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# **Near East & South Asia**

**PAKISTAN**

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# Near East & South Asia

## PAKISTAN

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21 July 1993

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## International Affairs

### U.S. Role in Political Turmoil Claimed

93AS0873A Karachi JANG in Urdu 5 May 93 p 3

[Article by Rasheed Patel: "Our Political Situation and America."]

[Text] The wheeling and dealing which went on in the Punjab assembly may be unmatched anywhere else in the world. The chief minister who, until yesterday, enjoyed everyone's confidence, suddenly lost it. Whatever this may or may not prove, it certainly shows that it was not possible to push a [similar] plan through the national assembly, otherwise a double barrelled shotgun would not have been used to upset the country's political system. One barrel (8th amendment) was used to change the federal ruling authority overnight and the second barrel (wheeling dealing) to change the leader of the Punjab assembly.

The dismissal of the prime minister and the wheeling dealing in the Punjab assembly has placed the former prime minister, together with his trusted friends, in an entirely new political role among the ranks of the people. Behind him is his historical speech to the people on 17 April in which he challenged the establishment as no one had ever done before and promised the people, as no one had done before either, that he would continue his political struggle to promote democracy and the well being of the people. Since then, he has been proceeding on his new political journey and his successes include the whirlwind tour of Karachi and, with the political cooperation of the National Awami Party [NAP], the historical public gathering at Peshawar. The political echo resulting from the latter has given rise to talk of the danger of martial law in the country and the possibility of the postponement of elections. More important still, she who until yesterday championed street politics, political turmoil and long marches, now that she gained office, has changed her political stance and style and is issuing the political warning that the deteriorating law and order situation was inviting the imposition of martial law. All these things show that in one week, the present ruling authorities have discovered that the situation has backfired; they are forced to get together frequently for consultation, keep expanding the federal cabinet, and are seeking justification for calling the provisional government the national government. While doing all this, each one of them has remained aware of the political necessity of leaving a backdoor open for retreat. Pakistan People's Party [PPP] is holding on to the excuse and demand for the dismissal of the provincial assemblies [sic] and is studying the future political situation so that if necessary, it may have a reason for a hasty withdrawal from the provisional government. The U. S. is studying the hour by hour situation closely and, in the interests of its own objectives, keeps pushing the provisional government forward as long as possible. The U. S. ambassador, detecting political anxiety and fear in the ranks of the provisional government, recently met

with the provisional prime minister, congratulated him on gaining office and patted him on the back to give him political encouragement. The leader of the People's party, who has staked everything on participation in the provisional government, has gone to the U. S. to better understand the U. S. strategy.

Such is the country's political situation which has given the provisional government a case of high political fever; and the critical situation of business and trade is depriving the government of its sleep. The country has gone through economic fear and anxiety before but the present economic turmoil is unprecedented. The change of government created immediate despair in the money and capital markets and the people have lost confidence in everything. In the space of a few hours, the people withdrew half the country's foreign exchange from the banks; the stock market fell suddenly and steeply and is still languishing. Even the purchase of millions of rupees worth of shares by government officials has failed to boost the market and the atmosphere of uncertainty and loss of confidence is affecting all branches of commerce. This same uncertainty and growing loss of confidence is the real political power of the former prime minister and he gained this power legitimately through his privatization policy for which he worked night and day. He strengthened the foundations of a free market and foreign investment in the country and raised the business morale. It was because of the problems of the economy and morale that three days after coming into office, the provisional government, seeing the country's business and trade plunging into uncertainty, was forced to announce that it would follow the former government's policy of privatization and free economy. But people are not content with listening to what is said, they look at the speaker and remember his background. Investments, savings, the stock market and foreign exchange are like the sensitive plant which withers at a mere touch; what has happened was more like a sharp slap administered by large landowners and feudal landlords who cannot accomplish anything except turn the wheel of time back toward the past. Industrialization, privatization, investment and liberalism are not in their interests.

Knowing full well the political calibre of the present ruling authorities, and knowing also that the former prime minister was leading the country toward the political and democratic principles established by the U. S. itself and was bringing the country in line with international economic trends, why did the U.S. still consider it necessary to bring about political changes in Pakistan? Why is the U.S. supporting and protecting these changes and encouraging certain individuals? Why is it calling unconstitutional and undemocratic actions both constitutional and democratic? Events reveal why the U. S. is behaving in this fashion. The fact is that the U. S. is not interested in seeing its political and economic principles take root here; its interest lies in other matters and other plans which aim at bringing about changes in this region and weakening Pakistan.

The former prime minister was not interested in becoming a U. S. tool for furthering its plan; hence, he was dismissed. The new ruling authorities have placed their political necks in a noose. Their relationship with the U. S. ambassador, who is a master of the political art of tear down and destroy, is becoming closer. The ambassador's last political appointment was the Philippines where he accomplished no mean task when he had Mrs. Aquino, who is opposed to military dictatorship, choose a military leader in the last elections as the head of the country. The ambassador is now accomplishing the same thing here in a different political fashion. It was not merely accidental that the former government was trampled politically at the time when the Islamic ministers' conference was going to be held in a few days (and in the international political situation, this conference was very important for the U.S.). The explosion of the bomb of fundamentalism and the accusations of terrorism were used to bury the government under tons of wreckage. These false accusations would have been the burning issue discussed in the conference and the situation would have been quite different if the former government had been the host of the conference. But the provisional government washed away the stain of these accusations in the presence of the foreign ministers of all Islamic countries as one washes away a stain from one's shirt. Out of fear of being called terrorist, the ruling authorities backed away so far from the support of the Kashmiris that they might just as well have said that they were withdrawing their moral support also. Our stand on Bosnia and Palestine went not an inch further than the U. S. stand. Our position influenced the entire proceedings of the conference and the U. S. gained its objective to keep Islamic causes weak and downtrodden. In the next stage, the U.S. will thrust on us its solution for the differences on the subcontinent. The present Azad Kashmir assembly and leadership are obstacles in the path, hence they will be removed. If you remember, the president and former prime minister were told to fulfill their national and international responsibilities as soon as possible; the next day, addressing the nation, the former prime minister announced spiritedly that he would not accept anyone's dictation.

### Rejection of U.S. Dictation Advocated

93AS0892F Lahore NAWA-I-WAQT in Urdu  
8 May 93 p 10

[Editorial: "U. S. Dictation and the Responsibility of National Politicians."]

[Text] Qazi Hussain Ahmad, leader of Jamaat-I-Islami, has said that the country wanted a politician which would be able to tell the United States that he would not submit to U.S. dictation because at this time, the United States wanted to see a Pakistan which had no nuclear program, a small army and a small defense budget. U.S. intentions regarding Pakistan are no secret; aid has been stopped over the nuclear issue and Pakistan has been refused spare parts for even its old ships [planes?].

Because of Indian propaganda, Pakistan is being threatened with the designation of terrorist for giving moral and political aid to the freedom movement in Kashmir which is based on justice and truth. The irony is that, according to the BBC, the United States has for the moment postponed labelling Pakistan a terrorist state because such an action may be considered a reaction against the dismissal of the Nawaz Sharif government. In other words, the caretaker government, of which Benazir Bhutto is a member, is very dear to the United States; furthermore, she is crediting her lobbying for U. S.'s postponement of the terrorist designation for Pakistan. Speaking to Pakistani and Indian journalists in Washington, Benazir expressed the hope that the government which would come into office after the elections in Pakistan would improve relations with the United States. She also said that relations between Pakistan and India would improve if India had a courageous leader like Rajiv Gandhi. She promised that if she became the prime minister, she would urge a weapons reduction agreement between India and Pakistan.

The promises which Benazir Bhutto, a member of the caretaker government established under the supervision of president Ghulam Ishaq, is making to her new world order masters show that if she assumes office again, there will be a return to the days when smiles were exchanged with Rajiv Gandhi; there is danger also that Kashmir will be put on the back burner and friendship promoted with India because, in order to bring about weapons reduction with India, Kashmir will have to be forgotten. Benazir has openly announced that in her lifetime, friendship between India and Pakistan will become possible. After this clear announcement, patriotic politicians who are aware of Indian and U.S. intentions should pool their strength and make Pakistan strong to the extent that, whereas today, an individual told the United States indirectly that he would not accept U.S. dictation, tomorrow a prime minister would be courageous and strong enough to tell the United States directly, "You will not dictate to me."

The fact is that the only reason the former government and the assembly were punished is that they refused to bow to U.S. pressure and tow the U.S. line on nuclear policy, the Afghanistan issue, Kashmir struggle, fundamentalism etc. The only conclusion to be drawn from Benazir and BBC's statements that the United States had postponed its decision to declare Pakistan a terrorist state is that the United States does not object to the policies of the present government which, in turn, leads one to conclude that the former prime minister must have refused to follow policies dictated by the United States. The presidential lobby's propaganda is thus false that the United States had encouraged the former prime minister to conduct a campaign against the president because the United States thought that it was very difficult, if not impossible, to end Pakistan's nuclear program as long as the president was in office. The propaganda put out by the president's lobby claims that Ghulam Ishaq is the originator and guarantor of Pakistan's nuclear program; but as the truth begins to emerge

slowly, one can see that in fact, the former prime minister was considered an obstacle in the path of U.S. intentions. At any rate, it is the duty of self-respecting national politicians who are the well wishers of Pakistan and the nation to try to understand U.S. intentions and, in order to safeguard the interests of Pakistan and the nation's security and freedom, to support those forces who refuse to bow before India or the United States. If Qazi Hussain Ahmad wishes to see an individual, who can refuse to submit to U.S. dictation, gain the office of prime minister, he should be seen standing beside such a man who would have the courage to do so even if it should cost him his office. It is the duty of politicians all over the country to show unity and inflict utter defeat in the next elections on those who wish to make Pakistan the satellite or serf of the United States and India. It is Benazir's responsibility to return to her country and clarify the statements she has made and explain to the nation that if she is returned to office, what policy she will pursue to free Kashmir from India's clutches, strengthen Pakistan's nuclear program and safeguard the country's security. Pakistan is the bulwark not only of the people of Pakistan but of all Muslims and it is the duty of every politician to protect it and ensure its safety.

#### Major Shift in U.S. Interests, Views Seen

93AS0869C Karachi DAWN in English 12 May 93 p 15

[Article by M. H. Askari: "US Ambassador's Concern"]

[Text] There is no reason to believe that nothing but a genuine concern for Pakistan's economic health would have prompted the US Ambassador, John C. Monjo, to describe this country's defence spending as "far too high." The statement is, nevertheless, astonishing as it appears to imply that Pakistan's defence spending has grown without any linkage to American strategic interests in South Asia.

While the end of the cold war has understandably brought about radical changes in American perceptions of global security, it would be unrealistic to assume that Pakistan would be able to suddenly shift into the reverse gear and begin dismantling a defence establishment which in the first place began burgeoning in the Eisenhower era, in consequence of the alliance relationship established between US and Pakistan as far back as 1954. Directly under US influence, Pakistan acceded to SEATO [Southeast Asia Treaty Organization] in September 1954 and the Baghdad Pact, subsequently called CENTO [Central European Treaty Organization], in September 1955. In March 1959, the two countries concluded the Agreement of Cooperation, which was an executive agreement, rather than a treaty, but all subsequent US administrations reaffirmed it.

There can be no argument with Ambassador Monjo's statement, at a forum of businessmen and industrialists in Karachi the other day, that Pakistan must demonstrate the political will to tackle the challenges affecting development, health, education and population control,

causing Pakistan to lag behind several other developing countries at present. A number of Pakistani experts themselves have been concerned at the excessive budget deficits and over 80 per cent of Pakistan's net revenues going into defence spending and debt servicing, leaving very little for day-to-day administration and the social sector.

However, it should be no news to Ambassador Monjo that the present state of Pakistan's economy has resulted, to a large extent, from what American experts themselves have described as a unique influence-relationship which began developing between Pakistan and United States in the fifties. Despite "wild fluctuations" (as one American specialist has called it), it continued up to the end of the eighties.

Ambassador Monjo has been lecturing Pakistani audiences on the imperative need to appreciate the shifting of American priorities in the past three or four years because of the changes in the socio-economic and security environment. The changes have flowed from the end of the cold war and have largely affected perceptions in the US and some other major powers in the West. The environment for Pakistan (and South Asia as a whole) has not meant changes in perceptions in any significant way. Hence the perplexed and somewhat angry reaction of Pakistanis to what they are being told.

While talking to a group of senior journalists in Islamabad on March 31, the US Ambassador insisted that he should not be looked upon as "viceroy". To many Pakistanis, nevertheless, his observation that Pakistani officials should be certain that "they are implementing what is their declared policy" seemed to have a somewhat peremptory tone about it. If the Ambassador had conveyed his (or his government's) feeling that Pakistan had still not imposed an effective enough "clampdown" on aid being funnelled to the Kashmiri freedom-fighters, to Pakistan's policy planners, the message should have been regarded as perfectly bona fide. However, he chose to address his remarks to news-media representatives which suggested that the message was intended to get through to Pakistanis at large. This could not but arouse a confused response; the Kashmiri people's freedom-struggle had intensified shortly after the operations against the Soviet occupation of Afghanistan, in which the Americans themselves were closely collaborating with Pakistan, had drawn to a close. For the large mass of people in Pakistan, it is not easy to make a distinction between the situation in Afghanistan and that in Kashmir, both having a direct and almost equal bearing upon Pakistan's security and stability.

That the United States is concerned about Pakistan's nuclear programme and the Indian allegations of this country's interference in its internal affairs is not the whole story behind the shift in the United States' policy towards Pakistan. The imperatives of the post cold-war situation are also directly relevant, and so is the growing US attention to India.

The Clinton administration has already embarked on a major initiative to encourage a bilateral dialogue between India and Pakistan and defuse the tensions on the subcontinent. A series of confidence-building measures have been suggested by Washington and a great deal more of diplomacy will be at work in the coming weeks. The report on the future of US-India relations compiled by a study group sponsored by Carnegie Endowment for Peace late last year can be expected to receive more than passing attention from the policy-planners in Washington. The report clearly stated that the end of the cold war had created the opportunity for a significant improvement in relations between the US and India since "a growing recognition of converging geopolitical interests and shared democratic and secular values has replaced mutual distrust resulting from differing perceptions of the Soviet threat." The study group came to the conclusion that India would grow in economic and military power, regardless of what US did, and that development of cooperative Indo-American relations would be growing interest to both countries.

Reverting to Mr. Monjo's latest statement, one may recall that despite the close security and economic relationship between Pakistan and United States from the early fifties to the late eighties, Washington hardly ever became oblivious of the possibility of developing a strategic relationship with India. In 1959-60, US leaders were seriously questioning Pakistan's value to the United States and Senator John F. Kennedy, who was to become the US President a few months later, urged Washington to give massive aid to India, presumably because of the latter's tensions with China. He strongly believed that the US strategic relationship with Pakistan should not be allowed to stand in the way.

In the context of US-Pakistan relations and the expansion of Pakistan's defence establishment, it is important to repeat that the role played by Washington has been a major factor. Although the first moves to cultivate an influence relationship with the US came from Pakistan, by the early fifties Washington was exploring the possibility of providing "defence support" to Pakistan. In 1952 it provided economic assistance for the purpose.

The election of ex-General Eisenhower as President and his choice of John Foster Dulles as his Secretary of State and of Admiral Arthur W. Radford as Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff inaugurated an era of closer US-Pakistan relationship. As part of its policy to contain communism, Washington developed its concept of a "northern tier of defence" and sought to build up the indigenous fighting capabilities of Pakistan, Iran, Turkey and Iraq as "front-line states." The US also encouraged Ayub Khan, who had assumed the command of the Pakistan Army in 1951, to undertake visits to the United States.

Prior to a meeting of the Commonwealth military staff in late 1951, Ayub Khan, along with Iskandar Mirza, then Defence Secretary, in fact decided to bypass Prime Minister Liaquat Ali Khan and sounded out the US

Ambassador in Karachi on the idea of Pakistan being associated with the "defence" of the Middle East, on condition that the Middle East commander should be an American. In September-October 1953, Ayub Khan, at his own initiative, visited the United States, "seeking a deal" with Washington for Pakistan to serve as "the West's eastern anchor in an Asian alliance structure." It has been speculated that as early as then, Ayub Khan had a grandiose plan to capture power (which he did in 1958) and seek American help in order to develop the army which was his power base.

The close strategic alliance which later developed between Pakistan and US is only too well known. The subsequent expansion of the Pakistan armed forces, with substantial inductions of funds and materials by the United States. A large group of civil and military advisers was also placed by the US in Pakistan to oversee the expansion. The first phase of US-Pakistan strategic relationship ended for all practical purposes after the 1965 India-Pakistan war. Following the Soviet military occupation of Afghanistan on December 25, 1979, Pakistan and the United States embarked on a new phase of strategic relationship.

Washington now once again looked upon Pakistan as an important factor in fashioning its policy. With President Reagan's assumption of his office, the US agreed to a \$3 billion aid package for Pakistan extending over a period of six years. This was to be followed by a second package of \$4.3 billion. However, the US has not released the annual instalment of aid funds since and of 1990 because of its perceived concerns over Pakistan's nuclear programme. The programme, nevertheless, was there when US was collaborating with Pakistan during the Afghanistan crisis.

#### Panel Reviews Relations With U.S.

93AS0891A Lahore NAWA-I-WAQT in Urdu  
14 May 93 p 5

[Article presents views of 5 individuals participating in the third of a series of discussions entitled: Aiwani-waqt, arranged by the newspaper NAWA-I-WAQT. Aiwani-i-waqt's presiding panelists are Tariq Ismail Sagar, Tahir Malik, and Javed Alavi. The participants in the discussion are: Hanif Ramey, General M.H. Ansari, Sayed Haidar Farooq Maududi, Arif Chaudhry, and Farruq Suhail Goindi. The topic: "Pak-U.S. Relations: The Challenge Facing Pakistan's Foreign Policy."]

[Text] Host: I welcome today's guests participating in this meeting arranged by the newspaper NAWA-I-WAQT. The topic of today's discussion concerns Pakistan's foreign policy and is titled: "Pak-American Relations." I request Hanif Ramey to open the discussion.

Hanif Ramey:

Foreign policy is in fact an extension of domestic policy; unfortunately, since Pakistan's present government has neither a domestic policy nor any specific goals, how can it be expected to have any foreign policy? We do not have a

minister for foreign affairs and at this critical moment, the prime minister's special assistant has been sent to the U.S. to try to improve Pak-U.S. relations. The prime minister has no time to devote to foreign affairs. Like the SHO, he likes to investigate crime at the scene of the action. As regards foreign policy, no country loves another country; special interests in fact shape foreign policy. Common interests create warm relations between countries, and, when these interests no longer exist, relations begin to cool. We fought the war in Afghanistan for the U.S. We worked for U.S. interests, but Zia demonstrated weakness and cowardice when he failed to explode a nuclear device. Today, the U.S. is trying to brand us terrorists because of our nuclear policy. At the present time, the individuals in Pakistan who can be called terrorists are those who were trained by the U.S. to fight the Soviet Union. We are accused of dealing in narcotics; but no one can tell the U.S. that those who are smuggling drugs with Pakistani passports are the same Afghans who were aided by the U.S. The Pakistani government appears totally helpless in foreign affairs. Pakistan has no one to advocate its cause in foreign affairs or in the international arena. Countries such as France and Germany call us the door to Central Asia, but in the eyes of our own government we have no international standing.

The Muslims are suffering oppression in Kashmir but Pakistan appears unable to advocate their cause. India wants to isolate us internationally; instead of trying to counteract the efforts of India and the Indian lobby, we merely launch accusations against that country. We have never tried to understand U.S. foreign policy. At the present time the U. S. has divided the Middle East into two parts: an Arab part believed to be under the leadership of Saudi Arabia, and the other part under the leadership of India. India tries to depict itself to the West as the country with the largest Muslim population. The time has come when we should establish good relations with India. If it was possible for us in the past to maintain good relations with U. S. and China at the same time, why can we not now have close relations with both India and China?

International conditions demand that Pakistan and India simultaneously announce that they are nuclear powers; the U.S. would then be forced to revise its foreign policy priorities. We should make it quite clear to all countries that we are not willing to accept India as the regional leader; if India wants to maintain its superiority through nuclear bombs, then we also have nuclear bombs. History has shown that a nuclear war did not break out because both the U.S. and the Soviet Union had nuclear bombs. Similarly, since both India and Pakistan possess nuclear bombs, the fear of a nuclear war turns into a guarantee that such a war will not break out.

The solution of the Kashmir problem is essential to [good] relations between Pakistan and India. It is a foregone conclusion that we cannot solve the Kashmir issue with India by military means. The Kashmir problem has to be solved through political means and

that necessitates gaining something and giving something. In order to establish strong relations with the U.S., Pakistan needs good relations with India.

(Retired) General M. H. Ansari:

Pak-U.S. relations are an important issue, and, to find a positive solution for this problem, it is necessary to create a social bent of thought within Pakistan. Confusion and instability in foreign affairs can prove dangerous for Pakistan. Relations between the U.S. and Pakistan began when former Prime Minister Liaqat Ali Khan decided to visit the U.S. instead of the Soviet Union. Pakistan then joined several defense agreements with the U.S., and, because of its support of the U.S., received arms and military aid. Pakistan was the bridge which enabled the restoration of close relations between China and the U.S.; it was instrumental in bringing two powerful countries together. Historically, the U.S. maintained close relations with nondemocratic military regimes in Pakistan, and Pakistan stayed at the side of the U.S. against the Soviet Union. A major turning point in Pak-U.S. relations came when Zulfikar Ali Bhutto announced Pakistan's intention to build a nuclear bomb. The U.S. was not ready under any circumstances to see Pakistan become a nuclear power. During Bhutto's term of office, the U.S. secretary of state visited Pakistan in order to dissuade him from acquiring nuclear capability. The U.S. foreign secretary even warned Bhutto that he would come to a dire end if he built a nuclear bomb. The problem of Afghanistan once again brought Pakistan and the U.S. close together, and the U.S. used Pakistan to fight its enemy Soviet Union in Afghanistan.

When the Soviet Union started to face defeat in Afghanistan, the U.S. attitude toward Pakistan began to change. In the last days of the Afghanistan war, the U.S. accused Pakistani authorities of embezzling U.S. aid to Afghanistan. Then the U.S. raised the issue of Pakistan's complicity in terrorism. The fact is that the U. S. does not want to see Pakistan become strong; it does not want Pakistan to acquire nuclear capability and become stable and strong. To achieve its objectives, the U.S. needs a weak Pakistan. On the other hand, our rulers have become addicted to U.S. aid. Instead of relying on ourselves, we have always depended on U.S. aid. Our governments cannot function without loans from the World Bank, IMF, and the American dollar. What we have to decide is the kind of relations we want with the U.S. One way to strengthen ties with the U.S. is to do whatever it wants and to forget our own wishes and aspirations. The other way is to stand up to the U.S. and, like a dignified and honorable nation, strengthen our internal situation, gain self sufficiency and no longer depend on the U.S. In conclusion, I would like to say that we cannot become strong and formulate a foreign policy if there is domestic dissension and confrontation within the country. It is possible to shape a dignified foreign policy only when conditions within the country are

peaceful and stable. We cannot stand up to the U.S. if we are not self-sufficient. A weak Pakistan will have to bow before the U.S.

Sayed Haidar Farooq Maududi:

The U.S. is the natural friend of Pakistan and this fact was demonstrated soon after the creation of Pakistan when prime minister of the time Liaqat Ali Khan accepted the invitation to visit the U.S. The leaders of the Pakistan movement were democratic minded individuals, and, hence, it was natural for them to gravitate toward the U.S. rather than the Soviet Union. After the death of the founder of Pakistan and Liaqat Ali Khan, Pakistan's policy fell prey to instability, but that fact did not create a breach in Pak-U.S. relations.

Relations between the U.S. and Pakistan reached their high point during Zia's term of office when, with the help of the U.S. and the West, Pakistan aided in every way possible the struggle of the Muslim people of Afghanistan against Russian forces. As a result of the joint efforts of the U.S. and Pakistan, the struggle of the people of Afghanistan succeeded and a super power, the Soviet Union, was forced to withdraw its troops.

After the Russian withdrawal from Afghanistan, if there had been unity of thought among the people of Pakistan, the issue of Afghanistan would have been solved in a desirable fashion. Unfortunately, our religious elements labor under the misapprehension that we defeated the Russians in Afghanistan single handedly; hence, it was not necessary to take into account the political and economic interests and views of the Pakistani government and its Western allies.

Because of the wrong thinking of religious elements of the wrong kind, on the one hand, peace has not been restored in Afghanistan, and, on the other hand, Pakistan's relations with friendly countries such as Saudi Arabia and the U.S. are deteriorating.

The government's action against the welfare organizations of Arab countries [sic] in Peshawar resulted from the obstinacy of these religious groups. These groups who, for the past 15 years accepted aid from the U.S. and the West, are now out of control. They constantly accuse the two major political parties in Pakistan, Muslim League and the People's Party, of being U.S. agents. They see America's hand in the differences between president Ishaq and prime minister Nawaz Sharif. If the U.S. is so evil, which law of the sharia justifies their having accepted U.S. help to conduct a "jihad"?

The son of Qazi Hussain Ahmad, the present leader of Jamaat-i-Islami (Qazi group) is receiving higher education in the U.S. We were able to stop Russian aggression in Afghanistan with the help of the U.S. The behaviour of Jamaat-i-Islami and other religious parties in venting their anger night and day against the U.S. can only be interpreted as ingratitude, faithlessness, and lack of political foresight. Islam does not teach us to act in this manner.

We depend on the U.S. and the West for everything from wheat to planes. But the emotional speeches of our leaders convey the impression that Pakistan and not the U.S. is today's superpower. It is true that Islam offers solutions to all the individual and social problems of life. But the question which is more important, and, to the point, is what is the status of Muslims today. One cannot conquer the world shouting slogans of Islam's righteousness.

By shouting emotional slogans against the U.S., the country cannot be administered nor a foreign policy formulated. I request the religious elements to temper emotion with realism and view the facts. Empty slogans against the U.S. do not benefit Islam or Pakistan. It is commonly said that the defense agreements between Pakistan and the U.S. were aimed against the Soviet Union. That is true, but a more important fact is that, in the 1971 war between Pakistan and India, the U.S. kept Indira Gandhi from attacking West Pakistan. Hence, we should thank the U.S. for our existence. After the creation of Pakistan, the founder of the country unequivocally announced his opposition to communism and laid the foundation of friendship between Pakistan and the U.S. The Islamic world and the West share their belief in the principles of democracy, freedom, justice, freedom of expression, and a prosperous [welfare?] state. By acting on these principles, Muslims and Christians can promote cooperation based on love and brotherhood in a new world order.

Arif Chaudhry Advocate:

In order to understand [part of sentence deleted] relations between Pakistan and the U.S., it is first necessary to understand American psychology. In the U.S., a child's training starts with the primacy of "number one," the individual himself, and this fact is uppermost [part of line missing]. Children in the U.S. do not play meaningless games as our children do; their games are based on gaining the economic upperhand and establishing dominance and exploitation. In short, life starts in the U.S. with economic competition, the development of the self, and an individual's successful competition against other individuals. If we study the relations between Pakistan and the U.S. in the light of these facts, we realize that our relations with the U.S. were never based on bilateral [interests] that is on priorities based on national interests. The U.S. has always used us as a tool to further its expansionist and imperialist objectives, and our governments have furthered U.S. interests in order to keep themselves in office and because of the exigencies of the time.

The most important and recent example of this fact is the U.S. confrontation with the Soviet Union in Afghanistan. This was a juncture when the U.S. was badly caught in a crisis and had become entangled in a struggle with a superpower in this region; these facts were essential in maintaining Pakistan's geographical and political importance. Our governments limited themselves to receiving temporary aid; they did not take advantage of

the situation to enter into any permanent agreements. We now see the result of their policies. After Russia was defeated in Afghanistan with our help, and Russian troops withdrew from that country, we lost our importance to the U.S. Our peaceful nuclear program which the U.S. knew about during the war in Afghanistan, assumed unusual importance to the U.S. after the end of the war.

The U.S. bases its foreign policy on the geographical and political changes in the world. After the end of Russian communism, the only danger it can detect is from socialist China. The hegemony of India in this region as a counterpoint to China has become a priority for U.S. interests.

At the same time, one should also remember that, as was revealed in President Clinton's speech, the U.S. still regards the newly independent Soviet republics as a danger to itself. Our relations with Central Asian states, based on a common religion, are a thorn in the side of the U.S. Although Pakistan was not able to use the religious factor as the basis for strong relations with Central Asian countries, the tone of the propaganda which was carried out in this regard has rung the bell of danger for the U.S. Added to all this is our friendship with Iran which the U.S. takes into account. In view of these facts, it should be easy for us to realize that the U.S. will never give us any aid. In order to survive, we will have to base our plans on our national interests.

It is essential, therefore, to put into practice our slogans of self-sufficiency. The ordinary man should not have to pay for the country's self-sufficiency; rather, restrictions should be placed on the limitless luxuries enjoyed by the upper classes. Pakistan should stop immediately imports of foreign products including luxury items. The slogan of a prosperous Pakistan should be the same as the one adopted under the leadership of Liaqat Ali Khan on 21 May, 1948, namely, that we will depend on domestic products for our needs. This policy should be immediately put into effect.

On the sensitive issue of nuclear power, we should inform U.S. and the whole world of our point of view. Most important of all is political stability within the country. As long as a truly democratic government does not have the opportunity to take root in the country, we will encounter difficulty in establishing relations with the U.S. and other countries on a dignified basis. At this critical juncture in its history, Pakistan should regard as its first priority the reformulation of its foreign policy.

Farrukh Suhail Goindi:

Pakistan's relations with the U.S. were never established on a popular basis. According to a U.S. survey, Pakistanis dislike the U.S. more than the Iranians [do?]. Pakistan's relations with the U.S. were always maintained between governments. A former CIA director once called General Zia a likeable person. U.S. foreign policy regarding the Third World has changed. In the

past, the U.S. directly supported military and nondemocratic governments as a result of which the people of countries such as Iran and the Philippines came to hate the U.S. intensely. The present U.S. policy is to protect U.S. interests in the Third World by keeping straw politicians in power while the army, which has the real power, works behind the scenes for the U.S.

It is the misfortune of the people of Pakistan that our governments relied solely on U.S. aid and endeavoured to the point of stupidity to establish close relations with the U.S. We did not attach any importance to maintaining close relations with a near neighbor, Iran, but relations with the U.S., a country thousands of miles away, became very important to our governments. Pakistan is important to the U.S., and that is why the U.S. includes Pakistan in its central command [sic]. However, the U.S. has always used Pakistan to achieve its own interests, and, once those interests were served, it has turned its back on this country. In 1990, Pakistan sent its troops to fight on the U.S. side against Iraq. What did Pakistan receive in exchange? Nothing. U.S. cancelled the debts of Egypt and Turkey when these two countries joined the U.S. [in the Gulf war]. In the history of Pakistan, it was only from 1971-77, during Zulfikar Ali Bhutto's term of office, that Pakistan did not depend on U.S. aid, and that was the reason why this country made progress [in those years].

The fact is that our governments went against the wishes of the people and tried to get close to the U.S. The latter has never come to our aid in times of trouble but has stood by silently. In the 1965 war, even though there was a defense agreement between Pakistan and the U.S., the latter did not help us. In the Pak-India war of 1971, the U.S. staged a drama with its fleet but left Pakistan to fend for itself alone. If, in spite of these experiences, we still want relations with the U.S., then, first, public participation in the matter is essential, and, second, the relations should be on the basis of equality.

#### U.S. Intelligence Said Fabricating to Further U.S. Interests

93AS0894A Karachi DAWN in English 15 May 93 p 11

[Article by Khalid Mahmud Arif: "CIA's India-Pakistan War, 1990"]

[Text] Writing in the NEW YORKER magazine on March 29, 1993, Seymour M. Hersh has projected the CIA claim that it averted an open conflict between India and Pakistan in 1990. The article states that, "In the view of American intelligence, the weak governments in place in Pakistan and India in May of 1990 were willing to run any risk—including a nuclear war—to avoid a disastrous military, and thus political, defeat in Kashmir." The CIA had assessed that, "Both sides were blundering toward a war, and we were afraid that it would go nuclear."

Alarmed by this intelligence assessment the US President's emissary Robert Gates was rushed to India and

Pakistan where he claimed success in warding off a regional war. Some details of Gates' conversation with the Pakistani dignitaries are disclosed in the article but those held by him with the Indian leaders are carefully omitted. The kiss of war theme has since been selectively played up by the US and her strategic allies. The garbled version leaked out to the Press is riddled with some vital missing links which arouse doubts and questions. For example, was the CIA assessment accurate and genuine or was it purposely fabricated to promote a hidden interest? Was a war really imminent? If so what precise evidence justified the CIA to apprehend that it might take a nuclear turn? Which country had planned to initiate the war? The truth remains buried in a haze of uncertainty as the two regional governments have unwisely maintained a cloak of secrecy.

Hersh writes that Robert Gates "declines to discuss specific intelligence about the nuclear crisis in May of 1990," and concedes that, "There is no evidence that Pakistani leadership or its intelligence had advance knowledge of or were in any way involved in the initial uprising in Kashmir, which was triggered in January 1990 when Indian police opened fire and killed 50 pro-independence demonstrators who were protesting what they viewed as the latest of India's puppet governments. But Pakistan did move quickly to exploit the unrest."

The genesis of the Kashmir dispute, long held on the UN agenda, need not be discussed here. The people's indigenous uprising erupted from the non-implementation of the UN resolutions on Kashmir calling for the holding of a UN-supervised referendum. Reneging from that international commitment, India imposed policies of terror and oppression on the people with the bayonets and bullets of the Indian military. They rose against the denial of their rights and the tyranny of the ruthless occupying power.

In an attempt to externalise her self-created chaos, India blamed Pakistan for her predicament in Kashmir. The war seeking military leadership in the Indian army prepared a hit plan to engage "targets" in Azad Kashmir in the garb of destroying the assumed training bases of the freedom fighters. In the assessment of the Indian planners, Pakistan would then be faced with a hard choice. She would either swallow the insult and raise political noises against the Indian aggression or retaliate with force. The CIA sniffed the foul odour of the Indian expansionist plan. It concluded that it would be politically impossible for Pakistan not to react sharply to such an unprovoked act of military aggression. Without exposing the Indian war designs, it prepared an exaggerated conflict scenario to pressure the policy-makers in the two countries. A peaceful South Asia had long been a goal of the American foreign policy. Alarmed at the prospects of a war raging in the region, the US administration took preemptive measures to calm tempers. Gates took a hurriedly arranged journey to the subcontinent to convey the US concern.

An expert in the intelligence field Gates lacked the sophistication, the elegance and the finesse of a seasoned diplomat. With his frankness bordering abrasion, he vainly tried to overawe Pakistan. Islamabad firmly denied the location of training camps on her soil for the Kashmiri freedom fighters and repeated her desire to live in peace with Indian on the basis of sovereign equality. Gates guessed that Pakistan would not succumb to the Indian blackmail and would aggressively defend herself if attacked.

Gates reportedly conveyed to the Indian leadership the views of Oakley, the US Ambassador in Pakistan, that an unprovoked military attack in Kashmir would compel a cornered Pakistan to react strongly in her defence. He subsequently claimed that his warning to India produced a salutary effect. The Indian army quietly backtracked from its trigger happy military venture in Azad Kashmir. This episode has been projected by the US administration to claim that India and Pakistan were on the precipice of a war in which nuclear-weapons could have been employed.

Apart from the inappropriate weather factor the ground realities that prevailed in May 1990 in Kashmir and along the Indo-Pakistan border negate the myth of the imminence of hostilities. Available credible evidence shows that the Indian army offensive attack plan, prepared by the military brass, had not yet received the final political nod of approval from the Indian government. The ground situation confirms this view. The considerable and inescapable preparatory work needed by the Indian military to support a war of aggression would have been immediately detected in Pakistan. The Pakistani intelligence did not pick up any abnormal logistic and movement activity of the Indian military forces close to the border belt. Tension prevailed in the bilateral relations between India and Pakistan but its low intensity did not indicate that a war was around the corner.

If a war was not in the offing, the danger of the employment of nuclear weapons in it was at best a hypothetical conjecture. Pakistan did not possess a usable nuclear weapon. As such she could not have been an aggressor. India would have been naive to start a nuclear war, even when she had nuclear bombs secretly tucked in her basements. The price of initiating a nuclear aggression would have been too heavy for India to bear. By planning to externalise her internal difficulties, India played into the hands of the CIA which skilfully exploited the opportunity to promote the wider interests of the US foreign policy.

The nuclear war scenario in the subcontinent, void of ringing the bell of truth, was a clever intelligence move to build up a world pressure on India and Pakistan to highlight the danger of a regional conflict getting out of control by design or through miscalculation. It was aimed at urging upon the two countries to accede to the Non-Proliferation Treaty. The American administration might also have been innocently led to believe in the





the Egyptian armed forces, that entity being much more vulnerable to Islamic pressures than anyone can imagine.

The Arab monarchies in such circumstances would hardly like to become isolated in the Muslim comity of nations. To protect the Western interests vis-a-vis Middle East oil an "operation Desert Shield 2" would have to be implemented in the face of Arab opposition, a massive and permanent US air, ground and naval presence to protect the oilfields from perceived invasion from the rapidly emerging new bloc. Whether the other Western nations would be willing participants in such a permanent force is open to question. The odds-on favorite as the US proxy in the region is India as a replacement for the Shah of Iran's policeman role envisaged by the US in the 70s. As Islam and Hinduism are on a direct collision course, it would be futile to suggest that anyone in the Middle East would under any circumstances accept the patronage and presence of the Indian military on their soil, notwithstanding the far-out possibility that India would be able to spare any ground and air forces while Pakistan is alive and kicking.

The aforementioned is very much a hypothetical scenario which may well become a reality. As much as it would be a living nightmare for Pakistanis to be associated with the likes of Saddam Hussein in any manner, pragmatism will dictate reluctant acceptance of such an eventuality. While India (and Israel) may try surgical air strikes against our suspected nuclear facilities, which if existent should have been well dispersed anyhow, the net result would be for general proliferation of nuclear know-how throughout the Islamic world, more as a defence mechanism rather than an articulated offensive policy towards the West. The US has been a friend of Pakistan. To paraphrase a Chinese proverb, "Why is the US now using a hatchet to kill a fly on Pakistan's forehead?" While Pakistan must certainly take all measures to defuse the situation, it is imperative that the US be made to appreciate Pakistan's logical and legal position about Kashmir and the inability of any individual in Pakistan, let alone those comprising the government to seal off moral and material support completely to the Kashmiris in Indian-occupied Kashmir. As it is successive governments have been vilified by the Pakistani masses for not giving material support to the Kashmiris while the Indians are perpetrating atrocities of the most inhuman kind in Occupied Kashmir. Is it possible for Pakistanis to stand by and see the Indian version of "ethnic cleansing" in Kashmir, the ridding of Kashmir of Kashmiris by torture, rape, killing, arson, etc? The US is now increasingly articulate about Bosnia, that is because the international media is allowed to report facts as they are. What about Kashmir, will the Indians let an international media team into the Valley?

If the letter of US law is to be followed to its logical conclusions, the US may well declare Pakistan a terrorist state but before that, in the great tradition of American fairplay, let the US Congress send a full-fledged delegation inside Indian-occupied Kashmir to see the situation

for themselves. India's state-sponsored terrorism within and outside India is too well documented to be glossed over but we will accept that also be ignored, however unfair. If what the Congressional delegation sees inside Kashmir conforms to the cherished American beliefs about life, liberty and freedom as enjoined by their own forefathers and for which thousands of American young men have given their lives in distant lands in distant wars for other people's freedom over the years, we will accept our status as a terrorist state.

Before we are pushed into a scenario that may not be so far out as it may seem, let us examine the full implications thereof. We will also accept the consequences that come with the label of a terrorist state as much as the US will have to bear the consequences of discarding a friend it used to call the cornerstone of US policy in the region. This is what the voice of the great silent majority in Pakistan says, the voice of those who believe that we must not turn our backs on the US but that the US must also understand that for Pakistan and Pakistanis it is impossible to turn our backs on Kashmir and its people.

#### Scholars Condemn U.S. Policy

93AS0870D Lahore THE PAKISTAN TIMES in English  
8 May 93 p 3

[Ahmad Fraz Khan interviews a variety of Pakistani intellectuals: "Terrorist State Scare for Pakistan"]

[Text] Dr. Hasan Askari Rizvi, Chairman Political Science Department, Punjab University, Lahore, Dr. Mehdi Hassan Assistant Professor in Mass Communication Punjab University Lahore, Mr. Amir-ul-Azim Secretary Information Jamaat-e-Islami, and Mr. Inayatullah, a columnist participated in the discussions.

Pakistan is on the US watch-list since December last for being declared as a terrorist state. If the US hawks get their way through, Pakistan's economic survival can become next to impossible if not totally impossible: with foreign assistance stopped, foreign remittances squeezing dry and its credibility taking a nose-dive, it would soon be on its knees, begging for mercy, which would only be forthcoming on American terms, because beggars cannot be choosers.

This situation has prompted a national debate in Pakistan, because consequences of being declared a terrorist state are severe and immediate. The most unfortunate part of this debate is that it is being conducted in a miasma of emotionalism. Even writers of great repute are writing on the subject either with anger or with repentance. Designating a state as terrorist is a political decision, because no taxonomy of the term exists. This political decision needs to be countered with politics only. We set ourselves on fundamentally wrong position viz-a-viz politics if we start judging it from any one perspective: invoking *ad nauseam* of morality or escaping into ideology or brain washing the populace don't solve political problems. Unfortunately, the previous government is guilty of these mistakes.

It will not be pedantic to look at the term from academic point of view, and set our perspective right. The term "Terrorism" has acquired pejorative connotation, not only as governments use it but also as revolutionaries or nationalists use it, although its negative usage has not always been the case. The history of the word shows that in the nineteenth century revolutionaries were proud to call themselves terrorists. Only since World War II it has become a term of opprobrium. This negativity has hindered the evolution of a consensus definition of the term, so now it means many things to many people. One author listed 109 definitions for terrorism formulated between 1936 and 1981, and doubtless more have been created since. Yet we do not appear to be any closer to an acceptable generic definition now than we were fifty years ago, and there is not likely to be one in the foreseeable future.

Another obstacle is national self-interest. States and individual are loath to base their responses to political violence on definitional criteria alone, because all too often such responses could conflict with more pressing foreign or domestic policy interests. The diversity of national perspectives on any single group or event makes the task of international consensus necessary for concerted world action against terrorism exceedingly difficult.

This lack of clarity has put even legal experts on the defensive. Legally speaking terrorism is not even a specific legal issue or category, but instead a broader variety of transgression that cuts across a variety of legal lines. For instance, vandalism, murder, and mental cruelty can all play a simultaneous role in a single act of international terrorism. However, this same act may be justified by its perpetrator as the only means available to achieve certain inalienable human rights or other legal goals. While the nature of international terrorism remains largely, though not entirely, inside the vague discipline known as criminal law, definition of motive and the exact abuses of the act remain cloaked in a mantle of situational ethics. Put succinctly, one expert says, international terrorism often presents itself as a nonlegal phenomenon.

While progress has been made in areas such as aerial and maritime piracy, as well as hostage taking, effective or overarching legislation remains elusive.

In the absence of any internationally acceptable definition of terrorism, the term has become a political label rather than an analytical concept, used to condemn one's enemies rather than to specify what it is, and what it is not. The word terrorism itself is so imprecise and emotionally evocative that it can be, and often is, used as a label for a wide variety of often unrelated and incompatible types of activity.

After taking a general account of the term, now let us see how the United States of America looks at the term of how she defines it.

**US definition:** one US government definition states: "Terrorism is the threat or use of violence of political

purposes by individuals or groups, whether acting for or in opposition to established governmental authority, when such actions are intended to shock, stun, or intimidate a target group wider than the immediate victims. Terrorism has involved groups seeking to overthrow specific regimes, to rectify perceived national or group grievances, or to undermine international political order as an end in itself."

**US law:** now let us see US law dealing with terrorism called "Termination of Assistance to Countries which Grant Sanctuary to International Terrorists: National Security Exception."

(a) **Termination of Assistance and Period of Ineligibility:** Except where the President finds national security to require otherwise, the President shall terminate all assistance under this chapter to any government which aids or abets, by granting sanctuary from prosecution to, any individual or group which has committed an act of international terrorism and the President may not thereafter furnish assistance to such government until the end of the one year period beginning on the date of such termination, except that of during its period of ineligibility for assistance under this section such government aids or abets, by granting sanctuary from prosecution to, any other individual or group which has committed an act of international terrorism, such government's period of ineligibility shall be extended for an additional year for each such individual or group.

(b) **National security exception: report by President.** If President finds that national security justifies a continuation of assistance to any government described in subsection (a) of this section, he shall report such finding to the speaker of the House of Representatives and Committee on Foreign Relation of the Senate.

**US charges:** now let us look at the US charges against Pakistan. Recently Mr. John C. Monjo, US ambassador to Pakistan, while briefing editors of national dailies and new agencies explained American position and charges.

According to Monjo: "Pakistan is supplying arms and training to Kashmiris. The United States is constantly reviewing the charges of terrorism and has impressed upon Pakistan to stop covert supply of arms to Kashmiris. This covert supply of arms is "sponsorship to terrorism." If Indian tanks and army attacked Kashmiri people, it would not be terrorism but a violation of human rights."

The ambassador was not apparently satisfied with the assurances given by Pakistan to clear its name of the charges of supporting terrorism.

"We have our own reliable sources and Pakistan is such an open country that information flows are terrific. You are an open society and we have our sources to know what is actually happening," he said.

He repeatedly described the issue of terrorism as critical for relations between the two countries. But he said, "there was no barometer to watch the activity. They are no red, yellow or green signals."

He said the Pakistan government had repeatedly said that it only provided moral, political and diplomatic support to Kashmiris but "our flow" of information shows mixed reports. This is how Americans take the issue.

To cover the Pakistani perspective THE PAKISTAN TIMES invited some experts from different fields. Following are the excerpts of our discussion:

**PT: What could be perspective of judgement for designating a state as terrorist.**

**Dr. Rizvi:** The designation of a state as a terrorist is a political decision, it is always a political decision. We should try to take it as such, and counter it with the same spirit.

Normally it involves three things. Firstly it involves excessive use of force. Secondly, in whose interest a state is using force. That is meant whose interest is being promoted and whose interest is being obstructed. It is at this stage when political considerations come into play, and they are coming into play in Pak-US wrangle. Thirdly, what is status of the state which is trying to designate another state as terrorist state. For example, if Pakistan designates America as a terrorist state, it won't affect the USA. Because Pakistan lacks political clout to enforce its decision. Whereas the USA has such clout. We can see this Pak-US feud in this perspective.

**PT: Why is Pakistan being target, when it has time and again refuted all such charges, and condemned all forms of terrorism.**

**Dr. Mehdi:** I think that Pakistan is a victim of American double standard. She is not applying her own rules equally to all countries. The USA is targeting Pakistan for three reasons i.e., terrorism (as Americans define it), nuclear policy and religion.

Now let us see how all three reasons prove of US double standard. Pakistan is being accused of sponsoring terrorism in Kashmir. According to UN resolution, Kashmir is a disputed territory, awaiting solution. How moral support to independent movement of a disputed, illegally occupied territory can be termed terrorism is anybody's guess. On the other hand, Israel, an American stooge, is applying terrorism on Palestinians for the last 45 years, but they have no intention to declare her a terrorist state. America herself had been indulging in terrorism in Korea, Vietnam, China, and more recently in Afghanistan. All this shows that logically speaking this allegation does not carry required weight.

Another is that of nuclear policy. The United States wants to force a roll back, or minimum a freeze on Pak nuclear programme. Pakistan has tied its nuclear programme with India due to its security concerns. India carried out a

nuclear explosion in 1974, Pakistan has not done it so far. One wonders why America has not been applying same kind of pressure on India, who is 19 years older than us in the nuclear field. Why are other nations like Israel or South African being spared? Logically this allegation of US should stand nullified owing to discrimination.

Third reason, and to me the most important one, is religion. Americans, throughout the cold war, successfully painted Soviet communists as a Godless society, and kept it at bay. With the demise of communism, Americans fear that this vacuum could be filled by Islam. Revival of religious movements have only increased their fear. They knew that the most important propaganda tool against communism of being a Godless society won't be effective against Islam. So they have started targeting Muslim states. This is like inventing an enemy. Now they are using different excuses to apply pressure on Muslim states.

**Mr. Inayatullah:** I think terrorism scare for Pakistan is a cover up. The real US motive is a nuclear freeze or nuclear roll-back. Otherwise I am convinced that Americans know more than us that uprising in Kashmir is totally indigenous. They are using this as an excuse to punish Pakistan for something else. India has already sealed the border. Pakistan is offering deployment of international observers on the Line-of-Control. What else a government can do. If American still wanted to declare Pakistan a terrorist state, who can stop them.

After all Pakistan is a multi-party democracy. Every party has its own manifesto. The government cannot dictate a party what policy it should adopt. Americans as a democratic nation should know it better.

Pakistan has been sending one minister after another to assure America that we are not sponsoring any terrorism, but they are adamant on their stand. I think the Pakistan government has been doing what it should do. Rest is upto America, if they still want to go ahead with the decision, no one can stop them.

**PT: Is it only American double standard or there is scope for some soul searching?**

**Dr. Rizvi:** Yes there is a scope for such activity. Of course sponsoring terrorism is not Pakistan's policy but it has failed to clear the fog of confusion and send right signals to the world community. For example, during the Afghan war there was a lot of overlapping between US and Pakistan government interests. We were conducting CIA-sponsored training for Afghan mujahideen. The trainees were not only Afghans but there were Muslim zealots from all over the world. Now, since Afghanistan is not seeing that kind of activity, these people are returning to their homeland carrying a lot of ideological baggage with them, and creating problems for their own government. We failed to check this activity in time which has created some misunderstanding between Pakistan and some Muslim countries.











“terrorist” state only because a few Pakistanis had extended support to the victims of Indian forces.

He alleged that the US was the main hindrance in Pakistan and Indian ties as it wanted that tension should continue to prevail in the world so that its ammunition industry could flourish.

Prof Ghafoor asked the Indian government and its people to take stock of the situation prevailing in the occupied Valley, because they cannot crush the freedom movement there.

### **Mallot Assertions of U.S. Even-Handed Approach Questioned**

93AS0894B Karachi DAWN in English 19 May 93 p 11

[Article by Mahdi Masud: “The U.S. as an Honest Broker”]

[Text] It needs a special effort to discuss ways of meeting external threats and dilemmas at a time when we have landed ourselves once again in a serious internal crisis, affecting economic development and political stability and projecting to the world our internal contradictions and weaknesses.

It has been evident all along that in spite of the objectively clear merits of our stand on issues such as nuclear proliferation and Kashmir, there was no way that we could meet the twin-problem of the Indian threat and US pressure without promoting national solidarity, economic progress and political cohesion.

The present month has witnessed important developments in Pakistan, US relations including President Clinton’s message to the US Congress on his country’s policies in South Asia, the visit to Pakistan of the concerned US State Department official, Mr John Mallot, and the public statements of the US Ambassador. The assurance by Mr Mallot that the US would persuade India to have a dialogue with Pakistan on Kashmir and other differences, is to be welcomed. However, Mr Mallot has also been quoted in the Press as having stated, with reference to the validity of the UN resolutions on Kashmir and the Simla Agreement, that “the latest understanding between India and Pakistan was in Simla. If Pakistan wanted only the UN resolutions to be implemented and considered plebiscite as the only way out, then why did Pakistan sign the Simla Accord?”

Although Mr Mallot knows the UN Charter as much as anybody else, he may wish to refresh his memory on Article 103 which is quoted verbatim: “In the event of a conflict between the obligations of the members of the UN under the present (UN) Charter and the obligations under any other international agreement, the obligations under the present Charter shall prevail.” In the first place, therefore, the resolutions of the US Security Council continue to be binding on member states even if there was a conflict with the provisions of any other agreement. In the second place, the provision in the

Simla Agreement about a bilateral dialogue to which Mr Mallot was apparently referring, and to which Pakistan never had any objection, was agreed to, in the language of the Simla Agreement, “without prejudice to the existing position of the two sides” which covers the obligations already incurred under the Security Council resolutions of Kashmir. In view of the clear legality of the above position, Pakistan does not have to recall the circumstances of the Indian invasion and occupation of East Pakistan preceding the Simla Agreement to reply to the US official’s question as to why did Pakistan sign the Simla Agreement?

On the nuclear issue, Mr Mallot has defended the Pressler Amendment by stating that “it was a favour for Pakistan,” by setting a cut-off point in nuclear development, prior to which aid for Pakistan and normal relationship would have continued, if the line had not been crossed by Pakistan in 1990. How much fairer and more even-handed it would have been if the same favour had been extended to India precluding it from carrying out the nuclear explosion of 1974 and subsequent significant development in nuclear, military capability! If the US ‘favour’ had been extended in the same way to both sides, at this point of time when Pakistan is being asked to roll back its alleged nuclear programme to 1990, India would have been even-handedly asked to roll back to, when, 1974?

On the issue of terrorism, there should be no question of Pakistan support for terrorist activities against civilians, in Kashmir or elsewhere.

It is important, however, that unfair pressure is not applied on Pakistan with a view to releasing India from the momentum of a genuine moment for self-determination for which the Kashmiris have made very high sacrifices. The stakes on the terrorism issue are high not only for Pakistan, which is obvious, but also for the United States in view of the implications of pushing Pakistan into the corner of radical Islamic forces in the strategic sensitive areas of South-West Asia and the Gulf. The US strategy appears to be, not to take any precipitate action of declaring Pakistan a terrorist state but to keep the sword of Damocles hanging on Pakistan’s head and to pressure it step-by-step to withdraw all types of effective support for the Kashmiris.

In a report on South Asia submitted to the US congress in early May 1993, under the Foreign Assistance Act, President Clinton has suggested an Indo-Pakistan dialogue on Kashmir and confidence-building and short-term measures, including demilitarisation of Siachen Glacier, cutoff of fissionable material production, a regional agreement not to conduct nuclear explosion and extension of the Indo-Pakistan agreement on refraining from attacking each other’s nuclear facilities to a commitment not to attack populated areas. In order to promote regional security and nuclear non-proliferation in South Asia, through the initiation of dialogue on Kashmir and the five-power conference on nuclear non-proliferation, the only way is for the US to link regional









"Don't read too much into Mr Major's letter as probably the cricket grid has also worked to a degree," the source commented. Both Mr Sharif and Mr Major are cricket lovers.

The British authorities, including their concerned minister, the source said, had in fact thanked Pakistan for the role played by Islamabad in making the release of the three kidnapped Western diplomats possible from Afghan fighters.

"It was a positive signal from the caretaker government showing to the Western world that the new leaders were able to handle such complicated matters to the satisfaction of the civilised world," the sources said.

### U.S. Declared Public Enemy Number One

93AS0931B Karachi JANG in Urdu 23 May 93 p 3

[Article by Sayyed Shah Aziz Imam: "Our Politics, Kashmir, and Nuclear Program"]

[Text] In the 16 May 1993 issue of JANG, statements by U.S. Deputy Secretary of State John Mallot were printed. He made these statements during a conversation with journalists in Islamabad. The U. S. deputy secretary of state said that the issue of Pakistani aid to Kashmiri mujaheddin has been an important issue of discussion. He also mentioned an assurance by Pakistan and explained the U.S. desire that Pakistan follow up on this situation. In addition, he cited the dismissal of two senior military officers as encouraging steps in this direction.

The report also mentioned that Mallot stated that the United States has commended Pakistan's reaction to stopping the Pakistani nuclear program. These are important news items. But it is an embarrassing situation that two senior military officers were dismissed to please the United States. Their work was related to the Kashmir front. How does a messenger from another country have the right to interfere in Pakistan's administrative affairs? Our history has repeatedly demonstrated the fact that rulers who had the support of the United States, had nothing but humiliation and shame in their fate. The opinions that the associate chairman of the PPP [Pakistan People's Party], Benazir Bhutto, used to express on Kashmir and the nuclear program during the chief ministership of Nawaz Sharif, and for which she had the U.S. support, has become the official policy of the present caretaker government. Mohammed Nawaz Sharif became prime minister after Benazir Bhutto, and he reinstated the lost pride of Pakistan. The U.S. ambassador used to visit the Pakistani prime ministers any time he wanted, and was given the title of viceroy, but he had a hard time getting an appointment with Nawaz Sharif. Under these circumstances, it was important to follow this policy for our national pride.

Mr. Nawaz Sharif adopted the policy so that he could look eye to eye with the United States and other countries and talk with his head held high. The United States of America, which was the only superpower left, could not tolerate Nawaz Sharif's policy. It wanted to make Pakistan its dependent nation. It also tried to create all kinds of problems for Pakistan. It stopped military aid and withdrew its hand from all kinds of cooperation. In every country under American influence, Pakistan began to face problems in getting cooperation. The United States tried to make matters difficult for Pakistan in those countries. But Pakistan did not compromise its pride and respect.

Mr. Nawaz Sharif's government was dismissed, and the United States arranged to run things here as it wished. Mr. John Mallot's statement has clarified the position of the present caretaker government of Pakistan. The present government lacked the courage to announce this policy itself. It is the responsibility of our president to explain to the nation whether he established this caretaker government to arrange elections in the country or to practically put Pakistan under U.S. control. This government has no right to make such fundamental changes in such important issues. Quaid-i Azam said that Kashmir was Pakistan's artery. Now, instead of protecting this artery, we are leaving it at the mercy of the United States of America. These two senior military officers were responsible for protecting this artery from India. The United States of America had them dismissed. The most serious thing is that our nuclear program is being drastically changed at the instruction of the United States of America.

The anti-Pakistan attitude of the United States is so bad that we must think deeply and quietly about how to counter it. Some political parties cry out at the top of their voices that this tendency is wrong and senseless. They try to make it appear to people outside of Pakistan that a huge jihad will take place in Kashmir. As a result, our foreign opponents, including the United States of America and India, increase their activities against Pakistan. Some political parties encourage the enemies of Pakistan by raising such slogans. Be it the Kashmir issue or the nuclear program, we should plan quietly and be prepared in order to be strong enough to attack our enemies effectively. This is what Allah and his teachings tell us, and it is what we practiced in the past. It has been the Jamaat-i-Islami's policy to say the names of Benazir Bhutto and Nawaz Sharif in the same breath when it comes to the United States of America.

Mr. Mohammed Nawaz Sharif of the people's interest and our national pride, and in some cases, he is just like the U.S. enemy, President Saddam Hussein. All of his actions have helped the U.S. interests. The people of Pakistan, under the leadership of Nawaz Sharif, will destroy America's unholy goals.





the divisions within the Organisation of Islamic Conference (OIC), lack of enthusiasm among its members and its poor past performance, not much in concrete terms can be expected from the ensuing OIC meeting. Yet, pessimism being unIslamic, let us hope the participants of the conference realise their duties and come out with a programme that could at least wash off the aforementioned general impression about the OIC itself.

Three issues, Bosnia, Palestine and Kashmir, deserve top priority in the ensuing Conference. If the Conference is really interested in following and implementing its own aims and objectives, it will have to come out with bold decisions followed by bold and concrete steps to extend effective and immediate moral, material and diplomatic support to the Bosnian Muslims, Palestinians and Kashmiris or the Conference will prove yet another expensive and showy exercise in futility.

One of the main reasons for the Kashmir issue remaining unsolved and for India treating Kashmiri Muslims as sub-humans and continuing their carnage unabated, is the most unfortunate and total apathy of the Muslim world towards the issue. Except Pakistan which supports Kashmiris mainly due to being a party to the issue and in the hope that Kashmir would ultimately become its part, no government of a Muslim country is supporting Kashmiris' just cause openly or effectively, whereas there are no two opinions that Kashmir issue is a Muslim issue as Muslims form 80 per cent of over 13 million Kashmiris struggling for their inherent, pledged, internationally recognised and fully deserved right of self-determination. In the process they are being butchered by Indian forces of occupation deployed in Kashmir numbering over 500,000.

During the last 4 years Indian forces have killed over 35,000 Kashmiris including men, women and children; burnt thousands of residential houses, shops and grains stores worth billions of dollars; raped and gang-raped thousands of women of 13 to 80 years of age; tortured to death or shot dead thousands of Kashmiri youth in interrogation camps and kept tens of thousands of Kashmiris behind bars without trial. India has escalated her butchery in recent weeks and almost all of its victims are Muslims.

This most unjustified carnage of Muslims by India and her refusal to concede to Kashmiris their pledged and fully deserved right of self-determination made it obligatory for the Muslim world, per principles of Islamic brotherhood, to come to the rescue of their brethren-in-faith. In addition, the U.N. Charter, the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, the Geneva Conventions as also the U.N. General Assembly Resolution 1514 and 2621 (regarding Decolonisation) all of which Muslim countries are signatories to, also made it obligatory for the Muslim world to do all that is possible to put an end to Indian brutalities in Kashmir and to afford to Kashmiris their pledged and fully deserved right of self-determination. Those who want to please both India and Pakistan propose that India and Pakistan should settle Kashmir issue through bilateral talks under Simla Agreement. On the face of it, this suggestion looks a very reasonable one but in fact is

tantamount to fully supporting India against Kashmiris and even against Pakistan. The Simla Agreement does not recognise Kashmiris even as a party to Kashmir issue whereas they are the most affected and most concerned party. There is no mention whatsoever in Simla Agreement of the right of self-determination of Kashmiris which is the very genesis of the issue. Moreover, being in possession of the bulk of Kashmir and stronger diplomatically as well as militarily, India can dictate terms to Pakistan during the proposed bilateral negotiations as she has been doing in the past. As such, suggesting that Kashmir issue be solved through bilateral negotiations between India and Pakistan under Simla Agreement, though apparently looking a reasonable one, in fact means depriving Kashmiris of their fully deserved right of self-determination and subjecting Pakistan to the whims and vagaries of India.

By adhering to principles of Islamic brotherhood, the Muslim world would have become world's strongest single bloc not to be reckoned with. Muslims form about one quarter of the world's population and occupy about one-third of seats at the United Nations. About one-third of the world's wealth belongs to Muslims and they occupy about one-fifth of the dry surface of the globe. Above all, they have a strong single binding force, Islam, whereas the rest of the world is divided into about a dozen religious, social, cultural, political and economic ideologies. If the potential of the Muslim world is properly utilised in the light of the principles of Islam and in the spirit of Islamic brotherhood, the Muslim world can in no time become the world's strongest single diplomatic, political, economic and even military force. But due to absence of real Islamic spirit in the minds and hearts of those at the helm of affairs in Muslim countries, the Muslim world is in a miserable plight. Most of the Muslim countries stand trodden on or dictated to by the Western world, some pitched against each other, their economic and diplomatic potential being used by the rest of the world to its own benefit and above all, they command no say or respect in the comity of nations.

As they say, late is better than never. If the Muslim world wants to achieve what its afore-mentioned potentials can present to it, it can still do so. Let the Karachi Conference take the first real and concrete step towards that end. Under the present circumstances the best way to do so would be to take bold and unanimous decisions on Bosnia, Palestine and Kashmir followed by equally bold and immediate steps to implement them. That is the only way to collective salvation of the Muslim world.

#### **Establishment of Islamic Bloc Advocated**

*93AS0932A Karachi JASARAT in Urdu 21 May 93 p 4*

[Article by Mohammad Mazhur-Ullah Gujar: "An Islamic Bloc Is Needed at This Time."]

[Text] At the present time, the world of Islam is beset with anxiety and turmoil. The atrocities committed against the Muslims in India, Kashmir, Bosnia, Armenia, Palestine, the Philippines, and Burma prove



Sixty per cent of world's tin and 40 per cent of copper comes from Islamic countries. Uranium, which is an important source of nuclear energy, is found in Africa's Islamic countries. There are large deposits of gold in Arab and African Islamic countries.

Ninety three per cent of the total world production of dates, 52 per cent of palm oil and 80 per cent of hemp [for industrial use] come from Islamic countries.

The armed forces of Muslim countries are the largest in the world. The armies of Pakistan, Iran, Turkey, Iraq, and Egypt are considered among the finest in the world. The fact is that if one billion Muslims should practice Islam in the true sense of the word and should become inspired with the spirit of jihad, they would all be mujahedeens fighters. If the Muslims practice Islam, God will grant them victory. Russia's defeat at the hands of the Afghan mujahedeens is a clear proof of the fulfillment of God's promise.

Islamic countries have large quantities of weapons; the Muslim countries of Central Asia, in particular Kazakhstan, possess nuclear weapons. Muslims have never been as rich in resources as they are today. All that is needed is faith in God and the spirit of jihad. As the verse says, if you create the atmosphere of the battle of Badr, rows upon rows of angels will descend to ensure your victory.

The above statistics show that Muslims are the world's richest and most powerful nation, but, when one looks at the general condition of the Muslim world, then except for a few countries most Muslim nations are found begging at the doors of other countries. Those Islamic countries which are rich or which at least appear prosperous, remain backward in regard to defense and economy. For example, although Arab countries have unlimited wealth, they are suffering degradation at the hands of a small country which has no resources.

The reason for this situation is that our rulers surround themselves with luxuries and pay no attention to problems; they look upon the resources given by God as their personal possessions and not as something to be held in trust for Muslims. Because of the wrong policies of these rulers, the wealth of the Muslims is being used by our enemies. The whole world knows that the U.S. is the most important supporter of Israel and gives it the largest military aid. The U.S. has always supported Israel. And though the Arabs know this, their oil wealth goes into American and European banks. The economy of these enemies of Islam is fueled by oil money. Oil money is used to manufacture weapons which are sold to us at high prices; it is loaned out to poor Muslim countries at high interest rates and on stringent terms. If this oil wealth were to be placed in the banks of a poor Muslim country, the first year's profit alone would pay all the debts plus interest of that country. At any rate, this wealth is not safe as can be seen by the fact that the U.S. has frozen Iranian and Libyan assets.

Anyway, what is past is past. Even now if the Muslims want, they can solve their problems. If Muslim rulers have any interest in solving the problems of Muslims, they should unite on a single platform and establish an Islamic bloc. Such an Islamic bloc would serve not only Muslims, but all weak nations (irrespective of their religion) and bring them tidings of peace and friendship. The demise of the Soviet Union has upset the balance of power and left only one superpower in the world. Left without a rival, the U.S. dreams of establishing its hegemony over the world. Only an Islamic bloc can shatter this dream because in area, power, population, and wealth, an Islamic bloc would be larger and stronger than the U.S. and the former Soviet Union. The U.S. knows the strength of Islam and wants to destroy it. It wants to destroy Muslim countries one by one, and, while doing so, it will not differentiate between friend and foe. Everyone can see what happened to Iran and Iraq. Thus, the establishment of an Islamic bloc is necessary for the survival of both the friends and adversaries of the U.S. Pakistan should play a special role in creating an Islamic bloc because Pakistan was founded in the name of Islam. The people of the Islamic world consider Pakistan the fortress of Islam and have many expectations from it. Secondly, after destroying Iraq's military strength, the U.S. is now eyeing Pakistan; that is why the entire Western media is trying its best to defame Pakistan. Pakistan should dispel the notion from its mind that our intellectuals will be able to present arguments which will persuade the U.S. to take our name off the list of terrorists and refrain from taking any action against us. Arguments and proofs are useful when they are presented to those who are ignorant of the facts. Is the U.S. blind? If the U.S. intelligence service can find out about the continuation of Pakistan's nuclear program, it must also know about the atrocities committed by India against the Kashmiris. The fact is that the U.S. knows who is a terrorist and who is not. Based on the facts alone, the U.S. is the biggest terrorist of all. Instead of sending its intellectuals to the U.S., Pakistan should send them to Islamic countries so that they may prepare the ground for the establishment of an Islamic bloc, inform these countries of U.S. intentions, and explain to them that the U.S. wants to punish us not because we are Pakistanis but because we are Muslims. If we are being punished today, it will be their turn tomorrow. Instead of adopting an apologetic manner toward the U.S., a courageous stand should be taken. It is said that for every Pharaoh, a Moses is born. Perhaps God will choose Pakistan to play this role in the present century.

#### **China Pledges Continued Political, Military Support** *93AS0869A Karachi DAWN in English 9 May 93 p 1*

[Article: "China To Continue Supporting Pakistan"]

[Text] Beijing, May 8: Mr Liu Hua Qing, member of the seven-person Standing Committee of the Chinese Politburo and first Vice-Chairman of the Chinese Central Military Commission, said here on Saturday that China











Iraq and false accusations against Iran; the "interest" shown in Siachin by commandos coming for training to Pakistan immediately followed by the arrival of Stephen Solarz; his secret meetings and intrigues; the growing danger to democracy in Pakistan; the deplorable state of law and order and the rising cost of living, behind all these events God knows how many conspiracies are being carried out. Secret hands, masked faces, the bold and insulting deeds of bottle-toting Indian diplomats, one can only watch and cry for the disasters which this home of the Muslims is going to face.

Although the Gulf war was regional, the participation of world and atomic powers gave an international aspect to the results of the war. Was this war the harbinger of unexpected events? Such a question may encompass too many factors. The causes of the war apparently go further back than Israel's raid on Iraq's atomic installations and the eight [many?] sided causes cannot be studied easily. One can, however, say that after Tel Aviv learned of the arrival of German scientists in Iraq, Israeli authorities began to keep a close watch on Iraq's military activities. A special section of Mossad searched for the kind of excuse which would end the danger brewing in the Arabian sands. Ensuing events would show that Israel's plan showed U. S. the way, several years later, to start a war which would not only change the international economic and political scene but spread such a state of helplessness and confusion among the Arabs that they would express their willingness for peace negotiations but Tel Aviv would not agree. This was a new phenomenon produced by "America and Co.'s" success in the Gulf war. It was during the Gulf war that George Bush had Kuwait give Gorbachev a billion dollars in "aid;" soon after, events started to take place in the Soviet Union which would culminate in the end of the Red empire. Perhaps the plan for the Gulf war had many secret components one of which related to the end of communism in Russia. It also appears that shortly before the rise of Lenin in Russia, when the Communist party split into the two Bolshevik and Menshevik factions, Zionism's experts in international "disturbance and subversion" also split into two groups. Both groups planned on the establishment of a world Zionist empire but their means of achieving this end were different. Zionists who supported Lenin followed the ideology of international leadership and the establishment of a world communist government; the second group held the view that they would be able to further the cause of a Zionist world empire by means of superior achievement in science, technology and democracy; they would then establish their hegemony in world politics and achieve their national goal. Nevertheless, the two groups maintained cooperation and mutual practical help. The latter group established Israel; their scientists pushed back U. S. scientists, took over and successfully completed the U. S. program for the conquest of space. They also started to further Washington's unannounced plan of conquest. With the outbreak of the Gulf war, the new world order announced by the U. S. was in reality the first documentation of the launching of the Jewish world empire the

effectiveness and force of which caused the ideological followers of Lenin in Moscow to admit defeat and put an end to communism.

Following the Gulf war, all Jewish scientists and politicians have united; they have cast aside the separate ideologies of Bolshevism and Menshevism carved out by their political predecessors and now dream of making the U. S. a far flung colony of Israel. This, then, is their objective today toward which they are advancing slowly in a pleasant atmosphere of cooperation and love. We may not be alive to see the day [when they gain their objective] but it will come and will give rise to riots between Jews and Americans. We want to warn the people and intellectuals of Pakistan that the pace of implementation of this notorious Jewish plan will quicken when the political conquest of the Islamic world will be accomplished according to the wishes and plans of the Jews. China appears to be part of this plan as well. The Bolshevik elements there will change their attitude and bow before Israel's ideology of hegemony or will be crushed and China's [word incomprehensible] future will be the same as that of the Soviet Union. Based on these conjectures, one may predict that following the Gulf war, a storm is brewing over the oceans and signs of major changes in the world map are appearing on the horizon.

These are the plans under consideration in Tel Aviv by Mossad and other Jewish agencies. In the past, Jewish thinkers and philosophers battled against the Christians; some of their philosophical conflicts are recorded in history. But following the Balfour declaration, the founders of Zionism abandoned these earlier tactics and decided that their real war was with Islam and the world of Islam. Since then, Zionist intellectuals and philosophers have hatched conspiracies of every kind against Islam and the Islamic world. It was not the U. S. but the planners of Zionism who won the Gulf war. They had waited almost 300 centuries to achieve such a major victory; they sacrificed men of promise, many lives, colored the map of their design with their own blood; they forgot their own private interests to pave the way for the establishment of a world Zionist empire. Now their direct confrontation is with the Islamic world and its mature thinkers and planners. This is a major challenge. How will it be met? How can this plot be buried for ever so that it will never see the light of day again? Everything now depends on the attitudes of Iran, Iraq and Pakistan.

### Chief Supporter of Terrorists

93AS0871C Karachi JASARAT in Urdu 30 Apr 93 p 4

[Article by Abid Iqbal Malik: "America-The Worst Terrorist of All."]

[Text] The U. S. is the world champion in its hatred of Islam and support of Israel. Relying on the strength of its armed forces, it accuses emerging Muslim forces all over the world of terrorism; with the collusion of the UN, it unites forces inimical to Islam and either attacks Islamic countries or threatens to attack them; the U. S. thus never loses an



United Nations." The resolution was approved in a marathon session of the Political Committee of the Conference and its passage at the closing session is now a mere formality.

The brutalities being perpetrated on the people in Indian-Occupied Kashmir and the denial of their basic human rights is now engaging the attention of the entire world. The Muslim Ummah is naturally more concerned about what is happening to the unfortunate people languishing under Indian occupation as they happen to be their brethren in faith. Disgusted with the ruthlessness with which they have been treated over the past 45 years and the repression which they have had to suffer, the Kashmiri people have been forced to launch a struggle to rid themselves of the Indian yoke and exercise the right to decide their future through a fair and free plebiscite as promised to them by the U.N. Security Council through its resolutions which were accepted by India itself. Instead of accepting the justified demand of the Kashmiri people, India has intensified its reign of terror in the area under its occupation in order to hold the territory by force. Large-scale killing of innocent youths, burning of houses and gang rapes have failed to subdue the Kashmiris' urge for freedom. The hordes of Indian troops and para-military forces deployed in Occupied Kashmir have made the lives of the people so miserable that even the local police force stood up in revolt and went on a strike which was broken up after six days. When India does not allow international human rights organisations to visit Occupied Kashmir to see things for themselves, it is evident that all is not well there and it has something to hide. In the resolution now approved by the OIC Foreign Ministers an offer has been made to India to avail itself of the good offices of the Muslim countries by allowing them to send a delegation of experts to find out what is really happening in Occupied Kashmir. That would be in the interest of regional peace and security and is necessary for the promotion of a just and peaceful settlement of the issue. The resolution also regrets New Delhi's negative attitude towards Pakistan's proposal for a bilateral dialogue to remove the basic cause of tension between the two countries. The unanimous approval of the resolution on Kashmir by the OIC Foreign Ministers is a great diplomatic victory for Pakistan and the single biggest achievement of its foreign policy. The wholehearted backing of the Muslim countries to the stand Pakistan has taken on Kashmir should make India resile from its obduracy and see things in their true perspective.

### **Stand Vindicated**

*93AS0860B Lahore THE NATION in English  
30 Apr 93 p 6*

[Editorial: "OIC and Kashmir"; quotation marks as published]

[Text] On the basis of the report of the 'fact-finding mission', which was not allowed to visit India by the Indian government but which compiled evidence from other relevant sources, the Secretary-General OIC [Organization of Islamic Conference] recommended that the

Muslim countries should 'exert efforts both bilaterally with India as well as collectively, for putting an end to Indian repression in Kashmir', should review 'economic and trade relations with India and make these conditional on the reversal of its repressive policy and practices in Kashmir', extend 'full political, diplomatic, moral and material support to the Muslim people of Kashmir', and appealed to the world community to intensify efforts to promote a peaceful solution of the Jammu and Kashmir dispute in accordance with the United Nations resolutions. Through sheer coincidence, TIME magazine carried the same day a story of Indian atrocities on Kashmir that described how various weapons of terror, including assassinations and burning down of civilian houses, were routinely being used to suppress the freedom-fighter. There is no mention in it of this terror being spread with any sense of guilt on the part of the Indians. Whether that qualifies India as a terrorist state or not, is a matter for the U.S. State Department to decide. It has its own selective ways of doing so. But it does corroborate what the OIC Secretary-General had to say about the plight of the Kashmiris. Whether the Secretary-General's recommendations, when adopted will actually get implemented is, however, another matter. The Malaysian Foreign Minister feels that the ban against India on trade and labour import would not be easy to implement. Instead he has proposed a 'peace mission' to Delhi and Islamabad of those Muslim countries which have friendly ties with both. What influence would such a mission have with India is not difficult to guess. India had earlier snubbed the fact-finding mission of OIC, refused to talk to U.K. and the U.S. on U.N. resolutions, blocked every effort of the West and its human rights organisations to visit Kashmir. In fact the recommendations of the Secretary-General are not really harsh enough to deter India from the path of ethnic cleansing on which it is embarked. Yet the fact that these measures are worth trying, goes without saying. The Malaysian proposal, given the Indian mood, will only invite derision and will be a waste of time and effort.

The acceptance by the OIC states of the fact that Kashmiris have yet to exercise their right of self-determination, thereby rejecting the Indian claim that Kashmir is a part of India, is a major diplomatic victory for Pakistan. The sceptics may call it a paper victory at the moment but it is likely to set into motion an international perception about Kashmir vastly different from the Indian-induced picture of the nature of the problem. It is a sort of moral victory, the long-term consequences of which should not be under-estimated. Pakistan's stand has been vindicated at least in one important international forum.

### **Malaysian Support**

*93AS0860C Lahore THE NATION in English  
28 Apr 93 p 12*

[Text] Karachi—Malaysian Foreign Minister, Datuk Abdullah Haji Ahmad Badawi, has suggested that the OIC [Organization of Islamic Conference] member states, friendly with both Pakistan and India, send a



inalienable right of self-determination as mandated by the relevant resolutions of the Security Council, offers its good offices to India to promote a just and peaceful settlement of the Kashmir dispute, authorises the Secretary-General again to send a three-member fact-finding mission to visit Jammu and Kashmir ... and submit a report to the SG, recommends that member states coordinate their positions at the U.N. General Assembly and the Commission on Human Rights." This resolution although short of imposing an economic embargo on India, does provide a viable basis for the Secretary-General to muster support strong enough to make India review and revise its unreasonable stand on Kashmir and the inhuman and uncivilised behaviour of its security forces in the Held Valley and put enough pressure for it to come to the negotiating table. The Communique asks the Secretary-General "to follow up the implementation of this resolution and to present his report thereon to the next ICFM." It is here that the OIC's major weakness lies. A fairly forceful decision has been taken but the follow-up mechanism and strategy does not exist. India has already refused to allow the Fact-Finding Mission to enter Kashmir. The members of the Mission in fact have been refused visas even to visit India. The new call for another mission may meet the same fate. The resolution should have provided an inbuilt recourse to certain steps like the consideration of an economic boycott or the threat of a stoppage of the employment of Indian nationals in Islamic (Arab) countries. This raises the whole question of a number of Islamic countries unwilling to be a party to condemn or proceed against India. In his Press conference, the Libyan Foreign Minister, for instance, was reluctant to condemn Indian atrocities in Kashmir. He was generally against repression and violation of human rights in the world at large. Again the Foreign Minister of Brunei made no mention of Kashmir in his detailed statement at the Conference. Indonesia too was cautious in its formal address. To quote:

"Indonesia has followed with profound distress the recurring tensions in South Asia caused by the dispute over Jammu and Kashmir and its attendant civil strife. We fervently hope that this problem between two fraternal countries, India and Pakistan, with which Indonesia has always maintained close bonds of friendship and mutual solidarity will not be allowed to deteriorate any further but will be amicably resolved through dialogue in line with the relevant U.N. resolutions and the Simla Agreement." There was no mention of Indian brutal repression.

The resolution on Bosnia-Herzegovina was unequivocal and hard-hitting. The Conference went out of its way to alter the order of the agenda and approving the resolution passed it on to the Security Council to strengthen Pakistan's hands in time for a new initiative to help the hapless Bosnians. Inter alia the resolution asked for the grant of the right of self-defence in accordance with Article 51 of Chapter VIII of the U.N. Charter, lifting of the arms embargo, authorisation of the Security Council

to use force to place all heavy weapons in the republic under effective international control.

It further called for:

- (a) institution of appropriate measures for reparations;
- (b) freezing of all assets abroad of Serbia-Montenegro;
- (c) severance of all member states' economic and commercial ties with them;
- (d) expulsion of Serbia from the U.N. and all its agencies;
- (e) the Security Council to establish safe areas in addition to those specified in SC Resolution No. 819;
- (f) the despatch of a mission at ministerial level—drawing from the members of the OIC Contact Group—to the capitals of the permanent members of the SC to seek their agreement for the necessary follow-up action;
- (g) the Secretary-General to follow up the implementation of this resolution and report to the Coordination Meeting of the OIC Foreign Ministers in New York.

In addition, at a special pledging session about \$100 million were provided to Bosnia. This is in addition to about \$400 million already provided. Pakistan has given 35 million. As the brave and unruffled Foreign Minister of Bosnia stressed at his Press conference in Karachi, it is not men or volunteers that Bosnia needs and wants, it is arms. And the funds do help them secure arms in spite of restrictions. The Muslim countries certainly could have done much more in terms of their resources and influence but one may not forget that they have yet to forge solidarity and that the levers of international power and control are very much in the hands of the U.S., its European allies and a Serb-friendly Russia. The OIC by its unrelenting pressure at New York and Geneva has certainly contributed a great deal in pushing a reluctant and biased Security Council to move against the perpetrators of "ethnic cleansing" in Bosnia-Herzegovina. A lot more could certainly have been secured by a more determined and concerted effort on the part of the OIC.

The Conference also inter alia dealt with the issues of Palestine, Somalia (Sahil countries), Afghanistan, Azerbaijan, Lebanon, Cyprus, of repression of Muslim minorities in India (India was asked to remove the makeshift temple and restore the Babri Masjid at its original site), the Philippines and other places. Significant decisions were taken by the Economic and Cultural Committees and the work of the various organs and institutions reviewed. Alleviation of poverty and support for weaker Muslim states were made a part of the new OIC agenda.

The question of terrorism in the Muslim states too was discussed and debated at length. In view of the complexities involved, it was decided to set up an inter-government working group and present a report at the next Islamic Conference. A call was further made for the convening of an international conference under the

auspices of the United Nations "to define terrorism and to distinguish it from the struggle of the people for national liberation." Mention needs to be made here of the general appreciation of Pakistan's efforts to effectively deal with the menace of terrorism. Referring to steps to "contain terrorism" the Tunisian Foreign Minister remarked: "I would like to commend the courageous and responsible measures which were recently taken by the sister country of Pakistan and which can be used as a model in dealing with this issue and in containing its effects" (the reference is to the initiatives of the Nawaz Sharif government). A similar statement was made by the Egyptian Foreign Minister.

The Conference urged the member states to be "alive to the necessity of including the questions of women and their welfare in their social programmes" and to accord "particular attention to the issues relating to the role of women in Islamic societies." An omission in the OIC agenda was the absence of its interest and involvement in the NGOs [Nongovernment Organization] and their contribution. It is vital for these instruments of the people's voluntary initiatives and efforts to be recognised adequately as a major activity complementing and supplementing government programmes and projects.

The Malaysian Foreign Minister, Datuk Badawi rightly pinpointed the most glaring weakness of the OIC. The Organisation must be supported by a dynamic secretary-general, a strong, well-organised and well-funded secretariat. A follow-up mechanism for ensuring the implementation of Islamic Conference decisions needs to be built into the system. Merely to wait for the next Conference for a report to be considered in a large meeting with scores of agenda items will not secure the desired results. A well-equipped and well-managed in-built support and follow-up mechanism is indispensable for achieving the envisaged goals. No time should be lost in redressing these organisational weaknesses.

#### Indian Diplomats Said Engaged in Espionage

93AS0890F Islamabad HURMAT in Urdu 29 Apr 93 p 6

[Article: "Actions of Indian Diplomats"]

[Text] The way Indian diplomats are violating various diplomatic protocols is causing concern in national circles. The presence of an Indian diplomat at Former Federal Minister Sardar Asaf Ahmed Ali's press conference and participation of the Indian ambassador with a bottle of win in former Senator Jam-i Karam Ali's party proved that Indian diplomats do not care about their position or its demands. They do not even think it necessary to obtain permission from Pakistan's Foreign Ministry to move around in Pakistan. They openly meet various politicians and journalists, invite them to parties and dinners, and attend various parties themselves. In this way, they are interfering in our national affairs. The government should take notice of the violation of diplomatic protocol by these diplomats, and force them to

obey Pakistan's laws and diplomatic protocols strictly if they wish to serve as diplomats in Pakistan.

#### Military Cooperation Between India, Israel Feared

93AS0892A Karachi JANG in Urdu 18 May 93 p 3

[Editorial: "Close Military Cooperation Between India and Israel."]

[Text] It has been decided to widen the existing military cooperation between Israel and India and, to this end, the Israeli foreign minister is touring India where he will hold important negotiations with Indian prime minister Narasimha Rao. It is no secret that military cooperation exists between India and Israel because both countries are in complete agreement in their enmity toward the Muslims. For a long time, Muslims in India have been placed under great pressure and hardship and attempts are being made to end their religious and cultural identities; in occupied Kashmir, Indian security forces have been indulging in an orgy of plunder and murder in order to crush the Kashmiri movement for self-determination. Israel is following the same policy in its occupied Arab lands. The atrocious methods Israel has been employing to crush the freedom movement of the Palestinians have gained world wide notoriety.

In regard to Pakistan's peaceful nuclear program also, the views and policies of both India and Israel are in complete harmony. One heard reports in the past that Israel, with Indian cooperation, was trying to destroy Pakistan's nuclear installations and that these attempts were foiled by the professional expertise and timely action of Pakistan's armed forces.

Political and military cooperation between India and Israel is more than cooperation between two countries; it is a dangerous conspiracy against the Islamic world, and Islamic countries and OIC [Organization of Islamic Conference] should pay serious attention to this fact. PLO chairman Yasser Arafat should reflect for a moment on this question: How sincerely does India, which Arafat believed to be a democratic country and leading champion of oppressed countries and from which he received awards, just how sincerely does India support the Muslims?

#### Arabs Said Leaving for Afghanistan To Avoid Arrest

93AS0890A Karachi JASARAT in Urdu 12 May 93 p 9

[Article: "Arab Mujaheddin Seek Asylum in Afghanistan To Avoid Arrest"]

[Text] Peshawar (PBI)—A large number of Arab mujaheddin have started crossing the border to Afghanistan. They want to escape being arrested after our government started a campaign against Arab residents last month. According to a conservative guess, about 312 mujaheddin left Peshawar for Jalalabad capital of Nangarhar Province of Afghanistan. Meanwhile, the government has started an effort to convince the mujaheddin to return to their

country. Only a few of them have expressed a willingness to return to Sudan, where they can live comparably with more comfort. The documents of these Arab nations are still being inspected, and the government has given up its earlier stern attitude and is taking a more lenient approach. The change in this attitude was caused by the strong reaction of religious parties and groups. These parties opposed these actions and efforts to extradite other nationals. They said that these Arab nationals have served us well during the Afghanistan jihad, and that they do not deserve such treatment. Since our government's action against Arab nationals, Jalalabad has become a center of their activities. Two or three Afghan mujaheddin organizations are providing them with various amenities, such as places to live; however, many Arabs, because of their traditional clothes, can still be recognized in upscale residential areas in Peshawar's Muhalla Jamrood Road and University Town.

#### Kashmir Militant Commander Interviewed

93AS0958A Karachi TAKBEER in Urdu 17 Jun 93 p 19

[Interview with Commander Khalid Sani: "Our Enemy Has Become Hollow and Pitiful; How Were the Notorious Black Cat Commandos Killed? The Performance of Non-Kashmiri Mujahedeen Is Magnificent; Commander Khalid Sani, the Commander of the Al Badr Platoon of Occupied Kashmir and the Only Living Recipient of the Hilal-I-Jurat Award Describes Victories." ]

[Text] Those who love the military spirit know the meaning of born militant; the commander of the Al Badr platoon of Hezb Al Mujahedeen, Khalid Sani, is just such a mujahed. He has been continuously on the field of battle for the last 4 years and the story of his military successes is filled with accounts of the continuous defeats suffered by the Indian forces; that is why among the 11 individuals awarded the Hilal-I-Jurat [Crescent Medal for Courage] in 1992 for outstanding military deeds, Khalid Sani is the only mujahed who is still alive. The other ten were awarded the medal posthumously. The story of the last 4 years remains untold. In the jihad's center in Srinagar, he is entrusted with heavy responsibilities pertaining to politics and military [tactics?]. Khalid Sani was wounded seriously in a battle with the occupying troops and his head and legs bear the scars of bullets which he regards his true medals. The Commander belongs to the village of Nihama in Zila Palwama. He graduated from Amar Singh College in Srinagar. His family had ties with Mirza Afzal Beg's party, Mahaz-I-Rai Shumari, which in those days was called the organization of the Pakistanis. But when the Mahaz merged with the National Conference, Khaled Sani's family was among the many who abandoned support for Mirza Afzal Beg. In 198, Khalid Sani was travelling on a well-lighted and busy highway in Srinagar, and, when the time came for prayers, he stopped at the nearest mosque. The Imam was giving an unusual sermon; he was urging Kashmiri Muslims to undertake a jihad against the demon Taghoot [India?] and was calling India the Pharaoh and Nimrod of the present time. From

that day on, Commander Khalid Sani became a follower of that Imam. Changing conditions made the Imam the leader of militancy and Khalid his follower. The former Imam was Sayed Salah Al Din, the supreme commander of Hezb Al Mujahedeen, who at that time was a prominent statesman and was also called Sayed Yousuf Shah. Commander Khaled Sani was regarded as the right hand man of the famous guerrilla leader, Abdulla Bangru the martyr. When Khaled Sani was asked for an interview by TAKBEER, he recited a few lines of verse by Maulana Rumi [the verses are actually from the Persian poet Saadi's GULISTAN] to the effect that a man found some mud at his feet, another man found the mud fragrant and asked the mud the reason for the fragrance. The mud replied that the fragrance was not due to any merit on its part, a plant with a fragrant flower grew from the dirt and the fragrance of the flower made the surrounding dirt fragrant as well. Commander Khaled Sani said that he had nothing to tell about himself, whatever had happened should be considered the miracles brought about by Tahrik-I-Islami. The following is the text of our interview with Commander Khaled Sani:

[Correspondent] Why did you choose the code name of Khaled Sani for yourself?

[Sani] In 1989, my commander Abdulla Bangru, martyr, learned that the notorious DSP [Deputy Superintendent of Police] D.N. Chaudhry was in our area. Chaudhry was a barbaric man and many stories circulated of his inhuman treatment of mujahedeen. Abdulla Bangru summoned an emergency meeting of the organization and announced that any man who captured D.N. Chaudhry alive would receive the title of Khalid Al Islam Sani [actual meaning of Khaled is immortal; it is also the name of a famous Arab warrior; Khaled Sani means a second Khaled]. Our intelligence sources informed us that Chaudhry carried in his pocket an American made six chamber revolver with six bullets. I volunteered for the task of capturing him. [As a cover], Chaudhry pretended to be the manager of a factory in Khanmoh. I took my revolver and headed for the factory. I wrote out an application for a job; when the security guard stopped me, I showed him the application and entered the building. I ordered Chaudhry to raise his hands and took the revolver and six bullets out of his pocket. I then pushed him out of the window, put him in a taxi and brought him before my courageous commander, Abdulla Bangru. He gave me the title of Khalid Sani. This name is now my identification and my treasure.

[Correspondent] What wounds have you inflicted on the enemy during the 4 years of jihad?

[Sani] Over the past 4 years, I have been the Srinagar area commander, section commander, platoon commander and flying squadron commander. We undertook several important missions. In Hyderpura in Srinagar, while I was patrolling the area with 6 companions, an





**New Islamic Political Alliance Formed**

93AS0894G Lahore THE PAKISTAN TIMES in English  
15 May 93 p 3

[Text] Lahore, May 14—Terming both the PPP [Pakistan People's Party] and Pakistan Muslim League as insincere to the cause of Islam, leading ulema have announced to formulate an alliance of religious parties, naming it a real Islamic Ittehad.

The announcement was made through a resolution adopted during a meeting of the ulema held at Madrissa Hanfia, Bahawalpur House here today. Maulana Mohammad Abdul Aleem Qasmi presided. According to the resolution, the nation had already tried both the biggest political groups with regard to the implementation of Islamic order.

It had dawned upon the nation that none of these groups was sincere with Islam. Leader of a group declares Islam as a barbaric religion while the leader of the other group had declared that he was not a fundamentalist. In fact, both these groups were watching their own interests.

In view of the situation, the Ulema has decided to form such an alliance that would be of purely Islamic in nature. It would be included by people with deep love for Islam. It was announced that today's meeting was the first step towards the formulation of the alliance that would be finalised during the country-wide ulema convention to be held on May 17 next. A committee was also formed under the chairmanship of President Jamiat Ittehad-ul-Ulema Pakistan, Sheikhul Hadith Maulana Abdul Malik to make contacts with ulema of all schools of thought.

Speaking during the meeting Mufti Ghulam Sarwar Qadri said that the people had already tried a lady as head of the state and those who had assumed power under the oath of implementing Islam. While one of them made fun of the Islamic punishments, the other challenged the Federal Shariat Court's decision on Ribah. The latter had also declared that he was not a fundamentalist. Under these circumstances the time had come to provide a real Islamic leadership to the people.

Sheikhul Hadith Maulana Abdul Malik said ulema should get together to counter the anti-Islam forces. Maulana Kurshid Ahmad Ghanghovi urged the need for calling a convention that could help in introducing real Islamic order in the country.

Others who spoke on the occasion included Maulana Mohammad Naeemullah Qureshi, Maulana Abu Albadr Mufti Shamus-uz-Zaman Qadri, Maulana Abdur Rehman Madni, Maulana Fateh Mohammad, Maulana Mohammad Suleiman Ensari, Hafiz Salahuddin Yousaf and Maulana Mohammad Ejaz Baloch.

**Drug Mafia Said Behind Sharif Dismissal**

93AS0857A Karachi AMN in Urdu 19 Apr 93 p 3

[Commentary by Juma Khan: "The Drug Mafia's Hand in Campaign Against Nawaz Sharif; Does President Ghulam Ishaq Want To Become Another Ghulam Mohammad or Iskander Mirza? The President and the Prime Minister Were Friends of Long Standing and a Political Compromise Should Have Been Possible."]

[Text] The background of many political events is not covered in the press or other sources and ordinary people remain ignorant of many facts; but those who watch the political chess game closely remain aware of the moves of the major and minor chess pieces and can tell what the next move will be.

As a government bureaucrat, Ghulam Ishaq Khan reached the highest public post of secretary general; then he became a non-elected federal minister. General Zia consulted with the two politicians he approved of, Mohammad Khan Junejo and Nawaz Sharif, and appointed Ghulam Ishaq to the Senate; he later became chairman of the Senate and when General Zia was killed in a plane accident, Ghulam Ishaq, in accordance with the constitution, became the acting president. As a result of the elections which followed, Benazir Bhutto, co-chairperson of the People's Party, became prime minister. A new president also had to be elected and at that time, Nawaz Sharif did not have majority support in the national assembly though he did have the overwhelming support of the Punjab assembly. Elder statesman. Nawabzada Nasrullah Khan, was a candidate for the presidency; he had worked closely with Benazir in MRD [Movement for the Restoration of Democracy] and is now the leader of NDA [National Democratic Alliance]. Ghulam Ishaq was also a candidate for the presidency. Acting on the advice of his friends, Nawaz Sharif unexpectedly announced his support for Ghulam Ishaq, thereby placing Benazir in a difficult position. If she opposed the acting president and he won, it would become difficult to work with him. At that time, there were political differences between Benazir and Nasrullah Khan. Benazir bowed to political expediency and announced her support for Ghulam Ishaq. Thus, Nasrullah lost and Ghulam Ishaq became the president. As a matter of principle, he should have been grateful to Benazir; but he regarded the martyred Bhutto, his political family and the People's Party with disfavor whereas he had a long standing friendship with Nawaz Sharif and knew that Zia had approved of Sharif. Consequently, Ghulam Ishaq was unable to remain unbiased in his presidential duties and leaned toward IJI [Islami Jamhoori Ittehad]. Political circles knew well that when the leader of the opposition party at that time, Ghulam Mustafa Jatoi, brought a motion of no confidence against Benazir Bhutto, president Ghulam Ishaq guided him in the plan. When the motion failed, a conspiracy [between the president and] IJI brought about the dismissal of Benazir from office. Jatoi was made transitional premier because he claimed that he would be able



























Javed Nasir's last tour de force was the Islamabad Accord of March 7, last, which he brokered, once again, together with Mr. Nawaz Sharif, in the final bid to resolve the Afghanistan imbroglio.

Consequent upon the dismissal of Nawaz Sharif's government, his ministers, principal advisers and others, too closely identified with the formulation of his policies lost their jobs. Javed Nasir also came into the eye of the storm.

He was retired on May 2, some six months prematurely. It is all in the game and need not be made much of. Just the same, the circumstance of his retirement carries a certain political touch and motivation that should not be allowed to affect armed forces retirement, promotions and transfers, as far as possible.

### **Calls for Pashtoon Province Continue**

*93AS0892E Karachi AMN in Urdu 13 May 93 p 8*

[News Report: "Mahmood Achakzai: 'Struggle for a Pashtoon Province Will Continue; ISI Is Conspiring To Remove Me From the Scene; We Are Not Indian Agents.'"]

[Text] Quetta, 12 May (AMN News): Mahmood Khan Achakzai, leader of Pakhtoonkhwa Awami Milli Ittehad and former member of the national assembly, said that Interservices Intelligence (ISI) and Frontier Corps are conspiring to remove him and his family from the scene. Addressing a public gathering on occasion of the second national convention of the Pakhtoonkhwa Students Organization, Mahmood Achakzai accused the ISI and youth belonging to the militia of direct involvement in the recent fighting in Tahsil Gulistan. He said that the ISI and the generals [sic] might succeed in assassinating him and other party leaders but they would not succeed in getting rid of thousands of sincere workers struggling for the rights of the Pashtoon people. He denied ISI's accusation that he and his party were working for India and asked that if they were foreign agents, then why would their elders have fought against the British for the rights of the downtrodden Pashtoon people. Achakzai announced that his party would continue its efforts to unite the Pashtoon for the establishment of a Pashtoon province in Pakistan. He said that he would not allow any force to divide Afghanistan nor would he accept the Durand Line which imperialism had drawn in order to divide the Afghan nation. He criticised those who asked for the repatriation of Afghans and said that Afghans could be ousted from Punjab, Sindh and Baluch areas but that no one had the right to demand the repatriation of Afghans from Pashtoon areas. He opposed the 8th amendment and the dissolution of the national assembly and announced that his party would support democratic elements and the supremacy of the parliament.

### **Senator Pal Speaks on Corruption, Accountability**

*93AS0846E Islamabad THE MUSLIM in English  
8 May 93 p 7*

[Article by Zakiuddin Pal, a former Judge of the Lahore High Court and Member of the Working Committee of the Pakistan Muslim League: "Politicians Have Played No Role To Check Corruption. These interviews were conducted by our Lahore Bureau"; place and date not given; boldface words as published]

[Text]

#### **Accountability**

**Q: It is believed that accountability is an integral part of democracy and we have suffered instability for lack of it. Those in authority at the political level were hardly subjected to it. The country was disintegrated yet some of those responsible for it were given state burials. Constitution was abrogated, democratic institutions subverted and the country's security put at stake but no one was made answerable for these crimes. Do we have no accountability culture?**

**A:** Unfortunately there has been no concept of accountability in our country since its inception, particularly after the death of Quaid-e-Azam the father of the nation. There is no doubt that accountability is an integral part of democracy. If by process of law corrupt and undesirable persons are regularly brought to book and exposed to public opinion, then our legislatures and other institutions may ultimately get rid of them. Since we have not adopted any such measures so far, corrupt and undesirable persons get themselves elected by spending huge amounts of money which they can easily afford. It is evident that if the country is in the hands of the corrupt and power-hungry persons, then abrogation of the constitution, violation of the democratic process, security of the country will have little value or importance for such elements. They are only interested in keeping themselves at the helm of affairs so as to exploit their position and indulge in more and more corruption.

**Q: What role have the representative constitutional institutions played in initiating the process of accountability? Were they lacking in providing a mechanism for a continuous process to take its course?**

**A:** It is really sad that the so-called representative constitutional institutions have not played any real role in checking the spread of corruption nor has any effective mechanism been evolved so far in this respect. It is true that some special courts tribunals have been set up to try the criminals/corrupt persons but since the legal process is slow and inadequate, such persons usually are not punished.

It is true that the courts have jurisdiction to try and punish corrupt persons but the question is whether such persons can be proceeded against and whether they are brought before the concerned courts for trial. Normally it does not happen. Since such people are influential, they don't allow any such agency to come near them.

When the highest in authority in the country gives full protection to the corrupt and undesirable persons and accommodate them even in the Cabinet, then the question of providing a mechanism for a continuous process to take its course is insignificant. It is high time that such corrupt undesirable persons, whatever political party they may belong to, were discouraged at every level.

**Q: How should constitutional office holders (President, Prime Minister, Governors, Chief Ministers, etc) be made accountable for their acts of commission or omission. Are the existing constitutional and other legal provisions inadequate to bring them to book? Is the immunity from the process of courts under Article 248 of the Constitution justified?**

**A:** I am of the view that nobody, whether President, Prime Minister, Governors, Chief Ministers etc is above the law. Even according to the law laid down by the Supreme Court any malafide action even on the part of the President or Prime Minister can be challenged in the court of law. The said office holders will not be exempt from the process of law if they have acted malafidely. For instance, Mohtarama Benazir Bhutto said that the Government of Ghulam Haider Wyne had been toppled on account of the biggest ever horse trading held in Asian countries. If it is proved that such malafide action was done with the connivance of aforesaid office holders, then such office holders will not be exempt from the process of law irrespective of the fact that they are given exemption by the Constitution. The Constitution itself does not exempt any office holder whether big or small from the process of law if his action in the performance of his duties is malafide.

**Q: Are there any sacred cows who enjoy virtual protection against accountability such as members of the superior courts, key bureaucrats and military generals, though some of them have been responsible for adverse changes in the course of our history, directly or indirectly?**

**A:** The "sacred cows" as mentioned in para 4 of the questionnaire cannot enjoy virtual protection under the law against accountability. The main question which always arises in the case of such persons is whether their action or decisions are malafide. Such actions then cannot be given protection or condoned in any event.

**Q: Why was Article 6 (high treason for abrogation, subversion or violation of the Constitution) or Article 47 (impeachment of President) or Article 209 (enquiry of misconduct of Judges by Supreme Judicial Council) never invoked? Why did not any incumbent come within the mischief of these constitutional provisions for violating the Constitution?**

**A:** Necessary action in the past has been taken against some members of the superior judiciary by the Supreme Judicial Council. It is not true that any action was never taken of alleged misconduct of judges by the Supreme Judicial Council.

**Q: Our superior courts have at times legalised under the so-called law of necessity, the action of usurpers of power resulting in the repeated imposition of Martial Laws. The courts even authorised them to change the Constitution itself to suit their designs. Do such legal covers run counter to accountability?**

**A:** The action of usurpers of power in this country should not be and cannot be legalised even under the law of necessity. It is however not true that the superior courts have authorised the usurpers to amend the Constitution according to their wishes. It is however true that such authority was granted by the supreme court only to run the day-to-day administration, which later on was dishonestly interpreted as if such authority was for the purpose of amending the Constitution itself.

**Q: Should the elected public representatives—Senators, MNAs [Member of National Assembly], MPAs [Member of Provincial Assembly], Councillors—be made directly answerable to their constituents for their acts of commission and omission and for violating their mandate? What should be the mechanism enabling the constituents to exercise their will and recall them if need be?**

**A:** The elected representatives are always answerable to their constituents for their acts of commission or omission. However, under the present system the constituents can take their representative to task only at the time of the next elections.

**Q: Should the provisions of Political Parties Act be made more stringent? In the event of guilt having been proved (crossing of floor, horse-trading, etc) should a mere disqualification for a limited period be punitive enough for abusing a public office? Is periodic electoral process a substitute for accountability?**

**A:** The provisions of the Political Parties Act no doubt should be made more stringent in the case of guilt having been proved against the elected representatives for crossing of floor, horse trading, etc. Their disqualification for a limited period is certainly not sufficient to offset the effect of their guilt. Such persons should be permanently disqualified from holding any public office or from being elected to any legislature or public body. Such stringent measures may prove to be healthy and sufficient to eradicate the evil which is so rampant in our society.

**Q: It is true that the targets of accountability have largely been political adversaries. And actions under special laws like PARODA, EBDO [Elective Bodies Disqualification Order], or more recently, the current references were initiated only against the Opposition with political motivation or vindictiveness. Why was the law of references not invoked in 1988 against the Junejo Government though it was also dismissed on charges of corruption and inefficiency?**

**A:** The dismissal of the Junejo Government in 1988 was not based on bonafides. It was a malafide act of the late General Zia-ul-Haq. The late Mohammad Khan Junejo























other areas, as envisaged for the 8th plan. In the production sector both manufacturing and agriculture appear not to be moving at the desired pace. Acceleration of broad-based industrial and employment growth, development of infrastructure—both physical and social—and serious efforts for poverty alleviation should form the core of economic decisions.

Unequal and inefficient credit distribution, low returns on savings, conspicuous consumption and ostentatious living are some of the major factors affecting our saving and investment environment and need to be looked at seriously. Large fiscal deficit resulting in increased reliance on bank borrowing—Rs. 72.4 billion during 1991-92 is not attainable. Plenty of waste could be avoided and the government could transfer many functions that could be accomplished, easily and more economically, by the private sector, the local authorities and the communities.

Foreign investment which is being relied upon to fill the gap between savings and investment, may prove to be only a short term measure.

The volume of external debt and the resultant debt service burden also rose to new heights as total external debt stood at \$16.6 billion (38.2 per cent of GNP) and the debt service consumed 14.9 per cent of foreign exchange earnings. Contrary to the professed goal of self-reliance, dependence on foreign debt was increasing and bringing with it enormous political and economic pressures.

Pakistan's balance of payment is characterised by a narrow export base—depending mainly on cotton and cotton based manufactures—decreasing home remittances not because of foreign currency accounts alone, but drastically falling workers' wages, an anti-export bias of the trade regime and unsatisfactory demand management. All this requires appropriate restructuring, acceleration of the exports of value-added products and a selective import substitution programme.

In spite of all claims and comparison with regional states, Pakistan's income distribution is simply not equitable. One third of the population, whether rural or urban, lived below the poverty line. The magnitude of the black money market was beyond any comprehension, threatening the social and economic fabric of the society.

**Deregulation of the economy:** Deregulation, as observed in the group discussions, does not mean no regulation, but to provide a set of new regulations that attempt to exercise distant rather than direct bureaucratic control. As regards other sectors of economy, the serious gap of policy and implementation here also demanded appropriate restructuring. In the open environment envisaged now, the responsibilities of monitoring institutions and the instruments employed were of crucial importance. The legal framework suggested and the implementation machinery installed should work hand in hand for

smooth functioning of the economy now that the sanctioning procedures and stringent controls are gone, the new mechanism should ensure liberty of enterprise so as to serve larger interest of economy and nation.

**Modaraba**—has yet to take roots and consolidate. It was however, being subjected to heavy-handed regulation. Some even term the current situation as “a highly regulatory environment”. The blame certainly carries weight as it inspired a senate committee to ask the authorities to go into the grievances of modaraba companies.

**Privatisation:** The pace of privatisation in such a short span of time has been termed commendable, yet questions have been raised particularly with respect to its transparency. Six modes of privatisation were identified for divestiture, yet the enterprises have been divested only through bidding and in that case the reserve prices were not announced. The result in some cases has been the rejection of higher bids. Keeping secret the evaluation of assets, the financial health and the reserve price, casts serious doubts about the prices and compels the investors to compete without complete information. They rely only on their own perception of the probable benefits that a unit yields in future. The divested units are to retain the labour for one year but when the producers are not bound any more, at least 40,000 to 60,000 workers were expected to lose their jobs. Similarly the expected capital intensive techniques' introduction will further affect the employment situation. All this must be kept in mind for our future manpower planning. The 70 units divested are valued at over Rs. 8 billion, out of which about Rs. 4 billion have already been realised. It is not clear where and how this money is being used, except for a brief news that part of it is earmarked for SAP [Structural Adjustment Program]. The nation must be told clearly what are government's reinvestment plans.

**Auction of internal public debt:** It is only 22 months since the auction programme of the government was initiated yet some areas of attention could be identified at this stage.

There is a big disparity amongst yields on various instruments. The result has been that T-bills and FIBs have not yet fully attracted many market participants, particularly the individual end-investors and non-financial institutions. The schemes are more popular with commercial banks and NBFIs, as they have availed the opportunity of new market instruments and higher yields on their reserve requirements.

The secondary market was to provide an access channel for buyers and market based avenue of liquidity for holders of securities, yet it does not seem to be operating in a competitive environment which could ensure a fair market price for traded securities.

The auctioning programme also visualized reducing the cost of raising debts. There has been little success,

however, in bringing down the size of interest payments which has emerged as the single largest item of current expenditure.

**Relaxation of exchange controls:** The basic objectives of foreign exchange reforms were to attract funds into foreign currency accounts [FCA] which could improve the external reserve position, regulate the black market exchange system and optimise the pace of foreign investment. Both FCAs and the reserve position improved to the extent expected. A number of factors hindering the process were observed:

1. FCA is yet to establish fully credibility in satisfying the demands of the depositors, particularly prompt payments in currency notes.
2. The non-friendly international mood keeps the investors shy.
3. The uncertain and ambiguous stand of the government in certain areas of the economy have created a mood of "wait and see". The government's own reservations in Islamisation have contributed to its failure to make a proper case to satisfy potential investors that they will gain more under the Islamic system rather than lose.

**State of agriculture:** The contribution of agriculture to GDP growth during 1991-92 was mainly attributed only to one cash crop—cotton. The production of food and other crops has either shown no improvement or has even declined (rice). This necessitates a disaggregate approach to the crop and other sectors and calls for special attention to be given to the needs of each component.

The continuous neglect of the agriculture sector, as apparent from public resource allocations over different plan periods and non-rational input-output price structure that is further weakening the rural resource base, will soon pose the economy with a challenge of growth, employment and equity issues, which are hard to tackle. Timely inter sectoral adjustments and other appropriate measures may help to stall the danger. The rural resource constraints and poverty alleviation issues could be simultaneously and effectively addressed if Ushr was realised at least as efficiently as Zakat. The rural industrialisation programme with concomitant actions in human resource development, finance and institution building, will reinforce agriculture, ease the unemployment situation and ameliorate the lot of landless and other rural poor.

**Employment situation:** Pakistan's reported open unemployment of 3.1 per cent proves misleading unless the disguised unemployed labour force is also duly considered. The specific employment schemes initiated by the present government also do not seem to be making a sizeable dent on the current state, and a renewed and vigorous approach on all fronts is needed. Strenuous efforts will have to be made to expand the manufacturing sector and serious undertaking to reshape the rural industrialisation programme.

**State of socio-economic infrastructure:** Pakistan's social sector development provides a very discouraging picture almost in all respects. A whole new look appears essential and appropriate restructuring made in education, health, population and other social services sectors. The change must be qualitative and quantitative. It is pertinent to suggest that presentation of a welfare budget along with the regular budget be made obligatory. A meaningful decentralised approach will help the government to transfer much of the burden to local authorities and communities.

### **Drastic Measures Recommended Against Mammoth Deficit**

*93AS0846F Islamabad THE MUSLIM in English  
8 May 93 p 12*

[Article by Aroosa Alam: "Fiscal Deficit To Cross Rs 100 Billion"]

[Text]

### **Economy in a Mess: Drastic Remedial Measures Needed**

Islamabad, May 7: Nawaz Sharif government has left the nation's economy in the worse ever mess as the fiscal deficit looks certain to go much beyond Rs [Rupees] 100 billion as against projected target of Rs 94 billion with the prospects of hyper inflation to hit the country which is further confronted with the loan-giving agencies pressure to reduce fiscal deficit to Rs 75-85 billion in 1993-94, thereby forcing the caretakers to resort to heavy taxation and more borrowings at great political cost in the election time.

As the finance managers of the present government busied themselves with the budget-making exercise, they are finding themselves in a fix how to retrieve the economy out of the mess.

The fiscal deficit which had touched the mark of Rs 73 billion in the first six months of the current fiscal year, had reached the mark of Rs 90 billion by the end of March this year. They said the expenditure indiscipline combined with shortfall in revenues increased the government borrowing from the banking stood at Rs 57.3 billion in the first six months of the year which was already more than twice the amount envisaged for the year as a whole (Rs 25 billion in the credit plan). The sources said it further increased to Rs 67 billion by April 15, 1993.

According to the sources, the growth target was reduced from 6.2 percent to 4.9 percent in Feb 1993, anticipating inflation hitting the range of 11 to 12 percent. They said the manufacturing value added which was projected to grow by 8.5 percent, was restricted to 5.6 percent during the first 7-8 months of the fiscal year. The decline in the production of major agricultural crops is by 11.5 percent.

In March 1993, the consumer price index increased by 5.3 per cent. As against the projected increase of 24.5 per cent in the revenue collection by CBR [Central Board of Revenue], the collection in the first nine months of the fiscal year was by 10.8 per cent.

Officials said that bad policy decisions together with lavish spending led the previous government to commit macro-economic indiscipline. They said though Pakistan was committed to contain fiscal deficit to Rs 94 billion of the year as a whole the fiscal deficit may skip Rs 100 billion by the end of the fiscal year. Sources figured out that fiscal operations of the corporations may be more expansionary than anticipated. They further said given country's track record these outcomes would lessen considerably Pakistan's negotiations of an ESAF [Enhanced Structural Adjustment Facility] arrangement with the IMF, and PSAL [Public Sector Adjustment Loan] and other general financial assistance from the World Bank and the Asian Development Bank.

The officials said that it would also have unfavourable implications of the Consortium. They pointed out that containment of demand pressure in 1993-94 would require bringing down the budget deficit to the limit of Rs 75-85 billion in 93-94. Official sources said that to reduce the deficit to the required level, the government would have to make endeavours for increasing collection of existing tax revenues apart from ensuring transfer of due payments from WAPDA [Water and Power Development Authority] and State bank, mobilising additional resources and restricting expenditure. The sources said that in fact an agreement with the IMF and World Bank would hinge on reducing the budget deficit in the range of Rs 75-85 billion in 93-94.

According to officials, the problems of budget-making are compounded by two major inevitable obligations—that is debt-servicing and defence.

Sources said recently the caretaker PM Balakh Sher Mazari along with his finance team visited GHQ [General headquarters] where they were informed that under the given geo-political situations, the Pak Army needs to equip itself with modern technology and operational preparedness on account of which the defence cuts would not be advisable. Sources said during PM's visit to PAF [Pakistan Air Force], he was informed that PAF stood in dire need of the combat aircraft in the absence of F-16s.

Officials sources said while the current expenditures on defence and debt-servicing are inflexible and rising, the expenditures on social sectors are inadequate, the tax system is inelastic and tax-GDP [Gross Domestic Product] ratio very low and the resources mobilisation efforts have been weak during the Nawaz Sharif government. Moreover, bad pricing policies of the previous government and domestic debt-management have created additional burden on the budget.

Officials expressed concern that in spite of tightening of liquidity conditions since Jan 1993, monetary expansion

during the first nine months of 1992-93 was very high (14.8 percent). Similarly net domestic credit expansion of initial stock of money was higher than 1991-92. They said that based on the developments during the first nine months and expected budgetary outcome and consistent rate of inflation, monetary expansion is projected at about 17.5 percent in 92-93 which is higher than the projected increase in nominal GDP.

After taking into account the projected developments in the balance of payments, the increase in net domestic credit is projected at Rs 105 billion or equivalent to 21.5 percent of the initial stock of money. Thus the containment of private sector credit since Jan 1993, the projected level of credit and monetary expansion in 92-93 would add further to the liquidity overhang and demand pressure.

Officials said that budget 92-93 had assumed that the exports will grow by about 19.5 percent and there will be a slow-down in the imports. It was expected that the current account deficit would decline to dollar 2.2 billion, to be financed by the foreign official assistance and the private investments and foreign currency deposits. The foreign exchange reserve position was expected to be strengthened but the latest projections indicate that exports growth will be much lower, the current account deficit would be larger, foreign capital inflows would be lower than projected and there would be substantial draw-down of the reserves of foreign exchange.

Officials said due to bad policy decisions, the two main sources of foreign exchange receipts—exports and remittances—have begun to show a declining trend in the recent past. They said that damage to the cotton crop, recession in textile industry, weak world import demand, improved competitiveness of India, and climate of uncertainty in the country had been instrumental in affecting exports.

The remittances, which had shown a healthy trend in the early six months, the sources said, have also recently slowed down due to deportation of Pakistanis from the Gulf.

Sources said that these developments in combination with substantial debt-service and defence-related payments have led to a sharp reduction in the gross foreign exchange reserves of the country. They said that it is projected that these reserves may go down further in the remainder of the year and the trend, if not reversed, may have severe medium-term balance of payment implications.

Keeping in view the bad shape of economy, the sources said, the caretaker government is considering to take stringent measures to put the economy back on the rail. They are said to be taking measures for expenditure controls and plugging of loopholes that allow supplementary expenditure without prior legislative approval. They said accordingly the structure of taxation may be changed to improve its elasticity and coverage and rationalisation of tariffs, increased reliance on domestic









should be discarded and the simple system of calculating the value fixed for each vote of the MP and the MLA on population basis should be adopted. By such a process, transport of ballot boxes from every nook and corner of the country in the Presidential election to Delhi and the elaborate and costly security arrangements could be eliminated. The mode of counting could also be rendered very easy by adopting electronic devices. If possible, elections to the post of President and Vice-President should be held simultaneously by a direct voting process.

Once the general election is over, some of the elected candidates change their party loyalties or resign their membership to oblige and accommodate others. All this is done in utter breach of trust reposed in them by the electorate. Even though the Anti-Defection Law was passed by the late Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi to prevent weakening or toppling of the governments, it has not been able to plug all the loopholes. Such a change of loyalty leads to a serious threat to the stability of the government in power, particularly during times when we have a "hung Parliament." The election law should be so modified that no candidate can change his party, leave his party, join a new party or remain aloof after resigning his party membership altogether during the period for which he is elected, except in the case of genuine ill-health duly certified by competent medical men.

In case an elected member changes his pre-election status, severe penalties must be imposed on him and he should be compelled to reimburse the expenditure incurred by the election machinery for the conduct of elections in his constituency. Threats of floor-crossing and change-over of whatever kind should have no place particularly when the soundness and stability of the government in power is at stake. We have been witnessing mid-term general elections in the recent past when governments have been toppled over one after the other in quick succession. The chief reason against such elections is that in a huge country like ours, the exchequer cannot afford the heavy electoral expenses.

All election disputes relating to the Parliament and Assemblies are being decided by the High Courts of the concerned jurisdiction. The process of enquiry and decision takes a lot of time, sometimes two or three years after the elections. If a declared candidate is disqualified at the end of the enquiry, he would have had an opportunity to exercise the votes illegally up to the period when he is declared disqualified. To avoid this and to eliminate delays in the disposal of election disputes, election tribunals must be set up in adequate number to be presided over by a High Court or Supreme Court judge, whether sitting or retired. They can settle election disputes expeditiously.

All disputes should be decided by these election tribunals within six months. If necessary, the tribunals could sit every day. In the event of both the petitioner/s and the contesting respondent/s not succeeding in the final decision of the Tribunal, the candidate obtaining the next

highest votes should be automatically declared elected for the constituency, instead of launching a by-election.

Booth capturing, arson, looting and murder have become the order of the day in elections as experience has proved. Freedom of franchise and freedom from fear are totally lost or curtailed by illegal interference. This item requires a very careful handling by the lawmakers by suitable amendment of the relevant laws. Very severe punishment should be imposed on those interfering with free and fearless exercise of franchise. Secondly, attempts to disturb the normal course of exercising franchise by corrupt and undesirable practices should be countered with rigorous punishment. In proven cases, the minimum punishment should be disqualification for a period of ten years from contesting. In addition, rigorous imprisonment for at least three years should be imposed on such offenders [as published].

These are some of the electoral reforms which have to be adopted by amending various Acts like the People's Representation Act, the Anti-Defection Act, and even Constitution of India, etc., so that the democratic institutions in the country will be able to perform their functions properly.

**JI Leader Sees Bhutto, Sharif Serving US Interests**  
93AS0869I Lahore THE PAKISTAN TIMES in English  
8 May 93 p 14

[Article: "Nawaz, Benazir Toe American Line: Qazi"]

[Text] Lahore, May 7: Senator Qazi Hussain Ahmad, Amir Jamaat-i-Islami Pakistan [JIP] said here today that the country needs such a Prime Minister who could independently adopt internal and external policies without having dictation from America and giving up of Pak nuke programme.

Addressing a gathering at Mansoorah on Friday, he maintained that tug of war between present and previous rulers was going on and this rift had sacrificed national interest and national prestige. He regretted that nobody was paying heed to resolving real problems.

The Jamaat Chief said deposed Premier Nawaz Sharif was demanding resignation of President and claiming that with his return to power all the problems would be solved. On the other hand, he said present rulers had announced to continue the policies of previous regime. He was of the view that both Nawaz Sharif and Ms. Benazir belonged to same group and wanted to come closer to America to get power.

Qazi Hussain Ahmed further said that country was pushed in to crisis at such a time, when Kashmiris direly needed our help. He supported to provide full moral and otherwise support to Kashmiris. He regretted that the rulers had given up extending support to Kashmiris under the fear of being declared a terrorist country by America.









millions of unskilled and unemployed population that languish in this country. Without a planned backup scheme or follow up, the hue and cry raised about the exploitation of children by the industries is an exercise in futility.

It is true that many voluntary organisations have done a commendable job in the area of child labourers but it is a drop in the ocean. A determined effort by the government is required to root out the evil and such schemes need enormous funds.

Can the government facing a financial crunch, come forward with resources required for various rehabilitation schemes? Will the voluntary bodies interested in preventing child labour, come forward and take the responsibility of rehabilitating at least a few of the rescued children? Without such actions talking about exploitation of child workers, is of no use. It merely has publicity value, nothing more. In fact, it is likely to have more children begging on the roads and starving to death than achieving any concrete results.

This is not to advocate child labour nor to deride the rescue of these hapless children but an attempt to focus the attention of all citizens on the ultimate fate of these innocent human beings who are left to fend for themselves after the news value of their rescue fizzles out. Is a hungry child happier than a working one?

## MILITARY

### **Missile Capable of Reaching New Delhi Forecast for 1997**

*93AS0931D Karachi AMN in Urdu 22 May 93 p 1*

[News Report: "In Five Years Pakistan Will Have a Missile That Reaches Delhi"]

[Text] New Delhi, 21 May (AMN News)—Pakistan has created three missiles using French rocket technology. One of these can target India's capital, Delhi, carrying 500 kilograms of nuclear materials. This information was shared by Dr. Chander Shekhar, an Indian space research scientist, in a report published in a U.S. journal. He said that Pakistan has manufactured missiles called HATF 1, HATF 2, and HATF 3. HATF 2 and HATF 3 can pose a danger to India. HATF 3 has a range of 800 kilometers; however, it will take at least five more years to produce it. HATF 2 cannot reach Delhi with a load of bombs, but it has a range of 280 kilometers with a load of 300 to 400 kilograms of traditional bombs. Meanwhile, HATF 1 has a range of 60 kilometers. It has already been tested.

### **Military Said Ready To Buy 3 Billion in Arms From France**

*93AS0869G Lahore THE NATION in English  
14 May 39 pp 1, 8*

[Article by Anwer Sindhu: "Pakistan To Buy \$3 Billion Arms From France"]

[Text] Islamabad—Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff Committee, General Shamim Alam Khan, will visit France from June 23-27, where he will discuss proposals for the purchase of over \$3 billion armaments for the three service, diplomatic sources disclosed.

The French are making all managements for the visit of General Shamim, whose trip is being seen by Paris as a major opportunity to push for the signing of a long-term arms package on the lines of the two five-year programmes between Pakistan and the United States, the second of which was rendered redundant in October 1990, when Congress imposed a ban on military aid to Pakistan. The seriousness of French intentions can be gauged from the parallel visit of a high-powered Defence Ministry delegation the arrival of which will coincide with General Shamim's trip to Paris, where he will hold extensive talks with his counterpart, General Mitterand.

"The French delegation will discuss the financial and technical specifics of the presentations being made to the Joint Chiefs Chairman," a source said.

The tandem visits come at a time when Pakistan's defence options are severely limited by financial constraints, primarily a budget deficit touching 11 per cent of the Gross National Product, and an abject shortage of foreign exchange reserves. The main attraction of the French package offer is the offer of extensive credit, reported to be as high as 85 per cent on ten-year deals. However, the credit comes at approximately eight per cent interest per annum, a factor which has the Pakistani defence establishment in two minds.

The other major point of the French sales pitch is the prospect of a long-term commitment with an established defence producer not threatened by the spectres of economic recession and political instability, as is the case with the former members of the Warsaw Pact. Paris further intends to point out its clear technological superiority over China, currently the supplier of over 80 per cent of all armaments being supplied to Islamabad. Perhaps, the generous offers of full technology transfer and joint ventures will prove decisive during deliberations.

Top of the list is the proposed sale of 40 Mirage 2000-5 fighter-bombers to Pakistan, a deal worth in excess of \$2 billion. The French are promising a priority upgrade option on the Mirages, to take place once the French Air Force completes its own upgradation exercise. With the Russians hesitant to sell Su-27s to Pakistan, and the British Tornado considered unsuitable to Pakistan's requirements, the list of options is growing shorter and shorter. Meanwhile, the Pakistan Air Force continues to cling to the slim, slim chances that the United States will finally deliver the 72-F-16s Pakistan has more or less paid for.

While this deal is suspect because of Pakistan's cash shortage, there is optimism that negotiations for the purchase of three Agosta submarines, costing between \$750 million and \$825 million is close to a successful culmination. Much now depends on the flexibility of the







