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Near East & South Asia

PAKISTAN

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CONTENTS

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POLITICAL

International Affairs

U.S. Seen Having Double Standards Over Aid Package [NAWA-I-WAQT 10 Oct]	1
United States, Europeans Said Indifferent to Massacre of Muslims [THE MUSLIM 25 Oct]	1
Ties With Turkey Seen Deep, Expanding	2
Historically Close [THE MUSLIM 24 Oct]	2
Helping Build Key Highway [THE MUSLIM 26 Oct]	3
Supportive on Kashmir [THE MUSLIM 25 Oct]	4
China Seen Truest Friend of Nation [THE NATION 11 Oct]	5
Chinese Technological Assistance Seen Crucial [DAWN 13 Oct]	6
Diplomatic Immunity's Loose Application Criticized [THE MUSLIM 28 Oct]	6

Internal Affairs

Sharif Seen Avoiding Needed Political Decisions in Sindh [THE NATION 26 Oct]	7
Sharif Performance as Prime Minister Seen Adequate [THE NATION 9 Oct]	8
Balochistan Seen Suffering From Continued Neglect [THE MUSLIM 23 Oct]	11
Bhutto Stance Towards Military Seen Hypocritical [THE NATION 10 Oct]	12
Punjabi Politics Seen 'Feudal', Destructive [THE NATION 14 Oct]	13
Government's Preoccupation With AZO Criticized [THE MUSLIM 31 Oct]	15
Fragmenting of MQM Seen Continuing [DAWN 14 Oct]	15
TNFJ Will Protest Arrest of Its Leader [DAWN 14 Oct]	16
Article Questions Extension of Retirees' Service [THE MUSLIM 28 Oct]	17
Lack of Direction, Confusion Seen Regarding Sindh [NAWA-I-WAQT 16 Oct]	17
Sindh: 'Time Running Out' Per Commentary [THE MUSLIM 28 Oct]	18
Prospects for Sindh After Army Withdrawal Viewed [DAWN 14 Oct]	20

ISLAMIC AFFAIRS

Controversy Continues Over Religious Identity Cards	23
Religious Parties Issue Warning [THE MUSLIM 27 Oct]	23
Sharif Should Disregard Clerics [THE MUSLIM 27 Oct]	23
Against National Ideology [THE MUSLIM 27 Oct]	24
Minorities Fear Acceleration of Islamization [THE NATION 8 Oct]	25

ECONOMIC

Prospects for Islamic Common Market Viewed [JASARAT 5 Oct]	27
Nawaz Sharif's Economic Assurances Termed 'Rhetoric' [THE MUSLIM 30 Oct]	27
Economist Claims Nation Reaching Middle Income Level [DAWN 6 Oct]	28
Government Indifference to Agriculture Attacked [THE NATION 9 Oct]	30

MILITARY

Turkey Said Ready To Provide Spare Parts for F-16's [THE NATION 12 Oct]	32
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SOCIAL ISSUES

Science Minister Sumroo's Optimism Criticized [THE MUSLIM 1 Nov]	34
Statistics of Population Growth Viewed [THE MUSLIM 23 Oct]	34
National Population Growth Said Highest in Asia [THE MUSLIM 23 Oct]	35
Chief Justice Calls Foreign TV 'Threat' to Nation [THE NATION 14 Oct]	36

International Affairs

U.S. Seen Having Double Standards Over Aid Package

93AS0110C Lahore NAWA-I-WAQT in Urdu 10 Oct 92 p 10

[Editorial: "U.S. Government's Double Standards Over Aid To Pakistan"]

[Text] A U.S. diplomat stationed in Pakistan has said that, under the Pressler Amendment, aid to Pakistan cannot be reinstated until the United States and Pakistan agree on various issues. In an interview with the NAWA-I-WAQT, he said that the aid to Pakistan under the USAID [United States Agency for International Development] program will also stop in 1995.

As far as the U.S. aid to Pakistan is concerned, it has changed at various times according to U.S. political interests in this region. This is the third year of our being without aid under the Pressler Amendment. This aid was stopped in October 1990 when President Bush refused to issue the certificate to the U.S. Congress stating that Pakistan is not involved in making nuclear bombs. Before it, when Pakistan was a frontline state during the Afghan jihad, the U.S. President had no problem issuing such a certificate!

It is obvious that the changing situation in Pakistan and the world has changed the U.S. priorities, and the Pressler Amendment is being used to stop aid to Pakistan.

At the same time, the United States has started to favor India again. Tailoring the aid policy according to its own interests has been the main policy of every U.S. Government and this is verified by the statement issued by this diplomat.

It is clear that there will be no change in U.S. foreign policy even when Bill Clinton, the democrat presidential candidate, wins, and aid to Pakistan will not be reinstated. Even the U.S. circles were hopeful that aid would be reinstated at this point when there would be a major shift in policy. The director of USAID in Pakistan was also optimistic about it.

We cannot deny the fact that the Pressler Amendment is being used as a weapon by the U.S. Government to practice double standards. Pakistan's example is unique in this context. India and Israel do not only have nuclear weapons programs, India has also refused to sign the NPT [Nonproliferation Treaty]. This amendment is never used against either of these countries. The emphasis for cutting aid is towards economic and military programs.

The efforts in the U.S. Senate to reinstate social aid to Pakistan are just a facade. Stopping aid to us in the hot spot region is equivalent to upsetting the military and economic balance of power in this region.

United States, Europeans Said Indifferent to Massacre of Muslims

93AS0117F Islamabad THE MUSLIM in English 25 Oct 92 p 6

[Editorial: "Western Civilisation at Its Worst"; quotation marks as published]

[Text] Few events in the twentieth century have done more to blacken the record of the West, the whites, the white Christians, the major powers pretending to be democratic, and the United Nations, as the systematic genocide of the tiny Muslim community in the heart of Europe. The conspiracy against the oil-rich Arab nations in the shape of the Gulf War is coming slowly but surely to light. In order to organise a return to the Arab world in the imperialistic style of the post-World War One period, the Gulf war was stage-managed. Now that part of the world, with all its wealth, is a comprehensively colonised backyard of the United States and its camp followers. It's back to 1919 in the Arab world. When this newspaper first said this, there was wild hue and cry. The conspiracy to rear the tyrant of Baghdad, to lure him to trespass into Kuwait, only to create an excuse to maul the entire Arab world, is now being unfolded by knowledgeable quarters inside the United States. The Muslim's contention was and remains that the Gulf War, quite as the Iraq-Iran war, was part of the same scheme: to subdue and appropriate the more affluent of the Muslim states.

But what has been happening in Yugoslavia for the past six months, is essentially more savage than the rape of the Arab world. In Yugoslavia the Muslims are being systematically exterminated—the word is 'ethnic cleansing'—not only by the gun and terror but by the most inhuman methods of torture. We have the word of the spokesman of the United States Department of State who says when you hear the real truth, "it will make your blood boil and your stomach turn." But whose blood is boiling and whose stomach is turning? We do not see evidence of any compassion, of any action to effectively denounce, let alone stop, the barbarity of the Yugoslav army. When the United States wished to move against Iraq, it moved heavens and earth, brought in 400,000 troops of a grand alliance into the inferno of the deserts of Saudi Arabia and deployed the most destructive arsenal ever in human history. This was done in weeks, rather days. Where is the same efficiency now? Where is the same sense of commitment to a nation's freedom and sovereignty? Where is that United Nations which acted like lightning to hunt one Arab nation in the name of safety and sovereignty of another Arab country? The superpowers and their military prowess as seen in the oil-saturated deserts are nowhere near the rivers of blood flowing in Bosnia-Herzegovina, near the human skulls and bones, near the helpless girls ravaged and left to rot? The United States is helpless against a rag tag Yugoslav army which is pouring only scorn over the United States, the U.N. and all that these two entities represent. The Serbs, the real villains of this squalid piece, would not let

even food and water pass to their victims—the Muslim community in Bosnia-Herzegovina. And the great defenders of democracy, human right, Christian values, international law and morality just stand and watch, and don't turn a hair.

It may be claimed that at least the Western mass communication media has been on the job. Perhaps there is an element of truth there. But how much of it is mere pretence is not easy to say. The question that must be faced is: why has all that western television footage, rather milage, failed in moving the hearts of the viewers? To what extent have the communities, which have watched those bone-chilling horrors, influenced their governments into doing the right thing? Is it possible to reconcile the effectiveness of the all-powerful television medium in the West with the real callousness and pretended impotence of the powers that be in the West? The only rational conclusion to draw is that the tears shed by Western media over the inhumanity in Bosnia-Herzegovina are indistinguishable from those proverbially shed by crocodiles. Whatever evidence is available leads to only one conclusion: that the extermination of the Muslims of Bosnia-Herzegovina is a plot of which the major Western powers are the actual authors. How dare rump Yugoslavia behave the way it has, if it is really opposed by the United States, the United Kingdom, France, the Russian Federation and to cap it all, also the United Nations?

Never was human blood spilled with such naked cruelty, never was human dignity defiled with such diabolical wantonness. And all this adds up to a pathetic understatement.

Ties With Turkey Seen Deep, Expanding

Historically Close

93AS0118A Islamabad THE MUSLIM in English
24 Oct 92 p 7

[Article: "Turkey-Pakistan Ties: Deep-Rooted Bonds of Friendship"]

[Text] Pakistan and Turkey enjoy exemplary relations based on historical, cultural, political and religious ties, which have been further strengthened through bilateral and regional cooperation.

Over the years, Pakistan and Turkey have developed a close understanding which has characterized fraternal relations between the two countries. Pakistan and Turkey have extended support to each other whenever the occasion has arisen. Despite changes of government in both countries, the relationship has continued to grow.

The Turks consider Pakistan a true and sincere friend. Pakistan and Pakistanis are always referred to as "Kardes" (brother) and the expression is not used as a mere diplomatic formality or platitude, but in all sincerity. An opinion poll conducted by TURKISH DAILY

NEWS in Feb. 1990 revealed that Pakistan was considered the "most friendly country" by the Turks. The friendship between the two countries is mutually beneficial and a factor for peace and stability in the region. In Pakistan, the founder of modern Turkey, Kemal Ataturk, is regarded a national hero. In Ataturk's triumph of forging a strong and progressive Turkey out of the shambles of history the Moslems of the subcontinent saw an embodiment of their own national aspirations.

The deep-rooted bonds of friendship between the Pakistani and the Turkish people remain stable and in fact have continued to grow. Pakistan supports the Turkish Cypriots' cause and, similarly, Turks have always backed us on the Kashmir issue. There is a remarkable coalescence of views between Turkey and Pakistan on all major issues of regional and global significance, including the Middle East, Afghanistan and the Gulf. The Economic Cooperation Organization (ECO) as institutionalized traditional relations of friendship and brotherhood. There is an identity of views between the two countries on most issues. While Turkey is a member of NATO and Pakistan is a non-aligned country, the determination of the two countries to forge still closer links remains undiminished.

High Level Exchange of Visits

High level contact has been maintained over the years. Former President Kenan Evren paid a visit in Feb. 1989, his fourth visit to Pakistan. Mr. Turgut Ozal, the former prime minister and now the president of Turkey, paid a very successful visit to Pakistan in 1984. The former prime minister of Pakistan visited Turkey in May 1989 and 1990. During Evren's official visit to Pakistan in Feb. 1989, several agreements were signed, including a maritime shipping agreement and a bilateral agreement on tourism cooperation. During the visit of the former prime minister of Pakistan to Turkey in May 1989, agreements were signed on a cultural exchange program for the years 1989-92 and the Third Executive Protocol for Technical and Scientific Cooperation for the year 1989-90.

Recently, in Jan. 1991, the Turkish Foreign Minister visited Pakistan and held useful exchange of views on bilateral matters and regional issues, including the Gulf, Kashmir and Afghanistan. The exchanges were marked by complete understanding and identity of views. The two sides reaffirmed their determination to further widen and deepen their ties in all fields. They emphasized the need to strengthen economy and commercial exchanges to the level commensurate with their close fraternal relations. The Turkish Foreign Minister was also briefed on Pakistan's efforts to promote tension-free and good neighbourly relations with India 1987. This was reciprocated by the visit of an 18-member parliamentary delegation, headed by Mr. Kaya Erdem, speaker of the Turkish Grand National Assembly in Jan. 1990. Chairman Senate, Mr. Wasim Sajjad visited and the initiatives taken by Pakistan to strengthen mutual trust and confidence between the two countries.

The recent visit of the Turkish foreign minister to Pakistan was availed to hold a second round of trilateral consultations amongst the foreign ministers of Pakistan, Turkey and Iran, as the latter also happened to be in Pakistan at the same time on a bilateral visit. A parliamentary delegation from Pakistan visited Turkey in March, Turkey in April 1990, National Assembly Speaker Mr. Gauhar Ayyub, recently visited Turkey in Jan. 1991 at the head of a parliamentary delegation. In addition, there have been frequent visits at ministerial level by senior defence officials and other delegations between the two countries.

Turco-Pakistan Parliamentary Friendship Group

A significant development has been the formation of Turkish Parliament. The group was formed in Oct. 1985 with 58 founding members from all parties. The eventual number was to reach 100. It has the largest number of any parliamentary group, and leading members of all political parties and independents have become founding members. Likewise, a Pak-Turkish parliamentary group, with a proposed membership of over 100 MNAs [Member of National Assembly], has since been established in the National Assembly of Pakistan.

Pakistan-Turkey Joint Ministerial Commission (JWC)

The Pakistan Turkey Joint Ministerial Commission, which was established in 1977, provides a viable institutional framework for the identification of areas to promote economy and commercial cooperation between the two countries.

A Joint Pakistan-Turkey Business Council has been set up between the Federation of Pakistan Chambers of Commerce and Industry (FPCC&I) and the Foreign Economic Relations Board of Turkey (DEIK) which meets periodically in Turkey and Pakistan.

Substantial trade between Turkey and Pakistan was built around the export of cotton, rice and leather. The place of trade has remained in favour of Turkey except in the last financial year, i.e., 1989-90. The Turkish and Pakistan governments extended to each other a revolving credit facility of U.S. \$50 million to encourage bilateral trade.

Agricultural cooperation between the two countries is being carried out under an agricultural cooperation agreement signed in 1983. The cooperation is in the form of exchange of experts, training facilities and information. During the last joint commissions meeting it was agreed to expand activities. There was also an enhancement of lists of areas for further cooperation including wildlife, fisheries and on-farm water management.

Tourism Cooperation

An agreement on tourism cooperation between the two countries was concluded in 1989, in the hope that the agreement would result in the greater flow of national and international tourists, and consolidate cooperation

in the field of tourism. The visit of our minister of tourism to Turkey in Feb. 1990, facilitated concrete progress in this field when the first meeting of the Joint Tourism Commission was held and a protocol was signed.

Cultural, Scientific and Educational Cooperation

In order to enhance cooperation in the fields of science and technology, an agreement on scientific and technological cooperation was signed between Turkey and Pakistan in May 1989. Cultural relations with Turkey are governed under a cultural cooperation agreement signed in 1953. There have been three cultural exchange programs under this Agreement. The last program was renewed for 1989-92. An 18-member Pakistani cultural troupe visited Turkey in Sept. 1990.

Educational cooperation is also envisaged under the Cultural Exchange Program. It includes cooperation between the universities of the two countries, exchange of professors and scholars, holding of seminars, exhibitions, and symposia and aware of scholarships to the students of the two countries.

The protocol also simulates establishment of direct contacts between radio and television organizations of the two countries. The government of Pakistan has also established two chairs of Urdu and Pakistan studies at the universities of Ankara and Istanbul, headed by Professors from Pakistan.

Ankara University has approximately 100 students studying the history and culture of Pakistan. Proposals for the establishment of direct links between various universities in Pakistan and Turkey are under consideration.

Helping Build Key Highway

*93AS0118B Islamabad THE MUSLIM in English
26 Oct 92 p 1*

[Article: "Indus Highway Milestone in Pak-Turkish Cooperation: PM (Prime Minister)"]

[Text] Karak, Oct. 25: Prime Minister Mohammad Nawaz Sharif Sunday said the construction of a portion of the Indus Highway by a Turkish company was a milestone in the ever-growing economic cooperation between Pakistan and Turkey.

He was speaking on the occasion of the ground breaking ceremony of the portion of the highway by the Turkish Prime Minister Suleyman Demirel here Sunday morning.

The Prime Minister invited the Turkish companies and entrepreneurs to take advantage of the investment opportunities due to economic reforms by the present government.

The construction of the "Karak-Sarac Gambila section of the Indus Highway," he said, would motivate other

Turkish companies to play a greater role in the development of the economic infrastructure in Pakistan. He said development of the infrastructure would accelerate the process of industrialisation.

Nawaz Sharif said "The involvement of Turkish company in this project is a testimony to the advancement and expertise acquired by the Turkish engineers in building high quality roads."

Prime Minister Nawaz Sharif said building an efficient and modern road system would greatly enhance the socio-economic activities in this region. He said it would bring about a qualitative change in the living conditions of the people. He said the government had already undertaken an ambitious programme to lay a network of motorways in the country.

A key component of our new economic policy is to build a well developed transportation and communication system in Pakistan. We are making substantial investments in these sectors, the Prime Minister added.

The government, he said, had launched wide-ranging economic reforms to achieve economic expansion and modernisation of the country.

Nawaz Sharif said Pakistan was honoured that this important project was inaugurated by the Turkish Prime Minister Suleyman Demirel himself.

The Turkish Prime Minister delivered part of his speech in English and then switched over to Turkish language.

Prime Minister Nawaz Sharif after consultation with the translator rendered the speech of the distinguished guest into Urdu.

He said, people of Turkey maintain very fine feelings about their Pakistani brethren. The Turkish people, he said, prayed for success of the Pakistan people in succession.

He said that people of Turkey have provided help in Pakistan in every hour of trial and will do the same in future also.—APP

Supportive on Kashmir

93AS0118C Islamabad *THE MUSLIM in English*
25 Oct 92 p 1

[Article: "Turkey Backs Pakistan on Kashmir"]

[Text] Islamabad, Oct. 24: Turkey and Pakistan have reaffirmed their solidarity with the people of Kashmir in the realisation of their right of self-determination and reiterated their stance for the resolution of Kashmir problem on the basis of Security Council's resolutions and the spirit of Simla Accord.

In their speeches delivered at the banquet hosted in honour of the visiting Prime Minister of Turkey Suleyman Demirel at the Prime Minister House here Saturday night both the Prime Ministers condemned

Serbian aggression against Bosnia and its people. They demanded the Security Council to use force under the U.N. Charter to reverse Serbian aggression and preserve the sovereignty and territorial integrity of Bosnia and protect the religious, cultural and human rights of its people.

Both the leaders expressed their satisfaction over the existing exemplary relations between the two brotherly countries and agreed to translate their relations effectively and objectively in all economic fields.

Both observed the cooperation between the founding members of the ECO [Economic Cooperation Organization] as positive and expressed their resolve to further enhancement of the economic cooperation in such a way that the founding members as well as the newly inducted Central Asian States reap the fruits of the economic cooperation equitably.

Pakistan and Turkey also expressed their resolve to extend all possible assistance to the newly emerged independent Central Asian States to enable them to march towards their cherished goals with confidence.

The Turkish Prime Minister Suleyman Demirel in his speech expressed Turkey's complete solidarity with Pakistan on the Kashmir issue. He hoped that the recent dialogue initiated by Prime Minister Nawaz Sharif with India would lead to a peaceful settlement of this long standing problem on the basis of U.N. resolutions and Simla Accord.

He said Pak-Turkish friendship was deeply rooted on the basis of their historical, cultural and spiritual ties. He said it was the duty of the two governments to enhance this relationship in different fields by taking stock of the solid foundations.

In his welcome speech Prime Minister Nawaz Sharif expressed Pakistan's deep gratifications to Turkey for supporting the people of Kashmir in realisation of their right of self-determination as pledged to them by India, Pakistan and the United Nations.

He also thanked Turkey for always standing by Pakistan in its time of trial and reaffirmed Pakistan's preparedness for any sacrifice for their brothers and sisters in Turkey.

In his address he also touched upon the issues relating the new world order, Bosnia Herzegovina, the Central Asian states, the Economic Cooperation Organisation (ECO), Afghanistan and Cyprus.

Prime Minister drew attention of the honourable guest towards massive violations of human rights in occupied Kashmir being made by the Indian occupied forces against Kashmiris.—PPI

China Seen Truest Friend of Nation

93AS0143H Lahore THE NATION in English
11 Oct 92 pp 1, 4

[Article by M.A. Niazi: "China, The True Friend in Hard Times"]

[Text] Hong Kong—As Prime Minister [PM] Mian Nawaz Sharif ended his official visit to China when driving over the border with Hong Kong on Saturday, it was clear that economic issues had become his main preoccupation in a relationship that had once been founded purely on strategic concerns.

The impression that was gathered from the developments of the visit showed that the fast changing face of the world had removed some of the urgency from the relationship, but had also deepened its subtleties where the Islamabad-Beijing relations are concerned it is no longer needed to counterpoise the Moscow-Delhi axis, the collapse of the USSR has unleashed new energies for the good and introduced certain uncertainties disturbing possibilities within the region.

However, Mian Nawaz's mind was almost surely on the need to show some much-needed economic success to counter the aftermath of the devastating floods. The Chinese surely showed some understanding which was shown by the repeated expressions of sympathy for Pakistan and they particularly praised Mian Nawaz's personal role in relief and rehabilitation work.

Pakistan and China have reached a unique position in their history, where both are engaged in their intensive efforts for development through the free market's indirect mechanism. While Chinese leadership is giving its technocracy and entrepreneurs greater freedom than ever, Pakistan's is getting rid of its public sector by privatisation.

Another change, the significance of which is perhaps lost on observers, is that the present Chinese government is the first in that country's two millennium of existence as a state, which is actually encouraging foreign trade and outreach. China's history has been one of the state ranging between active persecution of foreign trade contacts to a disapproving acquiescence at the best. The present regime has gone the farthest in actually providing such commercial opportunities as are afforded by the Special Economic Zones like Shenzhen, the oldest and so far the most successful.

The Prime Minister's manifest interest in the Shenzhen Success story, including his special visit and the talks between the two Finance Ministers after the Prime Minister met on the question of bilateral trade, are indications enough of the kind of thinking the present government is doing. However, Nawaz Sharif has also been able to push his own agenda because the Chinese leaders are also willing to meet him halfway.

China's need of the Pakistani relationship is not particularly based on economic matters. Though Pakistan ran

a \$310 million deficit last year with China, that is not much for a country which posted \$110 billion in total trade in only the first nine months of this year, according to the latest figures released in the local Press on Friday.

However, behaving like good economic managers, the Chinese have shown as much interest as Pakistan in increasing trade. However, from the reports appearing in the Chinese media, showed clearly that China's main concern remains the security relationship, and trade would only add to the ties that bind the two countries together.

Pak-China relations have been ideal, especially considering the ideological differences between what are after all two ideological states. Mian Nawaz's laying a wreath at the Movement of National Heroes at Tianmen Square gained added significance for the Chinese because of the Square's reason for its modern notoriety.

The Chinese reports of the talks had a greater emphasis on the Chinese support, merely reiterated as in the past, on Mian Nawaz's South Asian nuke-free zone.

However, the Turkic Muslims who are part of China are, only gradually learning to cope with the exigencies of modern life. It is felt that certain elements have all little love for China as a leading power, considering them imperialists who were now subjugating their own officials more than anything else.

Pakistan's influence, a little though it might be, is supposed to be able to improve the image of the Chinese in that region. At the least, the Chinese government asks whether Pakistani can at least not assist any adventurer perhaps even play a moderating role. The Chinese leadership has thought ahead and realised the destabilisation wrought by the exit of the USSR from the world scene.

Mian Nawaz is more than ready to play ball. As an economic realist, he is not interested in grand designs, preferring to stick to the path of just deeds earning a just reward. The futurists in the PM's team also see increased economic cooperation, possible, and therefore it was a good opportunity to pave the way for the spreading of trade.

Again, in China's new mode of economic thinking, the attractions of the revival of the Old Silk Route are considerable. Pakistan is strategically placed to play an important part in China's moves in this direction.

Nothing spectacular emerged from this visit, and nothing was suppose to. Such stable relationships as Pakistan's with China are to be a little boring. However, Mian Nawaz's visit was yet another sign that this is a relationship that would outlast most of the changes that might conceivably take place in the world. In confusing times, trusted friends are the ones you cling to hardest.

Chinese Technological Assistance Seen Crucial*93AS0117C Karachi DAWN in English 13 Oct 92 p 7***[Editorial: "Cooperation With China"]**

[Text] Prime Minister Nawaz Sharif's just-concluded visit to China has underscored the need for further strengthening relations between the two friendly countries and widening their sphere of cooperation in a variety of fields. It also highlighted their shared perception of regional and international issues, particularly in the context of the fast changing world scenario. Both Pakistan and China have called for creating a political environment based on sovereign equality of states, adherence to the U.N. charter, non-interference in the internal affairs of any country and equitable and just international economic order. These guiding principles have continued to govern their conduct since their emergence as sovereign and independent states. The violations of these principles by some states have caused conflict and tension in many parts of the world. The leaders of the two nations also took note of the growing manifestations of hegemonism both at regional and international levels and condemned the trend. They strongly opposed global or regional hegemony of any kind in the interest of peace and security. It was in this context that the Prime Minister of Pakistan stressed the need for evolving a system which could ensure peace and security at the regional level. The evolution of such a system is possible only through the resolution of disputes by peaceful means.

The visit also brought into sharp focus the need for universal application of the principle of self-determination. The Chinese leaders were briefed on the current uprising in the occupied state and the possible consequences of the dangerous policy that India is pursuing to suppress the just aspirations of the Kashmiri people.

Besides international political issues, bilateral matters were also extensively discussed by the representatives of the two countries. Both sides decided to promote cooperation through balanced trade, joint ventures and collaboration in the fields of trade, science and technology and education. China's readiness to provide assistance to the tune of 68 million dollars for the Saindak project in Balochistan, in addition to the 84 million dollars it has already pledged, will help its quick implementation. In the crucial power sector, too, China is extending full cooperation and has set up four big thermal power units so far in Pakistan. At a time when Western states are doggedly opposed to technology transfer, China is willingly offering us both technology and plants. The balance of trade has so far been heavily tilted in China's favour which imports goods worth 60 million dollars and its exports to Pakistan average around 300 million dollars. Need was stressed to rationalise this imbalance and the first step in that direction will be taken when a trade delegation from Pakistan will shortly be visiting Beijing. The potential of overland trade needs to be closely

examined along with identifying areas in which our exports to China may be increased to narrow the imbalance in the bilateral trade.

Diplomatic Immunity's Loose Application Criticized*93AS0151B Islamabad THE MUSLIM in English 28 Oct 92 p 6***[Italicized words as published]**

[Text] It is quite some time now that a diplomat from Qatar caused the death of four members of a Pakistani family in a road accident. The report at the time was that this diplomat was drunk to the gills. That is the precise reason why the accident took place and the occupants of the other two cars in the pile-up have to be thankful to a merciful providence that they escaped with their lives. The diplomat involved was not arrested since he enjoys diplomatic immunity under the Geneva Convention. Not only did he escape arrest, he is reported to be still in the country. In the meantime, an entire family has been wiped out causing untold anguish to those they have been left behind. Diplomatic immunity extends to those who are involved in an accident while going about their official duties. *Prima facie*, the Qatari diplomat was proceeding home after having imbibed too much, most probably from a social evening out. But there the case seems to have come to a standstill. The Qatari diplomat has neither been repatriated to be put on trial nor has the Pakistan Foreign Office been able to come to any decision as to how he should be dealt with. All the Foreign Office has been able to tell us is that it has contacted the Qatari authorities seeking their advice on how to proceed in the matter.

According to the rules, it is only the home country of any diplomat which can waive diplomatic immunity. At the time of going to the press, the official spokesman of the Foreign Office, who is the only person authorised to speak in the matter, was not available. It is, therefore, impossible to ascertain whether the Pakistan government has requested the Qatar government to waive the immunity in respect of the diplomat. Under cover of diplomatic immunity, diplomats have got away with murder in the past too. Some ten years ago the wife of a British diplomat caused the death of a Pakistani housewife—again due to rash and negligent driving but was let off the hook when her embassy repatriated her.

Let us put the shoe on the other foot. Suppose a Pakistani diplomat had caused the death of four members of an Arab family, Pakistan would have revoked the immunity and the man would have been publicly beheaded. People elsewhere place a premium on the lives of their citizens. It is only in Pakistan that we allow our citizens to be run over and killed by drunken diplomats and allow the accused to get off scot free. It is the duty of the Foreign Office to request the Qatar government to waive the diplomatic immunity of the erring diplomat and try him here, for what is nothing short of a charge of

multiple murder, or request his repatriation and trial for the offence in his native country, under intimidation to this country.

Internal Affairs

Sharif Seen Avoiding Needed Political Decisions in Sindh

93AS0143G Lahore *THE NATION* in English
26 Oct 92 p 7

[Article by Inayatullah: "Sindh, A Political Clean-Up Is Equally Necessary"]

[Text] "Much good work is left undone for the lack of a little more"—Anonymous.

The controversy or speculation about the continuation of the Army operation in Sindh has been set at rest. In a high-level meeting held on October 22 at Islamabad, attended by the President, Prime Minister, COAS [Chief of Army Staff], Chief Minister of Sindh and other senior military and civil officers, it was decided to extend the operation till January 1993 when the situation would be reassessed.

The meeting took notice of the "improvement in the law and order situation in the province." It recognised that the "key to further improvement in the situation lay in the substantial strengthening of the Sindh administration and proper implementation of politico-socio-economic programmes." It was mentioned that most of these programmes had already been launched. It was stressed that the operation would continue to be "directed against the criminal elements irrespective of their affiliations" and conducted in "an even-handed manner." Further, the COAS assured that the Army would remain "committed to supporting the democratic order and would continue to fulfil the task assigned to it by government."

All this sounds good and reasonable. It does not, however, bring out all the facets of the reality, good, bad and ugly. While the law and order situation has substantially improved with the deployment of organised force, the factors which created conditions of disorder remain unaddressed. And it is doubtful if in the prevailing political situation the said socio-economic programmes would be implemented successfully and yield the desired results. The Army indeed has done a good job and it is a measure of its performance that all concerned elements, including the common man in Sindh have hailed its intervention as necessary and benign. The fact that they want it to continue also speaks of their lack of confidence in the Sindh administration to provide and maintain peace and security. The Army cannot be expected to go on with its operation indefinitely. It has other and more important tasks to attend to and has to keep itself in readiness to meet the challenge of a wily and hostile neighbour in the east. It also is impolitic to keep the

Army engaged in civil affairs for long spells, as pointed out in a recent article by the former COAS, General (Retd) Mirza Aslam Beg.

Considering the complexity and magnitude of the job entrusted to the Army in Sindh for it to be effective and to succeed, it has to have considerable autonomy in conducting its operations. This explains why off and on it has been hinting at the need for removing "impediments" and for a freer hand. Also, the operation not only calls for the apprehension of the culprits, but also demands that they are swiftly brought to justice. In this respect, the action has remained inadequate. Again, influential feudal lords and politicians have not yet been nabbed. It is, therefore, time that government seriously consider the desirability of amplifying the Army's powers under Article 245 of the Constitution. The nature and size of the assignment calls for an equally adequate authority. This bitter pill may have to be swallowed if the government is really sincere in curbing crime and violence, which for years has made the lives of the citizens in Sindh utterly miserable.

No doubt one should like the Army, which has dutifully accepted the responsibility of cleaning up Sindh of its criminal and anti-social elements, to operate under the civilian administration. If, however, the civil government (whose failure to enforce law and order has brought in the Army) is itself riddled with problems and predicaments of instability, how, one may ask, can it afford to extend the kind (and quantum) of support needed for the Army to be truly "even-handed" and be in a position to do its work quickly and effectively? There is much talk of a list of the 72 names since revealed in the Press. While the government has disowned this list, the fact remains that during the last five months or so, the Army has not been able to haul up the "big fish." The exposure of MQM [Mohajir Qaumi Movement] as a militant and fascist organisation, the disappearance of many of its leaders and resignations of a number of its elected members and subsequent hobnobbing of the Central and Sindh governments with some of the MNAs [members of National Assembly] and MPAs [members of Provincial Assembly], the deliberate delay in the holding of by-elections and postponement of long-due local government elections have further distorted the political process. The recent resurfacing of five MQM leaders and their rejoining the Muzaffar Shah group has added confusion to an already murky situation. How can the present Sindh government, which itself is involved closely with suspect "Sindhi" and "Mohajir" elements, play fair with the demands of the Army commanders! If the Army has to remain impartial and do its difficult job with success and speed, it certainly deserves an equally impartial and effective administration. Prolonging the life of the Shah regime by hook or crook is both short-sighted and anti-democratic. Conceded that in the present highly polarised and confrontationist politics, the IJI [Islami Jamhoori Ittehad] government is reluctant to let go its political hold on the Sindh province or do anything which even remotely helps its arch-rival, the

PPP [Pakistan People's Party], to add to its strength and influence. This reluctance, however, has to be weighed against the damage it may cause to the long-term growth of healthy political traditions and the possibility of failure to implement social, economic and administrative measures which of necessity have to be undertaken to find a durable solution to Sindh's formidable problems. If, therefore, the Army "clean-up" is to be swift and successful and if a socio-economic package of reforms and reconstruction has to have the desired results, it is *imperative that a "political clean-up" is simultaneously launched*. The ramshackle and unstable Shah government, which carries with it the unwholesome Jam baggage, is intrinsically incapable of understanding such an overhaul, it being very much, a part of the problem. It has to go. The way out is to declare the governor's rule. If a competent and generally acceptable person for governorship is not available and if the IJI is bent upon keeping its own man in the saddle, Muzaffar Shah may himself be made the governor of the province. Freed from dependence on shifty political characters and no longer vulnerable to slings and arrows from hostile elements, Shah, with all his education and known qualities of head and heart, may be able to deliver the goods in terms of (a) cooperation and support to the Army, (b) reforming and reorganising public administration especially the police and the district management, and (c) initiating long-term social and economic reconstruction and reform. When the Army has completed its mission, it should thus be able to leave with the assurance that the Sindh administration is in a position to sustain the improvements effected.

Another desirable step should be that the departure of the Army is after a reasonable length of time, followed by fresh provincial elections. And for the sake of democracy and country, it must be ensured that the elections are free and fair. The present ad hoc political arrangement is a distortion. It must be rectified as early as possible. The wretched people of Sindh, bedeviled with all kinds of misfortunes and exposed as they are to all kinds of unhealthy and subversive influences, deserve at long last a fair deal. The present IJI government, stable and strong as it is in the Centre and the Punjab, can render a great service to Pakistan and especially Sindh if it picks up the courage to do the right thing and, of course, in the right way. The roots of the current crisis lie deep in ethnic and economic realities. The politics of the province is steeped in a degenerated and retrogressive feudal culture. Only a statement-like approach can address the dilemmas and difficulties facing politicians. The PPP can play a vital and constructive role in this much-needed exercise to pull Sindh out of the quagmire, by cooperating with the Army and the civil administration in their extremely difficult task to rid Sindh of nefarious elements and confounding contradictions and put it back on the track. Only an unweaving commitment to the political process by all concerned can lead to a viable democratic dispensation.

If the Nawaz Sharif government is genuinely keen to achieve its economic targets and gain political stability,

there is no escaping from a really workable and democratic resolution of the Sindh imbroglio. Will the Prime Minister rise to the occasion and grasp the opportunity?

Sharif Performance as Prime Minister Seen Adequate

93AS0143F Lahore THE NATION (Supplement)
in English 9 Oct 92 pp 2-3

[Article by M.A. Niazi: "Assessment of Sharif's Government"; quotation marks as published]

[Text] Thirteen is supposed to be an unlucky number, and Mian Nawaz Sharif is the 13th Prime Minister of Pakistan. Yet, so unhappy has been the history of parliamentary government in our country, he has already served longer than seven of them, as he approaches the end of his second year in office.

Mian Nawaz Sharif's arrival at the office of chief executive was something of a surprise to everyone, though there was at the same time something glacially inevitable about the whole process, ever since he became Chief Minister [CM] of the Punjab for the second time in 1988. His rise from provincial minister in a Martial Law Cabinet in 1981 to Prime Minister of Pakistan in 1990 was apparently meteoric, but there was a lot of hard work crammed into that period, in which Mian Nawaz emerged from obscurity to become a figure in his own right.

However, because of that very swiftness of ascent, the man himself remains obscured by the public image. When he was administered oath of office, the question was nagging even the minds of those who had voted for him: did he have any programme beyond becoming Prime Minister? Now that he had the office, did he intend to do anything with it?

The answers starting coming quite quickly. Mian Nawaz's forte was finance and the economy, and it was on this basis that his major substantive steps, which might be considered innovative, were taken. He made the preliminary move of brokering the National Finance Commission Award and Indus Water Accord, thus cutting a Gordian Knot in the first couple of months of office. Then he went with a vengeance after his privatisation package, which included a number of deregulatory measures as well.

In such areas as foreign policy and defence, Mian Nawaz had nothing to worry about, for he did not seem to have any personal agenda there. The defect of this was that whenever a strong hand was needed, intramural wrangling among his advisers ensured that the ship remained rudderless. However, when a policy of masterly inactivity was best, he came out looking good.

It is clear that Mian Nawaz had a definite, if not necessarily thoroughly planned, political revolution planned. He wished to convert the political discourse from one of ideals concerned with the structure of the

polity, to one more concerned with bread and butter issues. His gamble was to prove that he could handle the economy better than his opponents, that he could lead the country to greater prosperity, and do this by the time the next general election is due.

In a way, he was luckier than those who held office longer than he did. Liaquat Ali Khan had to face the problems of a country newly born. Ch Muhammad Ali had to tackle the vexed question of an overdue Constitution. Zulfikar Ali Bhutto had to deal with a country which had lost half of its physical entity. Muhammad Khan Junejo had to cope with the problems of a prolonged Martial Law. Ch Muhammad Ali and Junejo also had to tread wearily, for as the fate of both showed, they lacked popular grassroots support.

Mian Nawaz wished to change the political discourse to an economic one, bringing back the halcyon days of Ayub Khan, who is something of a role model, but without the social disruptions that Bhutto's convulsions of the economy did. The difference is considerable: Bhutto's extensive by non-economic motives, in order to carry out certain goals of what can only be called social engineering. On the other hand, Mian Nawaz's forays into non-economic policy are motivated by the need to create the appropriate atmosphere for economic growth.

This is the era of the capitalist, of the free market economy, increasingly attractive after the demise of the Soviet Union, removing at one stroke both as example of the practicability of a socialised economy and a source of material aid to Third World countries interested in that particular path.

However, while Mian Nawaz may be accused of being unoriginal, and while it is validly pointed out that the first privatisation measures were carried out by the Benazir government, it must not be forgotten that Mian Nawaz is a true believer, while Benazir and her closest advisers apparently still carry a lot of ideological baggage. They were never too enthusiastic about true privatisation, trying to fob off the public with what were actually disinvestment programmes. The state enterprises had thrown up a couple of major interest groups of their own, the most significant being the bureaucracy, which found both plum sinecures for its members among the state corporations, as well as the satisfaction of power drives. The labour unions, overmighty in state enterprises, also found it natural to resist attempts to place the management of their companies under private owners driven by the profit motive, rather than bureaucrats who would prefer a quiet life rather than combat pilferage, overstaffing and inefficiency.

Mian Nawaz, whose family experience included a painful nationalisation and then a difficult denationalisation, steamrollered this opposition. His first attempt to place the family silver on sale was a failure, but it did show he meant business, and then the selling began in earnest, an ongoing process, which has had mixed results. It has not gone as well as it might have, and there

are constant allegations of favouritism and of selling enterprises at virtually nominal prices. However, the alternate policies presented by the opposition would bog down the process so much that it would move even slower than it is moving now.

However, it is here that it appears that the jinx of the Number 13 apparently comes into play. Mian Nawaz has had some of the worst economic luck in a long time. As any other head of government facing a general election would have done, Caretaker Prime Minister Mustafa Jatoi had refused to hike the price of petrol, oil and lubricants to match the world oil price hike in the wake of the Gulf crisis. Thus, this inflationary step was the very first economic measure that Mian Nawaz had to take.

Also, the economic policy Mian Nawaz was trying to implement was essentially export-driven, with foreign investment, whether private or public, the catalyst needed to make the strategy work. American aid had been cut off, a significant 10 percent of total aid. To add to aid woes was the fact that Mian Nawaz's government had taken office at a time when the world was in the grip of a global recession, with trade barriers coming down all over the place, hardly the sort of environment in which export-driven development is likely. Another complication was the sudden opening up of Eastern Europe and the Commonwealth of Independent States as possible investment zones, increasing the competition among the Third World for investment from the United States and Western Europe.

The fact that a record cotton crop gave the final push to a sagging world cotton price, with predictably uncomfortable results for Pakistan, is symptomatic of the international climate in which Mian Nawaz has been trying to build an economy.

As if the icing on the cake, the recent floods have caused a major setback to the national economy. At a rough estimate, the direct GNP [gross national product] loss is about one percent, representing in fact about a fifth of the total real growth that was supposed to have taken place this year. Also, unless you provide the sort of rehabilitation that would cost too much, there is no real way that you can convince flood affected voters that they are better off economically than in the past.

Overall, the handling of the economy by the Mian Nawaz government has been reasonable—under the circumstances. The taxation reform attempts by Finance Minister Sartaj Aziz have been bold, but it remains to be seen what fruits are borne. Inflation remains disturbingly high, though it could have been worse. The sense of drift in the Junejo years, exacerbated under Benazir, on the economic front, has been reduced. However, whether the ordinary voter will be satisfied with the best of a bad job is another matter, unless Mian Nawaz manages to sell a strong reminder of how bad his predecessor was at this particular aspect of governance.

The economy is linked to another chronic problem, which is likely to become acute in the near future, that of national security. National security needs in the form of the nuclear programme have cut off national security needs in the form of US military assistance, which has led to those odysseys by Defence Minister Ghaus Ali Shah in search of a substitute for the F16 and other assorted military hardware. At the same time, the mounting defence expenditure are creating budgetary pressures that are on the verge of becoming intolerable. Mian Nawaz has yet to show that he has any way of handling this.

At this point, relations with the Army become entangled with economy and national security. Mian Nawaz has at no time shown any of the desire to interfere with armed forces functioning that led Junejo and even Benazir into such trouble. While Junejo grasped the problem of the defence budget and had to deal with a COAS [Chief of Army Staff] who was also a President with large areas of his powers under Article 58 (2-b) of the Constitution, Benazir engaged in some needless meddling, more the result of her own insecurity than of any malign intentions of the senior commanders.

On the whole, even though Mian Nawaz is not respected in top military circles in the way that Bhutto was, for example, he has got on quite well with them. The hawkish strain in his political makeup makes him sympathetic to Army perceptions of their own needs and of the world, while the Army under Beg and Janjua takes a mellower view of the world than did Zia. At the same time, the Foreign Office has increased in influence under Mian Nawaz, with a high profile Secretary General whose personal suavity pervades his diplomatic philosophy.

This stood Mian Nawaz in good stead at the height of the Gulf crisis, though hindsight would have indicated that taking a stronger anti-Saddam stand would have been better. At the same time, the Afghan transition exposed the essential lack of direction of Pakistani policy in an area which had dominated Pakistani decision-making perhaps even more than India for a decade. However, Mian Nawaz's team at least had the good sense not to get deeply involved in the internal squabbles of the Mujahideen, and leave it to time to sort out their problems. If Zia had been around, perhaps matter would not have come to such a pass, but he would also have fallen into the temptation of treating Afghanistan as Pakistan's first satellite. Mian Nawaz, good businessman that he is, is less concerned in Afghanistan as a provider of 'strategic depth', the lack of which has obsessed all Pakistani military men, as of a route to the economic openings of Central Asia.

Similarly, his law and order stance is not really one based on a strong conception of natural justice imbibed during his Law classes at the Punjab University, but a perception that stability is an essential prerequisite for economic prosperity. His penchant for 'cheap and swift justice,' as evidenced in the Speedy Trial Courts, is

abhorrent to jurists who argue that it is the function of justice to be just, not swift, but this bent of mind fits in with an ordinary urban citizen who chafes at the delays and expense of litigation. It is also a tilt towards the rights of the property owner and the solid citizen, the typical victim of crime, with little sympathy for the criminal.

However, one of the most interesting yardsticks for assessing Mian Nawaz's first two years in office is to be found in his political manoeuvrings. He is not being given an easy ride, which answers to some extent the dismissive criticism that he is a 'remnant of Martial Law' who would have no status once deprived of power. It may be true that Mian Nawaz is not a great demagogue, but he has survived a number of storms. Given practice in this essential art of democratic politics by his years as Punjab Chief Minister, he has had to fend off attacks from three quarters. The first is the Opposition, functioning as a true Opposition, including its challenges to the legitimacy of the election that brought him to power, and arguing that the President use his constitution-granted power to dismiss him for his incompetence. The second is the internal wranglings within the party, his own PML [Pakistan Muslim League], as well as among alliance and coalition partners. Third, unfortunately, is the attempt to have him removed by extraconstitutional means up to and including Martial Law, practised by elements of the Opposition.

The Opposition, mainly the PPP [Pakistan People's Party], has not been very competent, and except for the resounding success of its cooperatives scandal campaign, which forced Mian Nawaz to make the unprecedented promise of restituting their losses, it has not really made much of an impact. The PPP's own internal problems, caused mainly by the alternating arbitrariness and laxness of Benazir as a leader, have not placed it in the best position for exploiting the government's inevitable loss of popularity.

The internal machinations against him are of more significance, for they provide the best chance of toppling him before he calls general elections. However, here he enjoys the great advantage of being opposed by someone less ruthless than him, Junejo. Mian Nawaz had no qualms about shouldering him aside, but Junejo, already playing on a weak wicket, has actually bailed Mian Nawaz out on those couple of occasions when it appeared that a stab in the back in coordination with the PDA would get him.

Mian Nawaz has also managed to keep his MNAs [members of National Assembly] with him by a combination of carrot and stick. The carrot is a generous distribution of ministerial posts (the largest Cabinet in Pakistani history) and listening to backbenchers' problems (often maddeningly petty), the stick is the threat to call their collective bluff if they rebel. Mian Nawaz has done his best to reduce some of the petty corruption that has eroded public faith in elected institutions since 1985, when MNAs and MPAs [members of Provincial

Assembly] got anything they wanted, first in the partyless houses, and then during the period of confrontation.

However, that did not avert much scorn being heaped on him personally and his government because of the cooperatives scam, as well as his occasional anti-press outbursts, like the recent sedition case against an English daily. These are but two examples of Mian Nawaz's government demonstrating it has its fair share of incompetence. A small but symbolic example is of the Blind Qari scandal, in which Mian Nawaz was personally completely aboveboard, but which reflected weirdly on the way his Secretariat is run.

Mian Nawaz's handling of his alliance and coalition partners has been careful, and probably calculated. After having got what he wanted out of them, support for his government, he then carefully eliminated anyone who dared ask for more than his due share of influence. Agha Murtaza Pooya's Hizbe Jihad was the first casualty, casually expelled at the only IJI [Islami Jamhoori Ittehad] Heads' summit summoned since the elections. Maulana Sattar Niazi was stung into resigning from the Cabinet for differing over the Gulf crisis, but returned after cooling down. Mustafa Jatoi was sidelined, and his NPP [National People's Party] chucked out of the IJI over the formation of the next Sindh government. The Jamaat Islami was forced into a corner and obliged to leave the IJI, because it was not willing to forego its Islamisation agenda. Finally, Mian Nawaz managed to crack down on the MQM [Mohajir Qaumi Movement] on the perfectly legitimate excuse of law and order, with statements by such close political aides as Ghulam Haider Wyne and Ch Nisar Ali meant for the consumption of the 'sane' MQM.

The MQM and the Jamaat make clear the strategy Mian Nawaz is pursuing. So long as he is Prime Minister, there is to be no interference in his policy goals. Smaller parties are free either to be tamed or to depart. In this context, the ANP [Awami National Party] should consider well that the Kalabagh Dam is a project very dear to Mian Nawaz's heart.

However, perhaps most disturbing is the attempt to remove Mian Nawaz by extraconstitutional means. No actual coup has been planned, but for supposedly democratic leaders to call on the Army, even implicitly, to save the country, is beyond the rules of the game. Mian Nawaz has played some pretty shady politics himself, but even at the height of the anti-Benazir movement which catapulted him from provincial to national fame, he did not propose this. However, a real if unlikely danger does lie in this. After all, the mast Martial Law was imposed on the excuse that the Opposition had appealed to them to do so to rid the country of a tyrant.

At the end of two years, Mian Nawaz has also worked on not offending this particular power centre. However, as Punjab CM, he tightened his controls on the reins slowly, basically by seeking out willing tools among the provincial bureaucracy, some of whom he took to Islamabad

later. He was not given much chance of survival then either. However, pressures are mounting, particularly the economic ones he has counted on so much. There are limits to political survival. It remains to be seen whether Mian Nawaz is near to the end of his, or has he just begun.

Balochistan Seen Suffering From Continued Neglect

93AS0117G Islamabad THE MUSLIM in English
23 Oct 92 p 7

[Article by Syed Fahd Husain: "Balochistan at the Crossroads"; quotation marks as published]

[Text] Balochistan remains the neglected province of Pakistan. Largest in size, smallest in population, richest in minerals and natural resources, it has the potential for great advancement and development. That nothing is being done to tap this potential, remains one of the greatest tragedies.

I had never been to Quetta. Well, that's not quite true. I did spend a year there in 1970, but was too young to remember anything. My parents often talked about the place, about the house we lived in, the places I used to be taken to. I heard stories about the dry and very cold winters and about Quetta stoves. For twenty years, I carried in my mind the picture of all these things and about Quetta in general—all the handiwork of my imagination.

It was October 9, 1992. The Boeing made a smooth landing at Quetta airport. I peered eagerly out of the small window, finally back in Quetta after all those years. As I stepped out of the plane and onto the stairs, a gust of warm wind greeted me. Wasn't Quetta supposed to be cold, I wondered? I felt like a fool wearing warm clothes. One aspect of my imaginary picture of Quetta burst before my mind's eye.

And then I saw the mountains. All around. Encircling the horizon, hugging the city of Quetta like a protective guardian. They were shrouded in a haze which gave them an aura of mystery and distant grandeur. I could not tell if the haze was pollution of just dust blown down from the slopes. But there they stood, rugged, barren, rocky and lonesome. Yes, lonesome because greenery has not made its abode on them.

'Quetta International,' said the proud sign on the airport building. I was impressed. That impression did not last long, for as I stepped out after collecting my baggage, I realised that there was no lounge, no covered area, no veranda, nor any sort of protective shade for visitors. Everyone, except the passengers, has to stand out in the open, come hail or storm, rain or shine. Airport facilities were not doing justice to the proud sign atop the building!

Riaz Sahib, our correspondent in Quetta and my host, was there to pick me up. The journey from the airport to

the city was like going on a safari. If there was a road, I couldn't find it. Everything seemed dug up, and the traffic could have beaten the streets of Manhattan any day. The result was a mushrooming cloud of dust which made me feel as if we were passing through a thick fog.

It was later that I found out that sewerage lines for the entire city are being laid, the project being funded by foreign donors. At the Quetta Development Authority (QDA) office a few days later, I was told by Mr. Taj Naeem, Director General QDA, that Quetta had housed 50,000 people in 1935. Now there are almost ten times that number of people here, but the civic facilities have been the same since 1935 and the population is increasing at a dizzying rate of 7.2 percent annually.

The cantonment area is neat, clean, and orderly, like it is everywhere in Pakistan. Our dust-covered Suzuki passed through it, and I smiled at the whitewashed walls and the bricks that lined neat flowerbeds in front of army units and offices. Starched guards with their severe moustaches and sentries with polished whistles and well-rehearsed traffic gestures, dotted the area. Young officers whizzed by on their motorbikes. Cantonment life never changes, I thought, inwardly smiling.

We crossed a small bridge, and I did not have to be told that the cantonment had ended and we were in Quetta city proper. The roads became narrow and broken, people became more, filth and garbage on roadsides plentiful.

On the way we passed by the Balochistan Assembly building. It is built in the shape of a traditional Baloch tent. I was told that it is extremely beautiful from the inside, perhaps, the prettiest of all Assembly buildings in the country.

Amid the narrow streets and crowded bazaars, three things immediately caught my attention.

First, the traffic cops were extremely well turned out and immaculate. I was pleasantly surprised. In Pindi, Islamabad and Lahore are found cops with bellies touching their knees, clad in crumpled uniforms, and muddy shoes. Quetta cops were slim and smart, with neat uniforms and sporting white scarves which added to their respectability.

Second was the open and flagrant display of weapons. Kalashnikovs seemed as common as keychains. Every second person seemed armed. And every official vehicle invariably carried gun-toting guards, ready for action. Later on when I asked a senior member of the provincial administration about the proliferation of sophisticated weapons and their open display, he said it was a trend set by the politicians. Incidentally, very few of these weapons are licenced.

Third, dish antennae adorned countless rooftops in silent defiance of the mullah culture. It seems that in the clash between the tribal culture and the mullah culture, the winner might be the Hollywood culture.

In subsequent meetings with people from different walks of life, I found out the multifarious problems staring Balochistan in the face. They are wide-ranging, from acute shortage of water, to ethnic rivalries to unprecedented corruption to a system of government which is struggling to wrap itself in the cloak of democracy.

My initial observations on my way from the airport, as I later realised, were linked to the larger and very significant trends prevalent on the social, political and economic spheres of the province.

These include a general sense of insecurity in the absence of a strong government, confusion in government circles because of horse-trading and shifting political alliances. Also, the slow emergence of a bourgeoisie class with a new-found economic power. That seems to be heading towards a headlong clash with the dominant tribal structure whose colossal edifice is being chipped away.

My inward eye has now a different picture.

Bhutto Stance Towards Military Seen Hypocritical

93AS0143E Lahore *THE NATION* in English
10 Oct 92 p 6

[Editorial: "Benazir on Army's Role"; quotation marks as published]

[Text] What kind of a signal Benazir Bhutto is trying to put across by projecting the Army as the 'only hope of the people'? The reply she gave the other day to a probing newsman raises more questions than it answers. Nawaz Sharif has failed to deliver the goods, she said. And, though she did not pronounce all politicians a failure and, in particular, exonerated herself of non-performance, defending her party's 20-month rule as too short a period to produce results, she made no bones about her preference for letting the Army do the job which is the prerogative of an elected government. To put it curtly, what she suggested is that 'If I am not in charge in Islamabad, I would rather have the Army call the shots than letting my political opponents run the show'. There is no denying the fact that the Army has done a reasonably good job in Sindh and the law and order climate in the province today is better than it has been for a long time. It is also true that the deployment of the Army in aid-of-civil power has been the last resort to salvage peace and security in Sindh and if it is called off half-way before the task has actually been accomplished, the entire operation would be deemed to have been an exercise in futility. Benazir Bhutto has, however, called for giving the Army a free hand, implying thereby that the Army should have been allowed to act on its own without any accountability to the provincial government which, she said, was merely a surrogate of Islamabad.

There is no doubt substance in the charge that political expediency has taken precedence over security considerations, and the government has been reluctant to let the 'big fish' face the music because of the fear of its adverse

fallout for its fragile support-base in the province. Yet the Army, regardless of its 'honourable intentions', cannot be allowed to arrogate to itself the role of an arbiter in political matters and sit in judgment on the performance of an elected government. Had Benazir been in power, she would not have envied the prospect of the Army leadership by-passing the civilian government and earn for itself image of a 'saviour' of the people in their hour of distress. Ironically enough, Benazir Bhutto sounds like an apologist of the Army's political role. If she is keen on mending her fences with the Generals, who, she says, are not the same as they were during Zia era, she should not be overdoing her peace-making stint and convey the impression as if she were projecting the Army as an alternative to the present civilian government. Now that the Army has itself decided to abdicate its law and order responsibility in Sindh, and has recommended to the Prime Minister that a larger package of socio-economic measures is called for to remedy the Sindh situation, it looks odd for the Leader of the Opposition to remain stuck with the redundant controversy. Nevertheless, the onus of averting 'back to square one' scenario is on the government, and if it has a modicum of concern for efficacious governance, it must outgrow its petty politicking for short-term gains, and view the Sindh problem as a national challenge that has to be tackled in cooperation with political forces that matter in the province. But, if it continues to sustain its artificially-created political authority in the province by hook or by crook, and push the opposition to the wall, Benazir Bhutto may well be right in pronouncing the failure of the IJI government to rise to the occasion and prove itself equal to the task of democratic functioning.

Punjabi Politics Seen 'Feudal', Destructive

93AS0143C Lahore THE NATION in English
14 Oct 92 p 8

[Article by Muzaffar Ali Syed: "The Politics of Feudalism in Punjab"; italicized words as published]

[Text] The terms usually employed for "feudalism" in the local languages are *jagirdari*, *vadera shahi*, *sardari* and *khan-sahibi*. The latter two may be heard in a tribal or ethnic setting while the first two pertain more specifically to land-ownership retained in the family line. Earlier in history we had other words in currency for the same concept, such as *zamindari* (which came to be used for the agricultural profession in general regardless of the size of land) *ta'ullagadari* (mostly used in the UP [Uttar Pradesh] where it was abolished after Independence) and *mansab dari* (which was the oldest system of the Mughal kings, subsequently over-run by the Maratha and Sikh marauders, to be replaced by the British with their own brand).

All these were, however, different forms of what is generically known as "feudalism." The common constituent of all these historical variants is the power exercised by a hereditary ownership of a large landed estate over the life and destiny of those who are engaged to work on

it, either as "permanent tenants," household servants or temporary peasant-labourers. It is generally claimed by the remnants of this long-standing system that, as a consequence of the multiple land reform schemes introduced after the establishment of Pakistan, there are no feudal estates or *jagirs* left in the country. These reforms, as a matter of fact, are known to have been widely manipulated (if not subverted) to retain the customary power and control over vast territories acquired during the British colonial rule for dubious services rendered to the Crown against the national struggle for independence. The privileges and concessions granted to the local "hereditary overlords" by a foreign empire have not only been kept virtually intact, but have also been supplemented with the conferment of new benefits to the same class of people by the military and political regimes which have governed the country in the post-independence era.

These are well-known impressions formed by the people in the course of recent history. But they have also been frequently refuted or at least turned aside as libellous rumours spread by jealous rivals, readily disseminated by the sensational Press and innocently accepted by the general public. But so much hard evidence has been provided in the unofficial media about the illegal acquisition of wealth and property from the national exchequer that even if half of it were untrue, most of the newspapermen would have ended up in jail. But instead of challenging these reports in a court of law, recourse has been made to the framing of draconian laws and repressive measures to protect the "fair name and fame" of the perpetrators of such crimes. According to a law introduced during the Zia era, the mere publication of a libellous report against a public functionary was a punishable offence even if it be true.

We have now reached a point where extremely serious allegations levelled against a whole body of public figures, mostly consisting of feudal lords and their links in the services, are allowed to go unchallenged. Sometimes the report is too late, like President Ayub having received close to one million dollars from the CIA from 1960 to 1974 (the year of his death) in his personal account with an overseas bank. This report, although originally published in January, 1976 by the NEW YORK TIMES, without giving out any names (which interestingly enough include two of the religion-political parties as well), has now been quoted for the first time in Pakistan by a young journalist, Vakeel Anjum, in his thrill-packed book *Siyasat ke Firaun* (The Pharaohs of Politics, Ferozsons, 1992). The Speaker of the National Assembly, who should have sought to clear the reputation of his illustrious father, is presumably not interested, like the hundreds of other political figures, many of them physically alive and active in the public field, who are clearly named in the book for having derived unlawful privileges out of the state funds or acquired agricultural or residential lands for a mere pittance.

What has this got to do with feudalism or *jagirdari*, one may ask? One of the plausible answers to this question

has been provided by the author in the various chapters of the book dealing with the increasing fortunes of the feudal lords particularly in the Punjab, with ample documentation from the official records. It has been established beyond a shadow of doubt that the feudal estates of many of the big "chiefs and notables," who are now engaged in the game of politics, were initially granted by the British crown for anti-national services rendered against their own countrymen or brothers in the faith of Islam. Also that, by virtue of their close contacts with the British administration, they were aligned against the leaders of the struggle for Pakistan on the side of the Unionist Party, which was a conglomeration of the land-owning class throughout the Punjab. Only that when they found Pakistan to be inevitably coming, they jumped on the band wagon for the sake of securing their own interests. That is why the Quaid-i-Azam confided with a student delegation which called on him soon after independence that he had "nothing but base coins in his pocket." The "base coins," of course, were the feudal lords of the Punjab and Sindh, as well as political opportunists from other provinces of British India who had formed a ring around the middle-class educated leadership inspired by the Quaid-i-Azam himself and the poet-philosopher Iqbal before him.

But the new state of Pakistan, which had been conceived as a dream of the millions of poor Muslims, was also transformable into a land of opportunity for those few who were already entrenched in positions of power and strength. And that is exactly as the late comers made it after the first line of leadership had been removed. As another middle-class leader of the next generation, Mr. Hanif Ramay, has written in his preface to the book cited above, the feudal system wherever it existed has invariably produced either a monarchy or a dictatorship, that is a despotism in either case. At present, as he says, five percent of the feudals occupy ninety percent of the Assembly seats. These jagirdars, or big landlords as they may be more appropriately called, have also been the mainstay of the armed forces and it is on their strength that military regimes have been set up and sustained. That is why most of the big offices in the militarily "supervised" political parties and the governments formed with its blessings have been held by the feudal lords.

But the accusation of self-interest and complicity with the civil and military bureaucracy, howsoever true, does not explain why feudalism continues to remain so powerful long after it has ceased to be a dynamic institution in the present day society. Unlike the warlords of China and the samurai of Japan, the local variety has lost the aura of chivalry and public appeal of the traditional culture. That also explains why they have failed to produce a front-rank leader at the national level, particularly in the Punjab. Even Zulfikar Ali Bhutto, who ultimately recoiled on his feudal contacts and himself displayed the personality features of a degenerate feudal lord was a qualitatively different character from the landed aristocracy of the Punjab.

Among the forty-two feudal families of the Punjab whose history has been outlined in Vakeel Anjum's book, there is not one which could be credited with more than a temporary or local ambition. The highest political will any one of them ever exhibited was that of Mian Mumtaz Daultana, but it was four decades back and never repeated since. The highest office any one of them ever reached was that of Nawab Amir Mohammad Khan of Kalabagh. (The Prime Ministership of Feroze Khan Noon or the Federal Ministership of Raja Ghazanfar Ali Khan was a formally higher but ephemeral office, while Ghulam Mohammad and Chaudhri Mohammad Ali neither belonged to the feudal class nor even had a public following.) Not to speak of the international calibre of Bhutto, the Punjab has not been able to produce even a provincial personality like G.M. Syed or Abdul Ghaffar Khan, all of whom came from a feudal background. The last great Punjabis to have made some mark in the political history of the Sub-Continent were Lala Lajpat Rai and Allama Mashriqi. This has nothing to do with feudalism or with the middle class which they came from. They were just educated people with a political programme of their own.

It would be clear from the socio-political picture drawn by Vakeel Anjum that the Punjabi feudals have so far proved to be mini-despots in their own limited spheres. When raised to any higher level, they have confined themselves to playing the second fiddle and pocketing the benefits accruing the reform. The list of such "benefits" which the feudals have received from the Ayub era onwards, up to their going scot-free from the cooperative scam which Vakeel Anjum has termed as the biggest bank robbery of the national (may be international) history, reads like the diary of a diabolical gang. There are other partakers of the loot, including quite a few senior members of the civil service, who may have been "feudalised" out of courtesy.

More than feudalism, however, it is the phenomenon of further "feudalisation" which emerges as a modern development of the trend. Even if the economists speak of the death of feudalism in the original sense of hereditary overlordship exercising the functions of government in their domains (in which regard they would call the Nawab of Kalabagh as the last feudal lord but what about turning the whole of West Pakistan, or the present-day Pakistan, into a blow-up of Kalabagh?), one could hardly neglect the modern forms it has assumed. The privileged position of a number of social, economic and political "dynasties" which seem to operate, with a vengeance as it were, is a fact of contemporary history. There is something as real as "industrial feudalism," "bureaucratic feudalism," and even "cultural or literary feudalism" with us. If feudalism be defined as "inherited or inheritable set of undeserved privileges automatically obtainable to those in power," we have it all around us, depriving every one else of the fruits of independence and democracy.

The feudal class has managed to survive by subverting or circumventing the land reforms half-heartedly introduced under various regimes. They have also been able to extend their influence and their ranks by roping in other families to their mother of operation. Now, it is not a question of twenty-two or forty-two families; there are a few hundred more to share the booty won from the common enemy: the people of Pakistan. We can no more think in terms of feudals of the Punjab and Sindh, even if they are inter-relatedly by matrimony or mutual alliance. We have to work out ways and means of defeating their designs against the nation. For this, we need to have many more books to make us conscious of the situation that we are stuck in, to get out of it by public will.

Government's Preoccupation With AZO Criticized

93AS0151E Islamabad THE MUSLIM in English
31 Oct 92 p 6

[Text] Following the so-called AZO [Al-Zulfiqar Organization] debate in the National Assembly has been nothing but an unendurable bore. It is no great fun listening to kettle calling the pot black, or vice versa. The only sane point to emerge from a plethora of disjointed, incoherent name-calling was made by the sagely Khan Achakzai, member for Pishin in Balochistan. With disarming candour he declared that if dictator Zia and his regime had done to him what it had to young Mir Murtaza, he (Achakzai) would have done exactly as Mir Murtaza. The basic point which the government has missed (deliberately or unwittingly is immaterial) is that the first terrorist in this unfortunate story is the dictator who violated every decency you can think of. He subverted the Constitution for which the Constitution provided the punishment fit for traitors. There can be no argument on that point. He lied to the nation so many times about so many vital aspects of political life of this country. He abused every institution of the State. He put the process of law on its head. He perverted the fundamental law of the land. He drove citizens to such intolerable extremity that thousands fled the country and many thousands who did not, landed in jails and underwent inhuman torture. There is no knowing how many died in captivity. Law-abiding, self-respecting citizens were subjected to unspeakable violence of all kinds. If the debate on AZO or any form of alleged terrorism is to have a correct beginning and intelligent conclusion, it simply must start with the diabolical misdeeds of dictator Zia. Those who served him, prospered under him beyond fair measure, and now adorn seats of political and monetary power are hardly the people properly qualified to sit in judgment on the conduct of others. It is astounding, to say the least, that except for Mr. Achakzai no genius on the PPP [Pakistan People's Party] benches has any clear idea what the Opposition case really was. They were shooting effusively in all directions except the one where the bull's eye so clearly was. If the debate has proved, or disproved, nothing it is just because the proposition was not appropriately framed. And why it was not, is quite clear. Bad conscience on one side and total absence of a unified political purpose on

the other. The government is not sure if they really want to, and possibly can, establish that the entire Bhutto clan is a band of traitors. And the Opposition, perhaps rightly, thinks the AZO phantom has been revived because the government needs some toy to play with in the absence of anything more sensible to engage the Opposition with. No wonder the level of the debate never rose above that of a middle school in the countryside. Suppose for a moment that Chaudhri Shujaat Hussain is himself convinced and has the capability to convince a majority of the National Assembly that Begum Nusrat Bhutto and Ms. Benazir Bhutto & Co are indisputably involved in the terror and treasonable activities alleged against Mir Murtaza Bhutto, what would he proceed to do? To try them and hang them? Anyone in the country thinking on those lines must surely be either joking or just out of his mind. The moment the issue of terror is opened, the nation would demand the resurrection of the cases of dictator Zia's terror against the whole nation. And much as millions of citizens would want that squalid and horrendous chapter to be reopened, political sanity demands that the less the nation's nerves are now bruised all over again, the better. The same ought to be the case with AZO, whatever that mystery wrapped name should in truth signify.

It passes one's comprehension how a sensible government which has such a lot on its hands and conscience should excavate skeletons to the entire neglect of the living facing deadly problems. On the one side the government has millions of uprooted people to feed, clothe and house and on the other the entire government is fighting the AZO windmills. How does it make sense? The whole drama is not only altogether unreal and ridiculous but cruelly ill-timed. This is the time to talk of relief and rehabilitation. This is the time to save lives, to help the farmer sow his winter crops. But neither the government nor even the Opposition is showing any concern about real issues. Up to a point one can agree with Ms. Benazir's indifference with the farce of an epilogue on AZO. And she was also perhaps right when she said that if the AZO debate was really important, why should Premier Nawaz Sharif be so supremely unconcerned about it? He took no part in the debate at any stage.

Fragmenting of MQM Seen Continuing

93AS0117B Karachi DAWN in English 14 Oct 92 p 3

[Article by Habib Khan Ghori: "Surfacing of MQM (Mohajir Qaumi Movement) MPAs (members of Provincial Assembly)"]

[Text] Karachi, Oct. 13: The surfacing of a group of hitherto underground MQM-MPAs [Mohajir Qaumi Movement-Member of Provincial Assembly] who, the other day announced their support to the Shah government, leads one to believe that formation of MQM (Amn Pasand) was on the cards. One may recall here the observation made by some persons in authority just about a month after the launching of the Operation when

they had hinted towards this possibility, saying that a dialogue was possible with "sober and saner elements" in the MQM.

After a brief tete-a-tete with the MQM(H) [Mohajir Qaumi Movement (Haqiqi Group)] the Shah government seems to have now realised that the "Haqiqis" were not the "real" people or at least they were not in a position to cause any effective dent in the five MQM-MPAs, who announced their support to the Sindh Chief and categorically stating that they were having no truck with the MQM(H) insisted on having their loyalties still attached to Altaf Hussain's MQM. A very strange and rather unexplainable stand.

Haji Shafiq-ur-Rahman, who spoke on behalf of the other four, however, appeared at a loss to explain his earlier resignation, going into hiding, surfacing and vowing support to a government, which, according to his senior leaders, had been persecuting the MQM leadership. It was all quite confusing that neither the five MPAs nor the Chief Minister were clear about their positions. It appeared a not so refined exercise in carving out yet another group from the debris of the original party. After being disappointed by the "performance" of Amir and Afaq's Haqiqi group.

Although at present it is a small group of five MPAs, if they are not harassed by their opponents, there are indications that if not all, most of the remaining eight MPAs, would line up with them which could give the group responsibility, at least, in the eyes of authorities.

Out of a total of 28 MQM-MPAs, the four which had joined the MQM(H) are Abid Sharif, Irshad Ahmad, Ahmad Saim Siddiqui and Mohammad Salim. From the day one, they are whole-heartedly with the Shah's government as a part of the Jam-MQM coalition. No doubt in the early stage of the Operation clean-up when "torture chambers were being unearthed" in densely populated Mohajir localities on one occasion during a Press conference in Islamabad, Mr. Shah had detached his coalition government from the MQM. But neither of the four MPAs disowned the Shah nor ever regretted their association with the MQM.

The new group includes Haji Shafiq-ur-Rehman, Syed Hashim Ali, Shahid Mian, Aijaz Ahmad and Abdus Salam Shaikh. Among them Abdus Salam Shaikh is the first MPA who, after surfacing at the Chief Minister's House on July 15th, announced that he would remain aloof from MQM(H) but would support the Shah government. Aijaz Ahmad was the other.

Incidentally before their surfacing an impression was given as if they were kidnapped from their homes by some armed men and taken to some unknown destination.

The tenth MQM-MPA who had surfaced is Mr. Afzal Munif, who is reportedly in Saudi Arabia these days to perform Umra. When he returns from the holy places it is not clear yet that which group he would prefer to have

association with and the indication given by the CM that he is with him, notwithstanding.

The other ten MPAs of the Mohajir Qaumi movement lost their seats of the Sindh Assembly as their resignations, tendered by them like all other MQM-MPAs soon after the crackdown began on June 19, were accepted by the acting Speaker, Mr. Atta Mohammad Marri.

They are Tariq Javed, Ishratul Ebad, M.A. Jalil, Safdar Baqri, Sohail Mashhadi, Abid Akhtar, Aminuddin, Izhar Ahmad, Mohammad Hussain and Mohammad Arif.

Circles close to MQM say that their resignations were accepted, leaving rest of other 18, as they were hardliners in the eyes of the authorities. The remaining eight members who are not yet discovered and whose resignations await some decision by the authorities included Speaker Abdul Razique Khan, Mirza Shahid Beg, Saleem Ahmad Khan, Shoaib Bokhari, Osama Quaderi, Abdul Majid and Faquir Mohammad.

The Chief Minister who has succeeded in lining up ten MQM-MPAs in his support, it is assumed would soon be able to convince some others who are fed up with living a fugitive's life for four months.

No doubt the new group has opened its cards by declaring its adherence to the guiding principles laid down by Mr. Altaf Hussain, their acceptance in the rank and file of the MQM would depend on how he reacts to this development.

TNFJ Will Protest Arrest of Its Leader

93AS0117A Karachi DAWN in English 14 Oct 92 p 9

[Text] Islamabad, Oct 13: Describing the arrest of Tehrik-i-Nifaz-i-Fiqah-i-Jafria (TNFJ) General Secretary Anwar Akhunzada as a move to provoke the Shia Community, the President of the organisation, Allama Sajid Naqvi, announced here on Tuesday a countrywide protest plan.

Speaking at a press conference the TNFJ chief said the party workers had already started holding demonstrations at district level prior to holding a protest day throughout the country on Friday.

On October 19, the TNFJ workers would demonstrate strongly in Peshawar, coinciding with the scheduled expiry of remand of Akhunzada by a magistrate after his arrest by police on Saturday, Allama Naqvi said.

The TNFJ chief said the programme envisaged a large rally in Lahore on October 23 and setting up of a chain of camps by party workers in the capital in preparation for a "big gathering" in front of the President's house on November 10.

Afterwards, he said, the TNFJ workers would start courting arrest in Islamabad and Peshawar simultaneously, to be followed by similar action at district and divisional levels throughout the country.

Allama Naqvi said the arrest of Akhunzada was part of what he called a tussle between the secret agencies allied to divergent forces in the power structure who were engaged in a game to outperform and weaken one another.

He said the TNFJ had repeatedly stated that it had no connection with the murder of former provincial governor General Fazle Haq.

Among the people arrested by NWFP [North-West Frontier Province] police recently, one person named Shahjehan had confessed his involvement in the murder of Fazle Haq, the TNFJ chief said.

This man Allama Naqvi said, had told the authorities that a Senator of Mohmand Agency and his brother had engineered the conspiracy to kill Fazle Haq, but that these persons had not been arrested.

He said police had no evidence against Akhunzada and none of the people in custody of police had pointed an accusing finger towards him.

Allama Naqvi denied police claim that Akhunzada had been hiding.

Article Questions Extension of Retirees' Service
93AS0151A Islamabad THE MUSLIM in English
28 Oct 92 p 6

[Text] The old adage that "rules are made to be broken" must have been coined by some chronic rule-breaker in the official hierarchy. Nowhere has this adage been adhered to more than in Pakistan and by successive governments. Both the present and previous governments have been announcing from time to time that government servants who reach the age of superannuation would be retired according to the rules and not given any extension in service. As a matter of fact, in mid-March 1992, it was reported that the government's offer of a golden handshake to top categories of the administrative elite, if they opted to retire prematurely, had evoked no response, despite the very attractive terms offered. The offer was apparently conceived as part of a strategy to prune the bloated establishment while simultaneously attempting to accelerate the process of upward mobility in the bureaucratic hierarchy. Yet, we now learn that no less than 30 government officials have been given extension in service beyond the superannuation limit.

Heading the list of senior government officials who have been given extensions is Mr. Fazlur Rehman, the President's Secretary. This is the second time that this official has benefited from generosity of those who are known as the highest in the land. Even in the Indian civil service during the British Raj, extensions past the superannuation age were hardly ever given except in very rare cases involving officials who were considered absolutely indispensable. Pakistan governments over the decades, however, have made this practice the rule rather than the

exception. It is doubtful, indeed, whether these extensions have ever been given because of any exceptional merit of the officers concerned. The only consideration seems to have been that they were personal favourites of those that mattered at the time.

If the official explanation about the latest extensions is that these officers were retained because of exceptional merit, nobody is going to buy it. Besides, it is not fair to make a practice of giving extensions to officials who have reached superannuation age. Not only does it block the path of promotion of officers immediately junior to them, it also locks the doors for entry into coveted government cadres of those who are suitably qualified. It should not require extraordinary insight to imagine that if an officer's promotion is blocked for three to five years because his immediate superior has been given an extension for that period, he could end up by not making the next grade. That is the height of callousness. Those who have served their stipulated tenure have had their innings and should be made to retire so as to make way for others below them who have put in many years of service in the hope of making it to the top.

Lack of Direction, Confusion Seen Regarding Sindh

93AS0110B Lahore NAWA-I-WAQT in Urdu 16 Oct 92
p 11

[Editorial: "Sindh and National Politics Suffering From Confusion"]

[Text] According to news reports, Prime Minister Nawaz Sharif has discussed with the president the possibility of recalling military forces from Sindh and establishing Muzaffar Shah's government there. The overall national situation and some important national issues were also discussed in this meeting.

The military operation in Sindh did not achieve its goals; however, the law-and-order situation in the state has improved. One reason for the failure of the military in achieving the goals, according to some sources, is that it was not given full authority. We should be thankful for the achievements of the military forces with their limited authority. According to another opinion, the military did not stay with the mandate given it and instead followed a one-sided operation that created additional problems for the government. This point is espoused by Punjab's chief minister and a federal minister, Nisar Ali Khan. However, the fact is that, while the law-and-order situation has improved after four or five months of military action, the persons responsible for making the lives of Sindhi people unbearable have gone underground in large numbers or are above reproach because of their political connections. That is why the people in rural and urban Sindh were scared when the news about recalling the military was made public. Politicians who know Sindh well began to say that, if the military leaves Sindh, the whole state will see destruction and desolation.

The situation in Sindh is so complicated at this time that there seems to be no easy way to resolve it. The MQM [Mohajir Qaumi Movement] government has left, but Crime Minister Muzaffar Shah also made some agreement with three or four legislators a few years ago. Even though Senators Ishtiaq Azhar and Azim Taraq have expressed satisfaction with this agreement, they also claimed that they have the confidence of Iltaf Hussein. They also expressed their allegiance to their leader's campaign in their press conference. Mr. Mahmud Haroon and Muzaffar Shah Hussain must have expressed their points of view when they met in Islamabad.

The government's efforts to bring Murtaza Bhutto back to Pakistan can also be viewed in the same light. Benazir Bhutto, the opposition leader, had also accused the government of trying to bring Murtaza home in order to use him as a bargaining chip against her. She has also claimed that Murtaza Bhutto may become Sindh's chief minister.

There is confusion because the government does not have a clear policy for dealing with the MQM as revealed by an MQM leader during the investigations. In such a situation, it is not the fault of the people if they are confused. The whole situation is confusing from top to bottom.

The confusing and baffling situation in Sindh is affecting the whole nation. It is obvious that when the country is suffering from such political instability, the economic stability that our prime minister is hoping for is impossible to attain. This is the first time that all Sindhi politicians are welcoming the military's presence in Sindh. In the past, the military was not viewed favorably in Sindh. The government should show its discernment by taking advantage of this unity among Sindhi politicians and clean up the robbers, instigators, and terrorists in the state. However, the people in the government either do not agree or have political reasons for not doing so. The situation is analogous to starting surgery on a patient after laying him on the operating table and then leaving the surgery unfinished. If a wound is left untreated and open, it becomes ulcerous. Therefore, it behooves the government and the opposition to forget their vested interests and think about the whole nation. Since the government has the main responsibility, it should unite its ranks and pay attention to all the issues. It should not hesitate in paying any price to resolve the Sindh problem. Mr. Mian Sharif has announced proudly that he has sacrificed 14 or 15 of his allies in the Assembly in order to establish peace in Sindh. He should get rid of other obligations too, whether these obligations are his own or his predecessors.

The government should clarify its positions about Benazir Bhutto's accusations about Murtaza Bhutto, since political stability is important for realizing the dream for economic prosperity. We can focus on our foreign affairs only after stabilizing the situation in our country. It appears that we are ignoring our surroundings

and are busy trying to weaken our own foundation. For example, India's designs over Kashmir are not hidden from anyone. The United States has also given its blessings. The dream we had of resolving the Afghanistan issue was never realized. The mujahedden in Afghanistan are fighting among themselves. Fears and doubts are raising their heads steadily as the end of Professor Rabani's term as president comes closer. In such a situation, the hope of Karachi's becoming a port for Central Asian republics is dying. This could happen only if there is peace and stability in Afghanistan, and Pakistan is on the path to prosperity.

The government should at least declare its priorities and start implementing them. If the government believes that the military can improve the situation with the limited authority it has under the Muzaffar Shah regime, then it should take the people into its confidence and start the whole operation over from the very beginning. It should review the reservations the military leadership has and remove all the obstacles that are hindering the military operation.

Bringing Mir Murtaza Bhutto home instead of improving relations with the PPP [Pakistan People's Party] leadership could end in a serious situation because Mir Murtaza Bhutto will not change totally in a few days or by becoming Sindh's chief minister. Additionally, it would be setting up a wrong precedent. The government just should not try to take political advantage of the Bhutto family's internal problems. It is not possible, anyway. It is just wishful thinking. The government should not let the "[intelligence] agencies" mislead it; the leaders should use their own brains. There should be no misunderstanding between the government and the military, and if there is any misunderstanding, it should be removed immediately. Therefore, by giving priority to national interests, the government should take obvious steps in order to end confusion. We hope that all these issues are discussed in the meeting between the prime minister and the president and viable solutions found.

Sindh: 'Time Running Out' Per Commentary

93AS0151C Islamabad THE MUSLIM in English
28 Oct 92 p 7

[Article by Humayun Akhtar Rashid; quotation marks as published]

[Text] It seems that the days of trials and tribulations for the MQM [Mohajir Qaumi Movement] are going to be over. The recent statements of Ms. Benazir Bhutto, the PPP [Pakistan People's Party] leader, and Ch Nisar Ali Khan, Special Assistant to the Prime Minister, are meaningful. The wooing period starts now.

Ms. Bhutto has supported Mr. Altaf Hussain's demand for a Supreme Court Inquiry into the allegation that the MQM wanted to set up an independent "Jinnahpur State." She, for a change, wants the government to prove the alleged crimes committed by MQM activists. As far

as the MQM itself is concerned, she thinks that the party should accept mistakes committed by its leadership. There is indeed a change in the tone and tenor of Ms. Benazir Bhutto. A mention of MQM no longer makes her lose her bearings.

Simultaneously, the Prime Minister's next right hand man, after the talented brother Shahbaz Sharif, Ch Nisar Ali Khan, has announced that "the rights of Urdu-speaking Pakistanis cannot be ignored." According to him, "Urdu-speaking citizens are probably more patriotic and pro-federation than us," (non-Urdu-speaking). He declared that he personally didn't recognise such an organisation as the MQM Haqiqi. According to him, as far as the government is concerned, "the MQM should renounce terrorism and play its due role in national policies as a political force. MQM should get rid of the blacksheep which are always present in almost all parties." Well said!

Syed Ghaus Ali Shah, the Federal Minister for Defence, also issued a certificate of good conduct to the MQM, that "all the office-bearers and the workers of MQM cannot be called terrorists. Most of them are sincere and peace-loving, and the government has regard for them." He has also indicated that, "to negotiate with the patriotic politicians on various issues is the policy of the government and its doors are always open and it would not hesitate to meet them any time, anywhere in the country."

Syed Ghaus Ali Shah is a serious-minded politician from Sindh, whose nephew Syed Qasim Ali Shah is the PPP's top echelon leader. The PPP leadership has indicated no objection to Syed Saheb's candidacy for the top slot.

It seems that the whiz kids and "hawks" of Prime Minister's Kitchen Cabinet have lost, and the advocates of principles and pragmatism have at last prevailed.

The Government is not only under pressure from the Opposition perceptions on various issues with the men-in-Khaki are also not in harmony. The following examples support this:

The Mangla flood episode: the Corps Commander, in the presence of the Prime Minister and the COAS [Chief of Army Staff], had put the blame totally on WAPDA [Water and Power Development Authority] people at Mangla. But the Prime Minister of State for Power believes otherwise. According to him, WAPDA was totally blameless. He even offered to resign if he was proved wrong. He made statements to this effect in the National Assembly. No further progress in this regard has come to light so far.

Army's pull-out from Sindh: GHQ [General Headquarters] spokesman has repeatedly announced that the Army has accomplished the given tasks in Sindh and would like to pull out on completion of its six months period in November. But the government wants the Army to continue the operation clean-up.

MQM Haqiqi, on the other hand, has announced its Central Cabinet. The timing of the announcement is rather intriguing. Perhaps, the 'ghost' of Haqiqi has to be kept alive to give life to its skeleton, if the MQM non-Haqiqi does not listen to the words of wisdom coming from the Special Advisor, who at the very start of the Army's operation clean-up was not happy over its conduct.

For the last few days, the top leadership of the MQM in Karachi—Dr. Farooq Sattar, Tariq Azim, Saleem Shahzad and others—have not been in the news. Organisationally, the MQM sector incharges, it is being said, have surfaced and have started their normal sector work without any hindrance from government and non-governmental sources.

It seems that the MQM leadership has at last taken some major decisions. Although once bitten, they would still like to go by the promises being made by the Government emissaries. It is said that till November they would like to test and confirm the sincerity of Mian Saheb's offer. During this period, the MQM would also know the strength of the opposition, especially the PPP.

It is understood that in case they are double-crossed, the MQM would join Pir Pagara's Muslim League en masse. Pir Saheb would love it, as that would give him a chance to square up with the Prime Minister.

As far as the Army is concerned, it has learned its lesson, and is no longer in a mood to play second fiddle or the role of an 'honest broker' in the politics of the country. It seems that they have opted to restrict themselves to their primary role, that is, the defence of the country. The Army command has also come to realise that no political party would give them an open cheque to operate, whereby they could lay their hands on the real culprits who operate from behind the scenes.

Politics in Pakistan demands that the party in power must safeguard its supporters, irrespective of whatever criminal record they might have and be wanted by the law-enforcing agencies. The Army leadership thus seems has no love for politicians and would like to dirty their image. Most of the people in politics are as corrupt, as anti-state, and as patriotic as others. Sindh's Operation Clean-Up has taught the Army much, and now it has a clear perception of the working of politicians in the country. The Army will, however, allow the democratic process to continue. But there is always a limit. That is for our politicians to understand and to evolve rules of the game to abide by.

The post-Jam Sadiq Ali era in Sindh may prove a boon for the country. Those who thought that high-handedness, twisting of arms, rigging in elections, intrigues, etc., could change the mood of people, should have come to realise that such tactics are short-lived. Principles, honest dealings and correct actions still matter. People may be fooled for some time, but not for all times to come.

What is Jinnahpur? Is it myth or reality? It was during one of the ISPR [Inter-Service Public Relations] briefings that the nation heard about Jinnahpur. It was a mention in passing about the anti-Pakistan plan MQM was alleged to be hatching. Nothing much happened till September, when again it was reported that the complete blueprint plans of 'Jinnahpur' found by the Army during the Operation Clean-Up had been sent to the Government for further action. Nothing happened again, till the Opposition tabled a motion for discussions on 'Jinnahpur' in the National Assembly. Initially, the government showed indifference, but later on agreed.

Nobody knew about Jinnahpur till May this year. But now after it has been openly discussed in the august forum, people of Pakistan can rest in peace. People were at a loss to understand as to why such a vital matter of national importance was being handled so casually. Even if there was no substance or truth behind Jinnahpur, the nation expected that various rumours will be scotched and their fears allayed.

'Jinnahpur' within or without Pakistan will be a calamity. Today, when Christian countries in Europe are uniting to form a boundaryless political entity with one currency and one passport, in spite of their centuries-old enmity and all speaking different languages; we Pakistanis, having the same religion, a common language which is spoken all over Pakistan, and the same sort of culture and traditions, are fighting each other. Haven't we learned from history? United we stand, divided we fall.

We have witnessed the separation of East Pakistan and the creation of Bangladesh. Our brethren in the then East Pakistan were made to understand that once away from the injustices of West Pakistan, "Sonar Bengal" will ooze gold out of the golden fibre and all of them will live in peace and prosperity. But what has happened to them? Let us thank Allah for bestowing us with freedom and a country of our own, where we are living in peace and are able to practice our religion. Let us mend our ways. Let us get rid of corruption and nepotism. Neither we see the wrath of Allah, nor we hear the sound of death on the horizon.

Prospects for Sindh After Army Withdrawal Viewed

93AS0117D Karachi DAWN in English 14 Oct 92 p 9

[Article by M.H. Askari: "When the Army Withdraws"]

[Text] Possible implications of the withdrawal of the army from Sindh have been the subject of much public discussion lately. Following Press reports that the Chief of Army Staff, Gen. Asif Nawaz, had discussed a phased withdrawal plan with the President, the matter has prompted considerable comment and speculation.

Gen. Asif Nawaz told journalists at a diplomatic reception in Islamabad on October 4 that the responsibility assigned to the army when it was called upon to assist the

civil administration in Sindh had, by and large, been accomplished. He said: "I am satisfied with the operation; the crime rate is down and the job is completed." He felt it was time for the army to go back to its peace-time station but made it clear that the final decision in the matter rested with the government.

Significantly, when he was asked whether in his opinion peace in Sindh would be sustained in the event of the army's withdrawal, the General had said: "That is not our problem; we are satisfied that we have done our job (by restoring law and order) and now it is up to the government to maintain peace."

By his statements Gen. Asif Nawaz, apart from stressing that the army was operating in Sindh under the government's directive, apparently wished to affirm that the question of long-term calm in Sindh was basically a political one, something which needs to be tackled by the political leadership.

It may be recalled that at the commencement of the Operation Clean-Up, the Chief of Army Staff had made it amply clear that for a long-term resolution of the Sindh situation, it would be necessary to carry out certain social, economic and political reforms; restoring law and order was only a part of the solution.

Following a top-level review of the Sindh operation at a meeting in Bhurban on July 20, which was attended, apart from top army brass, by President Ghulam Ishaq Khan and Prime Minister Nawaz Sharif, an official ISPR [Inter-Service Public Relation] Press release affirmed that there had been a complete unanimity of views among the civil and military authorities in the progress of the operation. It stated nevertheless: "There was a consensus that a single-dimensional military approach, although essential in the short term, would not solve the Sindh problem (and) a long-term solution can only be achieved through the comprehensive politico-socio-economic package already announced by the government." This was generally interpreted to stress the political nature of the Sindh impasse and make it clear that certain major political, social and economic reforms would be an essential prerequisite to any plan to restore Sindh to normality.

Since all these days the Prime Minister has been away on an official visit to China, the views of the Federal government on the present situation in Sindh and possible army withdrawal have not been formally stated. The Interior Minister, Chaudhry Shujaat Hussain, presumably prompted by Gen. Asif Nawaz's observations in his informal chat with journalists on October 4, merely gave out certain percentages of the drop in the incidence of crime after the commencement of Operation Clean-Up.

Following Gen. Asif Nawaz's informal comments, there were official press briefings in Islamabad and Lahore by a senior-level military spokesman. Journalists in Islamabad were told on October 5 that the Operation Clean-Up had "quite satisfactorily" accomplished the mandate

that had been assigned to it on October 8, the Director-General of ISPR told newsmen in Lahore that the army had achieved the objective of restoring law and order in Sindh, and it could now return to the barracks, leaving the police and the para-military forces to deal with the situation.

Impelled by the army's apparent inclination to return to the barracks, the Chief Minister of Sindh obviously realises that the consequences would be of direct relevance to him and his government. He appears to have adopted a two-pronged strategy to cope with the situation. On one hand, he has redoubled his efforts to generate further political support for his haphazardly constituted coalition. On the other he has made it known that in his view the army should not be in a hurry to leave.

Syed Muzaffar Husain Shah has been involved in a flurry of activity, meeting leaders of various political factions, including MQM dissidents and Jamaat-i-Islami. He has also made it known that he did not believe that the situation in Sindh was normal enough to warrant the withdrawal of the army. His general handling of a Press conference in Karachi on October 5—immediately after Gen. Asif Nawaz's views favouring the army's withdrawal were published—betrayed even a sense of panic on his part. When asked whether he agreed that the objectives of Operation Clean-Up had been achieved, he seemed to avoid answering in affirmative or negative and merely said that the operation would continue till its objectives had been achieved. He also said that the situation would be reviewed, after the expiry of "the Army's six-month assignment" and then a final decision would be taken.

The Chief Minister also announced the dissolution of all local and municipal bodies in Sindh, re-elections to which would be held towards the end of the year. These elections would be something of a trial balloon for Syed Muzaffar Husain Shah's government, to obtain a fair estimate of how much political support he can muster at the grassroots level. The question of holding re-elections for seats in the Sindh Assembly vacated as a result of MQM members could then perhaps be decided.

In the meantime, efforts to identify an alternative representative leadership of the Mohajir community in Sindh, to replace the mainstream of MQM, so far appear to have produced no tangible result. The dissident leaders of MQM who came in the limelight after the launching of Operation Clean-Up seem to be becoming sidelined. There have been attempts by certain organisations claiming to be representative of Mohajirs to fill the gap. But they too have yet to demonstrate in a convincing manner whether they can command the confidence of the people who continue to be loyal to Altaf Hussain even several months after he had gone into self-exile.

It would seem logical to assume that the MQM as it stood before the onset of Operation Clean-Up has not

been decimated. Only another general election can perhaps establish whether there has been any erosion in its popular support. It is significant that so far there seems to have been no serious rift in what is known to be its hard-core central leadership. However, a matter of considerable alarm is the fact that Mohajirs as community appear visibly alienated from Authority and it has been stated on their behalf again and again that the even-handedness which was promised at the commencement of Operation Clean-Up has not quite manifested itself.

Against this background, Gen. Hamid Gul's theory that the MQM is a cellular organisation and that its component cells, which are believed to be duly armed and highly motivated can come to the surface as soon as the army is withdrawn and cause a state of disruption, deserves to be kept in mind.

This is not to suggest, of course, that the authorities should give in to any attempt at blackmail by militant MQM activists; what seems to be prudent, however, is to give MQM the chance to prove its popular and representative character through the due political process, viz: general elections. If elections are held, there is every possibility that chastened as they are by the unsavoury reputation of the militants and after the sobering experience of Operation Clean-Up, Mohajirs or MQM may throw up a moderate leadership. If leadership is imposed on them from above, the situation may not stabilise and on the contrary the Mohajirs' sense of alienation may be further aggravated.

Due heed also must be paid to the fact that almost all Sindh-based parties including PPP [Pakistan People's Party] have declared themselves opposed to the army's withdrawal at the present stage. The resolution adopted at a seminar of prominent Mohajirs not affiliated to MQM demanded that the army should stay on as the political crisis which led to its being called in was yet to be resolved.

While it is futile to speculate about the reasons behind the army's intention to withdraw, it is obvious that conditions in Sindh cannot stabilise without a resolution of the political tensions which it has suffered since the elections of 1990. A patchwork coalition comprising largely unrepresentative and heterogeneous elements which was put together by the late Jam Sadiq Ali did not work; it can be expected to work much less effectively under the leadership of Syed Muzaffar Husain Shah who is much less wily (and certainly much more scrupulous) than the late Jam.

It is in our national interest that the question whether the army should stay or withdraw from Sindh should not be allowed to become a matter of public controversy. It is equally in our national interest, however, that before the situation in Sindh deteriorates any further, the political process which was callously distorted by the late Jam Sadiq Ali should be rescued. This is where the army,

which has already largely rid the province of the lawlessness that badly damaged its social, political and economic life, can be of real help.

There are reports that the army will assist in the conduct of the census which had to be put off last year for fear of aggravating polarisation among different sections of the population on the sensitive question of old and new Sindh. The next step could then be the holding of fresh general elections in the province under the auspices of

the army, with the assumption that the results would be duly honoured, as they were after the elections of 1988.

Sindh has a reasonable chance of being restored to normality if the political process can be re-inducted with all honesty of purpose. A mere drop in the percentage of the incidence of crime, something that the Federal Interior Minister presented to the National Assembly on Oct 4, cannot guarantee harmony on a lasting basis in a province which is badly riven with ethnic, political and economic polarisation.

Controversy Continues Over Religious Identity Cards

Religious Parties Issue Warning

93AS0142A Islamabad *THE MUSLIM in English*
27 Oct 92 p 4

[Article by Badrul Islam Butt: "Religious Parties Warn Government Against Withdrawing Decision"]

[Text] Lahore, Oct 26. In a reaction to the current campaign against mention of religion in National Identity Card, various religious political organizations have threatened to use street power if the government goes back on its earlier decision.

A threat to this effect was conveyed at a press conference, jointly addressed by representatives of these organizations inside Sheranwala Gate on Monday evening. Prominent among them were Ch. Mohammad Aslam Saleemi, Secretary General Jamaat-i-Islami, M.H. Ansari, Secretary General JUP [Jamiat-i-Ulema-i-Pakistan] (Noorani), Syed Amir Hussain Gillani, Jamiat-i-Ulema-i-Islam, and Maulana Amjad Khan of Jamiat-i-Ulema-i-Islam (JUI).

They expressed their concern over the current campaign which, they alleged, was carried on by secular forces to thwart the decision about inclusion of religion in ID Cards. Their concern was much about the conduct of the government which was they felt, showing reluctance in implementing the said decision. The leaders took serious view of the statement by Federal Law Minister Chaudhary Abdul Ghafoor trying to plead ignorance about the said decision.

They said it was strange about a minister expressing his ignorance about a decision taken by the cabinet. They called upon the government to immediately issue a notification to implement its decision adding religion column in ID card. They warned that if the government tried to wriggle out of its firm commitment made with religious political organizations, the latter will use street power to force the government to abide by its commitment.

Earlier, at a joint meeting a committee was appointed to call on Minister for Interior and Religious Affairs to appraise them of the consequences that are likely to follow if the decision was not implemented. Included in the committee are Maulana Ajmal Qadri, Liaquat Baloch MNA [member of National Assembly], Prof Sajid Mir M.H. Ansari and Maulana Amjad Khan. Another delegation was appointed to meet various minority leaders to remove their apprehensions about the said decision.

As claimed by the organizers 15 organizations were represented at the said meeting. They included Maulana Allah Wasaya of Tahfaze Khatam-e-Nabuwat, Qazi Abdul Qadeer Khamosh of Jamiat Ulema-e-Ahle Hadith, Maulana Abdul Malik of Ittehad ul Ulema,

Maulana Saif Ullah Khalid of Anjuman Sipah Sahaba, Ashraf Khan of Khaksar Tehrik and Mufti Abdul Qayyum of Awami Tehrik.

Sharif Should Disregard Clerics

93AS0142B Islamabad *THE MUSLIM in English*
27 Oct 92 p 7

[Article by Musarrat Babar: "Calling the Cleric's Bluff"; quotation marks as published]

[Text] Seldom before has a government—claiming to have a two-third parliamentary majority—succumbed before extra-parliamentary show of strength by religious groups, as was done on October 13 by the IJI [Islamic Jamhoori Ittehad] Government of Mr. Nawaz Sharif. It was on this day when the already marginalized parliament was made irrelevant by the far-reaching government decision to segregate citizens on the basis of religion by adding a separate column in the national identity card for this purpose.

The government now says the decision was not taken under pressure of the clergy, but that it was taken after careful deliberations to facilitate the smooth functioning of the system of separate electorate for the non-Muslim minorities. But who would fall for this absurd logic?

The decision was announced just a day before the threatened demonstration in front of the Parliament House by the ulema-i-karam and mushaikh-i-uzzam to press their demand for the identification of a citizen's religion. Second, there have never been complaints about the smooth functioning of the system of separate electorates because there have been separate electoral lists and electoral booths making it extremely unlikely for a non-Muslim to cast vote for a Muslim, or vice versa. Thirdly, and more importantly, the minorities never asked for the separate electorate system which was thrust upon them by Zia to appease the clergy in defiance of democratic principles of equality of citizens in all respects. Why should they be demanding now the "smooth functioning" of a system which has thrown them out of mainstream national policies?

Minorities and human rights activists have protested. The Christians supported by some human rights organizations took out a procession in Lahore to demonstrate their resentment against the identity card amendment. They believe, and rightly, that their harassment which began when General Zia introduced the system of separate electorates for them, will further increase. Minority MNA [member of National Assembly], Mr. J. Salik, has threatened to resign from his National Assembly seat, but who cares? The Religious Affairs Minister, Maulana Abdus Sattar Niazi, the moving spirit and driving force behind the decision, when asked whether he had consulted the minorities on the issue, said, "I did not need to consult minorities."

As true inheritors of the Zia legacy, the IJI Government also "did not need to consult minorities." Late General

Zia, despite his military teeth of a chief martial law administrator, was conscious of the illegitimacy of his rule. He chased the elusive goal of legitimacy by appeasing the clerics to create a constituency for himself. He too did not feel the need to consult minorities. In a cynical replay of Zia's tactics, the IJI Government, despite the apparent strength of parliamentary majority, is seeking legitimacy by bowing before the clergy. The similarity could not have been more sinister.

Identification of religion in the identity card amounts to sectarianizing national identity, and is unjust and unwarranted for a number of reasons. An identity card's basic function is only to establish the bearer's personal identity and nothing more. Mention of religion is not relevant to a person's Pakistani citizenship and is inconsistent with the law on citizenship. Inclusion of religion as a mark of identity will only lead to discrimination, and runs counter to the constitutional right of a citizen to be treated equally and without any discrimination on the basis of religion, caste and sex, etc., in the matter of rights and opportunities.

It is a mockery of the Quaid's ideal which he had laid before the country when he said that in Pakistan there would be "no discrimination, no distinction between one community and another" (on the basis of religion) because "that has nothing to do with the business of the state." Assurances that there will be no discrimination sound hallow as some clerics have already been openly demanding the removal of one particular sect from state service. Who can say that next time another sect or community will not be targeted?

The decision symbolizes the state's systematic discrimination against minorities. Its less obvious but extremely dangerous pitfall is that when the state is perceived to be discriminating against a section of citizenry, fanatical individuals and obscurantists feel emboldened to treat that section as second-rate citizens and harass them. This applies equally to women and minorities whose systematic discrimination at the hands of the state began with the introduction of Haddood laws in the late 70s and amendments in the Penal Code in the 80s during the days of late General Zia.

As a matter of fact, ever since Zia made the five amendments between 1980-1986 in the Penal Code awarding punishments for blasphemy or insulting the sentiments of the Muslims allegations of blasphemy by individuals against members of minority communities have become far too frequent. The manner in which these laws and amendments have been phrased has further made it easier for some religious zealots to settle personal scores with minority community members and force their own brand of Islam down the throat of the general body of Muslims.

For instance, Section 295-C reads: "Whoever by words, wither spoken or written, or by any imputation, innuendo, or insinuation directly or indirectly, defiles the sacred name of the Holy Prophet (peace be upon him)

should be punished with death." The word "defiles" remains undefined and the use of such vague terms as 'innuendo,' 'insinuation' or 'imputation' has only facilitated the law to be applied for purposes other than avowed. As a result, several Christians have been slain for personal vendetta behind allegations of blasphemy.

In one instance, a Christian school teacher from Faisalabad was killed by a student just because the killer had learned about the teacher's alleged blasphemous utterances through an anonymous poster. Members of the Ahmedia community have been the victims of the worst kind of persecution. Cases have reportedly been registered against them for reciting Kalima Tayyaba or saying Assalam-o-Alaikum and for using Muslim names and the Muslim tradition of calling for prayers, the azaan.

Pakistanis must think where all this is leading to. Already, there are demands that the Zikri sect in Balochistan be declared non-Muslim as the Ahmedis have been done before. If today it is demanded to insert religion in the identity cards, tomorrow it could well be asked to identify different sects and sub-sects such as Shias, Barelvīs and Deobandis, etc. Then there may be demands that minorities should put on their forehead a special mark for instant identification as was done in Nazi Germany when Jews had to wear the star of David. Pakistan may be heading towards the worst form of apartheid in the name of "religious cleansing."

If the decline is not stopped now, it will further polarize the already fragmented society. But how to do that? The decline can be stemmed by boldly calling the cleric's bluff and snatching from his hands the tools of political power which he has stolen through the back door by blackmail because he could not secure them through election and with public approval. Every Pakistani must stand up in calling their bluff if the society and the country is to be saved.

Against National Ideology

93AS0142C Islamabad THE MUSLIM in English
27 Oct 92 p 6

[Editorial: "President at Odds With Quaid-i-Azam"]

[Text] Defending the idea of inserting a column for religion in the National Identity Cards (NIDCs) of the citizens, President Ghulam Ishaq Khan relied on the existing practice of separate electorates for the minorities as a justification. Evidently, it did not occur to the President of the Islamic Republic of Pakistan that what he was doing was defending one moral error because another moral solecism had already been committed. This is the kind of logic which is most unlikely to impress any rational person. The curse of separate electorate has been imposed upon the minority communities in Pakistan without their consent. Indeed, in spite of their declared disapproval. The majority community had no legal, moral, political or any other sort of justification for arbitrarily isolating the minorities from the mainstream of the political life of the country. Nobody in his right

mind has so far come forward with any excuse, let alone justification, for the enforcement of separate electorates. It is so patently unfair, unjust, indecent to deprive so many communities the right to full and equal citizenship. To be justifying the introduction of a separate column for religion in the NIDCs—which the minorities would not touch with a bargepole—because minorities have separate electorates is no better than defending one evil because a more or less similar evil is in existence already is very feeble logic. One would only wonder why the Head of State should deem it proper to get personally involved in what is becoming a scorching political controversy and the battle lines have been drawn distinctly enough. The President owes it to his high office to steer clear of this contention.

One very profound consideration which should also weigh with the present Head of State is the unmistakably unambiguous and unqualified assertion of the Founder of Pakistan, Quaid-i-Azam Mohammad Ali Jinnah. In his very first speech from the chair of the President of the Constituent Assembly (which was also the sovereign national parliament), the Father of the Nation told the people of Pakistan:

“You may belong to any religion or caste or creed. That has nothing to do with the business of the State...”

“We are starting in the days when there is no discrimination or distinction between our caste or creed or another...”

President Ghulam Ishaq Khan's reported defence of the idea to introduce a column for religion in the NIDCs could not be in a more direct and glaring conflict with the principles and convictions of the man to whom we owe this Islamic State. The President owes the people some explanation for openly repudiating the Father of the Nation. But if he doesn't feel up to it, the only rational and respectable course left for him is to refrain from taking sides on an issue which is becoming bitterly polarized.

While the debate on the idea to interfere with the existing form of the NIDCs rages with ever increasing fervor, the leader of the Opposition, Ms Benazir Bhutto has launched the idea of doing away with separate electorates altogether. What she advocates is a compellingly reasonable, fair, just and civilized idea. It merits the widest possible support throughout the country. What should be taken for granted is a determined resistance from the pseudo-religious splinter groups and hidebound obscurantists. Unfortunately, we have more than our share of this element, though they are now mostly in retreat. The funniest part of the character of these religious politicians is that while they are perpetually feuding among themselves on obscure non-issues, on anything which is essentially retrogressive and divisive, they tend to congregate. The only possible explanation for this curious trait is that what usually unites these otherwise quarrelling factions is their failure to resist the

temptation to take to the streets with slogans and banners. But we have had more than our fill of all this. It is time to set the nation on a rational course and help it move forward, instead of crawling in the reverse gear. Since the advent of Zia the country has been on a backward slide. Arrest it now. Descent into the pits of fanaticism must be stopped. The only way to do this is to rationalize and humanize our political thought and action.

Minorities Fear Acceleration of Islamization

93AS0143A Lahore *THE NATION* in English 8 Oct 92
p 9

[Excerpts from article by Aijaz-Ud-Din: “Not All of Us Are Green”; quotation marks as published]

[Excerpts] Should we really take our national flag seriously? After all it is only a rectangular piece of dyed cloth with a stitched hem at one end, and a simple design of a star cradled in the curve of a waning moon. Why should we give it any importance at all? One might go a daring step further. Might it not be kinder to exempt visiting dignitaries from having to bow their heads in respect before our standard, when we who are responsible for maintaining it aloft have ourselves by our actions depreciated its significance? What value does a national flag have anyway?

The flag of every nation is not merely a piece of cloth. Nawabzada (later Quaid-e-Millat) Liaquat Ali Khan informed the members of Pakistan's Constituent Assembly on August 11, 1947, while presenting the proposed national flag of the new State of Pakistan to them. “It is not really the cloth that matters, but what it stands for, and I can say without fear of contradiction that this flag... will stand for freedom, liberty and equality.”

The minority community members in that Assembly, however, expressed reservations at the obvious similarity between the new national flag and the party flag of the Muslim League. They asked for twenty-four hours of time in which to proffer suggestions before the proposed design was formally adopted. Liaquat Ali Khan deflected their proposal with the argument: “More than one-fourth of the flag is white, and as my Honourable friends know, white is made up of seven different colours and thank God we have not got seven different minorities in Pakistan. Therefore, there is room for not only all the minorities that are here today but for any other minorities that may spring up hereafter.”

“I hope you will not create them,” one of the Hindu members retorted.

“My Honourable friend says that he hopes I will not create minorities,” Liaquat Ali Khan replied: “It is only a minority that can create a minority. I happen to be a minority in Pakistan and, therefore, it will not be my desire to create any more minorities.”

His political successors since then have found it expedient to decide otherwise. It might be said that they have taken advantage of the fact that, over the years, the resounding statements made before that Constituent Assembly by the two Quaid—Mohammad Ali Jinnah and Liaquat Ali Khan—have gradually grown fainter to the point of inaudibility.

In that session, Jinnah as Governor-General-designate of the incipient nation had announced categorically: "You are free; you are free to go to your temples, you are free to go to your mosques or to any other places of worship in this State of Pakistan. You may belong to any religion, caste or creed—that has nothing to do with the business of the State. (...) We are starting with this fundamental principle that we are all citizens and equal citizens of the same State."

He continued with the optimistic vision: "...you will find that in the course of time Hindus would cease to be Hindus and Muslims would cease to be Muslims, not in the religious sense, because that is the personal faith of each individual, but in the political sense as citizens of the State." Now, after almost half a century, those very minority communities whom he sought to reassure cower in fear, afraid not so much at having to recant their creed as of being denied their rights as citizens of the State of Pakistan.

Today, out of a population of over 110 million Pakistanis, the Ministry of Minority Affairs classifies 2.8 million Pakistanis as minorities. The smallest and most recent group are 104,244 Qadianis who were declared non-Muslims in 1984. Parsis who worship fire and Sikhs who abhor smoking are incongruously grouped together by this Ministry into a total of 112,801 souls. The two largest minorities—the Hindu/Scheduled Castes and the Christians—almost equal each other in number with 1.276 million and 1.310 million respectively. There are, therefore, at least 2.8 million Pakistanis set apart officially, allocated funds for their separate development and quarantined in a new South-Asian form of sectarian apartheid.

Some of these communities are better equipped to cope with this form of segregation than others. A turbanful of Pakistani Sikhs tend to remain cloistered, administering to their holy shrines which, much to the chagrin of the Indian Sikhs, are located on the wrong side of the Punjab border. The Parsis have earned and deservedly established an elevated position of social acceptability for themselves, in Pakistan as they have in India, independent of the seeming advantage they could have used as in-laws to Mohammad Ali Jinnah and Mrs. Indira Gandhi, both of whom married Parsis.

The large number of Hindus left behind in Pakistan after 1947 were, the Indian Congress Party felt, protected because of the large number of hostage Muslims residing in India, but just as those residual Muslims, as Jinnah said, had 'to take care of themselves', in time the Hindus on our side of the porous Sindh border learned to fend

for themselves, represented by such perennial leaders as Rana Chander Singh (surely, the closest Rajput equivalent of a similarly resilient and consummate politician, the Cambodian Prince Norodom Sihanouk).

In one significant respect, though, the Hindus, Sikhs and the Parsis together can be said to differ from the million or so Christians; the former found themselves marooned in Pakistan, victims of a political quirk, whereas the Christian community was left behind by the British who had helped to convert them, not on the wrong side of a hastily demarcated boundary, but on the underside of history.

The Christians are perhaps the most unfortunate of the minorities still surviving in Pakistan, for although they were here before Islam came to the Sub-Continent, and despite the kinship of their beliefs and scriptures to Islam, they are still over a thousand years later, searching for an accommodation with Islam and an appropriate place in its society. [passage omitted]

That a Christian Member of the National Assembly [MNA] in our country today should need to bind himself to a wooden cross at Lahore's Charing Cross on December 25 (the birthday of the Quaid and of Jesus) in December 1991 to protect against the treatment meted to his community is an indictment of our present attitudes. By enacting the part of a crucified man, Mr. J. Salik, MNA, was reminding us, the majority, of our own failures towards our fellow-citizens. He was in his own desperate way pleading with us not to behave like Pontius Pilate, not to wash our hands of the blood of the innocent amongst us.

Having failed to evoke a response either in a brute public or an impassive Government, Mr. Salik adopted another approach. He had himself buried alive, again at Charing Cross, on September 17, 1992. The police disinterred him, and took him away to be entombed in a prison cell and the padded National Assembly.

The issue which Mr. Salik, the most vocal of the 10 MNAs for the minorities, has raised is not simply the release of Rs [Rupees] 6.1 million of Government funds allocated for the development of his constituents. If we listen to him carefully, it is something more fundamental. What, he seems to be asking, is the role of the minority communities in modern Pakistan? Where do they fit in? Do they have any place left to occupy in Pakistan? Or is that quarter strip of white on the flag of Pakistan no longer symbolic of their equal presence? [passage omitted]

Until now the Pakistan flag—three-quarters Muslim green and one quarter minority white—has been revered as a symbol of the nation. It flutters from flagpoles, it flaps in paper pennants strung across streets, it graces our embassies, abroad and through our mundane postage stamps it transports our national spirit to every curve of the earth. It is carried proudly into battle by our Armed Forces, defended by them and on sombre solemn occasions becomes the pall of honour covering the bodies of our dead heroes. Need it also serve as the shroud of our defenceless minorities?

Prospects for Islamic Common Market Viewed
93AS0110A Karachi JASARAT in Urdu 5 Oct 92 p 11

[Editorial: "Desire for Islamic Common Market"]

[Text] Our leaders have thousands of wishes and each of their wishes is something to die for. However, the world of desires does not influence the real world and the same is true about our desire to form an Islamic common market. They have been talking about it for a long time.

We first expected a lot from the RCD [LRegional Cooperation for Development] and still are looking at Iran and Turkey with great hopes. President Ghulam Ishaq Khan emphasized the establishment of an Islamic common market during Iranian Prime Minister Hashemi-Rafsanjani's visit to Karachi and his own visit to Turkey. There seem to be no practical signs of its being established.

The European nations pushed the idea of a common market right in front of our eyes and decided to have a common currency for Europe. They did not just express their desires, but also established some committees and new policies to implement these. They had to face many difficulties in spite of all their hard work; however, they did not lose heart and continued their efforts for establishing a common market in Europe and are finding new ways to resolve problems.

Meanwhile, we did nothing to create an Islamic commonwealth or a common market of Islamic nations. All we did was talk and talk. The situation is so bad that the conflict between Arabs and other nations has started all over again. Iran has adopted a very strong stand on Abu Musa and two other islands. Meanwhile, the Arab League is also very unrestrained. There have been armed skirmishes even between Saudi Arabia and Qatar over their border lines. In Central Asia, Iran and Turkey are competing to expand their spheres of influence. Turkey is beleaguered by the Kurds who attack Turkey from their camps in Iraq. Sudan has fully separated itself from the Islamic Conference. Not only the desires of Muslims but also the Muslims are dying in Afghanistan. The wealthy nations in the Gulf are heavily in debt after the Gulf War. They are depending more and more on the United States. Their outlook is changing from the desire to expand the Islamic world to the desire for seclusion.

The Muslims have lost the golden opportunity to establish an Islamic common market. However, the Muslim nations should be on the alert now. The present deleterious situation and possible negative results call for unity of these nations and formation of a common market more than ever.

However, all this cannot be done just by desiring it. The economic experts in Islamic nations must make serious plans. It is imperative for a commonwealth to have a common philosophy and this philosophy has to be Islamic. By the grace of Allah, we have this philosophy already in place in Islamic countries. However, the rulers

try to suppress it everywhere. If the common Islamic philosophy is suppressed, commonality in political and economic goals cannot be achieved. If the goal is secularism, then there will be no common market for Muslims. The United States is telling us that Pakistan should establish economic relations with India and that the Arabs will have to form a common market with Israel.

The situation in Turkey is deplorable. It is trying its best to join the European Common Market [ECM] and the ECM is rebuffing it. Still, Turkey is not showing any interest in establishing an Islamic common market. The remaining nations do give lip service to the idea of establishing a commonwealth and common market for Muslims, but continue to look toward the West.

Nawaz Sharif's Economic Assurances Termed 'Rhetoric'

*93AS0151D Islamabad THE MUSLIM in English
30 Oct 92 p 6*

[Italicized words as published]

[Text] All of us have been feeling the enormous burden of burgeoning inflation over the past two years. The middle and lower income groups, particularly, have had to live with it for want of any other option. Protests about inadequate income from housewives have, more often than not, been treated as routine domestic hazards. Somehow, when inflation rates are reduced to statistics in cold print, they send a cold shudder down the spine because it is then that reality hits one in the face. According to official statistics, prices over the last two years have gone up by 25-30 percent. These figures relate only to food items. By way of sharp contrast, earnings of the middle and lower income groups have registered only a negligible increase. Treating this as a base, the increase in the cost of food items is mind-boggling. Per 40 kgs the prices of wheat, basmati rice, irri rice, and sugar have shot up by Rs [Rupees] 37.12, Rs 60.94, Rs 56.93 and Rs 37.20 respectively. The price of vegetable ghee per kg has risen from Rs 7.12 to Rs 8.25. Kerosine oil now costs Rs 5.85 per liter now while it sold at Rs 3.93 for the same quantity two years ago. Mention of the enormous increase in the price of beef and mutton need not be recounted since we become aware of it every time we go to the market.

Prime Minister Nawaz Sharif never tires of telling us about how he is going to raise the standard of living of the people of this country. However, he has never quite been able to explain how he intends to do this without controlling inflation. Indeed, if we were to go by the official version, there is NO inflation whatsoever. A price hike, no matter how small, is immediately felt and bureaucratic denials cannot conceal the truth. Exalted bureaucratic advisers to the government of the day continue to submit the customary *sub accha* report about how the man in the street is faring in his day-to-day life or what his sentiments about government policies are. In

the time of Ayub Khan when the price of sugar rose by a mere two annas per seer there was a popular upheaval and Ayub Khan had to go.

Pious and genuine as his sentiments may be, there is no escaping the fact that whatever Mr. Nawar Sharif wishes to do for the people of this country, he is certainly not going about it the right way. One way of going about promoting the welfare of the common man is to try and keep rising prices in check so that the average citizen is satisfied at least on one basic score—that of being able to provide enough for his family. This is definitely not the case today. As of the moment, two square meals a day are difficult to come by. Apart from the rising food prices, one has to contend with the increase in power and gas rates. Periodic rises in the prices of petroleum products raise transportation costs and these affect everything in general. The situation as it exists today is that the average wage earner does not know how to manage his family budget. It is time the government put the political rhetoric on the backburner and give serious attention to the day to day problems of the people.

Economist Claims Nation Reaching Middle Income Level

93AS0117E Karachi DAWN in English 6 Oct 92 p 13

[First in a series of articles to be published monthly by Shahid Javed Burki, a director at the World Bank: "Pakistan's Economy in 2000: The Current Situation and Future Prospects"; italicized words as published]

[Text] I spent this summer talking to a large number of people—relatives, friends, old civil service colleagues, journalists, bankers, economists—about the current economic situation and future economic prospects of Pakistan.

I went to Pakistan's three large-cities—Karachi, Lahore, and Rawalpindi-Islamabad—and traveled extensively in the northern areas. I also addressed a well-attended seminar organised by THE MUSLIM in Islamabad and gave a TV lecture in a series titled "TV Academy." These discussions and travel left me with the impression that a great divide has developed between the thinking of two groups of influential people. I like to call these groups the "official" and "private" Pakistans.

The official Pakistan is made up of politicians in the national legislature, the bureaucracy in Islamabad and the provincial capitals, and the journalists who cover economic news from Islamabad. The current mood of this part of Pakistan reflects extreme pessimism. The mood must have become even more somber after the floods of September 1992 which killed more than two thousand people and caused extensive damage to the economy. Some preliminary estimates suggest that the economic toll of the floods may be equivalent to four to five percent of the gross domestic product. If that turns out to be the correct estimate, Pakistan is likely to lose a year's worth of economic growth on account of the floods.

One example of the extent of pessimism that I encountered this past summer was manifested by the coverage in the Independence Day edition of an Islamabad newspaper. One contributor to the newspaper spoke of the economic decline that had occurred since the country attained independence in 1947 in the areas that now make up Pakistan. When I tried to refute this assertion in my TV presentation by comparing the economic situation in 1947 with that in 1992, a person from among the audience said that he had little faith in these kinds of statistics.

The statistics about which he expressed scepticism referred to the increases that had taken place in wheat, rice and cotton output; in the numbers of cars, motorcycles and telephones now at the disposal of the people; about the sharp decline that had occurred in the incidence of absolute poverty; and about the impressive way in which Pakistan had succeeded in integrating its economy with the outside world. He said that even if the statistics I had presented were correct he was still not convinced that Pakistan today was better off than it was in 1947.

That sentiment was echoed by a number of journalists and columnists who commented on my address at THE MUSLIM seminar. One Mr. Lashkar writing in the daily THE NEWS (August 19, 1992) said that by suggesting that Pakistan may already have joined the ranks of middle income nations by estimating, virtually in the same breadth, the proportion of people living in absolute poverty at no more than 15 percent of the population, I had hopelessly contradicted myself. This columnist seems to believe that a middle income country is not supposed to have absolute poverty. He is obviously not aware that in poor countries those who are absolutely poor constitute more than a third of their total population. With only a sixth of its population classified as absolutely poor, Pakistan has done extremely well. This is particularly the case when we know that at the time of independence in 1947 more than two out of every five Pakistanis lived in absolute poverty.

The reason for dwelling at length on the mood of official Pakistan and its reluctance to look at the positive side of the picture is that in economics, perceptions are at times even more important than reality. Besides, it is very difficult to plan for a country's future in an atmosphere of despair and despondency.

I got a different impression about the mood of private Pakistan. As the name suggests, this segment of the Pakistani society is made up of industrialists, businessmen, landlords producing for the market, transport operators, shopkeepers—all those whose daily business is economics. Private Pakistan is happily engaged in making money—in fact, a great deal of money—and its only real concern is that nothing terribly unpleasant should happen in the next few years.

Private Pakistan, not unlike private businessmen all over the world, does not indulge in long-term strategic

thinking. Its interest is essentially in the short term which is defined as the next three to five years, the period over which it expects to recover its investments with some profit. It is generally pleased with the policies adopted by the government in recent months. It is particularly pleased with the free hand the government seems to be giving to the private sector.

And, like private entrepreneurs everywhere, the Pakistani business people would like to maximise the return from their investment and not worry about the social consequences of their actions. It is this part of business behaviour that should worry the government, a subject to which I will return several times in this series of articles.

It is important to bridge this gap in perceptions between these two segments of the society. The official Pakistan will not be able to provide the right environment for the functioning of the private sector if it continues to be gloomy about the economic prospects of the country. Even before the floods visited Pakistan, there were a number of good reasons to feed the pessimism of those who see little good in Pakistan's current economic situation and even less about its long-term economic prospects. The floods and the perception that they could have been anticipated by the civilian authority no doubt served to reinforce the doubts that this segment of the population entertains about Pakistan's long-term economic prospects.

Floods apart, what prompts so many people to be so pessimistic about Pakistan's economic situation? At least four reasons come to mind but none of them is related to pure economics. First, of course, is the dramatic change in Pakistan's external environment produced by a fundamental transformation in the global political situation. The demise of the Soviet Union has reduced Pakistan's geopolitical importance for the United States and the country's other erstwhile Western friends.

The fear of militant Islam is possibly the next important enemy for the West to defeat and overcome. This makes Pakistan not an attractive ally in the minds of several important strategic thinkers in the West, in particular those who view Pakistan as the stronghold of Islamic conservatism. Loss of affection on the part of the old friends in the Western world is a big blow for Pakistan since, over the years, the country had become excessively dependent on their largesse. Now Pakistan will have to depend on its own resources to finance a large proportion of the development effort.

Second, Pakistan's inability in the past to spread more evenly the fruits of rapid economic growth has exacerbated the regional problem. That the ethnic tensions in both urban and rural Sindh brought the army out in support of the civil power once again testifies not only to the seriousness of the situation but also serves as a reminder of the inability of political institutions to resolve the problem of regional economic imbalance on

their own. What has made the problem in Sindh so intractable is the failure of benefits from past rapid economic growth to trickle down to the peasantry in rural Sindh and to the Mohajir community in the large cities of the province. Experience from all over the world confirms that regional tensions always take a heavy toll and the situation in Pakistan is not any different. They also sap the confidence of the people and that too is the case in Pakistan.

Third, the serious deterioration in law and order situation in most of urban Pakistan is an additional reason for sapping the confidence of the people in the country's economic future. There are a number of reasons for this but two require emphasis: the spill-over of sophisticated weaponry from the Afghan war and the inability of the police to provide protection to the people against random crimes.

Fourth, the inability of the political structure to devise a credible legal framework within which economic transactions should take place is also exactly a large economic price. There are plenty of laws and regulations on the books but the system puts great premium on contacts, *sifarish* and bribery as lubricants for economic transactions. Present and potential entrepreneurs spend great amounts of valuable time in cultivating contacts among powerful bureaucrats and politicians. It is obvious that rational economic decisions cannot be taken most of the time in such an environment.

These and other reasons contribute to the feeling of pessimism that is now widespread in the country. Is such a feeling justified?

My answer to this question is obviously in the negative. I see enough that is positive about Pakistan's current economic situation to come to the conclusion that with the right kind of policies in place and with the construction of the right kind of institutional base, Pakistan should be able to see its economy grow at a fairly respectable rate in the remaining decade of this century. Pakistan's GDP [Gross Domestic Product] has the potential of increasing at the rate of over seven percent a year from now until the end of the century. At this rate its GDP would double in size by the year 2000.

This optimism is based on an assessment of the current economic situation. Although included among the poor countries, Pakistan today has many characteristics of a middle economy. Its industrial sector contributes about the same proportion of income to the gross domestic product as the agricultural sector—in poor countries agriculture is usually the predominant sector of the economy. Pakistan's export base is now well diversified, manufactures account for a significant share of total value of exports and the buyers of Pakistani products are spread all over the industrial world. In poor countries exports are dominated by one or two commodities and are directed toward a few markets.

More than a third of Pakistan's population lives in urban areas. The urban population in Pakistan is distributed

over many cities; two cities—Karachi and Lahore—have populations approaching ten million each. Most poor countries have a relatively small proportion of the population living in the urban areas with most of the urban people residing in the capital city.

Notwithstanding the poor quality of education Pakistan provides to its people, its citizens are, nevertheless, equipped with most of the skills required by modern economies. Poor countries are generally deficient of human resources.

In fact, according to one measure of national income, Pakistan per capita income is close to 2000 dollars rather than less than 400 dollars. The same methodology estimates India's per capita income at less than 1000 dollars. By this way of reckoning national income Pakistan may already have joined the ranks of middle income countries. I will turn to this subject in detail in the next article in this series since my remarks in THE MUSLIM lecture this summer that by one way of reckoning Pakistan may have already gained admission into the ranks of middle income countries have already produced a good deal of excited debate.

Pakistan has reached this situation by a combination of circumstances that are not likely to be repeated in the future. It was extraordinarily lucky in escaping several misfortunes that afflicted the bulk of the Third World over the past two decades. For instance, the sharp increase in the price of oil that caused so many problems for most developing countries in the 1970s provided Pakistan with windfall income that came in the form of workers' remittances. The war in Afghanistan made Pakistan the favourite of several large aid donors at the time when most of the developing world was faced with declining aid flows. The future is likely to be less kind. Does Pakistan have the political will, institutional strength, human resources, strategic sense to face the challenges the future holds for the country? Pessimists answer in the negative, optimists in the positive.

The real issue is really not of optimism or pessimism, it revolves, instead, around the quality of economic decision-making. It is possible to clearly articulate the economic and social problems Pakistan faces today and how these could be overcome. That will be the purpose of this series of articles. Each article in the series—and I hope to write fifteen in all over a period of as many months—will deal with one set of issues. My attempt will be to encompass all aspects of the economic and social situation.

I will deal with the problem of resource shortage and the proven inability of government in Pakistan's history to mobilise revenues for development. I will analyse the reasons why Pakistan, in spite of a healthy growth in its income, has not been able to improve the social standard of the people. I will argue that a country that condemns its women to social and economic backwardness is, in effect, condemning itself to perpetual backwardness. I will analyse the reasons why corruption has become so

rampant in Pakistani society and why its costs are borne by all segments of society. I will trace the development of the major sectors of the Pakistani economy—agriculture, industry, commerce, finance—and point to the extraordinary potential in each one of them. I will also explore the nature of Pakistan's economic links with the outside world with a view to evaluating how they could be used to ensure a better economic future of the country.

This series of articles will conclude with an assessment of the shape of the Pakistani economy in the year 2000. I will provide two scenarios: one in which Pakistan builds on its current economic strengths while, at the same time, overcoming its many weaknesses. The other scenario will see Pakistan succumbing to its current problems, the victim of the ineptitude of its leaders to adopt the obvious solutions for tackling them. The first scenario will see Pakistan firmly established as a member of the community of middle income nations; the second will keep it among the poor and struggling countries of South Asia. The choice of the direction to be taken is entirely within the control of the people of the country and their leaders.

Government Indifference to Agriculture Attacked

93AS0143B Lahore THE NATION in English 9 Oct 92
p 9

[Excerpts from article by Masud Ahmad: "Our 'Self-Reliance'—Wheat Production"; quotation marks, italicized words as published]

[Excerpts] [Passage omitted] It is so baffling. We, basically an agriculturist country, have to import wheat every year. We have fertile soil. We have the world's largest canal irrigation system—yes, the largest in the world. We have very hard-working peasantry. Yet we cannot produce enough wheat to feed ourselves. India's Punjab is one-third the size of our Punjab. They have no rivers like ours. They have no canals. Yet they produce three times the wheat our Punjab produces, feeding half of the population of India. So, India does not have to import wheat. We have to. This year we were going to import 2.5 million tonnes costing 400 million dollars, which, in terms of our money, will amount to 10 Arab rupees, twice as much as spent on the Jinnah Terminal at Karachi Airport adorned with chandeliers, et al, and we heard so many caustic comments on that extravagant enterprise.

This decision to import 2.5 million tonnes of wheat had been announced before the deluge of mid-September which could have destroyed inestimable reserves of our wheat stocks and we may have to import twice that quantity, costing almost as much as we are going to spend on the Lahore-Islamabad Motorway. We have to wake up to this devastating erosion of our meagre monetary resources.

Well, it will not happen again. This was the assurance given to us in his television talk by our Minister for Food and Agriculture, Gen. Malik Abdul Majid. Next two

years, Gen. Majid gave us the brightening news, will be observed as Wheat Years in which an all out campaign will be launched to multiply our wheat production. If all the ambitions he articulated in his talk are fulfilled, we will become a wheat exporting country after two years. If....

How do we observe Wheat Year, in fact Two Wheat Years? If it is anything like we observe year of or years of ... it will run something like this: On a fixed day, newspapers will come out with a two-page supplement on Two Wheat Years. The front page will be full of messages from the President, the Prime Minister, the Minister for Food and Agriculture on top half of the page and messages from the Chief Ministers of the four provinces on the bottom half. The President's and the Prime Minister's messages will be decorated with their two-column pictures, the President with a solemn face and the Prime Minister with a broad smile spread across. Pictures of other dignitaries will be confined to a single

column space, although that of the Food and Agriculture Minister could be spread to a column-and-a-half. The messages, as usual, would say how wheat is a basic need of our people and how essential it is to increase its production to meet all our needs. The Prime Minister's message will also bring in his favourite phrases of "self-reliance," "we will not beg or borrow" and that "we will make sure that wheat is supplied to every citizen of Pakistan at his doorstep," but it doesn't matter what the messages contain, as no one ever reads them.

The back page of the supplement will carry two or three articles by academicians of some agricultural institutions on how to grow wheat and increase its yield per acre. And the evenings will see seminars arranged in big hotels in Islamabad and Lahore where you see crowds of luminaries and hear highly erudite lectures on specific subjects which add a lot to everyone's knowledge and awareness about vital issues involved and all go home highly enlightened. [passage omitted]

Turkey Said Ready To Provide Spare Parts for F-16's

93AS01431 Lahore *THE NATION* in English 12 Oct 92
p 9

[Article by E.A.S. Bokhari: "F-16's and the Turkish Linkage"]

[Text] President Ghulam Ishaq is just back from Turkey and it appears that some sort of assistance from Turkey may be forthcoming for the provision of spares for our staple fighter, the F-16. As it is, we have about 40 or so F-16s which are the backbone of our Air Force. Further consignment of these planes which was in the pipeline is not forthcoming from the United States nor the spares for these rather aging aircraft are being provided by General Dynamics, although Mr. E.L. Dodd does work as Director F-16 Program—Pakistan in Islamabad. He is permanently based at Forth Worth, Texas, United States.

Besides the abundant and generous Chinese assistance, Pakistani option includes the French Mirage-2000-V, and MiG-29s, which are equally good aircraft, but our pilots are more familiar with the F-16s (which incidentally have done well in the Gulf War) and these planes handle well in the hands of our pilots.

One cannot denigrate the French Mirage or the Ex-Soviet MiG. The French plane is perhaps oversophisticated, as most of the modern French equipments are, and the Soviet plane is somewhat over-robust with two engines and the best possible power to weight ratio of these three sets of planes. Incidentally, India possesses both the Mirages and MiG-29 is their staple plane anyway.

There is no doubt that General Dynamics, the manufacturers of the versatile F-16s, have a wide range of operation and marketing and the plane is supplied to many countries of the world. Perhaps the \$4 billion funding package for 80 F-16s in Turkey is one of the biggest funding package presently going on in Turkey. Some of the known details of this project will be found in the paragraphs that follow.

Three Persian Gulf States, i.e., Saudi Arabia, Kuwait and UAE [United Arab Emirates], and the United States are funding the lion's share of the major Turkish project of acquiring a second batch of 80 F-16s fighter aircraft under a joint programme with General Dynamics. The arrangement is something like this that the three Gulf States are to contribute \$1 billion each and the United States would contribute a further \$500 million for the Turkish deal, which is scheduled to start after 1994. This has been recently stated by Mr. Vahit Erdem, who heads the Under-Secretariat of Defence Industry (UDI) in Turkey. Incidentally, UDI is responsible for all defence industry projects in Turkey. The Turkish contribution in this mammoth project would be some \$500 million.

As indicated earlier, this is in fact an ongoing project and the Turkish Aerospace Industry (TAI) has already produced more than 75 F-16s out of a planned 152 which are to be built for the Turkish Air Force by 1994 by General Dynamics. The United States has delivered eight fully operational F-16s to Turkey as a part of this first \$4.5 billion consignment of 160 planes.

It appears that the second consignment of F-16s programme is in hand and the Turkish government has already made a bid for the 80 advanced C and D models of the General Dynamics jets and 12 spare engines for the same. The Turkish authorities have confirmed the aid from the Gulf States and the United States which is needed for the finalisation of the contract. Saudi Arabia has already announced that it would give crude oil worth \$1 billion to support Turkish defence industry effort. This effort, of course, would be channelled into the F-16 deal.

The details of the arrangement are something like this. About 70 percent, including the fuselage and wings of the first 172 planes is made in Turkey, with the rest of the configuration coming from the States. The Turkish share is set to increase to 95 percent under the new arrangements/project. The work is undertaken in factories at the famous Murted Plant near Ankara. The Turkish authorities are almost certain of getting 160 planes. As per Mr. Erdem "...As we got close to number 80, they will make decision for another 80. That's the promise."

There is no shortage of interest in the Turkish product, and Pakistan may rightly hope for a positive response for the Pakistani request for spares and even aircraft itself if the need does arise.

Egypt has also shown keen interest in the Turkish product and according to some reports, the Egyptian Ambassador in Ankara had indicated Egyptian interest in acquiring some 50 aircraft which, of course, were to be financed from USAID [United States Agency for International Development] (and as it is) Egypt gets sizeable aid—and is next to Israel in this regard in terms of money. It has also been indicated that the fighters would be F-16 C and D types, and the deal would be worth some \$1.3 billion.

It is reasonable to assume that Murted facility in Turkey might become the major international supplier of F-16s and their parts/components after the Fort Worth plant stops producing the aircraft after a few years (which it is expected to do).

"The F-16 plant (at Murted) is a joint venture with the United States. This should give an advantage to the Turkish F-16 plant. If the production of the F-16s stops in the United States, we expect the United States and General Dynamics will use this plant for further F-16 activities," said Mr. Erdem.

The Turkish share in Murted, including other companies (Turkish) and TAI, is 51 percent, while General Dynamics of Turkey Inc has a 42 percent stake. Seven

percent of the General Electric Technical Services stake makes the American share as 49 percent in all.

Of course, like any other country, there are detractors, and the Turkish opposition to this project comes from the Social Democrat Populist Party, which is

demanding a re-evaluation of this massive project in the light of the world changes. Notwithstanding this domestic infighting, it is encouraging to note that the response from Turkey to the request of Pakistan (as and when made) is hoped to be confidence giving and positive.

Science Minister Sumroo's Optimism Criticized*93AS0151F Islamabad THE MUSLIM in English
1 Nov 92 p 6**[Italicized words as published]*

[Text] Minister of Science and Technology, Mr. Elahi Bux Sumroo has stated that the government was giving great importance to advancement in the field of science and technology to suit today's requirements and tomorrow's expectations. Sweet and scintillating words indeed. But what's the content? Nil. Pakistan is most probably the only country in the world with shame of a declining literacy rate since its independence. That is horrible enough. What is worse is that those who are going about with university degrees—Bachelors and Masters in humanities and sciences—are barely literate but far from educated. A vast majority of them can hardly write their names correctly. Most of them have no idea of the elements of history, geography and economy of their country. A mini survey conducted by this newspaper involving university graduates and holders of post-graduate degrees revealed the appalling reality that they are supremely ignorant of the vital facts about their own motherland. Not one out of more than fifty boys and girls who had sought jobs would make the grade to become ordinary office receipt and despatch clerks. Some exception has, no doubt, to be made about girls. That would perhaps be because only girls from more affluent homes, hence better background, make it to the university in our country. The shattering discovery is that today we have a whole generation of boys between 19 and 23 years of age who are utterly unable to do any work normally expected of university graduates. They cannot even write five lines by way of application seeking employment. Today they are under the wings of their ageing parents. By themselves they are wholly unable to make an honest and adequate living for themselves. What will happen to them when the protective umbrella of their parents is removed by nature? This is a terrifying prospect.

The other side of this disquieting phenomenon is that there are jobs by the hundreds and thousands waiting to be taken up and efficiently performed but not many answering to the minimum required education and know-how. It is easy for Science and Technology Minister Sumroo to read out lyrics composed by his bureaucratic staff. But the mere fact that he exultantly talks about carrying the country into the 21st Century is enough to establish how sadly ignorant he is about the reality on the ground. There was a time when so many Muslim countries would send out their talent scouts to this country. Today employers within the country cannot find young people to fit into jobs available by the thousands at home. This sad situation is the result of the Islamisation of education by the Zia regime, still being followed by the present one. Where is Mr. Sumroo going to get the scientists, technical experts for the *requirements of today*, forget the *expectations of tomorrow*. If you cannot get primary education in proper shape,

talking about scientific and technological attainments is so much of balderdash. And the shocking part of this tragedy is that those who ought to know are evidently the most ignorant.

Has Mr. Sumroo ever given a thought to the fact that if a country has deliberately wrecked the very foundations of education only lunacy would prompt its apparently sane elders in responsible positions to go into ecstasies. The real situation about education in Pakistan today is total, unmitigated disaster. And it is getting worse by the hour. Education is twice orphaned because it is supposed to have two fathers and neither seems to be alive. The federal Ministry of Education has innumerable departments doing absolutely nothing of value. The provincial governments are composed largely of feudals who are afraid of educating the people. From their point of view an educated society would be hostile to their class, which most certainly it would be. Hence starving and distorting education out of existence has been the joint mission of the Zia dictatorship and its only civil ally, the feudal oligarchy. Under Zia regime the very foundations of education were blasted. The curricula for lower classes as well as university classes were curtailed and corrupted. What is taught in schools and colleges is rubbish. No wonder we have a whole generation whose heads are either empty or full of trash. This is not the way today's requirements and tomorrow's expectations are to be fulfilled, Mr. Sumroo.

Statistics of Population Growth Viewed*93AS0117I Islamabad THE MUSLIM in English
23 Oct 92 p 1*

[Article by Humayun Akhtar Rashid: "Babies; Boom or Boon"]

[Excerpt] Prophets of doom are predicting that if the present high growth of the population were allowed in the Third World countries, specially Pakistan, there would be total chaos. We are being constantly reminded that our survival depends on control of population.

According to the statistical data that is being made available to us, the projections are frightening. The population of Pakistan which stood at 33.7 million in 1952, four years after its creation, has gone up to 115 million in 1991. In 40 years there has been an increase by 82.5 million, that is 2.5 million each year. The annual growth rate was 2.4 percent during 1951-61; 3.6 percent during 1961-72; and 3.1 percent each in 1972-81 and 1981-91. And the growth rate of 3.1 percent is said to be the highest among the populous nations of the world.

We are further informed that of 115 million people, about 40 percent belonged to under 15 years of age. This means that about 69 million of Pakistanis are above 15 years of age and of this about 35 million will be women; thus leaving 34 million of male population above 15 years of age.

Federal Minister for Environment and Urban Affairs while speaking at a seminar about environmental challenges and solutions, said that "by the time I finish this talk, say in fifteen minutes, there would be in excess of 100 more people in Pakistan, each minute passes we have seven babies more in the country, in a year's time we have over 3.5 million more people who have to be fed, clothed, provided shelter, health and education care."

We are also told that of the 115 million, 37 million people, that is, about 33 percent, live below the poverty line. Statistic is an interesting science; one can manipulate the figures the way one like. Each government that has come so far has projected a rosy picture of the economy of Pakistan, while casting aspersions on the performance of the last government; all supported by statistics.

One really fails to understand as how such a detailed data is collected in a country, where education level is very low and means of transportation are meagre. Is it based on our census figures or the data is expounded from the sample data collected from chosen cities and villages. Population of Karachi has of course, increased by leaps and bounds, but it is not due to population growth as much as due to the shift of population from up-country. Pakistan, due to industrialisation, has seen migration of population from rural to urban areas.

Great anxiety and concern is being shown by the developed Western countries, leader amongst these being the United States, about our population growth. We even have a Family Planning Division in the Federal Government, to propagate the benefits and help populace in limiting the family. A learned Federal Minister has even suggested that promotion in the services should be based on size of the family; the smaller the family the better the chances of promotion. While watching PTV [Pakistan Television] suddenly there pops up an ad and one is forced to see and hear some interesting advice about the disadvantages of a plus-two family or how to control it to two.

Foreign experts and financial aid to implement the programmes are available in abundance to help in controlling the menace of family growth. No Pressler Amendment is applicable and monetary aid for this item continues unabated. We should be thankful to our benefactors for being so helpful and in trying to thwart the disaster of population growth that is looming large on our horizon.

National Population Growth Said Highest in Asia
93AS0117H Islamabad THE MUSLIM in English
23 Oct 92 p 12

[Article by Nadeem Hussain: "Pakistan's Population Growth Remains Highest in Asia"]

[Text] Islamabad, Oct. 22: The World Bank, while declaring Pakistan's economic situation as encouraging,

has maintained that despite good growth performance, the country has found it difficult to keep its fiscal and balance-of-payments deficits within stable ranges. This conclusion has been drawn in the Annual Report, 1992 of the World Bank.

The World Bank emphasises that Pakistan's social indicators underscore the urgency of accelerating efforts to improve basic services and tackle poverty concerns: "The country's adult literacy rate is 26 percent, its primary-school enrollment ratio stands at 50 percent, life expectancy is about 55 years and infant mortality levels are about 1.7 per 1,000 births."

These indicators compare poorly with the averages of other low income countries. Malnutrition is widespread among the children, and women's living conditions are far poorer than in comparable countries. Pakistan's population growth, currently averaging 3.1 percent a year, remains the highest in Asia. The World Bank argues that because some 29 percent of all households in Pakistan are estimated to be poor, poverty reduction remains one of government's most challenging tasks.

The World Bank says that it is also a task that requires continued strong political commitment for its liberalisation, an accelerated effort to expand the provision of basic services by both public and private sector, sharp increase in public funding in the social sector and widened access by the poor to opportunities for increased incomes and productive employment.

The World Bank points out that to assist in this effort, the government, with donor support, is preparing a social-action plan that is intended to establish realistic development targets in the social sectors, while clearly specifying that policy and implementation reforms are needed to achieve the country's human-resource development and poverty-reduction goals.

It states that at a meeting in April 1992 of the Pakistan consortium, members welcomed the government's presentation of its social-action plan and noted with approval the active participation of the provinces in the plan's preparation, as well as its strong emphasis on family planning and education of girls.

According to the World Bank, despite the effects of external shocks, Pakistan's economy has continued to experience quite rapid growth in recent years. "In 1991, GDP [Gross Domestic Product] grew by 5.5 percent, with exports growing about 20 percent in United States dollar terms," adds the World Bank.

To address the above-mentioned concerns, the government has moved forward with a programme of structural reforms, initiated in the late 1980s, aimed both at strengthening fiscal and balance of payments performance, and restructuring the respective roles of the public and private sector.

The World Bank, while hailing the economy policies of the government, says that the government's overall

vision is to develop an outward-oriented economy that is increasingly free of public controls, has a policy and regulatory environment conducive to private-sector investment, and in which the public sector concentrates primarily on overall policy environment, as well as on those development tasks that cannot be handled by the private sector.

It says the government is also beginning to strengthen reform initiative in two critical areas where policy changes and action programmes have moved quite slowly. The first involves public expenditure and the resource mobilisation issue. The second area concerns social and human resource development where Pakistan's efforts to translate economic progress into social gains have achieved very limited success.

Despite all these efforts, a lot more is needed to put Pakistan on the right path, argues the World Bank.

Chief Justice Calls Foreign TV 'Threat' to Nation

93AS0143D Lahore THE NATION in English
14 Oct 92 p 2

[Italicized words as published]

[Text] Lahore—Lahore High Court's Chief Justice Mian Mahboob Ahmad has urged the writers, scholars and producers to provide a strong base to let the new generation safeguard national ideology and culture.

Addressing the oath-taking ceremony of Pakistan Television Producers Association on Tuesday, he said due to modern technology and information explosion the world had shrunk and societies and cultures of different countries were influencing other cultures. No society could remain isolated now, he said. He further said new international channels were projecting different cultures. He said Muslim countries were especially being threatened by the onslaught of these new channels, that were propagating their own cultures.

Commenting on the effects of advertisements, he said the PTV [Pakistan Television] administration must consider its impact. "When a viewer watches aristocratic

style of living on screen and fails to copy it, the frustration leads him to crimes." He further said the PTV should present programmes that could inculcate love for the country.

Speaking on the occasion, Editor [of] THE NATION Arif Nizami said for the survival of TV in the country, the government should take steps to revive the credibility of the PTV. He said when the policy of projecting the official line could not save even the governments of Ayub Khan, Zulfikar Bhutto and General Zia, how could it persuade the rule of Prime Minister Nawaz Sharif.

About the government's role in officially controlled media, he said it had lost its credibility. Like its other much talked about slogans of democracy and privatisation, it should also declare PTV an independent organisation. Commenting on PTV's *khabarnama*, he said it had been reduced to *wazira-e-azamnama* and *wazirnama*. In a lighter vein, he said the PTV's producers had now become experts to blow up the impact of official public meetings. It was only after 1985 that the Opposition was being shown on TV but only for its negative projection. He regretted that people had to switch on to BBC to know about their own country.

With the repeal of Press and Publication Ordinance and coming several new newspapers in the market, the position of NPT [National Press Trust] was not good, though, he said, it was not fair of him to comment on rival newspapers.

He said the new TV channel was allowed to operate only when it agreed that it would not telecast any programme on current affairs. It was fortunate for the PTV, he added.

New channels, he said, were a threat to the PTV as with the increase in their viewers the advertisement would shift to them, adversely affecting it financially.

He congratulated Mushtaq Sufi on his election as President of the Association for the second term.

PTV Producers Association President Mushtaq Sufi presented the welcome address and highlighted the problems of the PTV. Dr Khaliq Usmani also addressed on the occasion. A large number of intellectuals and artistes participated in the function.

The Chief Justice administered oath to the office-bearers of the PTV's Producers Association including President, Mushtaq Sufi, Vice-President, Fiaz Warriach, Secretary-General, Amjad Shaheen, Joint Secretary-General, Basharat Khan, Treasurer, Qaisar Ali Shah beside five Members of the Executive Committee.

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