pakistan and both parts, Azad Jammu and Kashmir and the Indian occupied Kashmir, of the disputed State of Jammu and Kashmir. In its resolution of 13 August 1948, the commission, having given careful consideration to the points of view expressed by the representatives of India and Pakistan regarding the situation in the State of Jammu and Kashmir, opined that "the prompt cessation of hostilities and the correction of conditions the continuance of which is likely to endanger international peace and security are essential to implementation of its endeavours to assist the governments of India and Pakistan in effecting a final settlement of the situation."

In its resolutions of 13 August 1948 and 5 January 1949, adopted by the Commission and subsequently the Council, in its resolutions, declared to ascertain the wishes of the people of Jammu and Kashmir to decide the question of accession of the disputed State of Jammu and Kashmir to India or Pakistan through the democratic method of a free and impartial plebiscite to be held under the auspices of the United Nations. Both India and Pakistan had accepted these resolutions which constitute an international agreement between the two. They had pledged to the Kashmiris to allow and enable them to exercise the right of their self-determination accordingly. Notwithstanding the fact that these resolutions contained certain features, which were detrimental to the interests of Pakistan, it had, however, agreed to these resolutions to seek a peaceful solution of the Kashmir dispute.

Pakistan continues to uphold these resolutions and wants their implementation. India has always obstructed the process of the holding of the agreed plebiscite. It has flouted the resolutions with impunity and continues to hold on a major part of the State of Jammu and Kashmir—under its illegal, immoral, and unconstitutional possession—with the force of its military might.

Having waited for more than forty years and having exhausted their patience to secure a peaceful solution of the Kashmir dispute, the people of Jammu and Kashmir rose in revolt against India about two and a half years ago. They are determined to liberate themselves and their territory from Indian occupation. Instead of seeing the writing on the wall and allowing the people of Kashmir to exercise their right of self-determination, as required and promised under the UNCIP and the Security Council's resolutions, India has let loose a reign of

terror and persecution on the freedom loving Kashmiris. Since then India has been committing atrocities and violating human rights in the occupied Jammu and Kashmir, especially in the overwhelming Muslim majority Valley of Kashmir, on a scale unprecedented in the history of freedom movements.

The history of UN efforts to resolve the Kashmir dispute proves that the Security Council had given its verdict on many an occasion, as is evident from its various resolutions, that the situation in the State of Jammu and Kashmir is a threat to the maintenance and preservation of international peace and security. Had it been otherwise, the Security Council would not have appointed a commission and subsequently appointed its various representatives for resolving the Kashmir dispute between India and Pakistan.

Had there been no international agreement on Kashmir between India and Pakistan, how could the Security Council, through the UNCIP, succeed in bringing into effect a cease-fire in the disputed state of Jammu and Kashmir and also the Truce Agreement between the armies of India and Pakistan? The Security Council's mission in Kashmir remains to be fulfilled to which Boutros Ghali should give his urgent attention.

The views expressed by Boutros Ghali, regarding the Kashmir dispute, are unbecoming of the stature of a man who holds the prestigious office of the Secretary General of the United Nations. What type of agreement does Boutros Ghali want between India and Pakistan when there is already an international agreement between the two in the shape of UNCIP and the Security Council resolutions, which envisage a plebiscite in Kashmir so that its people could decide the question of accession to India or Pakistan through the democratic method of a free and impartial plebiscite to be held under the auspices of the United Nations. Boutros Ghali's assertion, therefore, that "only those resolutions of the Security Council are binding or enforceable which have been adopted under Chapter VII of the UN Charter," is nothing short of denying to the people of Jammu and Kashmir what was most sacredly pledged to them by the Security Council forty-four years ago.

The inactivity of the Security Council in later years does not absolve it of its responsibilities towards the solution of the Kashmir dispute. The Security Council and Boutros Ghali should be fully alive to their responsibilities and be cognizant of the fact that the present situation in the Indian occupied Jammu and Kashmir is an explosive one and has threatened the maintenance and preservation of international peace and security and more importantly the peace, security, and tranquillity of South Asia which could lead to another war between India and Pakistan. What the Security Council and its honourable Secretary General should do is to take stock of the situation in the Indian occupied Kashmir under Article 39 of the U.N. Charter, which says:

"The Security Council shall determine the existence of any threat to the peace, breach of the peace or act of aggression and shall make recommendations or decide what measures shall be taken in accordance with Articles 41 and 42, to maintain or restore international peace and security."

Would Boutros Ghali be honest enough to keep in view the ongoing explosive situation in the Indian occupied Jammu and Kashmir and fulfil his responsibilities to once again determine whether or not there exists any threat to international peace and security. He would be convinced that the Security Council should promptly act in accordance with the U.N. Charter. As chief executive of the United Nations and principal functionary of the Security Council, he should immediately invoke Article 39 of the U.N. Charter and determine as to who has committed breach of peace and been guilty of the act of aggression and is aggravating the situation in Kashmir—India or Pakistan? Surely, he would be obliged to come to the conclusion that it is India and India alone which is responsible for all that is going on in the Indian occupied Kashmir. Boutros Ghali is honourbound to move the Security Council and seek instructions as to what measures should be taken to force India to comply with the UNCIP and Security Council resolutions on Kashmir. If India fails, as it did in the past, the Security Council should take measures against it under Articles 41 and 42 of the Charter of the United Nations.

From all the resolutions, adopted by the Security Council on Kashmir from 17th January 1948 to 20th September 1965, it is evident that the Security Council invariably admitted and determined that the situation in the State of Jammu and Kashmir is a threat to international peace and security.

Therefore, there is no need of any new decisions to be made by the Security Council if the Kashmir dispute has to be resolved in accordance with the U.N. resolutions. What the Security Council has to do is to take measures against the party which has flouted the decisions of the Security Council in the past and continues to do so. It is India which continues to refuse implementation of the U.N. decisions on Kashmir. The Security Council should, therefore, take prompt action, without any further loss of time, if it wants to stop the flow of sacred blood of the Kashmiris and is earnest to save Kashmir and Kashmiris, and also to save millions of people of South Asia from death and destruction, which is not ruled out if the Kashmir dispute hangs on indefinitely.

Hekmatyar Interviewed on Goals, Aid to Kashmiri Militants

92AS0893A Karachi JASARAT in Urdu
10 Apr 92 pp 5-7

[Interview with Hekmatyar by unidentified correspondent; place and date not given]

[Text] These days, there is a lot of talk about the UN resolution on Afghanistan. Mr. Hekmatyar is also trying

to resolve this issue; however, he views the problem differently than the United Nations. Even his enemies admit that there is a lot of weight in the opinion of the Hezb-i Islami's leader. They know his opinions are very important. Those people who respect him know it, and those who do not know that it admit that is not easy to overtake Hekmatyar.

[JASARAT] The jihad in Afghanistan is dragging on. A kind of disappointment is spreading everywhere. At what phase is the Afghanistan problem now?

[Hekmatyar] The Afghanistan issue has entered its last phase. Thank God that the joint goal of Pakistan and us has been achieved. This goal was to kick the Soviet armed forces out of Afghanistan, and ensure the exemplary fall of the red colonists. This "unconquerable" superpower has been divided into 15 pieces. However, the last phase is ahead of us. We hope and wish that the war ends during this phase and that war is ended, peace is established, Najib loses his power, and an Islamic form of government is established in Afghanistan.

[JASARAT] Do you think the time for Najib's end has come? The anti-Najib campaign has taken such a long time, and people are getting discouraged.

[Hekmatyar] I can definitely say that Najib's power has almost ended. The dark night is almost over, and no one should have any doubt about it.

[JASARAT] It has been rumored that the mujaheddin are fighting among themselves. Therefore, they do not have enough strength to remove even a weak person like Najib.

[Hekmatyar] Our enemies have been very active in this freedom struggle from the very beginning. All kinds of problems were raised for us and poisonous propaganda was spread against us. When the Russians entered Afghanistan, it was propagated that the Soviet Union was a superpower, and that helping the mujaheddin against it would be very dangerous. Therefore, it was decided that the discussion would be limited to the Soviet army's crossing the Pakistani border. These Russian agents continued to scare Pakistan about the danger posed at its border. However, the results of ten years of jihad proved to be against their expectations. Now they are telling us that the mujaheddin are fighting among themselves. They want war. They are against peace and treaty.

[JASARAT] It has been said that you have rejected the UN peace plan and that you are against any effort to stop the war in Afghanistan.

[Hekmatyar] I am not aware that I am an obstacle in any efforts for peace. The fact is that a lot of talks had been held to establish peace. However, no concrete efforts were made. The question arises: Instead of accusing the mujaheddin of not wanting peace, why not say the same thing about Najib—that he is the real hindrance in the

treaty? Why does not he give up power, as the people want him to? I should be told which peace plan I have sabotaged.

[JASARAT] What is wrong with the UN peace plan?

[Hekmatyar] The UN resolution is based on some superficial facts. It is not practical. Its main purpose is to extend the present situation of chaos in Afghanistan. They are presenting impractical proposals, to which there seems to be no end. We asked directly of Benin Sevan [UN special envoy] why he had proposed such a lengthy and complicated approach for resolving the Afghanistan issue. Why does not he find a practical, realistic, and concise approach? How can a government composed of 150 representatives of various groups, especially with conflicting goals? How can the people, who have been fighting with each other for a long time, cooperate with each other when they are appointed to various cabinet posts? The UN representative never replied to my questions.

It is obvious that the majority of the mujaheddin is opposed to this program. They will never participate in any meeting in which Najib and the previous government's representatives are also present. An interim government composed of opposing parties would be a kind of coalition in which no one would agree or be able to play an effective role.

[JASARAT] In your opinion, what would be a practical solution?

[Hekmatyar] In my opinion, all parties involved in the Afghanistan problem should follow a four-point plan. Our proposals are:

1. Announcement of the end of Najib's government. He must make this announcement himself.
2. Establishment of an interim government composed of nonaligned people.
3. Establishment of an atmosphere of peace in Pakistan.
4. Arrangement of general elections by the interim government.

If all agree to this formula, then lists of names of trustworthy people will be procured from all involved parties. From these lists, the names of people who can establish an interim government will be selected. This interim government should enact elections in an open atmosphere and transfer power to the elected majority party. I do not ask for power, and I do not desire it. I do not desire that the government be transferred directly from Najib to the mujaheddin. I am not interested in getting a cabinet post for myself. In my opinion, my proposal is a fair solution of the Afghanistan issue.

[JASARAT] Have you proposed this solution to the UN representative?

[Hekmatyar] I have already presented these plans to Benin Sevan and told him that if the United Nations agreed with my plan, then it should let me know. I told him that I would give my full support to make sure that this plan is successful; however, it appears that he is interested in something different than this plan. He has been advised to maintain a status quo and let this situation drag for a long time.

He is expressing concern about problems that might make the issue even more complicated. For example, he is talking about dividing Afghanistan. My question is, who told him to do this? Why is he interested in dividing Afghanistan, and what does it mean? Why is he crossing his limits of authority? It is clear that the task assigned him was to divide Afghanistan, and not to establish peace here.

[JASARAT] What about this issue of dividing Afghanistan? Is there any possibility of it?

[Hekmatyar] There is no possibility of dividing Pakistan. We have no fear of it. Those who are interested in dividing Pakistan are spreading these rumors.

[JASARAT] It has been said that there are differences between the people of the north and the south, as well as those who speak the Persian language and those who speak the Pushtoon language. The recent coalition of Persian-speaking nations in Iran has given more exposure to these fears.

[Hekmatyar] There is no fight between the north and the south. There are no misunderstandings between ethnic groups either. This statement was made by the UN representative to make the people who want to divide Afghanistan happy. However, everyone should remember that any geographical change in Afghanistan will affect other countries also. No country in this region should think about dividing Afghanistan on the basis of race or ethnicity.

[JASARAT] Islamic nations and Pakistan also agree with Western nations over the UN formula. Is not there a danger of the whole affair getting out of hand and pro-Western Afghanistan political parties joining with the West to take over power?

[Hekmatyar] This is not possible. No conspiracy will succeed. The UN representative says that the train with the solution to the problem has started to move, and anyone riding this train will arrive at his destination. Those who do not ride the train will be left behind. I say that I am not going to reserve a seat in a train driven by Benin Sevan. I will wait for another train. The fact is that it is the result of their ignorance of the Afghan people's psychology. If Afghans were the kind of people who would give up, then they would lost when fighting with a superpower like the Soviet Union.

[JASARAT] Does this mean that if the United Nations insists on continuing its own solution, the war in Afghanistan will continue?

[Hekmatyar] We have no alternative but to continue the war. I believe that the Najib government will fall as a result.

[JASARAT] How long will this war continue?

[Hekmatyar] God willing soon, you will hear in the near future that the Najib government has been overthrown by the mujaheddin through their jihad. Then there will be no need of war.

[JASARAT] Pakistan's support has been very important in the Afghan jihad. Recently, however, the Afghan mujaheddin are disappointed by Pakistan's Afghan policy.

[Hekmatyar] Some people with vested interests are trying to increase differences between Pakistan and us. However, we are aware of all these efforts. If Pakistan stopped helping us because of its national problems or made another decision, then we would still not have any complaint against it. If Pakistan tries to stop the present problem in Kabul and help establish an Islamic government, then it will have our full support. Still, I would like Pakistan to think and remember the hands that are pushing the Kashmiri mujaheddin to fight with it. It should also think about the power that is causing a rift between the Afghan mujaheddin and Pakistan. Who makes all these plans from abroad, and who implements these plans in Pakistan?

[JASARAT] Are any efforts being made to unite the mujaheddin?

[Hekmatyar] There are no problems among the mujaheddin that should be any cause for concern. What happened is that news about imaginary rifts are presented in an exaggerated fashion. Such news has increased every day since the Russians left Afghanistan. Before that, such news was not published against the mujaheddin. Instead, we were presented as "united warriors for the protection of the nation" and "heroes of the freedom struggle." We had stood in front of the Soviet Union like a steel wall. It is amazing that attitudes changed as soon as the Soviets left. Such stories of differences among us are told so often that I am surprised.

When I read about problems among political parties with various ideologies in the Pakistani newspapers, I thank God for our own situation. We have very few differences among ourselves. We agree on many issues. For example, we agree on ending the Najib government, establishing the mujaheddin government, and holding elections. There are no disagreements on this issue. God willing, in the near future, we will tell you the good news about a joint strategy agreed upon by various mujaheddin groups.

[JASARAT] What is the reason that no major attack was launched at Kabul?

[Hekmatyar] The main reason for this is that we do not want to harm the citizens living in Kabul. We do not

want the people and cities of our country to be destroyed. However, if we have no options left, then this will be our final option.

[JASARAT] You have talked about making various groups and parties of the mujaheddin agree. Can you tell us on what issues they disagree?

[Hekmatyar] The discussion mostly centers on the interim government after throwing out the Najib government.

[JASARAT] You met Pakistan's prime minister recently. What issues did you discuss during your meeting. Did you think that meeting was helpful?

[Hekmatyar] This meeting was very helpful. I explained to him my opinions and plans and listened to him. It will help us to understand each other and work closely.

[JASARAT] The Pakistani Government supports the UN proposal. Meanwhile, you present your own proposal. What are the benefits of Pakistan working closely with you?

[Hekmatyar] I definitely talked about my own proposal and explained its benefits. I told him that my plan was practical. He said, "Your proposals are very solid and practical." I am sure that Pakistan's people will learn about my plan and like it.

[JASARAT] You said that some people are making Pakistan fight with the Kashmiri and Afghan mujaheddin. Can you identify these people?

[Hekmatyar] It is not difficult to recognize these conspirators. Do not you know these people, who want to bring the Kashmir struggle into Azad Kashmir? The same people are causing misunderstandings between Pakistan and the Afghan mujaheddin.

[JASARAT] How does Afghanistan's future look now?

[Hekmatyar] Very bright. God willing, it will be very glorious. I tie Afghanistan's future to independent elections. Any solution forced from outside is unacceptable to the people. According to my suggestion, the people will elect a Parliament according to their rights. In my opinion, there should be very few political parties for a strong and stable Afghanistan. Therefore, in my opinion, it is important to hold elections for balanced representation. Any political party that gets less than 10 percent of the vote will not be eligible to participate in the next election.

[JASARAT] Will you allow Najib's party to participate in the election?

[Hekmatyar] In my opinion, the main problem is replacing Najib with an acceptable government. These plans should be acceptable to all. After this phase of

elections is completed, the question of who will be admitted and who will be declared ineligible will arise. However, any political party that passes through these phases will get permission to participate in the election. If Najib's party succeeds in remaining alive, then in my opinion, it should have the opportunity to participate in the election. However, I can say that Najib and his party will disappear after they leave the government.

[JASARAT] After the Central Asian republics became independent, it was thought that the relations of these countries would improve with the Middle East and other Islamic countries. However, not much progress has been made. It is being said in Pakistan now that the Afghan mujaheddin are blocking Pakistan's relationships with these countries.

[Hekmatyar] This is a very wrong argument. Instead of accepting the fact that Najib is blocking the relationship between Pakistan and central Asia, mujaheddin are being blamed for it. Why do not they think that after the mujaheddin established a government in Afghanistan, they will act as a bridge between Pakistan and central Asia? Why are we being blamed for these blocks? The fact is that the Western media is controlling our thoughts. It has ruined everybody's thinking ability. They know very well that the U.S. congressmen and senators visualize Pakistan, Afghanistan, Iran, and central Asian republics emerging as a united Muslim bloc. The United States considers this bloc very dangerous to it and is working on stopping this danger.

[JASARAT] In the end I would like to know what the mujaheddin of Afghanistan think of the Kashmir issue and the jihad on Kashmir.

[Hekmatyar] We pray for the success of the Kashmiri mujaheddin. May God bless them with success soon.

[JASARAT] India has accused your party of facilitating the training of the Kashmiri mujahids and providing them with weapons and ammunition. Is this true?

[Hekmatyar] If we provide training to the Kashmiri mujahids, then who is providing training to us? The groups that are forced to fight never have any problem with training. Once the route for jihad is opened, then no problems are left. I would like to tell India in answer to its accusation that we used Russian weapons to beat Russia. The way we got training from the Soviet Union and got weapons from it is the same way our Kashmiri brothers are getting training and weapons from India.

[JASARAT] After the mujahids establishes government in Afghanistan, will it be possible that Afghan mujaheddin will fight in Kashmir?

[Hekmatyar] Our own country is in support of the Kashmir mujahids. However, I am sure that the Kashmiri mujahids can fight India alone. God willing, they will never need help from any other person.

Mojahedin Victory Seen Threat to National Unity
92AS0886A Karachi DAWN in English 11 Apr 92 p 11

[Article by M.B. Naqvi; italicized words as published]

[Text] Mr. Benon Sevan and most others are extraordinarily optimistic about an amicable settlement of the Afghan problem. A U.N.-suggested Assembly of 150 (nominated) prominent and hopefully neutral Afghans and a government of neutrals representing *all* significant Afghan interests are supposed to be round the corner.

Time frame for this happy denouncement does not appear to go beyond this coming June. Although this sounds too good to be true, one would hate to pour scorn over Mr. Sevan's optimism. A closer scrutiny, however, of the factors bearing on the situation and a possible outcome remains unavoidable.

To start with, Gen. Gul Hameed, a former ISI [Inter-Services Intelligence] Chief and associated with the conduct of Afghan policy, has delivered himself on certain aspects of Afghan policy. That his opinions are critical of the government do not matter because he has been retired. But some of his observations demonstrate the contrast between what Islamabad was saying and what was actually being done on the ground.

Gen. Gul Hameed is obviously right in pointing out that the fallout from the continued Afghanistan war threatens Pakistan's integrity. His criticism of the Afghan Assembly or Loya Jirga, as suggested by the U.N. representative Sevan, is valid: it is hard to see how can an arbitrarily-chosen collection of individuals be a representative body?

Given the number of fingers in the Afghan pie, it is all but impossible to put together an assembly that simultaneously comprises the representatives of so many feuding parties and groups and yet reflects the common Afghan will for creating a constitution and Government that will work so as to hold Afghanistan together or lead it out of the civil war. He is also right, up to a point, in emphasising that Afghanistan is for the Afghans and that Pakistanis should continue to remain friends of the Afghans and presume nothing more.

It is, however, not possible to agree with his prescription. Cutting out the verbiage, it boils down to a simple but dangerous proposition: let the hardline Mujahideen win their war by administering a *coup de grace* on the Watan Party regime. Unless events are allowed to reach this denouncement, he says, dire things would happen: Mujahideen will fall out with Pakistan; Afghanistan might get divided along Pashtun and non-Pashtun lines; and since Durand Line has disappeared as a result of Pakistanis' own actions, the trend will be strengthened toward the creation of a greater Pashtunistan, comprising the Pashtun belts in both Pakistan and Afghanistan.

Men like Engineer Hekmatyar imply and men like Gen. Gul Hameed say that unless Islamabad does as they ordain and eschews new peace initiatives (they disapprove), Pakistan would risk disintegration. This sounds

more like a threat. While a version of this doom-laden denouncement is also advanced by a few others, the Gul Hameed-Hekmatyar view is a different kettle of fish: these gentlemen should be challenged to spell out the process through which this sorry end is expected to materialise. One way or another, it is the refusal of these very men and the forces they represent to accept either the peace-making lead of Islamabad or to countenance any compromise settlement that falls short of total victory over Watan Party's forces—a victory that men like Hekmatyar were always predicting to be just round the corner. World has come to the conclusion that they are consistently false prophets and that there is no real option but to work for a compromise settlement.

Military experts of most nations are agreed that Afghan Mujahideen, with their present mental baggage, are unlikely to destroy Watan Party's regular and other armed forces. Mujahideen are politically so splintered as to command and are so technologically backward, illiterate and individualistic that they cannot bring to bear their strength on the enemy.

They stand no chance of achieving their aim. Having given more than a decade to the strategy of winning the war and having got nowhere, it is time to give peace a change; Pakistan can rightfully expect Mujahideen leaders to co-operate. U.N. formula is predicated on the impossibility of Mujahideen overthrowing Watan Party regime and there being no option to making a deal with Kabul. Similarly, since the Kabul regime was unable to destroy or subdue Mujahideen for 13 long years, it had better recognise its inability and accommodate some of Mujahideen's wishes.

Although one does not think that the Benon Sevan formula is really foolproof or one hundred per cent fair, it can certainly be seized upon by both sides, if they are realistic enough and serious enough in wanting an amicable settlement based on current realities on the ground. For, as one has conceded, the assembly part of the UN formula is open to serious doubt about its being either representative or authoritative.

Since no other basis for peace-making is on offer, it can be accepted on strictly practical grounds: with goodwill and good sense, it can give an interim constitution and an acceptable provisional government. A question arises: would the Mujahideen leadership (of all schools) co-operate with Pakistan's desire for an amicable Afghan settlement so that the over three million refugees go back home. For, the current burden of friendship with Mujahideen on Pakistan is now clearly destroying Pakistan's economy beyond acceptable limits.

One aspect needs to be underlined. It calls for moral courage and maturity on Mujahideen's and their Pakistani champions' part: they have to make a second hard assessment of what Watan Party signifies and who its constituents are. That the party was formerly communist and most of its active workers were Marxists or, shall we say, fellow travellers is in no doubt. What is to be done about them now? They have fought as tenaciously as Mujahideen and as bravely; they have also not done too badly as an important segment of Afghan society.

Watan Party governments have survived the worst the Mujahideen could do for over three years after the last Soviet soldier left the country. They clearly enjoy the support of a significant section of the populace, living in areas being directly administered by the Party, especially women and those who were given lands and other help.

This is an unignorable part of Afghan society, oriented to modernism who are not enamoured of religious politics such as the Mujahideen themselves are. They cannot abide by obscurantism and reactionary politics for which the Mujahideen are famous. What is to be done with this not-insignificant part of the society? I suggest it has to be adequately and honourably accommodated and not thrown at the mercy of obscurantist Mujahideen.

This modernistic section is better educated and is capable of being very productive. They are potential, if not actual, democrats and freedom lovers. They deserve to be protected and valued. In any case, they would not tolerate the rule of religious bigots and would resist it being foisted on them.

As for the dangers to Pakistan a cold assessment shows that insistence on more warfare would not work to disintegrate Afghanistan. We should face this fact. To begin with, most of the ex-Soviet republics in Central Asia are sure to rally round Kabul regime and sustain it because of political and other affinities among their leadership.

Demography of Afghanistan being what it is, it is far more likely that during continued warfare Afghanistan's eastern and Pashtun-dominated areas would eventually work loose from Kabul while non-Pashtun areas in the west, north and northwest may eventually gravitate towards, and join up with, areas and republics that are ethnically the same as the particular adjoining area or group.

The presence of three million Afghan refugees and Mujahideen leadership in NWFP [Northwest Frontier Province] and Balochistan would present painful dilemmas to Pakistan. It is men like Gen. Zia, Gul Hameed and others of the ilk who are largely responsible for this state of affairs through their conduct. The chicken may soon be returning home and it is the rest of Pakistanis—and Islamabad—who have to clean up the mess left by these thoughtless enthusiasts of Islamic *Jihad*, possibly in pursuit of other, perhaps more sordid, objectives.

Chasm Between Muslim League, ANP Said Deepening

92AS0845D Karachi DAWN in English 31 Mar 92 p 7

[Article by Nisar Osmani: "The Chasm Is Visibly Wide"; quotation marks as published]

[Text] Lahore, March 30—Despite a truce reached earlier this week, war of words between the ANP [Awami National Party] and the Muslim League continues.

Harsh language was used by the speakers at an ANP meeting on Sunday. It was full of anger and retaliation to which the Muslim Leaguers reacted sharply. All this gives one the impression that only the first round, and not the war is over.

Politics in Pakistan is passing through a strange phase. It is not for the first time that coalition governments have been formed. In fact, under the 1956 Constitution, which unfortunately had an abnormally short life of 30 months only, all the four governments formed at the centre and headed by Chaudhari Mohammad Ali, Huseyn Shaheed Suhrawardy, I.I. Chundrigar and Feroze Khan Noon, whose dismissal in October, 1958, came with the dissolution of the assemblies and thus the abrogation of the constitution itself, were coalition cabinets.

Differences on policy matters and sometimes because of political intrigue, did crop up, but then the partners parted company. It is for the first time that coalescing parties have made frontal attacks on each other and called their partners "traitors and bootlickers of the imperialist rulers." The coalitions in the fifties did prove to be short-lived, but the partners did not enter into acrimonious exchanges. The parties today, however, appear to be adding a novel chapter on political cooperation and comradeship. They hit at each other hard, but choose to remain in the same alliance, in the same government or in both. Parties in alliance and the coalescing partners today are far more disparate and hostile to each other than to the adversaries against whom they have formed the alliance or the governments.

The adage which says that one who tries to please everybody, ends up by pleasing no one, appears to be relevant in the context of the Prime Minister's posture and priorities and that of his cabinet colleagues who have been catching at every straw to cling to power.

Their efforts to keep the Jamaat-i-Islami with them on the one hand and the ANP and the MQM [Muhajir Quami Movement] on the other, have gone somewhat well so far but the hour of trial now appears to be at hand.

Not that the ship of the IJI [Islami Jamhoori Ittehad] Government is sinking. But the cracks are there and the chasm is visibly wide—not only inside the heterogeneous IJI, but now within the faction-ridden Muslim League itself, which has seldom been united while facing a difficult situation. What is worse, the crisis of credibility appears to have not only hit the IJI, but has also simultaneously damaged the Muslim League—ANP 'equation'. On the face of it, the airdash of the three top Federal Ministers—the confidants of the Prime Minister—to Peshawar on Saturday, has succeeded in their "shuttle diplomacy" in tiding over the crisis that erupted all of a sudden. But the divide is rather deep and it would take some time and not little effort on the part of the two sides before the wounds are healed.

It would be only pertinent to point out here that apart from the traditional and historical hostility which has continued over the years with some brief intervals of peace, the current understanding between them is based mainly on personal equation between Mr Nawaz Sharif and the ANP hierarchy—an equation which draws strength not from the commonality of views but from the “commonly nourished opposition to, and fear of, the PPP [Pakistan People’s Party].”

The utterances of to [as published] the ANP leaders’ accusation that “a conspiracy is being hatched” to create a cleavage between their party and the Prime Minister, speak for themselves. Their emphasis is not on the need for cordial ties between the two parties but with the person of the Prime Minister.

Conscious of the gravity of a situation that could pose a challenge and a threat to his government and power, in case a hostile government emerged in any of the three small provinces (but none of them unimportant), Mian Nawaz Sharif made it doubly sure that the IJI, which had failed to muster a majority in these three units, entered into coalition arrangement with other political elements. Naturally, he would not like to have nightmares of the type which he gave to Ms Bhutto when he was Chief Minister of the Punjab. A repetition of the story in any of the three provinces would upset the delicate equations in other provincial capitals and consequently in Islamabad. That explains why the powers that he gave “full liberty” to Jam Sadiq Ali to resort to any conceivable manoeuvring to form and later keep his Government intact.

The ANP leaders, on the other hand, could see that the policy of sitting permanently on opposition benches does not pay in the long run—that the electorate would expect their representatives to be of concrete help to them in resolving the problems of every day life such as dealing with the police and patwari, seeking admission into colleges and hospitals and procuring jobs, etc., and that is possible only if the elected representatives are on the ministerial benches.

The crucial question now is: will Mian Nawaz Sharif and his close colleagues in the cabinet be able to maintain the truce?; and simultaneously, will they succeed in pacifying the “volatile elements (led and patronised by a section of the old guards in the Muslim League) whose number is on the increase and whose ego is injured on the recent “outbursts” of the ANP leaders? Under an “agreement” they are silent and will remain so until the Prime Minister and party return from Umra. But they are not totally tight lipped—the silence is rather eloquent. And as things stand, it could prove to be a lull before the storm.

Whether the understanding between the three ministers and the ANP leadership will survive the pulls and pressures, whether it will turn out to be a genuine patch-up, a compromise or merely a cosmetic dressing, time alone will tell. What is, however, at stake is the unity of the Muslim League itself. Mr Nawaz Sharif will

be required to move cautiously in his bid to retain the ANP support or else in the process the groupism in League takes a serious turn leading to fragmentation to which it has been used by now.

Ulema Council Calls for Muslim World Unity

92AS0864D Islamabad *THE MUSLIM in English*
31 Mar 92 p 6

[Text] Islamabad, 30 March—The Muslims of the world should shun their differences and evolve a joint strategy for the liberation of Al Quds as well as to free Palestinians from the clutches of Zionist oppression.

These views were expressed by Ulema, scholars and other religious figures who visited the Al-Quds exhibition, organised by the United Ulema Council Islamabad at the premises of the United Council.

The exhibition is being held in connection with the Muslim World League’s call to commemorate last week of Ramzan as solidarity week with Palestinians throughout the world.

Member of the Council of Islamic ideology, Maulana Abdul Ghaffar Hasan, during his visit to the exhibition said “changes are taking place throughout the world” and the Zionist forces can no longer retain the occupation of Palestine territory.

He said the reign of terror in the occupied Palestine could be put to an end by forging unity among the Ummah the world over.

The research director of the United Ulema Council, Amir Mehdi, said “it is the need of the hour to have a common strategy to free the Muslims of Palestine where the first sacred mosque Bait-ul-Muqaddas is under the control of Israeli forces.

Government ‘Lack of Clarity’ Fuels JKLF Stance

BK0104123792 Islamabad *THE NEWS in English*
1 Apr 92 p 7

[Editorial: “Dealing With the JKLF”]

[Text] The Jammu Kashmir Liberation Front’s [JKLF] effort on Monday to cross the Line of Control, [LoC] which divides Azad Kashmir from Indian occupied Kashmir, has again failed. This was the party’s second attempt in the last two months. The first time it tried to cross the LoC was on 12 February. Then it was prevented by tight security arrangements of the AJK [Azad Jammu & Kashmir Government] government aided by Islamabad. This time around too it was not much different. In fact the administration seemed to have learnt a few lessons from its previous experience of stopping JKLF marchers from going into occupied Kashmir. The administration’s second bid to foil JKLF plans was eminently successful in that it avoided any untoward

incident. And unlike the last time, when at least seven people were killed and many more injured, no casualties were reported.

However, all this hardly means that all is well with Islamabad's policy of dealing with JKLF's new tactics. The JKLF has undoubtedly managed to give the Kashmir issue a new dimension, and it has earned unprecedented attention from the international media and public opinion. For this reason preventive measures and even the use of force to discourage the JKLF from creating complications for Islamabad may be inadequate policy and in the long run even counter-productive. The exclusive emphasis on arrests, detentions and other strong arm tactics could tarnish Pakistan's image internationally. What is required therefore is a comprehensive game plan with a heavy accent on a political solution to the problems which the government is facing in combating the JKLF's adventurism: More dialogue with the JKLF may still be useful. Even, if JKLF leaders are obsessed with pursuing a policy on Kashmir independent of Islamabad's influence that still does not change the ground reality that Pakistan's support remains crucial. So much so that the organisation could be paralysed if Islamabad decides to turn hostile and even apply various kinds of sanctions. This gives Islamabad considerable leverage, enough at least to make its leaders under stand the high diplomatic cost of their escapades for Pakistan.

There is no denying the fact that what has emboldened the JKLF and other political parties operating in Pakistan to adopt a gung ho attitude on Kashmir is partly Islamabad's own lack of clarity. Not only has the Nawaz Sharif government been unable to coherently articulate the basic contours of its Kashmir policy, it has done itself a disservice by giving the impression that it will do or die for Kashmir. Many members of the federal cabinet, on different occasions, have issued statements which convey the image that it is only a matter of time before the government implements a 'forward' policy on Kashmir. The government itself called a nation-wide strike in February that only reinforced this perception. It is high time Islamabad made its position clear on Kashmir particularly to the JKLF. Further dilly dallying and policy confusion could land it in a situation that it would find impossible to get out.

Amanullah Khan Claims Objectives of March Achieved

92AS0890E Islamabad *THE MUSLIM in English*
5 Apr 92 p 5

[Text] Islamabad, April 4—Amanullah Khan, Chairman of Jammu and Kashmir Liberation Front (JKLF), who was released on Friday after nine days of detention at the Popin Rest House, Chauntra, some 50 kms south west from here, said the governments of India and Pakistan have been equally responsible for curbing the freedom movement of Kashmiri people. This, he said, became

abundantly clear by the recent behaviour of the government of Azad Jammu and Kashmir at the behest of the Government of Pakistan.

While talking to *THE MUSLIM* on telephone after his release, the Kashmiri leader also explained the reasons for his march call. He said both India and Pakistan have made the Kashmir issue a territorial dispute between themselves and have cleverly kept the Kashmiris out of their game for power.

He said India was keeping us away from our freedom by force and Pakistan by tricks. In a sentimental voice, he said: We the people of Kashmir are paying the price for our urge for freedom with our blood and honour of our women across the Line of Control [LOC]. He added "no mechanisations, however, treacherous might he, can keep us away from our goal."

To a question whether his march calls on February 11 and March 30, among other things, caused embarrassment to the Pakistan government as it resorted to arrests and other methods to stop them, the Kashmiri leader said the aims and objectives of the call were not to embarrass the Pakistan government.

He said the march call was given to reinvigorate the freedom movement in the Occupied Kashmir to liberate the people suffering in the long dreary winters of the occupied Valley. Elaborating, he said, the Indian government had announced that they would crush the freedom movement by the end of February. He added that the Indian prime minister, the home minister and the governor of the Jammu and Kashmir had announced that the freedom movement would be crushed by February, 1992. He triumphantly remarked that by mobilising the masses on both sides of the LOC, the JKLF [Jammu Kashmir Liberation Front] had been successful in falsifying the claims of the Indian authorities.

In addition, he said, that through confidential sources, he had informed the army and civil authorities in Pakistan about a face saving way out for them. But he said regrettably they did not respond to his proposition and the things went from bad to worse. As a result, many people were killed and many more arrested by the authorities to curb the march call in February.

The JKLF chief said the objectives of the march have been achieved. The foremost of these, he said, it was proved that the JKLF existed on both sides of the LOC and the response from the occupied Kashmir was very encouraging. Secondly, he said, the cause of the innocent Kashmiri people, whose sons were being killed and girls raped by the Indian forces had also been successfully projected in the media across the world. Last but not the least, he said, the freedom movement has got a boost and the freedom fighters will now be able to put more pressure on the Indian forces to quit their land as they, he said, were now more united and active.

In addition, he said that the tricky long winters had also come to a close and it would now be difficult to put a

stop to the activities of the freedom fighters in the valley. He said the movement of the guerrillas became very difficult during the cold weather and it was easier for the security forces to arrest and kill them as they were finding it difficult to come out of their hideouts for action.

Whether there was any need for another march call as the JKLF had achieved almost all of their objectives, the Kashmiri leader reluctantly admitted that there was no immediate need but hastened to add that in this regard the final decision will be made at the meeting of the Central Action Committee of the Front.

Amanullah refused to admit that the march call was a flop. He retorted by saying that even if "we see the AJK [Azad Jammu and Kashmir] Premier Sardar Qayyum as saying that only ten people were gathered at Sudhan Gali," that meant the call was successful. He said that ten people managing to reach to such a far-flung area despite the heavy positioning of the paramilitary forces in the AJK was a failure of the AJK and Pakistan governments in stopping the march to cross the LOC.

He, however, said that hundreds of people came out despite the chilly weather and incessant rains and blocking of all the entry points towards Muzaffarabad. He said some people managed to reach from Bagh but about a hundred of them reached Sudhan Gali who, he said, were either repulsed, beaten or taken into custody.

INTERNAL AFFAIRS

Martial Law Seen Imminent Possibility

92AS0892F Karachi JASARAT in Urdu 11 Apr 92 p 5

[Editorial: "Change Is Coming"]

[Text] There is a strange tendency in our beloved nation. If there is a martial law regime, we scream for democracy. When there is democracy, we begin to dream of a martial law regime, or we want a third or different option. This game is very popular among the politicians. All the people want is law and order and justice. However, they do not get it in either a martial law or a democratic government. By the grace of God, we got rid of martial law. Then some of our political leaders—we do not know what kind of leaders they are or who they lead except themselves—are trying to threaten us with the fear of martial law again and again. At the same time, to protect themselves, they say in the same breath that they do not want martial law. However, when they keep talking of martial law to the people again and again, then we can conclude only two things. The first is that they want to prepare the people without their knowledge for martial law, so that when such a time comes, they do not object to it. The second is that some circles are fed up and have begun to say that it would be better to have martial law. Thus, the people who are proud of their connections with GHQ [General headquarters] and are

pushing the situation towards martial law are not really doing anything that we can call good.

Recently, Pir Pagada announced that he would go to Lahore on 20 April and make trouble there. He has already announced his decision to have a "double march" during the month of March. As for his plans to cause problems, he had been doing that in Pakistani politics all the time. However, those who believe every word he says to be "the directive of the stars" or "what is written in our fate" are worried that he might cause some major problems again. Using the Eighth Amendment, two presidents have broken up two governments. Everywhere, veteran politicians who are outside the government are informing us that there are major disagreements between the president and the prime minister. The majority of the assembly is with the president, and much will happen soon. We are hearing the footsteps of coming events. The president and the prime minister have repeatedly announced that they have no differences and that everything is fine. However, those who have not their dreams realized do not want to believe it. Recently, our president assured the people while talking to journalists in a meeting that he has noticed any major changes in the country, and that the present government was doing a good job. He hinted that there was no differences between him and the prime minister and asked that the people talking about all these changes be asked where they have seen such changes. The prime minister was also present at the time, and the president pointed at him and said, "We are both sitting here. All talk about disagreements between us is baseless and meaningless."

However, we believe that the people who want such changes in which they have a place for themselves will still not believe it and will not let anyone else do so. The desire for change is natural in any democratic country; however, for it, natural and democratic ways are used to effect changes. No one prays for martial law regimes. That is not change, it is destruction. According to Qazi Hussein Ahmed, leader of Jamaat-i Islami Pakistan, "If we have martial law, then be it understood that we will not only lose Sindh, but the whole country will be destroyed." Those who want changes should think about constructive change, and they should offer examples of these to the government. Anyone trying to enter from the back door will be kicked out.

PPP Demands More Right for Provinces

92AS0892D Karachi JASARAT in Urdu 12 Apr 92 p 3

[News Report: "Provinces Should Have More Rights Under Confederal System"]

[Text] Kandhkot (PPA)—These days, various campaigns for nationalism are on the rise, and nations are demanding political and economic independence. However, there is no example in the world of a country going to pieces because of the demand for rights. In such a

situation, nations can be saved by establishing a confederal government system and providing political and economic freedom to various groups in the country. These feelings were expressed by Mumtaz Ali Bhutto, chairman of Sindh's National Front, in a special interview with the PPA. He said, "Pakistan is a multi-ethnic nation. We have proposed the establishment of a confederal system, but we should not be called traitors for it. We want Punjab, Balochistan, Sarhad, and Sindh to get their rights, which they deserve under a confederal system. If this is implemented, then Pakistan will not break up." Mumtaz Ali Bhutto said, "We want a government system under which all ethnic groups are happy. This will help make Pakistan stable." He said that people in other states were happy because they had given their representation to patriotic people: "Only Sindh is suffering from all of its economic problems, because Sindhis have elected profederal people instead of prostate people." He said, "The Sindhis missed a golden opportunity, and they are still paying the price. Robbers are looting and massacring the Sindhi people. Sindh will become another Beirut. However, the prime minister is still saying that the law-and-order situation in Sindh is satisfactory. He said that the statements issued by the prime minister were "amazing." The patriotic leader said that when a government nears its end, then it suffers from ignorance and delusion. He said the people of Sindh have seen the real face of the Muslim League and are fed up with it. He also said that the present government is being run by the military and the bureaucracy, and that plans are being made to control Sindh with the help of the military. Finally, he said that if the people of Sindh unite, then their goals would not be hard to achieve.

Paper Says Party Infighting 'Inevitable'

BK0804121592 Lahore THE NATION (Supplement)
in English 8 Apr 92

[Editorial: "League Infighting"]

[Text] What is happening today at the top of the Muslim League structure, was in a way inevitable. Part of it was inherent in the IJI [Islami Jamhoori Ittehad] itself where the League had to compromise on some of its ideological principles to weld together a large enough electoral platform to defeat its chief rival—the PPP [Pakistan People's Party]. The League and the Jama'at, for example, had not only a fairly long history of acrimonious relations, even before the PPP came into being, they also had different agendas for the country's future. That the Jama'at has consistently refused to accept any office in the IJI government is evidence enough for this divergence of outlook. Not only that, the two have all along held irreconcilable positions on the IJI's coalition partners of the MQM [Muhajir Qaumi Movement] and the ANP [Awami National Party]. The seeds of discord were thus right there in the alliances that the League has sought and cultivated. The positive element in all this nevertheless was that the League had a large enough following in the Centre (and of course in Punjab) to

withstand the pressures that such mutual hostilities could generate. And worse come to worst, it could even live without the Jama'at. That position appears to have changed. The split is now within the League. On the one side is the so-called Junejo group to which belong at least two Federal Ministers and some Senators and on the other the Nawaz Sharif group, to which belong his so-called kitchen cabinet members led by Chaudhry Nisar Ali and other loyalists from the days of his Chief Ministership. But because of the way personal abuse has been hurled on each other by the two groups recently a crisis has been created which is not only the worst of its kind so far, it has also come at a very bad time for the League.

It does not mean of course that the Prime Minister [PM] is not capable of healing the rift or the rift is so serious that his government is in any imminent danger. People of his group are confident that the PM can survive without the dissidents within the League and even without League's other coalition partners. Yet the split would have dealt a blow which could eventually prove fatal. This is how the League has always disintegrated in the past and lost to its adversaries. Governmental patronage is a coming factor only so long as the Muslim League is in power at the Centre. Once it loses the Centre, not only will it become hard to win back its alienated allies and coalition partners, it will also become difficult to cobble together any meaningful electoral alliance. Eventually it will have to resolve such questions as the Sindhi versus the Mohajir, the fundamentalist versus the liberal and the economic versus the ideological. And therein lies the danger for the League.

Political Reconciliation With Opposition Urged

92AS0907C Karachi AMN in Urdu 20 Apr 92 p 2

[Editorial: "Need for Political Reconciliation"]

[Text] Prime Minister Nawaz Sharif recently addressed gatherings of workers in Maring and Garhi Shahu in which he called the opposition party self-serving and inimical to the country and accused the opposition of being concerned solely with gaining power and having no interest in either the country or the nation; he said that they put on an air of piety but their aim was to keep others from office if they themselves could not gain office even if the country suffered as a consequence. The prime minister termed the All Parties Conference [APC] useless and dangerous for the welfare of the ordinary individual and the progress of the country. He severely criticized the APC leaders and said that they had no program for the country and the people and it was because of their lack of program that the people had rejected them in the past elections; that the APC leaders included those who had opposed the creation of Pakistan and had played no part in the Pakistan movement and even those who had tried energetically to break up the movement for the creation of Pakistan. The prime minister expressed the conviction that no APC campaign

could succeed and that the people themselves would defeat the opposition party's campaign.

The prime minister's comment on the opposition party's preparations for a campaign against the government is not unexpected. It has become customary in our country for every government to call its opponents enemies of the country and self servers and to blame the opposition leaders for all shortcomings; [to claim] that no one has greater sympathy for the country and the people than the members of the party in office and that any movement or protest against the ruling party is in fact a plot against the country and the nation. As a result of such behavior, there is not a single politician left who has not been accused of being a traitor, an enemy of the country and of trying to destroy it. The people are then surprised to see that when the need arises, or after they lose office, the people in power who had accused opposition politicians of treason, readily join forces with them.

After launching the Islami Jamhoori Ittehad, Prime Minister Nawaz Sharif had expressed the intention of practising honorable and decent politics; in his statements and interviews, he had tried to convince the people that instead of mud slinging, he would establish his identity by serving the nation. In view of such reassurances, it is surprising to hear him level these accusations against opposition leaders. It appears that self-seeking elements have tightened their circle around him and have gained his confidence to the extent that now he negates his own promises. When attacking the opposition party and in particular politicians participating in the APC, the prime minister should keep in mind their standing in national politics and the sacrifices they have made for establishing democracy in the country. The prime minister should not also ignore the fact that during the term of office of Benazir Bhutto, some of the APC leaders played a prominent part in bringing Nawaz Sharif forward, lending him political support and in launching the political alliance against the government. Prime minister Nawaz Sharif knows well that there are no final words in politics and that those who were his friends yesterday could again become his friends tomorrow. Thus, moderation should be observed in criticizing political opponents especially now that the government is preparing to start talks with the opposition party. According to newspaper reports, the date of 6 May has been rejected for the talks. Such remarks by the opposition party [as published] about opposition leaders will increase bitterness and make reconciliation difficult.

We hope that at this time, statements will not be made which will create obstacles in the way of reconciliation between the government and the opposition party; increasing bitterness and tension between the two will only strengthen antidemocratic forces and be in every way contrary to the interests of the country and the people. The opposition party should avoid resorting to tricks which intensify confrontation and should instead adopt policies which would help in starting talks to reach an understanding with the government.

New Political Balance in Sindh Analyzed

92AS0891B Karachi TAKBEER in Urdu
19 Mar 92 pp 33-34

[Article by Farooq Adil: "Sindh Got a Noncontroversial Chief Minister and PDA Got the Jatoli Group"]

[Text] With the departure of Jam Sadiq Ali, Sindh has got a noncontroversial chief minister, and the People's Democratic Alliance [PDA] got the Jatoli group. However, the question that emerged as the biggest news after Jam Sadiq Ali's death still remains, as to what will happen to Sindh now. We cannot say if there will be any stability in the Sindh government now that Sayyed Muzaffer Hussein Shah, the candidate of Jam Sadiq Ali and the federal government, has become chief minister. The reason for this doubt is that former Chief Minister Ghulam Mustafa Jatoli made some major position changes overnight and opened a new chapter full of surprises.

Jam Sadiq Ali's death was not an unexpected development. He had gone to London for treatment, and the opposition party announced that Jam Sadiq Ali was suffering from a terminal disease, which would make his return impossible. His dangerous sickness was later verified. During these days, it was learned that Jam Sadiq Ali had decided to resign from his position. Later, however, he returned to the country with great pomp and show and while passing through a several mile-long welcome rally, stood in a truck for hours and met the people who came to welcome him. His voice was a little weak at the time; however, Jam Sadiq foiled all the propaganda because of his strong will. During this period, even though he was bedridden many times, he resumed his responsibilities and continued his volatile politics. During this period, rumors of his going abroad were circulated. Recently, our prime minister went abroad to participate in an international conference, and Jam Sadiq Ali was part of his delegation. However, when he went to London instead of returning home with the prime minister, the people became suspicious. The methods used to go abroad for treatment were new this time. On a second trip to London, Jam Sadiq got medical treatment and met with Iltaf Hussein. He soon returned home and addressed a press conference, which proved to be his last. During this time, the Jam Sadiq who stood in front of journalists was the same zealous Jam Sadiq from his conversation. This time again, Jam Sadiq accused the People's Party and the Bhutto ladies and criticized al-Zulfiqar. However, his health was declining, and he was brought to the conference hall with help. At this time, Jam Sadiq invited all the journalists to participate in his daughter's wedding and said, "Please come. You will be honoring me with your presence." The world later saw Jam Sadiq celebrate his daughter's wedding. During this period, he earned a lot more respect; however, this gathering perhaps was his way of saying goodbye to the world. He could not even participate in it himself. During the Goth Jam Nawaz Ali ceremony, where people should be celebrating, they were expressing

sorrow over Jam Sadiq. They expressed regret at Jam Sadiq not being there and showing his traditional hospitality. The reason for this was that he was not even able to talk. At that time, it was said that Jam Sadiq was not at the Goth Jam Nawaz Ali; instead, he was being treated at the Agha Khan Medical University hospital. This news was later proved wrong. Jam Sadiq was satisfied after his daughter's marriage and was waiting for the right moment, which happened to be on 5 March at 0110. He died like a lucky father who had seen the happiness of his children.

Jam Sadiq's daughter was married, and he then could not get up from bed. There were news items about his being very busy in the newspapers and television. However, Jam Sadiq had reached his end. On the advice of his friends in Islamabad, he transferred all of his responsibilities to Muzaffar Hussein Shah and made him chief minister.

During this period, former Prime Minister Ghulam Mustafa Jatoi went to Islamabad and started his old tirade again. He said that he would not cooperate with the government and would instead help the opposition. The political circles understood Mr. Jatoi's strategy and knew that he was unhappy with the successor that Jam Sadiq had chosen. But even Pir Pagara was not happy with this appointment, either. Not much attention was given to Mr. Jatoi's expression of resentment. As a result, he gave a green signal to his "niece," former Prime Minister Benazir Bhutto. She went to his residence to meet him, and this meeting resulted in the formation of a coalition of the PDA and the NPP [National People's Party] in the Sindh Parliament. Mr. Jatoi's son, Masrur Jatoi, was nominated as a candidate for the chief ministership. It is said that Mr. Jatoi was told at that time that if there was any upset in the election because of this coalition, then the reason for the whole effort would not exist. In other words, the assembly would be canceled, and a governor's rule would be effected. This message was also directed to the assembly members, who were always looking for power. It was very effective. Later, when the results were as expected, a member of the kitchen cabinet told a trusted associate with great excitement that "the big landlords have been trapped." "The chance of a governor's rule was otherwise very far-fetched." The associate finished this sentence, started by the federal minister. In spite of the demand for a governor's rule in Sindh, the powerful pillars in the federal government believe that Sindh should be protected from a government that is not representative of the people. They fear that this could result in problems later, which could perhaps not be controlled. In this situation, if Sindh's government came into the hands of unelected people, then the enemy would find it easy to make Sindh another Kashmir or East Punjab. Even now, the communications media publish items that hint that Sindh might be contemplating a separation from the country.

However, did the big landlords really get trapped, as the trusty minister of the prime minister thinks, or is something else written in this political scenario? In this context, two news items are very important. The first is that the PPP [Pakistan People's Party] decided not to form a government in Sindh, and the second is that the three major challengers for power in Sindh decided postponing their own fights and to fight a bigger war, so that they could remove the present rivals.

As far as the question of the PPP's decision not to establish a government in Sindh is concerned, this is getting attention from Sindh observers. When Jam Sadiq had gone to London during his first illness, he had expressed his regrets for still being in office. At that time, a decision was made to test the People's Party. It is surprising that this party, which never misses an opportunity to establish a government, decided not to participate in the election. The PPP is still firm on its decision, and it is playing its cards very carefully. It has succeeded in getting Jatoi on its side. Jatoi had been threatening Islamabad once in a while, even though Mr. Jatoi is still enjoying the fruits of power, and it is possible that his party might not like to stay out of power after this jump to power. However, his return to his old associates and formation of a cooperative parliamentary group are important developments. We can easily assume the future political line up from it.

The second fact is that Nawaz Sharif's government is perhaps the only one that does not have enough representation from Sindh in its cabinet. In addition, Senate chairmanships and National Assembly speakerships were offered but were rejected. Still, Sindh's chief minister had supported the federal government. In spite of his presence, Mr. Pir Pagara, who is the greatest opponent of Nawaz Sharif in the Muslim League, was not functioning very well. With Jam Sadiq gone, the Nawaz Sharif government does not have the support of a person who, in spite of various differences, had joined his forces for the greater cause. To this end, he had challenged Muzaffar Hussein Shah and told him not to waste his talents. He hopes to establish good relations with Muzaffar Hussein Shah in the future.

Against this background, the MQM [Muhajir Qaumi Movement] has become important again. It has played an important role in supporting Muzaffar Hussein Shah. After the newly elected chief minister got a vote of confidence, the MQM leadership gave a lot of speeches congratulating him and said that the new chief minister was going to follow in the footsteps of Jam Sadiq Ali. Meanwhile, the chief minister began to visit Azizabad as soon as he took office. In this way the MQM, which was suffering from political and administrative problems, began to feel more stable again. The greatest example of its success is the change in the attitude of Pakistan's steel mill administration. In other words, Jam Sadiq's death helped the MQM.

As for the question of how the new chief minister will function, the observers do not have two opinions about

it. Muzaffar Hussein Shah is not as alert as his predecessor. He is an educated and serious lawyer. He can be a great administrator in normal situations; however, the deteriorating situation in Sindh and backing out of old allies will test his talents thoroughly.

Separatism in Sindh Seen Fueled by Economic Disparity

Needs New Investment

92AS0911A Karachi DAWN in English 25 Apr 92 p 11

[Article by Sultan Ahmed: "Sindh's Economic Woes"; quotation marks as published]

[Text] Chief Minister Muzaffar Hussain Shah realises that without the revival of the economy and its steady progress in both the rural and urban areas, Sindh's varied problems cannot be solved. And that process has to begin with restoration of law and order in an undisputed manner.

On his own part he is optimistic. He has the advantage of having been minister for industries and agriculture in the earlier cabinets. Personally he is regarded as a successful progressive farmer, while professionally he is a lawyer. But the deterrents to economic revival and its sustainability are now tougher than what he thinks. Their removal will take far more political and economic inputs than are readily available or can be generated quickly.

Not all the problems which have put the economy of Sindh in reverse gear are of the making of its people and political leaders, including the extremists with their penchant for violence. The federal government has a major contribution now in undermining the existing industries through excessive taxation and arbitrary collection from those already paying heavy taxes.

Mr. Shah has to begin with reversing the negative trends in several areas. Flight of capital from Karachi continues to foreign countries or to the Punjab where the pace of industrialisation has been accelerated, much of that free of taxes. 'Zamindars' are moving to the cities for fear of kidnapping, excessive and periodic demands for large sums by dacoits who, following refusal or inability to pay, burn their standing or harvested crops. Some of the men with large cash now prefer to convert that into foreign exchange and keep it in FE accounts with no questions asked, no income tax, wealth tax or Zakat and free from the excessive inflation.

In such a context the new Chief Minister has promised peace within a year instead of three months as done by Jam Sadiq who saw the acceleration of the crimes but would not admit it. His problem is not as much the small size of the police—which admittedly must be augmented—as the police is now a part of the problem, and not of the solution. Too many policemen are these days committing crimes, sponsoring them or benefitting from them in a big way.

We were earlier told that a Forest Police and a Riverine Police were being set up to flush out dacoits from the thick forests and prevent their escape through rivers. Mr. Shah says hardly any progress had been made in those areas. He now proposes to set up police stations within the forest areas to prevent dacoits from using the thick forests as sanctuaries and operation centres.

He says that most of the crimes in the interior of Sindh are committed between 4 and 6 pm so that the kidnapped could be carried into the jungles before 6 pm after which the police dare not enter them. He wants to knock down these sanctuaries. That can be a very tough task if that is not accompanied by a new political deal in Sindh.

Investors in Karachi now regard it safe and profitable to invest in Punjab, where the infra-structure minus power is readily available and power can be produced through generators. They see tremendous tax advantages in the rural industrial policy, while the province is being opened up rapidly through the controversial Motorway and large network of roads. Compared to that, industries in Karachi are periodically hit by shortage of water and gas remains a problem for those who want more of it.

Many of the industries whose shares are now floated through the Karachi Stock Exchange, too, are in Punjab, particularly those of Mian Mohammad Manshah who is offering the shares of one company after another, after he took over the MCB. In such an environment of reverse flow of funds the problems of employment in Karachi cannot be solved by an increase in the number of Modaraba companies or small private sector banks which need small staff.

Some entrepreneurs thought it was safe to make industrial investment in Hub and beyond in Balochistan; but now crimes in the Hub area, and on the way to it from Karachi, have increased. Balochistan is no more a peaceful area it was earlier regarded to be. So those entrepreneurs who were unnerved by the violence in the interior of Sindh, are having setbacks in Hub as well and that is too bad for the employment.

The interior of Sindh has really one industry—sugar industry—and it has been under heavy stress because of the rising cane prices, small sugar content, heavy duties including retroactive taxation and import of sugar on reduced duty. While some of the sugar mills in Sindh have lost heavily, the better among them have seen their profits get slashed. Many of them have declared no dividends and their share prices have come down crashing. The sugar industry in Sindh deserves a better deal from Islamabad.

The Nooriabad Industrial Estate in Dadu, now a rural industrial zone could make a major contribution to solving unemployment problem in Southern Sindh; but the rising rate of crime or its fear stands in the way. Industrial expansion in Kotri has been held up for the same reason.

If much of the new investment has not been coming forth in Karachi because of the ban on such industries or tax disadvantages in relation to other areas, some of the multinational companies have been proposing expansion. But the crushing taxes have given a jolt to them.

The news of the two multinationals—Pakistan Tobacco and Pakistan Burma-Shell—incurring heavy losses has come as a rude shock to other multinationals which fear worse from the new budget. This is discouraging foreign investment at a time when Pakistan is trying hard to attract it. What is more surprising for the multinationals is that some of their representatives raised the issue with the authorities in Islamabad but the latter seemed unaware of that or unimpressed. If companies which pay heavy taxes are to suffer heavier tax burdens, the prospects of new foreign investment are small.

Islamabad has been treating Karachi as a beast of fiscal burden and has not been doing anything much to take care of it. Normally the cows which yield milk the most are taken care of by the milkmen with greater vigilance. That is not the kind of relationship between Karachi and Islamabad. And that continues to aggravate the economic problems and unemployment crisis in Sindh.

The federal tax collection authorities in Karachi are now demanding of Maulana Abdul Sattar Edhi to pay income tax as well as disclose the names of those making financial contributions to his Foundation. While Islamabad would lend Rs. 1,846 million for the Rs. 8 billion World Bank-funded water and drainage projects of the Karachi Water and Sewerage Board, it demands taxes worth Rs. 2,103 million on the equipment to be imported for the projects. Fiscal absurdity has touched such extremes.

In agricultural sector, Sindh has been slipping rapidly behind the Punjab. More and more of its lands have been going waste because of water-logging and salinity. Sindh is coming to have more and more of a single crop economy—sugar cane. Mr. Shah recently rejoiced over the fact that Sindh produced a record 1.5 billion bales of cotton; but that was out of a total crop of 12.5 million bales or just about 12 per cent of the national cake. While the bulk of the banana crop perished this year because of pest, its rice output is having both quantitative and qualitative upsets.

Much of that is the result of poor seed varieties and scant agricultural research. Besides, if quality work is to be done in all the institutions of Sindh, corruption which has become too pervasive has to be stamped out.

Sindh can regain the lost pace of economic progress only if there is ethnic peace. If kidnappings continue national highways remain blocked and trains are attacked, industrial investment will not come.

If every by-election becomes a focal point of discord between the government and the opposition, trade and industry will not find the political and social infrastructure it needs. Economic revival and growth need a

real political concord. The longer it is delayed the deeper will be the economic sorrows of this province bruised and battered for the last six years.

Disparity Increasing

92AS0911B Karachi DAWN in English 22 Apr 92 p 11

[Article by Mushtaq Ahmad: "The Price of Disparity"; quotation marks as published]

[Text] Was the separation of East Pakistan a product of conspiracy or a consequence of disparity or disparity itself a resultant of calculated or mistaken policies, are questions that have a relevance not only to a study of the past but also to an understanding of the causes of present discontent. In politics we do not pause to ponder; we only hasten to accuse our opponents of guilt they have not committed in order to establish our innocence.

Among all the accusations and counter-accusations that have been hurled in the controversies, no politician worth his salt has boldly and bluntly stated the truth that the process of alienation had started long before the explosion occurred. Because of its geographical isolation and strategic vulnerability we had taken the province for granted in meeting out a step-motherly treatment in the formulation of development plans which were heavily tilted towards West Pakistan both in the public and private sector.

That one had an edge over the other in view of its diversified economy, did not justify and accelerated pace of progress without widening the gulf of disparity. The interest of national integrity warranted an integrated development. Leaving it behind in the race was tantamount to creating conditions under which sooner or later the two were bound to come to a parting of ways. The onus lay squarely on the shoulders of West Pakistan which was the focus of political, economic, military and bureaucratic power.

When Ayub Khan had visited Dhaka in March 1961, he was warned against a public appearance on the Pakistan Day because of an inclement political weather. East Pakistan was then in the throes of a province-wise agitation. When Zia-ul-Haq visited Hyderabad in 1983 to see for himself if there were any signs of a secessionist movement, the administrative hierarchs sent him back to Islamabad convinced that it was a mere law and order problem, which would be taken care of by the law-enforcing agencies. After being reminded of the economic ills of the province he proudly announced that he had sanctioned a sugar mill for the province which could not sweeten the relations with the Centre.

Neither had a perception of the economic realities in Pakistan. The policies of one resulted in a major upheaval in East Pakistan, and of the other in a serious breakdown of law and order in Sindh. The new Chief Minister of the province is in earnest about bringing the situation under control first by enforcing the government's writ in the forest sanctuaries which provide a

convenient hideout to the dacoits and secondly, by building community resistance to the orgy of lawlessness in the rural and the urban areas. The former is an administrative responsibility only an honest and efficient police force can perform whose standards have sharply declined in the past decade. The latter is a function of economic policy which has always been a victim of vested interests.

For the government to enlist the support of the community against the forces of disruption and disorder, it is essential for the community to have a stake in the social order. To create that stake is not possible without the elimination of the feudal system which is the basic cause of their victimisation. Under the prevailing conditions of exploitation, the masses in the countryside and the cities are more likely to derive a vicarious satisfaction from the plight of the exploiters than volunteer their assistance in the rescue operations launched against the criminal elements.

The indigenous people of Sindh have always suffered from the oppression of their own landowning aristocracy, and now from the exploitation of what they regard as alien capitalist intrusion in their domain. East Pakistan was at least free from the curse of feudalism, and its incipient capitalism was almost totally immigrant, operating under the protective shadow of Karachi or Islamabad. Sindh had no entrepreneurial class nor, for that matter, did Pakistan but it had the material resources for its growth only if its feudal gentry could show an enterprising spirit to venture into the field of industry.

'Outsiders' were quick to take advantage of the opportunities which were far more alluring than in East Pakistan to fill the vacuum in Karachi to a point of saturation, and in the interior partially to the limit of its security. The benefit of this development, reckless in one case and overcautious in the other, did not accrue to its people, which generated a growing volume of discontent first among the untutored masses, and later in the class of the educated unemployed whom the traditional elite used for the consolidation of its power and furtherance of its ends.

The GNP [gross national product] is a misleading indicator of the quantum of welfare and the quality of life of the population. For, it conceals more than it reveals the disparity of incomes between classes and regions. Even the Planning Commission had estimated that the per capita income of West Pakistan was 61 per cent higher than that of East Pakistan. While it has not been separately computed for Sindh, it is decidedly 50 per cent or more lower than for the rest of Pakistan, particularly Karachi and the Punjab. This disparity is a double-edged sword which cuts both ways reducing the consumption level of the population and its saving capacity for investment.

A thoughtful approach to the investment policy was a compelling need of an integrated national economy. A socially desirable location of industries was, however,

never a preoccupation of the Planning Commission in its public sector development expenditure, and as for the private sector private profit is its primary obsession, everything else is secondary.

The prospects of equalisation will become even more difficult under a regime of privatisation initiated by the Prime Minister. Federal control on industries cannot erode the autonomy of the provinces even in the industrial sector. The provision of infrastructural facilities, application of the Factory Act and enforcement of Labour Laws, lie specifically in provincial jurisdiction.

The provinces are not at the receiving end to carry out the behests of Islamabad but are partners in a joint enterprise, and must, therefore, assert their rights of partnership in the determination of policies that affect the lives of their populations. After the swing of the economic pendulum towards an unbridled market economy, there is an inherent danger of a further lopsidedness in the development from which Sindh, more than any other province, stands most to suffer. It has so much leeway to make up. Past neglect is the main cause of present turbulence.

While Karachi has more than a third of the total manufacturing capacity of the country, it accounts for nearly two-thirds of the industrial inventory of Sindh, leaving only one third to the rest of the province which has roughly two thirds of the entire population. And even in this one third, local participation barring few exceptions like cotton ginning, flour and now sugar mills, is insignificant. Textiles and all other modern industries, which are post-independence developments, are almost wholly dominated by immigrant capital. It is naive to argue that the locals lacked the aptitude. For, both the locals and the non-locals were unfamiliar with business enterprise when the country embarked on the course of industrialisation.

Sindh needs an ambitious development programme, financed by private and public investment. It is high time the landed gentry realises, or is made to realise, the urgency of moving into the field of modern industry which the reform of the land system, that would deprive it of the unearned income from land, can greatly facilitate.

Equally important it is for the provincial government to urge upon the federal government to allocate additional resources for its development by slowing down the pace of development elsewhere in the country. The Perspective Plan had visualised the attainment of parity between East and West Pakistan in twenty years after progressive increase in the allocation, and an equally progressive decrease in the share of West Pakistan. And yet, it was impossible to believe that the target would have been achieved by 1985.

The secessionist storm burst in 1971, since there was no hope that the expected would happen when the deadline was reached. The outcry for a two-economy state which had rent the political air, was soon re-echoed in the

two-nation theory which eventually split the state apart. While no such fears need dog our steps in the maintenance of the integrity of Pakistan, we have nevertheless to watch our steps in planning its developments to avoid the pitfalls we have encountered in the nation-building process. Areas of economic depression have always the potentiality of becoming the breeding ground of political unrest. Concentration of power in all its facets and forms in the long run can prove fatal to national integrity and cohesion and its diffusion and distribution the surest guarantee of security and survival.

That of all the provinces Sindh should be the most disturbed cannot be ascribed to a tradition of violence in its culture, which is renowned for peace and harmony spread through the teachings of its saints and sufis throughout its history. At the root of its occurrence is the sense of deprivation of its middle and lower classes of which interested elements are ever ready to take advantage. The economic ills of the province call for immediate radical remedies into which the perceptive mind of the Chief Minister has a better insight by dint of his academic grounding and professional training. The expediencies of politics which set his priorities can be overcome only if he has a popular backing to discipline his parliamentary following. The pursuit of a vigorous reformist programme simultaneously with a campaign for the restoration of law and order is the compelling need of his administration.

Lawlessness Still Prevailing Throughout Sindh

Incidents Escalating

92AS0885A Karachi DAWN in English 11 Apr 92 p 3

[Article by Ghulam Ali]

[Text] Karachi, 10 April: The crime situation in the interior of the province remained grim all of last week and gangs of dacoits stormed a number of villages with rockets and automatic firearms. They also kidnapped several persons. A Jeay Sindh leader and the pesh imam of a mosque were also shot dead.

In some cases the villagers fought pitched battles with the dacoits with heavy casualties on both sides. In a village near Kadero, four villagers and seven dacoits were killed in a pitched battle.

The dacoits had attacked the village in a bid to kidnap a wealthy man. When the villagers resisted them, a shootout followed. The police, too, joined in and, later, they claimed that the seven dacoits killed in the gunfight were wanted for several heinous crimes. One of them even carried a reward of Rupees 500,000 on his head.

Four policemen, one of them a sub-inspector, were killed by dacoits on the National Highway. They were patrolling in a private Suzuki van when it suddenly came under fire.

A gang of dacoits waylaid a coaster in a village, 15 km off the Tando Mohammad Khan Road and kidnapped 35 persons. Later, they freed 30. The remaining five have not been found till Thursday night.

A gang of dacoits stormed a village in Mehar. They kidnapped five persons but freed three of them a short while later. The villagers locked themselves in their houses in panic when the dacoits fired a hail of bullets all around the village.

Larkana City residents were seized with panic when a businessman was killed in a crowded business centre.

Three members of a family, including a woman and an infant, were killed by bandits. Later, their gang leader was killed by the police.

Crime Diary

Members of the Larkana Citizens Action Committee claimed at a Press conference that the police and administration had become helpless before the dacoits who were running a parallel government. If the tendency was not curbed in time, they said, businessmen would be forced to wind up their businesses, which could result in a total collapse of the economy in Sindh.

In a letter addressed to the Larkana Press Club, the dacoits claimed that they had kidnapped a businessman and had demanded Rupees 30 million in ransom. They told other wealthy persons to cooperate with them otherwise they, too, would meet the same fate.

Senator Pir Pagara said the law and order situation in Sindh could not improve unless a massive programme was launched against the dacoits and terrorists. He warned that if this was not done in time, the situation in the province would get worse.

The Sindh Chief Minister, paying tribute to the Sindh Police, called upon all patriotic people to launch a crusade against anti-social elements. He said his government had already initiated a plan to eradicate the menace of dacoits.

The crime calendar of the city last week was dotted with nine murders with different motives. However, except for a few clashes, the month of Ramazan passed off peacefully.

Two of the nine murders were sensational. The son of a tycoon was found dead in Machko area. He had gone to his factory in SITE [Sindh Industrial Trading Estates] and did not return home. His body was found in the boot of his car on Hub River Road with hands tied and marks of injuries on his body.

The murder caused panic in the business community. The city police chief has claimed that the case had been nearly solved.

He also claimed that investigations in the case of Dr. Rifat Memon, who was found strangled in her Defence

home, had made considerable progress and that the killer of a housewife, Imrana, who was found dead with 26 knife wounds, had been arrested.

However the sensational killing of a night watchman of an honorary consul general, whose body was found hanging from a tree, is still unsolved.

An elderly man was killed in an exchange of fire between two groups in Model Colony. A shopkeeper was gunned down in his Quaidabad shop and another shopkeeper was shot dead outside his North Karachi home.

A person described by police as a robber, was killed in an encounter in the Garden area. Three persons, riding a car they had stolen at gunpoint, confronted a minibus driver near Eidgah. They opened fire but missed the driver and hit a pedestrian who died on the spot. They were chased by a police party and one of them was killed in the shootout near Zoological Gardens. The other two escaped.

A man, who had come from Punjab to pursue the case of his abducted daughter, was shot dead in Quaidabad, while a woman was killed allegedly by her husband in New Town.

The son of a councillor, who was suspected to have been kidnapped in Landhi, returned home. He had gone with a Tableeghi Jamaat group without informing his family.

Two policemen were arrested on the charge of extorting foreign currency near Karsaz from a Pakistani returning from abroad, and a policeman of the Special Branch was arrested with a gang of dacoits on the charge of committing dacoities.

Several robberies, most of them of cars, were reported in the city. A major robbery was committed in the Bath Island home of a TV and stage artiste. The DIG [Deputy Inspector General] claimed that the case had been solved.

Eid festivities in Qasbah Colony were marred when the members of two groups clashed and kept on exchanging fire intermittently for a couple of days.

The Rangers were called in to quell the disturbances.

Call for Jirga

92AS0885B Karachi DAWN in English 11 Apr 92 p 8

[Text] Lahore, 10 April: Senator Qazi Hussain Ahmed, chief of Jamaat-i-Islami, proposed on Thursday a Jirga to normalise situation in troubled Sindh. The Jirga, to be held on the pattern of Pakhtoons and Baluchs, should be participated in by influential persons from all political shades of opinion, including the PPP [Pakistan People's Party], MQM [Muhajir Qaumi Movement], Jamaat-i-Islami, Jamiat Ulema-i-Pakistan, Jamiat Ulema-i-Islam, Pakistan National Party, Pakistan Muslim League and Jeay Sindh, he said.

Talking to DAWN he said since all other methods had failed to solve the chronic law and order problem in Sindh, Jirga was the only solution left to be tried. The participants, he said, should join heads till they worked out a solution, no matter how long it took them to hammer it out.

The initiative to hold the Jirga should be a joint one by various political forces so that they shared the credit for bringing normalcy to Sindh.

Bhutto Blames Government

92AS0885C Karachi DAWN in English 8 Apr 92 p 8

[Text] Hyderabad, 7 April: The co-chairperson of the Pakistan People's Party [PPP], Ms. Benazir Bhutto, has rejected the holding of the by-elections to the Sindh Assembly seats from Karachi and Sanghar under the supervision of the civil administration, and has said the PPP has no faith in it.

She has demanded that the by-elections to three seats from Karachi and one from Sanghar be held under the supervision of Army and Rangers.

She was addressing party office-bearers and workers of Hyderabad Division at the residence of Mr. Naveed Qamaruzzaman Shah, MNA [Member of National Assembly], here on Tuesday afternoon.

PPP Chairperson Begum Nusrat Bhutto presided over the meeting.

Ms. Benazir Bhutto said the PPP opponent for the Sindh Assembly seat from Sanghar had already been appointed as a provincial minister although he was not an elected member. This, she added, was a flagrant violation of democratic norms and spoke volumes for the "mala fide intentions" of the government.

Ms. Bhutto said this clearly demonstrated that the rulers did not give any importance to the ballot paper which was a cardinal principle of democracy.

She claimed that Sindh was being treated like an orphan as it had no representation in the Federation, Sindh High Court, Supreme Court, Senate and Election Commission.

She said the PPP had adopted a policy of wait-and-see as far as the Sindh Government was concerned.

Ms. Bhutto said the PPP would support the Sindh Government as long as it worked for the cause of Sindh but if it proved "a traitor," the party would fight against it.

She lashed out at the Government for suspending the census, and said the people of Sindh were eagerly awaiting the commencement of census.

The former Prime Minister pointed out that the people of Sindh were not satisfied with the water accord and

were waiting to see how much water Sindh would receive and what quantity of water will be available for the Kotri Barrage downstream.

Criticising the Motorway Project, she said it would not benefit the whole of Pakistan and wondered why a staggering amount of Rupees 24 billion was being spent on it.

She recalled that LBOD [Left Bank Outfall Drain] and RBOD [Right Bank Outfall Drain] projects were initiated by the late Z.A. Bhutto which would have brought about an agricultural revolution and benefited the whole of Pakistan, besides eradicating water-logging and salinity from Sindh.

She regretted that these projects which were to cost only a few billion rupees, had been suspended and the so-called Motorway Project undertaken.

Ms. Bhutto further said the people of Sindh were also awaiting for the funds to be made available by the banks to entrepreneurs for the industrial development of the province.

She said as far as the Chambers of Commerce and Industry of Sindh were concerned they had said the investment in the province was at a complete standstill for non-availability of funds, and added that this policy would add to unemployment.

Ms. Bhutto criticised the self-employment scheme, saying that it was just "an eyewash and a farce." She argued that no budgetary allocations had been announced for the scheme and wondered where would the money come from.

By-Elections Viewed

92AS0885D Karachi DAWN in English 7 Apr 92 p 6

[Article by Anwer Pirzado]

[Text] The worsening crime situation in Sindh, increasing acts of terrorism, political confrontation between the government and the opposition and widespread discontent among the masses in the province were some of the issues discussed by the Sindhi Press which counselled both to the rulers and the opposition to strive for political harmony to save democratic institutions.

The newspapers also discussed the Sanghar by-election, scheduled for 28 April, and urged the government editorially to avoid the use of force, or resort to high-handedness on the occasion to restore its credibility among the people for the new set-up in the province following the demise of Jam Sadiq Ali.

The daily JAGO of Karachi (25 March), while calling for an end to political confrontation in Sindh, observed: "The new Chief Minister of Sindh should know that if he engages himself in enhancing an atmosphere of confrontation with the Opposition parties, much of his time

would be spent in safeguarding his personal power—to please Islamabad—and not in redressing the grievances of the people.

"We also call upon the Opposition to avoid politics of pressure, and instead, take up real issues pertaining to the sorrows of the people of Sindh."

The daily HILAL-I-PAKISTAN, Karachi (31 March), based its editorial on a call from the Governor of Sindh for creating understanding between the government and the opposition.

"Apart from his official status, the Governor of Sindh enjoys a sober nature and possesses farsightedness in politics. He is right when he asserts that calling in army would not only damage the image of the army itself but would also affect the democratic institutions of the country.

"Undoubtedly, it is the first and foremost responsibility of the government to protect the life, honour and property of the people and maintain law and order in the province. The Opposition, like the government, is also an elected body representing a big section of the people. Thus it becomes the joint responsibility of the government and the opposition to strive to combat crime and bring about prosperity in the province."

Welcoming a recent statement of the NPP [National People's Party] leader, Mr. Ghulam Mustafa Jatoi, the daily IBRAT, Hyderabad, wrote on 25 March, "The hopes for an understanding between the government and the Opposition were in fact fading away when Mr. Jatoi declared that he had opted to support Chief Minister Syed Muzaffar Hussain Shah, thereby indicating that the doors of cooperation between the government and the Opposition were not closed yet.

"It is an open secret that political confrontation has caused a death blow to the province of Sindh. Such an atmosphere has only caused an increase in crimes and impeded the pace of progress. Unemployment has gone up further and a sense of deprivation among the people intensified."

"We think powers that be in Islamabad should seriously consider doing away with politics of vengeance in Sindh."

The daily AL-WAHEED, Karachi, in its issue of 26 March discussed the blasts that destroyed the gas pipeline at a number of places in Sindh. The daily IBRAT, Hyderabad, and daily JAGO, Karachi, also wrote editorials on this issue the same day.

Some other dailies commented on the worsening law and order situation, especially in the rural areas, in the light of a statement given by the new IGP [expansion not given] of Sindh calling for a "very big operation in Sindh."

"No appropriate results have ever been obtained from any operation in the province, nor the Rangers have ever

shown any extraordinary performance. Dacoits, terrorists, murderers and other criminals continue to plunder Sindh as before. It would, therefore, be better if Chief Minister Syed Muzaffar Hussain thinks twice before approving new strategy for a big operation.

"We, however, believe that recent aggravation in the crime situation is not a good omen for the future of Sindh," says daily AL-WAHEED of Karachi.

According to daily JAGO, Karachi (26 March) the blowing up of gas supply line "may prove to be fatal both for the Opposition and the government..."

The daily IBRAT, Hyderabad, in its issue of 26 March wrote on blasts and attacks on trains, concluding that government should investigate this matter thoroughly to ascertain if there was any foreign hand behind such acts. "We urge the authorities not to harass innocent people in this connection. It would be advisable if an active cooperation is sought from the masses in the campaign against outlaws."

The daily HILAL-I-PAKISTAN, Karachi (29 March) commenting on plans to launch afresh a "vigorous operation" against dacoits and other criminals, said: "Such operations have quite numerous been conducted in villages and jungles, all in vain. The experience in the past establishes that despite heavy loss of life and property crime could not be checked in rural Sindh."

The Sindhi dailies vigorously condemned the attack on a mosque in Sobhodero by dacoits on 25 March in which 11 persons were kidnapped while offering prayer.

"It is the height of tragedy that dacoits have not spared even a sacred place like mosque. We appeal to Chief Minister Syed Muzaffar Hussain Shah to take a serious notice of this development. If this is not done, an unprecedented migration may take place from villages," warned IBRAT of Hyderabad, in its issue of 27 March.

The coming Sanghar by-election was discussed by daily KAWISH of Hyderabad, (27 March), daily AWAMI AWAZ of Karachi (29 March) and daily AL-WAHEED, Karachi (30 March). These Newspapers asked the government not only to ensure victory in the by-election but restoration of its credibility that goes with the holding of elections in a free and fair manner.

The AWAMI AWAZ said the Sindhi Society was politically conscious, and the voters in the rural area knew well who their friends were and who their foes.

Among the 16 candidates in the arena, two were the main contenders: provincial minister Jam Ashiq Ali and ex-Minister for State Shahnawaz Junejo....

We appeal to both the sides to strictly follow the democratic norms.

KAWISH lamented that "our rulers, in their anxiety to win the election, one way or the other, forget there is ample room for one to win an election in a democratic and civilised manner."

As for the Sanghar by-election, the paper said, it was more important for the government to establish its ability to hold this election in a free and fair manner.

"We believe that if an attempt is made by the government this time to win the seat by hook or by crook, then it will only weaken itself...."

The Sindhi dailies lauded the victory of a Pakistan cricket team in the World Cup tournament.

They also reported the teachers' claim of having launched a struggle for the removal of the present provincial Education Minister.

President Said Finally Concerned About Sindh

92AS0890A Islamabad THE MUSLIM in English
15 Apr 92 p 6

[Editorial: "Islamabad Takes Cognisance of Sindh's Chaos"]

[Text] Nobody would accuse President Ghulam Ishaq Khan of being in too much of a hurry to express concern over the law and order (and crime) situation in Sindh. In a meeting with the visiting Chief Minister [CM] of the province, Syed Muzaffar Shah the President was reported to have brought up this topic, and presumably gave him his mature advice. Those who keep track of events would know that the law and order has been a chronic problem in the province, its origins going back several years. It is no longer a secret that its roots lie in deliberate mismanagement of Sindh's political affairs by dictator Zia. And this, in turn, was due to nothing but a pathological fear of genuinely popular forces in Sindh. The Zia strategy was to set Sindhis against the so-called new Sindhis. This divide was a cold-blooded design to promote which resources of the state were wantonly squandered. The strategy was to instigate the Sindhis and the Mohajirs into socio-economic antagonism. Both sides were financed and armed—and provoked to fight. Admittedly, this is no revelation but there is need to refresh the memory of some in power. The people of Sindh—that is, both Sindhis and Mohajirs—had lived in reasonable amity, the hosts Sindhis having embraced the Mohajirs with adorable generosity. Their record of hospitality is still glowing in the memory of those who are not suffering from senile dementia. So much for the background.

And now, a look at the present and recent past. Unfortunately, the People's Party government failed to rise to the challenge which the Zia years bequeathed to it in Sindh. Its handling of the given conditions, no doubt far from easy, could hardly have been less intelligent, less perceptive, less adroit. Instead of putting runaway elements under rein, the PPP [Pakistan People's Party]

government in Sindh turned out to be fitful and foolish by turns. There was complete lack of consistency in the manner the PPP government in Sindh went about its responsibilities. In short, instead of defusing the tensions, it let the chaotic situation drift, giving its own opponents and foes grounds to queer the pitch for the PPP on a nationwide scale. One of the major factors which spelled disaster for the Benazir Bhutto government was its failure to deal with the Sindh situation in an imaginative and far-sighted manner.

What followed the demise of the PPP government made the PPP spell of confusion in office look idyllic. Again, no secret, the Jam Sadiq government did in Sindh what the provincial administration had been bidden to do by the Zia government—to ensure that the wounds in Sindh's political life remain unhealed and grow deeper. Sindh was seldom so chaotic as under the late Jam. But to be fair to him, he was following the script given to him. Throughout this period nobody in Islamabad went so far as the President did in his meeting with the present Sindh CM, expressing concern over Sindh's disorderliness.

Justice demands that it should be put on record that the present Chief Minister has been in office hardly two months. To appear to be taking him to task for Sindh's ills, or treating him to sermons on this point, is less than fair. What Mr Shah finds on his hands is a cluster of ruins whose first architect was dictator Zia. Those who came after him are blameworthy to the extent that they proved unequal to the task. Then, we had the Jam interlude which was a clumsy carbon copy of the Zia mismanagement. About the President's new found interest in Sindh's affairs and his expressions of concern, the best that can be said is that if it does not improve the situation it won't make it much worse.

Information on Jailed Political Activists Released

92AS0890B Islamabad *THE MUSLIM* in English
20 Apr 92 p 4

[Article by Dastgir Bhatti—"One Hundred Eighty Six Political Workers Still in Jail, Claims Survey"]

[Text] Hyderabad, April 19—As many as 186 political activists are still languishing in different jails of Sindh province, says a survey report published by a leading Karachi-based Sindhi daily besides revealing that most of the political prisoners have been detained since last year without any trial and legal justification.

The survey shows that these prisoners of conscience also include such political dissidents who were granted bails by various courts of law but the Sindh Government deliberately kept them in chains.

The report also reveals the names of dozens of such prisoners who have been denied a fair trial since over a year or so and were illegally locked up in either of the Karachi, Sukkur and Hyderabad central jails.

Besides, G.M. Syed, the leader of the separatist Jeay Sindh Taherik, the rest of the political prisoners are mostly students and youth leaders like Dr Qadir Magsi, Dr Humayun Qazi, Dr Mazhar Memon, Dr Daud Atho, Issa Baloch of the PPP (whose wife was allegedly raped by unidentified police officers), Dr Abdul Hameed Memon, Dr Ahmed Sadiq Umrani of the PPP Balochistan, Ghulam Mohammad Buledi, Abdullah, Karim Bux, Hasan Ali, Ghulam Hasan Panhyar, Ghulam Sarwar Dahiry, Mohammad Hashim, Bashir Ahmed Noonari, Dr Gulab Laskani, Bahawal Dareeshak, Maheboob Abro, Hidayat Khoso, Noor Jan Magsi, Ghulam Mustafa, Zulfiqar Siyal, Imdad Ali Soomro, Hajan Khoso, Ahmed Malah, Huzoor Bux, Munir Khoso, Dr Arbab Leghari, Haroon Sheikh, Sajjan Magsi, Mustafa Bhatti, Haji Mohammad Khokhar, Najam Soomro, Latif Mirani, Riyaz Solangi, Shahid Shah, Jameel Khaskheli, Mir Mohammad Nuhrio, Joshilo Sindhi, Amir Bux Umrani, Mahboob Chandio, Zaheer Soomro, Faqir Mohammad Kumbhar, Haji Khan Burro, Hashim Memon, Ali Mohammad Memon, Alam Brohi, Kazim Pitafi, Bashir Memon Jumman Mendhro, Vikyo Khaskheli, Aslam Notkani, Akram Notkani, Asghar Shah, Ghani Shaheen Memon, Deedar Bhurgri, Abdul Haq, Ali Nawaz Khaskheli, Abdul Khaliq Rajo, Pervaiz Baloch, Yunus Bhan, Pervaiz Baloch, Hayat Baloch, Qutub Bhutto, Abdullah Bhutto, Salam Pitojo, Dodo Jatoti, Inayat Qureshi, Umar Lakher, Ahesan Bhatti, Najam Memon, Bashir Magsi, Ibrahim Kumbhar, Pir Mohammad Bambhro, Syed Noor Shah, Ghulam Abbas Mir Bahar, Shaukat Memon, Ashiq Soomro, Rajab Ali Jatoti, Mumtaz Qazi, Suleman Soomro, Ansar Marri, Qurban Dahiry, Naik Mohammad, Dahiry, Rajab Brohi, Ahmed Roofi, Ramzan Danish, Niaz Jakhrani, Aslam Shah, Farman Sheikh, Zafar Shah, Liaquat Mastoi, Abbas Lashari, Akber Sodhar, Saleemuddin Silloo, Bilal Shaikh, Zahir Saeed, Zulfiqar Baloch, Akram Baloch, Ghulam Abbas Chandio, Fatah Sheikh, Shahnawaz Shani, Aijaz Khoso, Maqbool Channa, Niaz Tonio, Shahab Dombki, Inayat Hisbani, Irshad Dharejo, Mustafa Bugti, Huzoor Bux Rudd, Bashir Khaskheli, Dr Sattar Morio, Faiz Jakhro, Imdad Jakhro, Gul Mohammad Sanjrani, Sohail Pathan, Majeed Abbasi, Mir Shab, Mumtaz Tonio, Ashraf Hamati, Munir Soomro, Khakan Andhari, Abdul Nabi Jamali, Nizam Soomro, Shahnawaz Soomro, Hatim Sheikh, Uns Pirzado, Ghafoor Jamali and Lal Mohammad Lashari.

Most of these "prisoners of conscience" belong to the PPP [Pakistan People's Party] and its students wing SPSF [Sindh Pakistan Student Federation] while the rest are considered to be activists of Jeay Sindh Taraqi Pasand Party of Dr Qadir Magsi who was accused of involvement in September 88 Hyderabad firing case. The PPP loyalists, it may be recalled, were arrested by the Sindh Police mostly for their alleged involvement in the "Al-Zulfiqar" under special orders from the late Jam Sadiq Ali.

The new Chief Minister Syed Muzaffar Hussain Shah, who says "there's no political prisoner in Sindh jails,"

has only recently okayed the release of a couple of PDA [People's Democratic Alliance] MPAS [Members of Provincial Assembly], namely, Ali Mohammad Hingoro and Manzoor Wassan but that too after they were bailed out by the Sindh High Court.

According to the survey report, political detenus also include those who were sentenced by the military courts during 1983 MRD [Movement for the Restoration of Democracy] uprising. Their sentences range from five years to 25 years' rigorous imprisonment.

IMF Demand for Defense Reduction Criticized*92AS0892C Karachi AMN in Urdu 10 Apr 92 p 2*

[Editorial: "Another Demand by the IMF"]

[Text] According to news reports, IMF officials have asked Pakistan to reduce its military spending as a condition for receiving aid. It has asked Pakistan to present detailed reports on its defense and military spending in order to get aid from the IMF and its associated agencies. This condition was levied by Japan and Germany, who have been providing aid to Pakistan, because both of these countries believe that Third World nations spend a major part of their aid on defense and military developments, which defeats the main purpose of this aid. According to news reports, now that India has announced that it will cut military spending, the countries that give aid to Pakistan want it to cut its military spendings also. In their opinion, India's reduction in military spending leaves Pakistan with no reason to increase its own defense expenditures.

The IMF officials object to the fact that Pakistan's military spendings are proportionally twice that of other South Asian countries. In addition, Pakistan's spendings in the military and defense area is increasing rapidly, and its defense spendings now exceeds its developmental expenditure.

The international monetary agencies that provide assistance to Pakistan are levying new and very strict conditions on Pakistan daily. This is not a new development. In the past, these agencies forced the Government of Pakistan to make decisions that it did not want to, and our government neglected the needs of our people because of these conditions and instructions.

The decisions to increase electricity, natural gas, and railway fares, decrease subsidies for wheat and other grains and in some cases totally stop it, reduce forces in the railway and other government agencies, provide monetary commissions, awards, and stop the system of giving assistance to states in the form of grants, loans, and other federal assistance given to the states were all made at the instruction of the International Monetary Fund, the World Bank, and other related agencies.

Because of the pressure of international agencies and their decisions, the life of the common man has become unbearable. It has almost become difficult for them to live. However, these international agencies have increased their pressure even more. Now it appears that under the pretext of providing economic aid, they are taking over the government and plan to make it their puppet.

The objection of the IMF over Pakistan's defense spendings and its demand that it reduce such spendings is an open interference in the country's affairs and is equivalent to taking away the nation's right to decide its priorities.

The statistics presented by the IMF in this context are not wrong. There is no doubt that Pakistan has been forced to increase its defense spending because of its geographic location, the international political situation, and the attitudes of neighboring India and Afghanistan. However, Pakistan's decision to increase defense spending was imperative for its security, defense, and unity. That is why the people of this country, even though they had to give up their basic needs, never objected to the government's defense spending. In this situation, instructions issued by the IMF officials to reduce our defense spending and their demands that the Pakistani government give detailed accounts of our defense expenditures are examples of open interference in an independent country. This indicates that international powers, especially wealthy nations, want not only to control our economy, but also to interfere in our security and independence issues by providing us loans at high interest rates and imposing strict conditions on us. This way, in exchange for their aid, they are trying to give us the status of a colony or a dependant country. It is a known fact that when Pakistan provides detailed accounts of its defense expenditure, it will also make all classified defense information public. This way, information on our nation's security and unity will no longer be confidential, and the major powers will be able to make our defense system useless whenever they want to.

If the restrictions imposed by the IMF are correct, the government should protest the imposition of such insulting conditions. Instead of accepting these conditions to obtain a loan, it should pay attention to its promise to live without foreign aid.

The government should inform the people of the actual situation of our nation's economy and get cooperation from people in every sphere of life to alleviate our economic problems. The best way to do this is to let the government call a special session of the Parliament and inform the elected representative of the people of the government's revenues, spending, the balance of payments, and the foreign exchange reserve. It should take them into confidence and prepare them for a practical strategy to resolve the economic problems that our country is facing.

Prime Minister Nawaz Sharif should not forget that high prices have broken the backs of the people, and they cannot even procure two meals for a day. This has become a major problem for a common man. However, the proud people of this country will still be willing to make more sacrifices for the nation's unity, independence, and freedom. It is important that the prime minister assure them that the leaders demanding sacrifices should also make sacrifices themselves, and give up this habit of taking loans to maintain their princely lifestyles. They should practice simplicity and frugality to get the support of the people. If the prime minister and his associates are willing to give up their rich lifestyles and give up taking various fringe benefits from the government treasury, then there will be no reason for

this country to be forced to accept such embarrassing and insulting conditions from the international agencies in order to receive loans.

We hope that the government will pay attention to this and, instead of keeping the people and their elected representatives in the dark, will inform them about the real situation and take them into its confidence.

National Debt Seen Increasingly Burdensome

92AS0907B Karachi AMN in Urdu 19 Apr 92 p 2

[Editorial: "Serious Increase in Debt Burden"]

[Text] Minister of finance, Sartaj Aziz, acknowledged during a recent briefing in the advisory council that Pakistan's load of foreign and domestic debt had reached 900 billion rupees and was still increasing because of the deteriorating domestic economy and the lack of balance between the country's revenues and expenditures.

Approximately half of the domestic and foreign loans referred to by the finance minister, or 450 billion rupees, are foreign loans.

Undoubtedly, the foreign and domestic debt burden revealed by the federal minister of the treasury is astonishing and shows that all the efforts of the government to stabilize the economy and reduce dependence on foreign loans have proved futile and the claims about strengthening the economy have been merely words.

The burden of a 900 billion rupee debt on Pakistan, which has only limited resources, cannot be taken lightly. Moreover, the government's own figures show that 900 billion rupees constitute more than five times the annual revenues collected in taxes and other levies; this means that the government will not be able to pay off the loans even if it uses all the revenues collected over the next five years. Thus, not only does the repayment of such a heavy debt appear an impossibility but it will not be easy even to pay the interest and other service charges on the loans. The greater part of the treasury's annual revenues will have to be diverted to the payment of interest and service charges. In the current year's budget 80 billion 700 million rupees [as published] have been set aside for the payment of interest and service charges and at least 1 billion rupees [as published] may have to be set aside for the same purpose in next year's budget.

An unfortunate outcome of the heavy burden of the debt is that over the last few years, the government has not been using the greater portion of these domestic and foreign loans for development programs but has been utilizing the money to meet its own running expenses; it appears that the government has no other recourse than to do so. We have before us the current year's financial situation; the government faces a deficit of 32 billion rupees in the nondevelopment sector. After raises in the salaries and wages of government employees, the loss will increase to 38 billion rupees. Revenue from additional taxes levied by the government is estimated to be

approximately 18 billion rupees. Thus, in spite of the expected increase in revenue from additional taxes, the government will incur a deficit of 20 billion rupees and this deficit will have to be financed through loans.

It has been Pakistan's misfortune that for a long time, it has been spending a much larger amount on [servicing] foreign and domestic loans than it has on development programs. Thus, in the current year, 80 billion, 700 million rupees have been set aside for interest and service charges on the loans whereas only 72 billion, 660 million rupees have been allocated to annual development programs. In the present situation, the government cannot be expected to pay off foreign and domestic loans in the near future. However, if our planners act intelligently and the government cooperates with them fully, at least the continuous increase in the burden of debt can be stopped; and if this interminable escalation in indebtedness can be brought to a halt, then there is no reason why the debt load cannot be gradually decreased. But to achieve this objective, the government will have to cut back severely on nondevelopment expenditures especially nonessential administrative expenses. The government should reduce its hordes of ministers, advisers, and deputies and run the affairs of the country with a comparatively small cabinet. The money wasted on the salaries and other expenses of ministers, deputies and advisors can then be used for development programs. The government should rescind all unnecessary privileges enjoyed by high-ranking government officials; stop immediately the practice of purchasing new cars; impose a limit on the amount of money spent on gasoline and maintenance for cars used by ministers, high-level officials and members of parliament, the expenditure not to exceed 10 percent of the official's salary. Similar restraints should be placed on the unnecessary use of telephones and officials should not be allowed to use mobile phones; air conditioning should be restricted as well, for in a country where more than 75 percent of the inhabitants cannot, without great effort and struggle, get enough bread to satisfy their hunger, let alone obtain the basic necessities of life, ministers and bureaucrats have no right to enjoy the luxuries of traveling in expensive automobiles, using mobile phones, and working in air conditioned offices. The number of delegates and employees accompanying the president and the prime minister on domestic and foreign tours should be reduced. It should be made mandatory for ministers and members of parliament to spend the time during which the parliament is in recess in their electoral districts in order that they may keep in touch with their constituents and be able to find speedy solutions for the problems facing the people.

Recently, Prime Minister Nawaz Sharif asked his ministers, advisers, and deputies to use only one car; he thus demonstrated his concern over the rise in unnecessary government expenditure; but mere verbal requests are not enough. If the prime minister truly wants to establish the country's economy on a firm basis, he should take severe measures to reduce unnecessary administrative

expenditures; and he will succeed in doing so if he starts his campaign at home and in the secretariat and relinquishes his own special privileges. Instead of keeping at his home a fleet of the most expensive cars in the world, he should start using high mileage ordinary cars. He would then find that no minister or high-ranking government official would dare to live high on the hog at public expense. The basic reason for the failure in our country to reduce administrative expenses is that the aim is always to reduce expenses on the lower levels when everyone knows that cutting expenses on the lower levels neither helps the budget deficit nor reduces significantly the debt incurred for administrative expenses. It is to be hoped that the authorities will not ignore the serious rise in the debt burden and will instead take effective measures to save the country from this morass.

Financial Outlook, Obstacles to Progress Examined

Nation Facing Grave Crisis

92AS0912A Karachi DAWN in English 21 Apr 92 p 15

[Article by Sultan Ahmed—"Facing Up to the Inevitable"]

[Text] Pakistan is facing a grave financial crisis as the bulk of its budgetary resources is spent on defence and debt servicing, says Prime Minister [PM] Nawaz Sharif.

That has become the familiar theme song of most of the ministers and officials in the economic sector. Obviously when about Rs.[rupees]80 billion is spent on defence, including the excess spending over the budgeted Rs. 71 billion for the current year, and Rs. 80 million more is spent on debt servicing, hardly anything will be left for the other essential activities of the government. And that is the position despite the additional taxation of Rs. 23 billion, inclusive of the 25 percent excise duty on telephones which came after the budget was passed by the National Assembly.

In such a context, the World Bank has called for a cut in a defence spending and eventual reduction of the debt servicing cost, along with higher spending on education, particularly of women, public health and infrastructure like roads, railways, power production etc.

Simultaneously, the World Bank report on Pakistan, 1992, calls for a reduction in the high levels of taxation and cut in inflation to around 6 percent as well as elimination of subsidies. Since these remedies have been suggested by Pakistan's largest aid giver, these cannot be ignored.

The World Bank has pointed out that as Pakistan did not implement the mutually agreed Structural Readjustment Programme, the aid has been reduced but if it implements the programme in full and improve its credit-worthiness it would be able to get the 5 billion dollar external assistance it would need by the year 2000 in place of the 3 billion dollars it is needing now.

Some of the Bank's demands are apparently contradictory or confusing. But Pakistan's response too have been confusing or contradictory more due to political compulsions than for sound economic reasons. A one-step forward and two steps backward performance is bound to have some very negative results. As a result, Pakistan's economy is facing an increasingly grave crisis and the budget makers are absolutely befuddled.

The tally of world Bank's demands is indeed long but these are backed by other aid-givers, including Japan. All developing countries which face the same predicament have been subjected to such demands.

Other demands included a reduction in our population growth which is 3.2 percent now, taxing the larger agricultural incomes, greater environmental protection, larger savings and far more investment. The question that we must ask of ourselves is not whether we should follow the dictates of an external agency in all such areas, but whether this long prescription can really change our economic and social condition for the better?

When Indian Prime Minister Narasimha Rao was asked why had he accepted all of the IMF's conditionalities, he said that India was a member of the IMF, had borrowed from it in the past and the reforms India was implementing would change the economic face of the country altogether.

We in Pakistan have to do likewise. We should not ask the question constantly who is asking us to change so much, but what exactly they are asking us to do and whether that can be to the good of Pakistan in the long run, however painful the change can be initially. The Holy Prophet too had advised us not to think of who was giving an advice but how good was that advice.

Now if the World Bank wants us to reduce the population growth of 3.2 percent, which is one of the highest in the world today, can we reject that? Should we not spend far more on education? We have achieved a nominal literacy rate of 26 to 30 percent during 45 years and an effective literacy rate of barely 12 percent? Can we talk of an industrial revolution and a high-tech revolution when we are wallowing in an ocean of illiteracy?

Dr. Mahbubul Haq has been talking of Pakistan spending less than one dollar per capita on education and public health each. So in terms of the Human Development Index prepared by the UN Development Programme Pakistan figures at the bottom 120 in a table of 160 nations.

The IJI [Islamic Democratic Alliance] manifesto talks of giving education as much importance as defence. But in the second year of the IJI rule, while defence was allocated Rs. 71 billion, and in fact far more has been spent, education received a mere Rs. 2.7 billion. Even if the provincial outlay on education is added to it, the total will barely exceed one-tenth of the outlay on defence.

The PPP [Pakistan People's Party] manifesto talked of allocating 4.5 percent of the GDP [gross domestic product] for education, but the PPP government did not have much money to come anywhere near that target.

In such a context, is not the World Bank right in coming out strongly for women's education in a country where women's literacy in the rural areas is barely five percent? Will not the educated mothers make a success of family planning, educate their children better and improve the family's health through better nutrition? Will not the educated mothers be the kingpins of a modern family? And should not women's education hence have the highest priority in Pakistan?

Is not the World Bank right in urging the lowering of the high taxes, particularly the indirect taxes? High taxation is now leading to massive evasion, corruption in the taxation services and large-scale smuggling, open and hidden.

All that inflates the cost of living of the people, retards industrial growth, and lowers the tax collection. That has been the experience of countries which opted for high taxation. But in Pakistan high taxation is followed by an increase in the number of taxes.

Is not the World Bank right in calling for a reduction in inflation which in 1990-91 had reached 12.7 percent with the prospect of the same happening this year as well? Already the Consumer Price Index has reached 10.7 percent with the Wholesale price at 10.9 percent.

Is not the heavy taxation and the large budget deficits, as high as 8.8 percent of the GDP, aggravating that inflation? And will not printing of extra currency for as much as Rs. 64 billion in the first seven months of this year make the inflation become too oppressive?

And is not the desire of the World Bank and the West to see environmental improvements in Pakistan legitimate and their readiness to help Pakistan prevent further environmental degradation a very welcome development? We may not actually have smog in much of Pakistan; but with the number of industries in the Punjab increasing and the licence they enjoy to pollute the environment by throwing up all the smoke in the air and all their acids and waste chemicals on the land all around, and into the sea by industries in the south, are we not poisoning our environment steadily?

Look at the volume of smoke belched out by a rickshaw or a bus in Karachi! Respiratory ailments in Karachi have increased a great deal because of the sustained air pollution. Hence, instead of repeating the mistakes of the West in this regard, let us avoid them, otherwise the cost of undoing the damage can be very heavy.

Working towards such major changes, and on a sustained basis, calls for larger resources. That can be done only through new resource mobilisation measures as well

as cutting down the present non-productive or non-developmental allocations. Effective utilisation of the resources available in every area is also imperative.

In the past, the debt service cost was small. But now it costs far more than defence. Because of that, development is being starved and the World Bank says the allocation for development should be 10 percent of the GDP instead of the current 6-7 percent which is too low.

While the debt servicing cost cannot be reduced immediately, steps should be taken not to increase it further significantly. But positive steps have to be taken to reduce the defence cost in full cooperation with the service chiefs. A higher defence capability at a lower cost should be the prime objective of the state now.

Gen. Asif Nawaz as chief of a modern army would realise that such an army has to be backed by a strong industrial sinews. The PM talks of achieving self-sufficiency in defence production. That can be achieved only as a part of a larger industrial growth, and not in isolation which can make that too costly.

Better diplomacy should lead to an improvement of Pakistan's relations with India, while we should be able to bring increasing international pressure on India to reduce its arms. What India has been trying to do in its efforts to stop Pakistan's nuclear programme, we should be able to do in respect of India's massive armaments programme. And since the West, including Japan, is for steady arms reduction around the world, Pakistan should be able to achieve success in the medium term if we persist in that.

The fact is that if we want to grow up as a modern country with a strong economy and a stable and progressive society, we have to spend less wastefully, live less ostentatiously, with the government functionaries providing the lead, save more and invest. The saving should, in fact, be more than 17.5 percent of the GDP the World Bank has asked for and the investment far more than 20 percent in the immediate future.

All this demands major changes in every sector of our public life and active cooperation on the part of the private sector. The agricultural rich cannot say they will not pay taxes on their large incomes while the income tax officers harass Maulana Abdus Sattar Edhi with their tax demands making the whole fiscal exercise outrageously absurd.

If we are not prepared for such changes, and the government will not initiate them and the private sector will not give to the state what is due to it following the deregulation, decentralisation and privatisation, Pakistan will stagnate as a society and state with awesome consequences, particularly when it has 120 million people who may become more than 150 million by the year 2000 with most of them poor and looking for desperate remedies amidst the irresponsible rich, and powerful but helpless.

Role of Banks Important

92AS0912B Karachi DAWN in English 13 Apr 92 p 11

[Article by Mushtaq Ahmad: "Fresh Avenues of Employment"]

[Text] Pakistan's economy has always been dominated by big business, which was the principal recipient of financial assistance from institutions set up both in the private and public sector. Small business enterprises had practically no access to the resources of large organisations, like the PICIC [Pakistan Industrial Credit and Investment Corporation], IDBP [Industrial Development Bank of Pakistan], ADBP [Agricultural Development Bank of Pakistan], NDFC [National Development Finance Corporation] and the Banker's Equity. The privately owned banks whose deposits were derived from the public, were managed and controlled by big business houses in the interest of the fraternity to which they belonged.

From an evaluation of their credit policies before and after nationalisation, it was obvious that while two hundred account holders had a lion's share of their advances, eighty percent of their loanable funds came from the twenty million depositors out of their meagre savings. Collectively they were in fact, and still are the financial backbone of the banking system, but individually helpless in securing its assistance for establishing themselves in business or promoting the prospects of their already established businesses.

Introduction of the small loans schemes, whose scope was restricted to agriculture and housing, was a confession that in the investment portfolio of the banks the small man did not figure before nationalisation, and after nationalisation too, would have found no recognition without an element of legislative and administrative compulsion.

Given the character of social organisation and the state of prevalent corruption, even the limited benefit did not reach the intended beneficiaries. The amounts disbursed eventually went into the coffers of the vested interests in land and influential quarters in building projects. Since these loans were rarely recovered, the banks were justified in their criticism that social service was not a part of their province although social only in name.

On the other hand, in the prescribed field of their operations, their conduct was far from justified. The studied exclusion of the small borrower from the list of their valued clients had a damaging impact on the economy both in terms of production and employment. Financial credibility rather than character was the criterion of eligibility for accommodation even if the parties which had collaterals to offer, had no character to honour their commitment, so glaringly manifested in the accumulated bad debts and their write-off under political influence and pressure.

The shape of the economy today would have been vastly different had the funds lost through default of the borrowers and the complicity of the bankers in the shady transactions, been channelised into the development of small-scale industries instead of the capital intensive large-scale enterprises, whose sponsors were more interested in the capital they could borrow from the banks than in the productive potential or employment opportunities they could provide.

The sole reliance of the small businessmen was the Small Business Finance Corporation, which is a successor to the People's Finance Corporation set up under the Bhutto regime in 1973, renamed by Zia-ul-Haq in 1980 because of his allergy to its original nomenclature. In assessing the Prime Minister's Scheme announced in his Eid Day message, it is profitable to examine the record of the Corporation which has been functioning for nearly two decades.

Its establishment by the PPP [Pakistan People's Party] government was widely welcomed as a radical departure from the traditional practice of letting the small man fend for himself, notwithstanding the existence of the Small Industries Corporation reputed for its incorrigible malpractices and unmitigated corruption. The new corporation established with an authorised capital of Rs.[rupees]10 crore whose paid-up capital of Rs. 5 crore was contributed by the State Bank (Rs. 3 crore), Commercial Banks (Rs. 1.50 crore) and the Government (half a crore), was designed to assist small businesses owned or sponsored by individuals and firms having net assets not exceeding Rs. 50,000, the maximum limit of the loan facility being Rs. 50,000. Until June 1976, the Corporation had sanctioned loans to the tune of rupees seven crores to over twelve thousand applicants.

By 1984 the number of applicants had increased to 54,000 and the list of industries to 60, including welding, auto and textile spares, brick-making and ceramics, surgical instruments and sports goods. The loans amounting to Rs. 28 crores were progressively enhanced. According to its balance sheets their recovery did not pose a serious problem. Nearly 80 percent of them were repaid. What the balance sheets did not however, testify is whether the facility was judiciously used, the units for which the loans were sanctioned became viable and going concerns, and the contribution they made towards easing the problem of unemployment and the extent to which the sanctioning authorities were free from the evils of favouritism and nepotism.

Whatever the outcome of its operations, even an amount of Rs. 50 crores invested in a complex network of small industries, did not go far in meeting their requirements. The loan figure was not even ten percent of bad debts written off by the banks in recent years, and a mere speck of their advances aggregating to billions of rupees.

With only thirty percent of the population employed and by international standards twenty percent of it without work, the problem of unemployment was always acute.

The growing number of the educated youth in search of job opportunities, have made it all the more acute for the government not to seek a prompt solution. Providing the means of livelihood to the people, the Prime Minister declared, was his pledge to the nation and a top priority of his government.

Any employment policy worth its name, must aim at the productive utilisation of the country's manpower. To be comprehensive and broad-based, it would call for a wholesale reorganisation of the economy in the agricultural as well as industrial sector. Without courage and conviction in policy formulation, ingenuity and innovation in planning, integrity and efficiency in the administration, a fool-proof remedy is unthinkable. It is not yet clear if the scheme whose details have now been unravelled, will form part of an overall policy to be spelt out later. Its adequacy or otherwise must, therefore, be judged within the limited scope of its objectives and the financial resources made available for their achievement.

The amount proposed to be loaned in the first year of its operation will be Rs. 2.5 billion, in comparison substantially bigger than the allocations made in the past to the Small Business Finance Corporation, and the number of beneficiaries twice as large as the recipients of its facilities during the entire period of its existence. In the absence of a survey and the reliable statistics based on its findings, we have no breakup of the enormous mass of the population into economic groups, to ascertain the extent of joblessness in the class for whose benefit the present scheme has been devised.

The list of industries has been enlarged to bring within its fold tube wells, tractor parts, bookshops, stationery, hardwares and even grocery stores. Not all the proprietors of these establishments would be educated men. The scheme would, therefore, be applicable to the educated and uneducated alike, and the latter are more likely to have material assets worth Rs.30,000 to fulfill the conditions for a loan application of Rs. 300,000.

The number of applications will still be unbelievably large and this will give the bank manager sufficient latitude in the acceptance or rejection of the application and to keep the door open for corruption, which has become a normal routine of their operation. The redeeming feature of the scheme is the short-circuiting of the procedure and speedy disposal of the cases, the five-year period of the loan and its repayment in six monthly installments. The procedure to be followed in processing the applications has been simplified, and the requirement of a collateral waived.

While the small man will now have an easy approach to the bank, he will also have the temptation to misuse the opportunity provided to him. We have witnessed in recent years a rapid fall in the standard of morality, which has percolated from the top layer of society to the

bottom of the social scale. The bankers and the borrowers have equally fallen a prey to it, and the administration itself being corrupt, can hardly be expected to provide a corrective to the evil that permeates the economy.

The fate of the People's Credit Scheme launched by the National Bank in the sixties had revealed that even a state-owned bank in the era of private ownership, was not free from the vices associated with the private banks. The Credit Inquiry Commission on whose recommendations the scheme was formulated to help the small man, had viewed with great dismay the excessive concentration of credit in the hands of big borrowers. The facilities intended for customers of modest means like taxidrivars and petty traders, were, however, grossly abused by making advances in fictitious names. In a large number of cases, the borrowers were the bank managers themselves, with the result that at the time of repayment the parties were untraceable even while the hypothecation documents were securely lodged in the vaults of the bank branches. Initiated with great hopes, the scheme had to be given up in despair.

The Prime Minister has discreetly not routed the funds for his proposed scheme through the Business Finance Corporation, whose objectives are identical but the performance not satisfactory. Instead, he has made the banks responsible both for making advances and effecting their recovery and relaxed the procedural restrictions to enable the small man to benefit from the services of the banks. In other words, he has put the banker as well as the borrower on test. If they betray this trust, it will further tarnish the image of the banks, undermine their reputation in the eyes of the depositors who are their real owners, and cast a sorry reflection on the government which is only their custodian.

Islamic Scholars Oppose Interest

92AS0912C Karachi DAWN in English 15 Apr 92 p 17

[Article: "Scholars Call for Elimination of Riba"; quotation marks as published]

[Text] Islamabad, April 14—Three-day workshop organised by Institute of Policy Studies (IPS) on 'Elimination of Riba (interest) from the Economy' concluded here on Monday with the adoption of recommendations for Riba-free alternatives in commercial banking, financing government transactions and international dealings.

The workshop attended by 83 participants drawn from various professions including religious scholars, bankers, insurance experts, chartered accountants, economists and businessmen unanimously agreed for the eradication of Riba from the economy on which the Federal Shariat Court had given its decisions.

The workshop considered the judgment of the Federal Shariat court in some detail. It was generally agreed that the judgment reflects the opinion of a vast majority of Shariat scholars and Muslim economists that Riba in all

its forms is prohibited, be it commercial bank interest or interest on government loans, etc.

The participants noted that the progress with regard to the Islamisation of the financial system was quite encouraging till 1984-85. However, certain developments in subsequent years brought about a retardation on this process. Permission given to the banks to invest even their PLS [expansion not given] deposits in interest-bearing government securities and large scale replacement of participation term certificates by term finance certificates were specifically mentioned in this connection.

The participants also noted that serious consideration was being given to the issue of eliminating interest from government transactions in 1984-85. Subsequently, the matter was not pursued vigorously, and the movement towards a completely interest-free economy lost its dynamism and even its sense of direction.

The practice of mark-up and buy-back arrangement by the banks in Pakistan came under discussion. It was observed that the practice does not fulfil the Shariat requirements of the contract of Bai Muajjal and Mura-baha and in many cases is being used simply as subterfuge for interest. It was, however noted that mark-up (Bai Muajjal), if properly applied, can play a useful role as one of the permissible modes of financing. There are certain areas where Mudaraba or Musharaka may not be feasible. In such cases mark-up in its acceptable form may very well be applied.

Examining the progress of the Islamisation process in the country, the participants noted that one of the fundamental reasons for some of the deviations from Shariat requirements that crept into practice was non-existence of a Shariat Board to supervise the implementation of the system. It was noted that Islamic banks in other countries have Shariat supervising boards. The participants therefore recommended the creation of a Shariat Supervisory Board through special enactment. In addition, individual banks, DFI's [Direct Foreign Investment], Mudaraba and leasing companies may have Shariat advisers or Shariat committees. All formats of contracts must be cleared by the Shariat Supervisory Board (SSB) before implementation.

The participants agreed that the Mudaraba and Musharaka are the ideal substitutes for interest in an interest-free economy. It was also observed that the present taxation system in the country is responsible to a great extent in forcing the businessmen to under-declare profits and keep two sets of accounts which seriously militates against the adoption of Musharaka type of financing by the banks. The participants stressed the need for basic reform in the tax system to overcome this hurdle in the way of a more widespread use of Mudaraba and Musharaka techniques.

The participants were strongly of the view that it is very necessary that an adequate legal framework should be

provided for the various modes of Islamic financing so that the interests of both the banks and business parties are properly safeguarded.

The participants also felt a need for reform of the capital market. It was noted that the conventional commercial banks alone may not be sufficient to cater to the needs of all kinds of investors/depositors. It was recommended that, besides the commercial banks and the present development finance institutions, consideration should be given to intensifying the activities of investment banks.

It was noted that eliminating interest from foreign transactions, is particularly difficult since it involves dealings with non-Muslims and interest-based institutions. The participants discussed as to whether the "doctrine of necessity" can be invoked in this case. It was noted that the conditions for invoking the doctrine of necessity are very restrictive and the government should be extremely cautious in resorting to that doctrine.

It was noted that the problems created by interest-based international debt for many countries bear witness to the fact that the short-run sacrifices in implementing an interest-free system, will pay rich dividends in the long run in terms of self-reliance, development and stability.

In the context of elimination of interest from foreign transactions, the participants discussed a variety of methods which can be employed in the field of international transactions without recourse to interest. In the field of international trade and use of Bai-Muajjal, Bai Salam and Istasna can easily cope with the flow of imports and exports. In case of capital movements, the project related loans can be handled on the basis of mark-up financing, leasing, joint-ventures and equity financing. Considerable scope also exists for attracting the savings of Pakistan nationals abroad on the basis of equity participation through mechanisms such as BOT (Build, Operate and Transfer).

The participants were seriously concerned that no tangible steps have been taken so far to eliminate interest from the government transactions which is at the root of the existence of interest in the economy as also identified by the Council of Islamic Ideology. The participants felt that there was a clear rationale for providing interest-free loans to the government by the State Bank of Pakistan and the commercial banks to meet the essential financing requirements of the government. As for mobilisation of resources from the general public, the interest-bearing financial instruments must be replaced by Islamic financial instruments. There was some discussion whether a return could be given on government bonds which might be linked to the growth in the gross national product. The participants noted that there was a widespread consensus that this will not be in conformity with Shariat. However, income tax concessions and other incentives can be provided in order to encourage people to take up interest-free government securities. Consideration was also given to whether some kind of a

compensation could be provided to people subscribing to interest-free government bonds for erosion of the purchasing power over time.

The participants took serious note of escalating budgetary deficits and consequent creation of money on massive scale which has produced high rates of inflation. It was noted that inflation is repugnant to Islam. The government should, therefore, make every effort to control inflation.

The participants reviewed insurance practices prevalent in the country and felt that necessary action had not been taken so far to reform these practices in the light of Islamic teachings. They urged the government to give this matter due attention and enact appropriate legislation to ensure that insurance practices in the country fully conform to Islamic injunctions.—APP

Public Debt Skyrocketing

92AS0912D Karachi DAWN in English 14 Apr 92 p 11

[Article by M. Nawaz Khan—"Budget '92-93: Key Issues"]

[Text] The exact state of our finances will not be known till the finance Minister presents his budget on 14th of May but, judging from what has appeared in the Press, it is certain that current year's budget targets will not be achieved. Both the Prime Minister and the Finance Minister have hinted at substantial increases in expenditure and shortfalls in revenue receipts. These developments indicate that deficit in the current account may be about Rs. 30 billion, if not more.

As regards overall budgetary gap, it will depend on mobilisation of internal and external capital receipts which were budgeted at Rs.[rupees]63 billion and Rs. 51 billion respectively. In any case, the gap will be much above the IMF mandated target of below five percent of GDP [gross domestic product]. According to Press reports, it may be near nine percent.

The purpose of this article is not to apportion blame for the present unhappy state of our public finances but to make a realistic assessment of options available to the Finance Minister. But it must be appreciated that in the final analysis, budget-making is an exercise by politicians, not bureaucrats, therefore only those measures will find a place in the next budget which are politically acceptable to the party in power. The need of the hour is to take bold and, if necessary, even unpopular decisions that would reverse the slide towards financial bankruptcy. This is the job of political leadership of the country not solely the Finance Minister and his secretaries or experts.

The ever-widening gap between our revenues and current expenditure is the crucial problem of our budget. It ought to be the central issue in all discussions about next year's budget. All other matters are of secondary importance, they either relate to fine-tuning of the fiscal policy,

or tax relief to consumers and concessions to encourage investment by entrepreneurs. Incidentally, the huge budgetary deficit negates all the genuine incentives for investment. Irrespective of fiscal and monetary incentives, investment cannot exceed domestic savings and foreign capital inflows. At present more than Rs. 30 billion savings are eaten up by the public sector to finance current account deficit at the cost of private sector investment.

We all know that budgetary deficits have to be attacked from both ends by reducing expenditure and by increasing revenues. But it is easier said than done. The Finance Minister will, no doubt, come under great deal of criticism for not cutting non-development expenditure but there is not much that he can do about it. Even if he succeeds in keeping current expenditure at its existing level in real terms, he will have to allow 10 to 15 percent increase on account of inflation. Critics of non-development expenditure seem to forget that it cannot be reduced without reduction in the number of federal government employees. Futile efforts of innumerable economy committees bear witness to this fact.

Governments do not function like large private sector corporations. When General Motors is faced with a loss of \$4.5 billion, it can coolly announce plans to shut down several of its plants and lay off tens of thousands of its workers. A government, on the contrary, cannot throw its employees to the wolves just because it is running a budget deficit. It has to find alternative avenues of employment for its surplus staff.

The Finance Minister, if he is supported by the top political leadership, could push for revival of the proposal to disband some of the federal ministries. The proposal, shelved at present for political considerations, ought to be revived under budgetary compulsions. Years of centralised rule under martial law regimes have so inhibited local initiative that people look up to the federal government even for fulfilment of municipal functions.

If resource constraint compels the federal government to undertake some real devaluation of functions to the provincial governments, it may also lead to lean and efficient federal government dealing with those subjects only which are essential for the security of state and prosperity of the people. Let the provinces who, after last year's N.F.C. [expansion not given] Award, are financially much better off, deal with all other subjects. Disbandment of ministries, rendered superfluous after devolution of authority to the provinces, would result in substantial savings in non-development expenditure.

In the present circumstances, and according to current thinking of services chiefs, there can be no reduction in our armed forces without an understanding with India on all the outstanding issues. As there are no immediate prospects of a real thaw in relations with India, we will have to continue to bear the unbearable burden of defence expenditure. The best that can be done at

present is to instruct the services chiefs to revise their plans in a manner that would assure a credible defence without too much reliance on a large standing army. That would require radical rethinking on the part of service headquarters—not an easy thing to do even when no vested interests are involved. Furthermore, if such an exercise was to start today, its dividends would not become available in less than five years' time.

The collapse of the Soviet Union has shown even strongest military forces cannot prevent internal collapse induced by economic failure. Eisenhower foresaw such a thing when he said, "The problem with defence is how far to go without destroying from within that which you are trying to defend from without." Let us hope we keep it in mind when we say that defence is our first priority.

We have already discussed the magnitude of debt service problem. It will remain with us for several more years even if the trend is reversed in the next year. Reversing the trend means that rate of growth of public debt be brought below the growth rate of GDP and tax revenues. Only in this manner can we hope to achieve a balanced current account budget and, ultimately, a revenue surplus for development which used to be the hallmark of our budgets in the not too distant past. And once that happens, public sector's contribution to domestic savings would become positive irrespective of the size of public debt or the magnitude of debt service charges.

As the Parliament has failed to place any limits on borrowing by the federal government under Article 166 of the Constitution, one wishes borrowing for non-development had been forbidden except when an external or financial emergency was declared by the President under the Constitution. This Constitutional restriction would have forced the elected governments to show greater fiscal responsibility.

We have seen that there is not much that the Finance Minister can do to cut non-development expenditure. If he is just able to slow down the growth of current expenditure, it would be a great achievement. Let us now see what options are available to him to increase the revenues. The easy option of surcharges on custom duties, so freely exercised by some of his predecessors, is no longer available. The process of scaling down high import duties, whether it was started under pressure from IMF or of own-volition, has to continue. High import duties are not a very desirable way of raising revenues; they breed inefficiency in industries not subjected to foreign competition, and encourage smuggling of goods on which high tariffs are imposed.

If the Finance Minister tries to raise income tax rates, he will cause a near-rebellion in all the chambers of commerce and industry and other trade associations. Moreover, what is the point in raising the rates of income tax when the real cause of low tax receipts is not the low rates, but large evasion of income tax. It is true that main cause of tax evasion is the mutually beneficial collusion between the tax collectors and potential and actual

assesseees, but, it is also a fact that political influence exercised by high tax evaders is a major impediment to taking penal action against them by the tax collectors under the law of the land.

Imposition of turnover tax, withholding tax, capacity tax on many items and fixed tax in lieu of assessed income tax, were some of the 'innovative' ideas introduced in the last budget. But in reality it was an admission of failure by the government to tighten up the tax collecting machinery. Equity and justice were sacrificed to efficiency of collection though, in the end, even that objective has not been achieved so far.

It is, therefore, debatable whether the Finance Minister should continue with these measures or concentrate on tightening up of tax collecting machinery. If inefficiency and corruption could be brought under control, and the tax collector was given as much freedom of operation as is usually enjoyed by his counterpart in democratic capitalist countries, income tax collection could be doubled in no time.

Although agriculture income tax is a provincial subject, its imposition is invariably demanded (and opposed) in the National Assembly during the budget debate. One wishes that federal government would put an end to this annual ritual and advise the provincial government to impose the tax, not in the hope of increasing revenues but for the sake of equity. It is not fair that large agriculture incomes should remain tax-free while all other incomes are taxed.

However, when agriculture incomes are systematically assessed, first demand on them is going to be from the Ushr collector. Ushr payable by an assessee will have to be deducted from his income tax demand because it is a tax, not an element of cost of production as assumed by many advocates of agriculture income tax. So far as federal government is concerned, imposition of agriculture income tax will not add a single penny to the Federal Consolidated Fund while its cost, in political terms, would be quite high.

The present writer had suggested in the columns of this paper some time back that there was a strong case for imposition of value added tax (VAT). He still stands by that suggestion. In every country in which rates of personal income tax have been lowered, governments have relied on VAT to make up the lost revenues. Since it taxes consumption instead of income, some authorities consider VAT to be, "the best way to promote neutrality and uniformity of tax burden and to provide incentives for increased productivity and industrialisation." In any case one indirect tax, which taxes consumption when it actually takes place, is preferable to a variety of indirect taxes under different names.

VAT, with suitable exemptions for essential food items, should appeal to the Finance Minister for another reason also. It will force all businesses to keep comprehensive records; and once all transactions are fully documented,

evasion of other taxes would become well nigh impossible. This is perhaps the real reason why VAT is so vehemently opposed by businessmen when they know full well that it is always passed on to the ultimate consumer. Finance Minister should offer it as a quid pro quo for lower income tax rates.

We have been living beyond our means for far too long. The process of adjustment has to start sooner or later and, whenever it starts, it will entail sacrifices by all although the government would be expected to assure a fair measure of equity in putting additional burdens on the people. The belt tightening is being avoided by successive governments because it will be very unpopular in all classes and sections of the people. Elected governments are, no doubt, entitled to avoid unpopular decisions for as long as they can but, as Mr. Nixon is reported to have advised Mr. Bush recently, "The mark of great leadership is not simply to support what is popular but to make what is unpopular popular if it is in national interest." We wait to see whether national interest or political expediency prevails in the next budget.

Government Hit on Supporting Money Laundering

92AS0845B Karachi DAWN in English 28 Mar 92 p 11

[Quotation marks as published]

[Text] The Pakistan Government has acted to control the enormous damage done to the country's image abroad by the publication in U.S. newspapers of advertisements for the sale of Foreign Exchange Bonds in the United States. The message these advertisements conveyed gave the impression that an avenue was being offered for the laundering of illegally acquired money. The uproar that this gave rise to in the U.S. media and the concern it occasioned in the U.S. administration was understandable. The Finance Minister has put a bold face on the grave indiscretion of those who authorised the publication of the impugned advertisement as well as those who conceived of the plan for the campaign. He told this newspaper in an interview that our banks had done nothing wrong, that the objectionable advertisement had been withdrawn and that good care would be taken that the local laws were fully observed so far as the procedure for floating the bonds was concerned. He further pointed out that he had met the ambassadors of the United States, Britain, Japan and Germany to explain this country's position on the bonds issue. One can infer from what the Finance Minister has said that the Pakistani banks in the United States will be immune from any kind of official action as a consequence of the faux pas involved in the ill-conceived advertising campaign and that the new sanitised plan to sell bonds in the U.S. market will be carried out without any let or hindrance. While this impression may be correct, it will be sheer folly to believe that the matter will end with the

grave embarrassment that the country has already suffered. The ghost of the BCCI [Bank of Credit and Commerce International] has not yet been finally laid and something or the other keeps reminding the people in the countries where the ill-fated bank operated of its infamous ways. Given this context, the monumental blunder just committed by our financial wizards will not be easily forgotten or forgiven.

The point to ponder is whether what happened was simply a matter of miscalculation arising from a lack of knowledge of U.S. regulations. Some light is thrown on this by what Pakistan's acting ambassador in Washington has reportedly said about the debacle merely being a product of perceptual differences between Pakistan and the United States regarding black money. If this so-called difference in perceptions means anything, it is that while in the West social opprobrium attaches to the acquisition of wealth by illegal means and to tax evasion, the ruling classes of this country have, to put it mildly, adopted a highly permissive attitude towards these activities.

We happen to have rules and regulations whereby people, having acquired wealth through illegal means or criminal economic activity, have been and are being provided complete protection of law. The start in this direction was made in 1958 when the first martial law regime offered amnesty to tax evaders and economic criminals. Since then every regime, without any legal or moral qualms, has been extending the scope of this amnesty. Ironically, after each succeeding amnesty the size of the black economy expanded, instead of shrinking. Official circles themselves estimate that now its size is at least half that of what is called the formal or legal economy. Today, there are as many investment schemes, and with better terms in some cases, for these evaders and criminals as for the honest citizens.

It is wholly unconvincing to claim, as the Ministry of Finance is doing now, that it was ignorant of the U.S. regulations of registration of financial instruments. The ad itself was objectionable as it showed a man counting his money surreptitiously in the dark and then suggested to him to come out in the sunshine of legality. It is not only the image of the country that has been tarnished. So far, the knowledge of our 'whitening' activities was restricted to political circles in the United States who looked the other way when their political expediency so demanded. But the advertisements and the resultant furore in the Western print and electronic media have now carried this knowledge to every home. It is time the government took a second look at all of its bearer schemes, whitening measures and tax exemption provisions and tried to bring its policies in line with the norms of civilised societies and our own religious and social obligations. Above all, the ruling classes have to prove that all their economic and financial dealings are scrupulously honest and above board.

High Defense Expenditures Criticized*92AS0890D Islamabad THE MUSLIM in English
13 Apr 92 p 6*

[Editorial: "We Buy Tanks at the Cost of Education and Health"]

[Text] The news that President Bush got his \$292 billion military budget for the next year passed by the Senate without even a token cut comes as no surprise. All this American talk of disarmament is for countries other than the United States which carries the responsibility of enforcing peace throughout the world for all times to come. To discharge this responsibility the United States must maintain its military clout. After failing in his attempt to get the budget reduced by \$4 billion, Senator J James Exon, Democrat of Nebraska exclaimed that his defeat was due to "the military-industrial complex, which is still alive and kicking."

The American complex thrives on the sale of arms to oil-producers and other developing countries who keep running to the United States for military assistance in the form of loans and some of them have to mortgage all their foreign exchange earnings for repayment. The Arabs are once again piling up arms having quite forgotten that all the arms they secured by spending billions of dollars during the 1970s and 1980s turned out to be an exercise in futility. The Gulf journal which we are serialising provides a dramatic account of how the Saudi rulers and the Khalifa of Kuwait defended themselves against Iraq. The Khalifa and the Commanders-in-Chief of the three defence services of Kuwait made good their escape while the night of invasion was still young. The Iraqi forces reached the city of Kuwait without meeting any resistance. Days later one saw the first pictures of the Commander-in-Chief of the Kuwaiti Army in an American tent somewhere in Saudi Arabia. He would next appear as the "conqueror of Kuwait" when the U.S. marines chaperoned him to the capital of his country. He lost no time in rounding up all the undesirable Palestinians who had not shown the courage to repel the Iraqis during his absence. The major lesson of the Iraq war was that the armaments that the Arabs, particularly the Saudis, had accumulated were either obsolete or in no condition to be used during the American campaign against Iraq. An incidental benefit was that the Americans were able to try out and test all their new weapons, and the Arabs paid the price in money and lives.

Pakistan must learn from the Arab experience. It is now known that during the 1965 war the Pakistan army discovered to its utter dismay that they had no armour-piercing ammunition and the high-explosive ammunition was of no use against Indian tanks. A report which we published yesterday raises serious questions about the kind of military equipment we have been purchasing during the 1980s. The facts relating to these purchases are now fully documented and are available for examination in the United States. Every penny that we spend on buying arms is paid by the people of this country in

one form or another. We are paying for every tank and every aircraft at the cost of our education and health or other vital public services. Every item that we purchase must be carefully scrutinised and the defence budget should be subjected to the same kind of parliamentary examination and control as the budget of any other ministry. The pretence that defence expenditure must remain a closely guarded secret to keep the enemy guessing only keeps our own people in the dark. The enemy can get all the information from the arms bazar. And there must be stringent rules to prevent retired officers of the defence services from joining the ranks of the agents of arms-manufacturers. This is a curse that has affected the defence establishments of many Third World countries. Former Generals and Air Force Chiefs become agents of particular suppliers of arms and are able to influence decisions because of their contacts with officials many of whom may have served under them. If we must spend on arms we should at least ensure that we are buying the right kind of stuff which should be of some use to us in an emergency.

Political, Economic Problems Analyzed*92AS0892E Karachi JASARAT in Urdu 11 Apr 92 p 5*

[Article: "Political and Economic Crisis"]

[Text] Pakistan is going through a crisis at present. On one side, the backbreaking high prices are killing the people. The prices of necessary items are sky high and the people are getting crushed under their heavy weight. The salaried people are dumbfounded and are very frustrated with the price increases effected at will. No one is checking on the adulteration committed in food and drinks. On the other side, there is fear all over the country. The people are troubled over lawlessness and have a feeling of uncertainty. Robberies are common, and people are being murdered in broad daylight. Lawlessness is rampant. Murderers, robbers, looters, and kidnappers wander around freely. Criminals run around proudly everywhere. The people are wondering who will protect them and where they will find justice. Who will stop the atrocities committed by these merciless criminals? Who will establish law and order in the cities? The people are facing this situation daily and want to know who will take care of all this.

Will our government remain silent about all these problems? Will the people continue to be stuck in this whirlpool of atrocities? Is it not the responsibility of the government to establish law and order? The prevalence of weapons and the Kalashnikov culture is spreading everywhere. Terrorism has entered politics. The people are wary of the activities of politicians. They are now trapped in the politics controlled by terrorists. These days, terrorism is common in every nook and corner of the city. The government appears to be helpless in the face of this. Drug dealing has been increasing in our country. The lobby of these terrorists and drug dealers has become very powerful. Gentlemanly behavior has become powerless. The people's situation has become

unbearable. In addition, there is a serious economic crisis in our country. Investors are not willing to invest in this situation, and as a result, hunger and poverty are on the rise. The feeling of deprivation is increasing. Depression is becoming the common feeling among the people. There is a lot of wealth for the privileged in our country. Respect, fame, and chairs are always available for them. There is no one to help the poor. The poor depend on a wage earned by employment, but they are not getting jobs. The children of the rich and those who have recommendations from important people get jobs even before they are born. Why is all this happening? A poor daughter is sitting at home because her parents do not have any money for her dowry. Does anyone feel for this situation? Does not the government think about this? The daughters of the rich leave their parents' homes weighted down with gold jewelry when they are married. When will all these social ills end? What will the administration of our country do? The situation of the people in power is different. They are buying other people's morals using the government treasury. Money is being spent like water for buying illegal support and taking sides. No one has any concern about solving the people's problems. The people are dying in various political struggles. Efforts are being made to make shamelessness common in the country. Respect for women is diminished. The woman has been made a dancer in this country. Presenting women in every advertisement is an open insult to them. In our society, dishonesty and committing atrocities has become common. The sickness of sycophancy is increasing. The great desire to become wealthy overnight has turned us into animals. We do not love our country or nation; instead, our love for wealth is increasing. There is no value to human life. Lawlessness has reached its extreme. Gentlemanly behavior stands with its head down, and the people of bad character are walking with their heads up. They have their eyes aimed high, and no one is stopping them. Lawlessness in Sindh and Punjab has made the life of everyone intolerable. Conspiracies are being hatched to make the people helpless. We want to appeal to the people to stand up against the merciless, those who increase prices, those who spread shamelessness, those who fool them in order to win a position, and those who live in luxury. The people should get together and increase cooperation with each other in every lane and house. They must check the persons who cause unrest and create a poisonous atmosphere. The people should write letters to newspapers and warn the government and ask it to improve the situation. God willing, our country will see better days soon.

Economic Situation Said Rapidly Deteriorating

92AS0894B Lahore MUSAWAT in Urdu 4 Apr 92 p 3

[Article by Haider Javed Syed: "Nothing But Misery in the Lives of 110 Million Pakistanis"]

[Text] Just like previous governments, the present government is also using the state-controlled media and

other agencies to spread propaganda about its "successful" policies. Meanwhile, the number of problems is increasing rapidly. During the October 1990 election campaign, the coalition "acrobats" had not only promised to resolve all problems, but also gave us the good news that if they came to power, they would change the living conditions of the people. They were going to put the country on the path to progress, eradicate poverty, unemployment, lawlessness, nepotism, and looting. They were going to raze all the walls blocking our nation's progress. Now these coalition acrobats have all the power, and 17 months have passed. However, the problems are still the same, and they have increased to a dangerous level. Before the 1990 election, the number of unemployed people in our country was about 2.4 million. It has increased now to 4.2 million. Among these 4.2 million unemployed people, we do not have illiterate people. Instead, there are educated people with various educational credentials. The problem of poverty has become far worse. The situation of lawlessness is so bad that trains are attacked with rocket launchers now. During the last 17 months, there have been so many incidents of kidnaping, murder, robbery, and theft that the number is far greater than it was from January 1991 to 30 September 1991 in Punjab. The incidence of nepotism is still increasing. The harm done to our treasury by white-collar criminals during the last 17 months is twice the rate that it was during Ziaul Haq's 11-year rule. During the last 17 months, even common Muslim League members and white-collar criminals have taken unnecessary advantage of their positions. The kind of attitude they have adopted is known worldwide thanks to the international media and news agencies. Under the guise of transferring public-sector industries to the private sector, they started a system of paying commissions in which everyone made a lot of money. Money from abroad has stopped coming for a long time. Still, Sheikh Rashid of Rawalpindi held a conference of investors from all over the world in Islamabad. The kinds of events held to win the hearts of these people are the kinds that have broken our faith in an Islamic form of government. Those who are making claims about the success of their foreign policy have been working as paid American employees from day one, when they came to power. The role this government played in the Iraqi-Kuwaiti incident and the way the Americans treated them later was very embarrassing. The internal affairs situation clearly shows us what kind of mental abilities our rulers have. The atrocities that the late Jam Sadiq committed in Sindh are still being felt there. It appears that Sayad Muzafar Hussain Shah is implementing these policies now. A person of limited intelligence was appointed in Punjab. The results of this are being seen now. All decisions are made to hurt the common people. Ghulam Haider Waider has only to do his job. He must do something after the death of Pir Sina [as published] Allah. High prices is the common problem for 110 million Pakistanis. Those who are enjoying the fruits of power do not know anything about this. They do not know what kind of problems the common people have. The price control committees established at the district

level do nothing but tell laudatory stories about the deputy commissioner. The prices of necessary items increased between 35 to 80 percent during the Ramzan Festival. After the recent increase in the price of meat, vegetables, and dals [lentils], another increase in the price of clothes, shoes, and other items has exacerbated the situation. Even the price of textbooks has increased 20 to 50 percent over the last year. When the new wage scales were designed, statistics and figures were thrown around to fool the people. This is coming out now. If a government employee in 7 to 10 scale got an increase of 200 rupees, his expenses had increased by between 500 to 700 rupees because of price increases. However, all of these problems face the common people, and the ruling class and privileged people are not affected by them. The nation is again being misled with beautiful speeches. They then go ahead and print new currency. The question arises: Will this problem be resolved by printing new currency notes and with beautiful speeches? Nobody can answer this question. In order to entertain the nation, incidents and accidents are staged daily. Radio, television, and newspapers sing songs of the government's success. The progovernment newspapers are praising the government's policies to high heaven. No one is paying attention to the problems and misery of the people, nor is anyone trying to combat these, either. These people, who are suffering in the politics of changing phases, have no solution because they use politics for the sake of politics, and not for serving the people. Let the people suffer; all our government wants is to win Kashmir and Afghanistan. Just for a few victories to win a few feet of land, the lives of 110 million Pakistanis are being ravaged.

Minister Cites Need for Technology Acquisition

92AS0892B Karachi AMN in Urdu 11 April 92 p 10

[News Report: "No Weapons To Be Bought Unless Accompanied by Technology—Bijrani"]

[Text] Sakkhar, 19 April (AMN Correspondent)—Amir Hazar Khan Bijrani, federal minister of production, said that it has been decided in order to make our defense administration become more effective that whenever we buy weapons from another country, we shall demand that the technology behind those weapons be transferred to Pakistan. While talking to newsmen at the Sakkhar airport, he said that the basic agreements for the transfer of modern technology from France have been prepared, and that these will soon be officially signed. He said that technology related to F-16 airplanes will also be acquired. In this context, long-term relations with the United States will be further strengthened. While answering a question, he said that some foreign elements and unruly people are involved in Sindh's deteriorating law-and-order situation. He said that Muzaffar Hussein Shah is trying to get cooperation from all groups in the state to completely eradicate crime there and take the necessary steps to establish peace. He said that Ghulam Mustafa Jatoi's departure did not affect Nawaz Sharif's government in any way, and that the impression that the IJI [Islami Jamhoori Ittehad] is suffering from internal strife is also wrong. He said that a major convention of the IJI will be held in the near future, in which all these problems will be discussed. In response to a question, he said that any cooperation that the Sindh government requested from the federal government to establish peace will be provided.

Government Move To Increase Literacy Berated

92AS0890F Islamabad *THE MUSLIM in English*
18 Apr 92 p 6

[Editorial: "Instant 100 Percent Literacy"]

[Text] This government is famous for introducing quick-fix solutions which not only do not solve the problems they are supposed to but actually worsen them in the long run. The latest is a decision taken by the Federal Cabinet ostensibly to improve the poor literacy situation in the country in general and Islamabad in particular. This is enforcement of the Literacy Act 1987 from January 1, 1993. The Act, which applies only to the Islamabad Capital Territory, bans illiterates from being issued passports (except Haj passport), driving and arms licenses, and from employment in any Federal establishment or institution.

The motive is obvious. Enforcement of the Literacy Act 1987 is a low—if not no—cost action by the government in an attempt to show or prove that it is trying to improve the literacy level in the country in general and in Islamabad in particular. Our Education Minister has royally promised he would make the literacy rate a hundred per cent. Governments, both past and present, have been reluctant to invest in the education sector. This is because expenditure on education represents a long-term investment whose benefits to the economy will only filter through within fifteen to twenty years. Governments in power much prefer to introduce and execute policies and programmes that can show "instant" results (e.g., building roads and highways) or that which gives the overall impression that they are doing something concrete but actually not.

How will the Literacy Act improve the literacy rate? How does banning the issuance of passports, driving and arms licenses to illiterates and banning them from employment in federal institutions improve the literacy level? All that the Act will do is to debar poor illiterate people from applying for passports and driving and arms licenses and for jobs in federal institutions. This merely means that a poor illiterate man, who needs life-saving treatment or operation abroad, will not be given a passport to travel. This merely means that the poor and illiterate cannot become truck, wagon or taxi drivers. This also means that the poor illiterate cannot get jobs as malis, sweepers, peons, chowkidars, etc., in institutions under federal control. In other words the Nawaz Sharif government is ordering that the starving should not be fed because they have no bread!

The rationale behind any sound literacy raising programme should be uplifting the poor, not shunning them. If the government intends to make Islamabad a hundred per cent literate, the proper way to do it is to encourage all children to enroll in schools and provide facilities for illiterate adults to attend night literacy classes. What the government is actually doing by enforcing the Literacy Act is virtually driving away all

illiterates from the Capital Territory so that it can then have a hundred per cent literacy!

Commentary Views Varieties of Islam in Country

92AS0890C Islamabad *THE MUSLIM in English*
5 Apr 92 p 7

[Article by Sarmad Ali—"Two Faces of Islam as Practiced in Pakistan"]

[Text] Two important events have taken place in the recent past reflecting upon the diametrically opposite perceptions about Islam that co-exist in our society, notwithstanding the official claims to the contrary. It has been reported in the press that a Christian school teacher in Faisalabad has been murdered in a cold-blooded manner by a Muslim fanatic. From the report it appears that the victim was an enlightened teacher who followed a non-conventional method of teaching. His emphasis on humanism and universal brotherhood of mankind perturbed the religious fanatics who thrive on spreading hatred against other religions. He earned the hostility of feudals of the area by advocating social justice and equality among the children of Adam and Eve.

The fanatics and feudals joined hands to get him transferred out of the school, which he got stayed. This disappointed the nephew of the teacher who would have replaced him in the school, had the transfer taken effect. The fanatics and feudals worked upon the young man to take revenge and provided him with Islamic justification for the act saying that the Christian teacher was guilty of blasphemy and therefore was liable to be murdered. Finding his life to be in danger, the victim got himself transferred to the office of DEO [expansion not given] Faisalabad. But this did not satisfy the fanatics and they may have convinced the murderer that the victim would stage a comeback to the school by utilizing his position in the DEO office and therefore it would be advisable to kill him. One day the boy waylaid and killed the teacher in front of the DEO office.

What has followed the tragic incident is even more reprehensible. The murderer is being given VIP treatment in jail. Hundreds of people are visiting and garlanding him in the jail everyday. Meetings and processions are being taken out to celebrate him as Ghazi Alamuddin Sani. This has sent a wave of indignation and sense of insecurity among the members of the minority community. The government being hostage in the hands of religious fanatics is unable or unwilling to assert itself to put an end to this state of madness, which is tarnishing the image of Islam and gravely undermining supremacy of the law and in the process makes doubtful the efficacy of the state to ensure a fair dispensation to its citizens.

Not long ago we had read in newspapers about the desecration of Hindu temples in Sindh which allegedly promoted some Hindus to migrate from Sindh in search of safer havens across the border. A Karachi weekly has recently reported dismissal of Christian employees of civil bodies in Lahore. Earlier the Federal Shariat Court

had suggested insertion of a column in Annual Confidential Reports of employees to indicate Islamic credentials of the employee, thereby implying that a non-Muslim or a non-practising Muslim are not to be promoted to a higher grade or key posts.

All this is happening in a country which was created in the name of Islam, a religion which stands for large-heartedness and tolerance towards minorities. The Father of the Nation spoke of Pakistan as a safe haven for minorities where no distinction shall be made among citizens on the basis of creed, colour or caste. The Quran terms murder of one individual as murder of the whole of humanity. The government formulates laws without being able to implement them. The way its law on Gustakh-e-Rasool and Hadd have and are being implemented respectively in Faisalabad and tribal areas of NWFP [North-West Frontier Province] by half-educated Mullas and vested interests, shows the mockery of our legislative and law enforcement system.

In sharp contrast to him, a session judge of Lahore, has ruled that Islam does not allow police snooping in the private lives of citizens. Delivering his decision in the famous blue video case, the learned judge has observed that in an Islamic dispensation an individual has absolute right to privacy. Extensively quoting from the source material on Islamic law, he has forcefully made the point that Islam enjoins on everyone to shield and protect the private affairs of people. He has deplored that the police investigation in this case has not only violated this principle but has also caused humiliation and insult to members of the fair sex by playing up the matter through the press, thus making their rehabilitation in the society impossible after repentance/punishment. It is therefore not surprising that our police produces more criminals and helps none to revert to a respectable life.

It is ironic that our official media blacked out this historic decision which could have cast Islam in a positive light and given it a face-lift which it badly needs after a prolonged thrashing in the hands of vested interests since 1977. Instead PTV [Pakistan Television] has now decided to treat us to a dupatta culture as if Islam cannot be introduced without dupattas. It appears that we are going back to Arab tribalism in the name of Islam in which a woman was considered a household chattel, to be concealed and hidden from public gaze like any other precious commodity.

How can Islam be introduced in such a society where its basic unit, the family, operates in an un-Islamic way? The family being repository of love and affection should be founded on the principle of equality between the sexes. A family where woman is considered a household chattel bereft of any right of her own, would have a bearing on the whole of society in the shape of discriminatory laws and practices. Such a society would be at war with Allah and His system towards which we are presently heading. It amounts to adding insult to injury to call such a society an Islamic one. As long as absolute equality between the sexes, apart from their biological

differences, is not established, no effort to Islamize the society can bear fruit. No government can dare try to establish that equality without delinking itself from the blackmailing politics of fundamentalist parties. It is time that enlightened elements in the society forged a consensus not to enter into alliance with fundamentalists for short-term personnel or political gains.

Society Seen Becoming Increasingly Violent

92AS0890G Islamabad THE MUSLIM in English
14 Apr 92 p 6

[Article by Shireen Mazari: "Violence and Institutional Decay in Pakistan"]

[Text] The most recent incidence of violence involving army officers, which took place in Lahore on 8th April, is merely one more reflection of the deep malaise affecting our nation which is reflected in the increasing militarisation of state and society—that is, the preference of opting for a violent course of action over other means of exerting influence.

That the civil society and the civilian institutions of state had become increasingly militarised—as witnessed by armed clashes between rival political/student/ethnic groups and the use of physical abuse by instruments of the state against the public at large—has long been acknowledged by the nation.

Sometimes decried, but more often merely accepted with an air of resignation and helplessness, this characteristic has become pervasive within the Pakistani polity. Numerous efforts to expose and condemn this militarisation have fallen by the wayside, often with such commentators themselves becoming victims. In general, it was accepted that this malaise was to a large extent a reflection of the institutional corruption and social polarisation rampant within the nation.

However, the linkage between militarism—denoting a specific type of social formation and structure within a state and the militarisation of civil society has often been ignored. Yet, in states like Pakistan, as the military profession has acquired a massive share of defence budgets, it has developed its autonomy and created a privileged position in society—especially since civil institutions are weak and dissipated.

While militarism seeks legitimacy, in general it relies on force to perpetrate itself—especially when segments of civil society reject this militarism. This leads to increasingly violent behaviour—that is militarisation—pervading the state and civil society as a preferred means of exercising influence. Therefore, militarisation is in fact directly linked to the concept of militarism—reflecting it at the behavioural level of state and civil society. Both militarisation and militarism also reflect the prevalence of a conflictual framework at the level of state and civil society where increasing violence comes to mark conflict behaviour not only of the state but also of civil society within the state.

It is within the conceptual framework that one needs to examine the growing use of violence not only by the civil society and state but increasingly by members of the military—reflecting not only an assertion of their impregnable status in society but more critically, the spread of institutional decay within the military organisation that one had assumed was primarily true for the civilian structures.

The Lahore incident was a follow-up of similar incidences involving military personnel who have regarded themselves beyond the pail of existing rules and norms of society. Whether it is officers dealing violently with those in charge of operations at recreational spots like Patriata or officers taking the law into their own hands against local politicians in the Rawalpindi area, the behaviour reflects an attitudinal malaise within the military institution. Another reflection of this was of course the incident involving the Rangers in Sindh who misbehaved with the female members of an entourage of university students and teachers from Jamshoro on 3rd January 92 (THE MUSLIM 13.1.92). Also, one assumes that for every incident reported, many more may well slip by unreported.

What makes matters worse is the fact that the military is loathe to have such personnel punished under the normal law of the land. Internal Boards of Enquiry, while they may or may not mete out justice, fail to publicly satisfy the nation's right to demand that justice must be seen to have been done. In view of the predominant position of the military in Pakistani society, the institution needs to restore a credible public posture. Given the security dimensions of the state, a faltering and morally weak military organisation offers those who would like to see a weakened professional military capability for Pakistan ample opportunity for attack.

As it is, the secrecy into which such reported incidents evaporate, does little to enhance public faith in this sensitive national organisation. At a time when there are increasing reports of dubious arms deals/purchases/inefficient/lavish defence spending and

growing demands to debate and curtail defence expenditures, the military as an institution does not need to add to its critics by seeming to protect its personnel who carry out violence against segments of civil society.

Seemingly protecting its corporate interests in the short term, it is this very interest that will in fact be damaged in the long term. For a nation which is undergoing internal polarisation and growing violence at all levels of society and the state, public exposure and debate is essential to allow the public to feel that legal venues of redress are open to all.

As it is, since 1971, the military's politicisation has shifted within a more ideologically-motivated framework extending beyond the military's traditional focus on national interest and its own corporate identity. Akmal Hussain, in his book "The Challenge in South Asia," points out that after 1971, the officer corps was exposed to indoctrination by the Jamaat-i-Islami and the PPP [Pakistan People's Party]. With the prevalence of right and left wing politicisation, the army after the 1971 experience lost its neutrality and its ability to act independently of any particular group—thus, when General Zia's coup took place, no effort was made to even create a veneer of ideological neutrality.

After Zia's death the military's public effort at highlighting its professionalism managed to begin the process of salvaging the professional and politically neutral image of the military as an institution. Yet, the growth of seemingly unpunished acts of violence by military personnel are fast beginning to undermine this effort.

The return of democracy and the growth of violence in state and civil society show clearly the linkage between militarism and militarisation in Pakistan. The case of Pakistan—with the increasing number of cases of physical abuse, dacoity and killings—also reveals that militarisation of society has its own momentum and its intensity does not necessarily run parallel to the degree of militarism. In such a situation, if deliberate efforts are not instituted, militarisation of civil society tends to sustain militarism within the state.