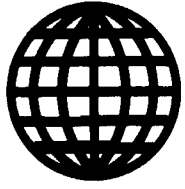


JPRS-NEA-92-034
26 MARCH 1992



**FOREIGN
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JPRS Report

Near East & South Asia

PAKISTAN

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U.S. DEPARTMENT OF COMMERCE
NATIONAL TECHNICAL
INFORMATION SERVICE
SPRINGFIELD, VA 22161

Near East & South Asia

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INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

'New Basis' for Relationship With U.S. Searched
92AS0654B Islamabad THE MUSLIM in English
5 Feb 92 p 7

[Article: "Pak-U.S. Relations: Search for a New Basis"]

[Text] It will take some time before the kaleidoscope of events unfolding in the post-cold war Europe completes the first turn and a reasonably firm pattern present itself for a meaningful exercise in understanding the extent of change and its implications for the rest of the world. The shock-waves caused by the demise of the Soviet Union continue, and the emerging independent states (or their Commonwealth) are still trying to find their feet. The change is no less unsettling for others in general and for the only surviving superpower—the United States of America—in particular.

The celebrations to mark the "victory" against Iraq (Arabs?) in Operation Desert Storm were hardly over when the big old Soviet Union slipped into history with a bang and left the world's geopolitical equations in a state of utter confusions. What is the ultimate shape of Europe going to be? Would it lead to a united Europe, a European Europe? Or, would the continent get immersed in a series of civil wars with different NATO members taking sides with conflicting parties dividing West against itself?

At the regional level, the entire geo-strategic atmosphere is experiencing a convulsion. The catastrophic war in the neighbouring Gulf region has resulted in the physical presence of the U.S. military might practically next door, with the countervailing power of the Soviet Union swept away. Ostensibly, the United States is here on request of the "front-line" countries which border on Iraq and continue to feel threatened by it. The popular, more or less correct, belief is that the United States is there to "protect" and oversee the world's largest oil reserves. But it may have another dimension—the revolutionary Iran which humiliated the mightiest of the mighty.

There are also the prospects of the Central Asian republics' joining in some sort of close relationship(s) among themselves, and with the non-Arab Muslim states in West Asia and/or South Asia. In such an eventuality, it would be almost impossible to impose isolation on Iran. On the contrary, it would create new roles and respect for regional states like Iran and Pakistan. That will disturb all plans which the U.S. strategists have been busy refining at Foggy Bottom.

When Senator Pressler visited South Asia last month, he was here to tell India that it faced "a danger on its border of the possible formation of a fundamentalist Islamic bloc," and perhaps to give assurances that it will not be left alone to face such a combination. Pressler's South Asian visit lasted 11 days. He spent 24 hours in Pakistan and a similar duration of time in Sri Lanka. The rest of the time he spent in India.

Some Pakistani commentators have criticised the cancellation of Senator Pressler's meetings scheduled in Islamabad with the President and the Prime Minister. They

think that despite the indiscretions of the Senator, Pakistani leaders should have kept their appointments with him and informed him of Pakistan's point of view. They may be right. But it is difficult to say with certainty that the Senator was here to listen, learn or add to his knowledge. It would be more in line with his type of character that he was here to inform and educate Pakistani leaders about some basic things such as the American concept of nonproliferation of nuclear arms (which applies only to an "Islamic Bomb" and condones a Hindu or Jewish Bomb) and the benefits of accepting his advice.

Whatever the truth, one thing was clear: a Roman Catholic Senator was voicing the fears and ethnic concerns of an average American when he talked of the possibilities of Central Asian Muslim states' joining their southern neighbours in a contiguous Islamic bloc. The very mention of Islam and fundamentalism revives the memories of the Iranian revolution.

It would be hard for any American to forget what the Revolutionary Iran did to the United States. The successful completion of Operation Desert Storm cannot be a consolation for that humiliation. The common American still feels his/her face muscles contracting at the mention of Iran. And to Americans, Iran is synonymous with fundamentalism. The American mind-set, as presented by Senator Pressler during his celebrated tour of South Asia, is real, and should be kept in view, especially when analysing U.S. leaders' pronouncements.

The U.S. administration lost no time in dissociating itself from what Senator Pressler said in New Delhi and Islamabad. There is no point in doubting the assertion that the U.S. administration wants to maintain and further promote friendly relations with Pakistan. The continuing dialogue through high and mid-level officials who continue to visit Washington and Islamabad should be welcome as symbolizing a genuine desire on the part of both the governments to improve relations.

However, what is more important to note is that the level of close cooperation and friendship which the two countries enjoyed over the last four decades, during the years of cold war and more recently in the context of the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan, cannot be maintained on the basis of old perceptions of what constitutes mutual interest.

It would be of benefit if Pakistani leaders tried to understand the real reasons behind the shift in U.S. policy towards Pakistan. It was not the Pressler Amendment or any other U.S. law which compelled it to back out of a long-term commitment to provide economic and security assistance to Pakistan. All these laws have always been there. Nor was it any "advancement" of Pakistan's nuclear programme. It was the change in the U.S. perceptions of national interest after the withdrawal of the Soviet forces from Afghanistan which resulted in the "rolling back" of the U.S. involvement in Pakistan to the level of the late

1970's. The shift actually started in the late eighties, much before the start of Operation Desert Shield. At that time, it was not possible even to think that the Soviet Union would disappear into history before the first anniversary of Operation Desert Storm.

With the "victory" against Iraq, Pakistan's strategic importance appeared to fade away, but on its heels came the end of the Soviet Union, and Pakistan's strategic value rebounded. Situated on the cross-roads to South, West, and Central Asia, it is more important now than ever before, both strategically and politically. A group of countries consisting of Pakistan, Iran, Turkey, Afghanistan and the Central Asian nation-states will be a more compact bloc because of its contiguous geography as against the OIC [Organization of the Islamic Conference] with its membership scattered in Asia and Africa.

In the context of the extremely complex strategic changes taking place around Pakistan, especially the emerging Indo-U.S. military cooperation, Pakistan should weigh very carefully any proposals which might be coming up for discussions in the now frequent bilateral contacts with U.S. officials. We should insist on a well-defined future relationship.

So far, the Government of Pakistan has successfully resisted the temptation of entering into a discussion on U.S. economic and military assistance as a substantial issue. For the relationship to be of any lasting value, the United States and Pakistan both have to find a new basis of mutual cooperation in the emerging geo-political changes in this part of the world.

The bilateral agreement of 1959 is dead and buried. The strength of the so-called long-term U.S. commitment at the start of the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan proved too short-lived to be of any repeat value. What we now need is a relationship based on an agreed commonality of interest thoroughly discussed and equally binding.

Sharif Praised for Refusing To Compromise With U.S.

92AS0587C Karachi JANG in Urdu 25 Jan 92 p 3

[Editorial: "Determination To Continue With Nuclear Program"]

[Text] Prime Minister Nawaz Sharif said in his speech at the annual meeting of the Institute of Leadership and Management in Lahore yesterday that the present government was not willing to compromise its nuclear program. "This program is our ultimate goal and we are not going to break the promise that we made to the people before the elections." The prime minister said that he has decided not to make any compromises in this context. Two days earlier our president talked to the chief of the U.S. Navy and emphasized their understanding each other's views over the nuclear issue. He told him that Pakistan is an independent nation and some nations in this region have proven their nuclear capability and want to establish their supremacy in this region. It is no secret that the United States and some of its Western allies cannot tolerate Pakistan's nuclear program. The United States does not

want an Islamic country to have nuclear technology at all. If it were sincere in its desire to keep the world nuclear free then it would have stopped India, Israel, South Africa, North Korea, and Argentina from acquiring nuclear capabilities. Only Pakistan's nuclear expertise is a thorn in its side. The fact is that Pakistan is the first U.S. target of its new world order efforts. Our military experts were not wrong when they had said during the Gulf war that the next targets of U.S. aggression after Iraq would be Iran and Pakistan. The present situation has proved these fears to be right. In such a situation, Prime Minister Nawaz Sharif's determination not to compromise over the nuclear program projects the entire nation's feelings and wishes. The U.S. leaders and policymakers have said that Pakistan's importance has ended with the end of the Afghanistan issue. We must think about our security and about protecting our existence ourselves. We must make full use of our resources to avoid being a prey to our enemy and to live independently and with pride. Prime Minister Nawaz Sharif's assurance and determination are commendable. However, the promises the IJI [Islamic Jamhoori Ittehad] made about implementing an Islamic form of government, Afghanistan issue, and Kashmir have not yet been fulfilled. If the government is sincere in continuing with the nuclear program, then it must take the whole nation into confidence because the United States is bent upon harming Pakistan over it. The government has the responsibility to meet such challenges by keeping the whole nation united. Once our enemies and opponents recognize the unity of purpose of our nation then they will be forced to think a thousand times before taking any action against us.

U.S. Said Waging 'Cold War' Against Islamic Countries

92AS0587D Karachi JANG in Urdu 23 Jan 92 p 3

[Article by Zaffer Mahiuddin: "U.S. Wants New 'Cold War'"]

[Text] The United States appears to be bent upon starting a new "cold war" just like the old "cold war" in the present world scenario. It has already determined the opposing group and is testing this group in the process of systematic activation of the new "cold war." If this opposing group meets the criteria then it will be forced to play the role of the opposition in this "cold war" willingly or unwillingly. It will also have to bear all the results as well. The way the Western press, especially the U.S. news media, have made some Islamic countries the target of their propaganda indicates that the United States deliberately wants to present this group not only as its enemy but also as the enemy of world peace. The SUNDAY TIMES and the SUNDAY EXPRESS, prominent British newspapers, have expressed this opinion in their recent issues that Iran, Iraq, and Libya will be able to make nuclear weapons within the next three years. These newspapers also expressed the apprehension that these countries will form a nuclear alliance with the Russian Islamic democracies.

The U.S. military board has recently recommended to the U.S. Government to make plans to curb the nuclear and nonnuclear weapons of its opponents. It also advised that

the U.S. Government reduce the number of its long-range missiles to half to increase U.S. prestige in the world and increase industrialized nations' trust in the United States.

Some Western intelligence agencies have expressed fears that Iraq had moved 10 tons of uranium to Algeria before the arrival of the UN monitoring team. These sources claim that Algeria is building a nuclear reactor 150 km south of its capital and that Chinese and Iraqi experts are assisting.

The attitude of Western news media about Iran has been negative since the beginning of the Iranian revolution. The U.S. news media has included Iran with the countries that are secretly making nuclear weapons. Iran is being presented as a military power in the gulf which can be dangerous to Western interests because of the fundamentalist Muslims. Libya is repeatedly accused of not only helping international terrorists but also of being busy in making nuclear weapons. This could endanger the interests of Europe and the United States and affect the security of the Western world.

The pressure being exerted by the United States on Pakistan to relinquish its nuclear program is actually design to stop Pakistan from joining a proposed alliance of other Muslim countries, especially of the new republics in central Asia.

Mr. Dick Cheney, the U.S. secretary of state, tried to inform the West in a statement issued during his recent trip to Germany that the greatest danger to the West now is from the Islamic world.

Senator Larry Pressler, the life and soul of the Pressler Amendment, expressed some opinion during his recent trip to India. These clearly indicate that the United States is giving the impression that a demon of fundamentalism in Islamic countries is being created and is trying to recruit the West and other nations around the world into this "cold war."

It may be worth mentioning here that there are a lot of discussions over the prophecies made by the 16th century European astrologer Nostradamus. A very popular movie based on these prophecies was also produced during the 1970's with the additional story about Iran and other Muslim countries forcing the world into the inferno of nuclear war by the end of this century and showing the whole world being ruled by Muslims. According to this movie, the world will face total destruction. The list of these dangerous countries prepared by the United States includes Iraq, Iran, Pakistan, Syria, Libya, and Algeria. Later, the newly independent Muslim countries in central Asia were also added to this list. Thus, the United States has started this campaign to divide Muslim countries into two groups—countries that are dangerous to world peace and those not included in this list as U.S. friends or nonaligned.

We wonder if the people in the United States and European countries will believe their government's news media's propaganda that a few progressive Muslim nations

cannot only pose danger to Western interests but can also endanger world peace as well?

It is obvious that Western governments had a hard time making their people digest such information. The Western media has been publishing information about the increasing influence of Islamic fundamentalism and anti-Western wave for the last one and a half or two years. They include news stories, commentaries, survey reports, and imaginary statistics.

A similar picture is being presented through the international television network to give the same impression to the people in other countries in addition to the United States and Europe. In contrast, the situation in progressive Islamic countries is distressing. They have the press, highly capable journalists, broadcasters, and writers. However, they do not have the media and resources that the Western journalists and writers have.

Therefore, keeping in view the present world situation, the appropriate steps would be for all Muslim countries to establish relations with other progressive Muslim countries. They should also use the U.S. platform and must create an international communications organization that may not be as effective as the Western media, but would be capable of informing the U.S. European people that there are two basic desires of human being—one, the desire to live; second, the desire to express an opinion. They should be told that the people are united because of common interests or a common goal. If a political, social, or economic organization tries to suppress such a union, they raise their voice against it. It happened in Iran and later in the former Soviet Union. There are numerous examples of such occurrence in our history. Among these the French Revolution, the German Revolution, and the Industrial Revolution in England are notable.

It is the moral and social responsibility of the Islamic communication media and writers to inform the Western people about the real character of Islam and remove the faulty images they have in their minds. The West and the rest of the non-Muslim world must be informed that Islam means peace, security, and truth and that Islam has no room for bigotry, the use of force, or extortion. That Islam has the necessary flexibility and intellectual base for meeting the present political, social, and economic demands. In this context, the advice of U.S. scholar Dr. Theodore Wright, given during the recent conference of social science scholars is very important. He said that Muslim social scholars should make their research practical. This advice tells us the truth, that factionalism and the inflexible attitude of our scholars have not affected the educated people in the Muslim world. If the educated Muslim people fail to understand the needs of the modern world through the Muslim religion, how can they take the outside world, especially the educated people in the West, in their confidence?

Keeping the attitudes of opposing forces in view against the background of world politics, all Islamic countries, especially those mentioned above, must review the whole situation thoroughly and with a cool mind, decide on their

path of action. We need caution more than intensity because our decisions of today will influence the future generations. Therefore, in order to carry out our historical duty, we do not only have to be alert, but also have to take some action. The above mentioned countries (Iraq, Iran, Pakistan, Syria, Libya, and Algeria) must also think about the bases that gave the Western media reasons and materials for starting a new "cold war." Would it not be appropriate for Islamic countries to make this first wave of Western propaganda ineffective before they start the second wave?

Abida Hussain Attacks U.S. Views on National Issues

92AS0588B Lahore NAWA-I-WAQT in Urdu 2 Feb 92 pp 1, 5

[News Report: "There Are Many Pro-U.S. Persons in Pakistan That Obey it—Abida Hussain"]

[Text] Washington (Reported by Javed Sadiq)—Begum Abida Hussain, Pakistan's ambassador to the United States, said that the India's recognition of Israel has caused serious problems for Pakistan. She said, "that Mosad and RA [the Indian intelligence agency] can jointly succeed in harming Pakistan's nuclear installations. The United States would be very pleased if these two countries do that. The Islamic world will not be able to help Pakistan." The Pakistani ambassador told the NAWA-I-WAQT in a special interview on Saturday [1 Feb] at her home that if Islamic countries did not unite and India and Israel continued to get U.S. "blessings" then it would cause serious problems for Pakistan and other Islamic countries. While answering a question about the Pakistan-United States conflict over Pakistan's nuclear program, Abida Hussain said that the Pressler amendment in this context is against all basic legal considerations. She said that the United States has no proof about Pakistan's nuclear program. The United States has no proof that Pakistan has an atomic bomb. Whenever this issue is discussed with the U.S. Government, it admits that it has no proof of Pakistan having nuclear bombs. The United States has two photographs taken via satellite which do not prove that Pakistan has atomic bombs. When the Pakistani ambassador was reminded that Senator Pressler had said during his recent trip to Pakistan that Pakistan will have to destroy its bomb publicly and was asked what was her reaction to it, she said, "No senator or assembly member of any country talks in such a ridiculous way to another government. The fact is that these Americans give orders to Pakistanis so confidently because they know that there are many pro-United States lackies present in Pakistan. They are always ready to obey U.S. bosses' orders and the United States will be able to achieve its goals through them." She said that recently a U.S. investigating agency revealed that Mosad, the Israel intelligence agency, had told RA during the 70's that if it "buys" every politician between the ages of 35 and 45 in East Pakistan and West Pakistan then Pakistan would fall apart by itself. According to it, Bhutto and Mujeeb were agents of the RA. She expressed regret that some Pakistani elements were U.S. agents. She added that "the United States will support

India-Israel cooperation and will use these two countries to sabotage Pakistan's nuclear program. The U.S. President issued this certification about Pakistan's nuclear program not having any bombs from 1985 through 1990. Then something happened between September 1990 and October 1991, and the United States suspended aid to Pakistan. The fact is that as long as Pakistan helped the United States with the Afghanistan issue, the United States provided military and economic aid to Pakistan. However, when the Americans felt in 1990 that they did not need Pakistan, they stopped the \$240 million aid. This is a betrayal on the part of the United States. Pakistan helped to make United States victorious' in the Cold War. What did Pakistan get in return? It got the burden of supporting the refugees, kilashnikovs, and other problems. If Pakistan had not helped, the United States could not have won the Cold War. Had the United States stopped aid to Pakistan during the Afghan crisis, then Pakistan would have also stopped helping it." Replying to a question about the U.S. accusation that Pakistan has atomic bombs, Abida Hussain said that whenever we ask the U.S. Government for tangible proof of our having an atomic bomb, it cannot answer us and tells us that their experts believe that we have atomic bombs and therefore they were forced to suspend aid to us.

"When we provide solid proof of India having nuclear bombs to the United states, it does not pay attention to us. The United States knows that India, Israel, and South Africa have atomic bombs; however, it remains silent about this. The United States feels confident that it can "buy" important Pakistani officials and do whatever it wants to do here." She added that the United States had emerged as the "ring leader" of the world after the Gulf war. The smaller nations around the world fear that the United States might take action against them. The Pakistani ambassador said, "the people of Pakistan will have to act united. The Jews are very influential in Washington. The U.S. legislators who concede privately that Pakistan's nuclear program is appropriate, do not dare to support Pakistan openly because they are afraid of the Jewish lobby." Answering a question why President Bush did not receive her credentials, she replied that according to the protocol the U.S. President received credentials when at least seven new ambassadors were appointed. She explained that according to her plans she was to arrive there on 15 November; however, her predecessor did not leave until 25 November. "A new ambassador cannot take charge until the previous ambassador has left. Had I arrived on 15 November as planned then I would have been able to present my credentials along with other ambassadors on 25 November. However, it did not happen and now I will have to wait for six more ambassadors to present my credentials. The new ambassador from Russia is also waiting. There is nothing wrong with this. An irresponsible journalist has made it into an issue."

U.S. Planning Military Base in Kashmir

92AS0589A Karachi AMN in Urdu 26 Jan 92 p 2

[Column by Jumma Khan: "Plans To Build Military Base in Kashmir"]

[Text] Rejecting the demand to make Kashmir an independent nation, Sardar Sikander Hayat, president of Azad Kashmir, said that that would not be possible because of political and economic reasons. He added that this was an American position, which was aimed at surrounding China.

It is fully clear from Sardar Sikander Hayat's interview, granted to government news agency APP, that the political parties in Kashmir that are demanding an independent and autonomous nation are actually playing into the hands of the United States. America does not want Kashmir to join Pakistan. Instead, it is promoting the idea of an independent Jammu-Kashmir so that it can encircle China.

China is Pakistan's best friend, and it has assisted Pakistan in difficult times. The Pakistan-China friendship has always been good, even when governments changed. Because of all this, the people of Pakistan cannot tolerate the idea of any friend or enemy pressuring and conspiring against our neighbor, China.

As for making Kashmir an independent country, the people of occupied Kashmir and Azad Kashmir, since the beginning, has never demanded independence. They have asked to join with Pakistan. Therefore, the final decision can be made through an independent, fair, and unbiased survey.

We still have the UN resolution over the Kashmir issue. This resolution clearly indicates that Jammu and Kashmir is a contested region, where the people should decide through a referendum whether to join Pakistan or India. Based on this resolution, it was imperative that the United Nations made arrangements to hold the referendum in Jammu-Kashmir. However, because of the continued changes in Pakistan's government and the former Soviet Union's support for India, this referendum never took place.

According to the UN resolution, the people of Kashmir have to decide through a public poll whether they want to join Pakistan or India. This resolution does not mention making Jammu-Kashmir an independent country. As for India, this nation is also not in favor of making this state an independent and autonomous country.

The Jammu and Kashmir region is a very backward area. It cannot meet even its most basic needs. There are no major industries there and agricultural production is very limited. In addition, the state has no port. Thus, if Jammu-Kashmir becomes an independent country, it would be a landlocked state forced to depend on India or Pakistan for all of its imports and exports. Meanwhile, three powerful countries—China, India, and Pakistan—will be on its borders, and its security will always be in jeopardy. Each country will compete to exert its influence on the state, and this competition will endanger peace in Asia.

If Jammu-Kashmir is granted independence, it could not protect its independence from its overpowering neighbors. It will be unable to make adequate arrangements for its defense, due to its limited resources. However, this is an

American plan to have Jammu and Kashmir become an independent country. The purpose of this plan is nothing more than to convert Kashmir into an American military base.

When this subcontinent got its independence, the United States instilled fear in Pakistan about its communist neighbor and India's military power. It convinced it to sign military pacts, and assured it that if any country attacked Pakistan, then the United States and its military allies would defend it. If Jammu-Kashmir is made an independent country, then the United States will make it fearful of its powerful and war-like neighbors and, promising it economic aid on a large scale, will force it to sign a military pact with the United States of America. As a result, it will be able to keep its armed forces and air force bases in the state. It will then be able to very easily keep an eye on China, India, Pakistan, Iran, Afghanistan, and central Asian countries.

What does the United States want through its new world order? This is a question that even the U. S. Government has yet to answer. However, it is a foregone conclusion that it plans to establish military supremacy all over the world. It will not use economic weapons alone; one can assume this from the fact that it is now the lone superpower in the world. Still, it has signed an agreement with Singapore to build new military bases there. It is now trying to sign military pacts also with Malaysia. It will then be able to establish military bases there. Its strategy proves that in this new international situation, it is looking for new military bases so that it can give orders using its military power.

China has refused to follow the former Soviet Union in changing its old regime. The United States has not succeeded in convincing India yet. The Islamic movement in Iran and Afghanistan is spreading and becoming more effective. The United States already has problems with Pakistan. The Islamic republics of central Asia that have separated themselves from the former Soviet Union can be a source of new danger. In this situation, the United States needs its military bases north of Pakistan so that it can influence the politics in China, India, Pakistan, and countries in central Asia. Perhaps it is for this purpose that it wants to make Jammu-Kashmir an independent country. The United States knows well that Pakistan and India will never allow it to build a military base at any cost. However, it would not be very difficult to have an independent Kashmir agree to building a military base there.

Analyst Urges Resistance to U.S. Backed World Order

*92AS0646B Peshawar THE FRONTIER POST
in English 12 Feb 92 pp 10-11*

[Article by Nargis Ferozan: "The New World Order and Its Watchdogs"]

[Text] The phrase "New World Order" (NWO) is another name of the Bush doctrine which he so gloatingly enunciated after his alliance's "success" against Iraq in 1991.

The old order was rivalry for domination of the world by two super powers, i.e., the United States and the USSR which had made the world de facto bipolar. However after the demise of USSR, the world has dangerously been rendered unipolar, where one power is trying to play god on the earth; endeavouring to subjugate the world politically and economically.

Previously the whole world was divided into orbits or spheres of influence of either of the competing powers which had paradoxically afforded relative stability to the world and an equilibrium of sorts existed. In other words each power would check and balance the excesses of the other resulting in a sort of deterrent for instance to the expansion and aggression of the rival one.

However, after having been rendered unipolar, the world has absolutely become vulnerable to the aggression of and an easy prey for one power which now claims to be the self-styled leader of the world, presuming the rest of the world to tiptoe her line or else be prepared for dressing down or elimination on the pattern of Iraq. This warning was rather unashamedly conveyed in the state of the union address of George Bush delivered by him to the American Congress.

In order to facilitate the implementation of the stipulations laid down for the NWO, the United States in the meantime has carved out leadership roles for the newly emerging police states whose responsibility would primarily be protection of the US interests, both strategic and economic, around the world. The other facilitating factor would be use of the UN forum in a way that this world body would afford legitimacy to America's march on any state venturing to act in contravention of this new "reality." The UN unprecedentedly passed 12 American-sponsored resolutions in less than five months against Iraq during the Gulf crisis which to a large extent tarnished the image of the world body and for the first time ever since its establishment in 1946 made its integrity and credibility questionable.

How will the whole world live with the double standards of the United Nations when a resolution on Kashmir acceding to the right of the Kashmiris for plebiscite is pending since 1949 and a resolution on Palestine acceding the right of the Palastinians to self-rule is in the balance of UN since 1967? Comparing a barrage of United States influenced resolutions against Iraq and keeping back resolutions against Israel and India respectively for almost half a century will definitely show the United Nations a puppet in the hands of United States to the world people. Likewise the United Nations under American pressure got a resolution equating zionism with racism cancelled while Israel does not concede the right of an observer to the United Nations in the ongoing "peace" talks on the Middle East. This points to the favour the United Nations does to Israel and the extent of Israel's flouting the international body!

Some of the new police states, the watchdogs of NWO as could be seen between the lines of the US foreign policy are

India, Israel, Singapore, Egypt and the UK in Asia, Middle East, Far East, Africa and Europe respectively.

As its obvious only India and Singapore are the new players in the grand US game and are expected to attain more prominent leadership position in accordance with the NWO calculations. As a quid pro quo these American watchdogs will not only be accorded the most favoured nations status in their trade with United States but would be the recipient of the biggest chunk of US economic and military aid.

From the new watchdogs only Singapore will be playing the honorary role of police as it is a rich industrial state but eagerly awaiting to become a trade partner of United States on equal footing with Japan. Singapore which seceded from mainland Malaysia in 1965 is already harbouring a largest contingent of Mossad security personnel for "protection."

As Singapore is apparently replacing Philippines in the NWO, India is replacing Pakistan which had in turn taken its mantle from Iran under the Shah, India is going to be the biggest military and economic ally of United States. A large number of US military experts are going to be stationed in India and naval manoeuvres are planned in the near future in the Indian Ocean comprising Indian and American navies. The United States does all this at the expense of Pakistan which was its ally for four decades. The recent visit of the chief of army staff [COAS] to Washington was aimed at changing the course of events in favour of India but failed miserably. The COAS in order to gratify Pentagon and State Department met Ms. Benazir Bhutto at the "arranged" dinner of Haji Qadir Gul and went to Rome to meet Zahir Shar; by this he was signalling that Pakistan will not any longer support the fundamentalists like Zia-ul-Haq or former COAS Aslam Beg. All this manoeuvring did not work and India by recognising Israel further ingratiated the Americans. This very fact will increase Indo-Israeli machinations against Pakistan. Many analysts believe that the plan of joint Indo-Israeli strike against Kahuta was only dropped as India was hesitating to recognise Israel.

The United States while getting closer to India steadily is bullying Pakistan. The United States is helping India to enrich uranium and modernise its nuclear capability; while the United States knows India exploded its first nuclear device in May 1974 and it's now a fact that India test fired several of its ballistic missiles Agni "fire" which can deliver nuke warheads but still imposes no sanctions of the Pressler or Symington Acts on India. While on the contrary the United States presses Pakistan to abandon its nuclear programme which is entirely for peaceful purposes.

When Reginald Bartholomew, the under secretary of state for security affairs visited Islamabad from November 18-21 last year he told our Foreign Secretary Shahryar Khan in clear terms that if Pakistan did not withdraw its support to the fundamentalists in Afghanistan, Kashmir and East Punjab and did not call off its nuclear programme the United States would declare Pakistan a terrorist state like Iran, Libya and Syria. In order to make Pakistan

knuckle under its pressure the United States stopped its economic and military assistance to Pakistan in October 1990 as George Bush failed to certify to the American Congress that Pakistan did not possess a nuclear device. Such a certification is required under Pressler and Symington Acts. The US government did not slacken its Pressler Act even in view of Pakistan's joining the US alliance against Iraq during the Gulf war.

The recent Pakistani volte face on Afghanistan dangerously points to the fact that Pakistan might have conceded to the dictates of Reginald Bartholomew and their NWO. We hope it's not the way as it comes to the view. If Pakistan is writing off its interests in Afghanistan by accepting a liberal secular regime in Afghanistan in the context of NWO then one will predict its surrender on Kashmir and nuclear issues as well.

Egypt managed to muster American favour by signing the ignominious treaty of Camp David in 1979 which was considered as capitulation by the radical camp in the Arab world and resulted in the Egyptian isolation in its Arab fraternity. The second shameful Egyptian move was ganging up against Saddam Husayn in the ranks of US-led alliance that bashed Iraqi people rather than the Saddam Husayn regime.

From those nations who collaborated with United States in Saddam bashing desert storm only Pakistan and Syria have lost favour with Uncle Sam. Syria only managed to get its name deleted from the list of "terrorist" states but failed to secure the "honour" of US watchdog by refusing to join in the US bully-camp against Col. al-Qadhafi and the fact that Syria is not ready to give a prominent role to Israel as envisaged in the NWO.

There seems to be growing disenchantment in the ranks of "former" allies of the United States in the Atlantic Alliance (NATO) about the domineering American NWO behaviour and growing anxiety and concern about the way America intends to lead the world without taking her allies into confidence.

In spite of all persuasions, blackmailing and pressure tactics the Americans could not cow down for example Germany and France who are trying to form a counter balance to the US dominance by proposing the United States of Europe with Brussels as its capital. The US government senses greater challenges in the way of its NWO from United Germany which is managing its foreign policy independently both from the United States and the EEC German recognition of Croatia and Slovenia and its drive to have economic bases in the CIS [Commonwealth of Independent States] has shaken off the confidence of EEC and United States in Germany and for that reason it is under constant criticism in the American media. The recognition of Croatia and Slovenia for example not only sent shivers down the spine of United States but sent shock waves across West Europe and the EEC. This German Act was considered disobedience by the Americans and quest by Germany for a leadership role by the Europeans. Germany's role is particularly seen with suspicion by the United Kingdom which acts as a stooge of United States in

managing its foreign relations. German phobia is blown out of proportion by the English media in London as one analyst once put it, "it is impossible a Hitler is not borne once the knot of two Germanys is tied."

It is not only Germany, France and the rest of Europe sans the UK but Japan also seems to be in a rebellious mood. Japan by giving a cold shoulder treatment to Bush recently in Tokyo clearly convey the message to the Americans that Japan is no longer the unsinkable ship of United States a compliment given to Ronald Reagan by Nakasone, the former Japanese prime minister. The Bush bashing in Tokyo and other Japanese cities showed that even Japan is not prepared to swallow the poisonous pill of the NWO, Americans are trying to push down the throat of the people around the globe.

The recent abortive visit of George Bush to Japan where he was called the criminal of the Gulf war and taunted as American auto dealer and worse when he faced headlines reading as "the lazy American workforce is responsible for the collapse of US economy and not Japan's trade surplus with Washington," must have given the author of NWO food for thought.

Similar was Bush's fate during his visit to Australia where the Aussie prime minister snubbed Bush for trying to build US economy at the expense of other countries. All what Keating, the new Australian prime minister said to Bush smacked of overt defiance and evinces Australia's abhorrence of the NWO.

The United States by destroying the economic infrastructure of Iraq and her formidable war machine took the first step towards making Israel the lynch-pin of NWO in the Middle East and by convening the Madrid, Washington and Moscow "peace" talks got the illegal Jewish state recognised by her erstwhile staunch enemies including Syria and PLO. Moreover, United States is supposed to give 10 billion dollars to Israel to shore up its crumbling economy and finance the resettlements of Jews immigrating to Israel from former USSR in the occupied lands of West Bank, Golan Heights and suburbs of occupied Jerusalem.

With the recognition of the Jewish state by two Asian giants People's Republic of China and mother India who would always shed crocodile tears for the Palestinians, the doors have slung open for Pakistan to do so. There are already signals being given by Syeda Abida Hussain, Islamabad's first lady ambassador in Washington, and United States will now find it much easier to exert pressure on Islamabad to do so.

Similarly Pakistan will be prompted to do so as another of her allies Saudi Arabia which encouraged Syria, Lebanon, Jordan and the PLO to attend the capitulation conferences in Madrid, Washington and Moscow is seriously considering recognition of Israel. This is nothing but the magic of NWO which up-to-date faces little resistance in the Gulf thanks to the rich Arab surrogates of the US-called members of GCC [Gulf Cooperation Council].

Whatever the persuasions, perks or inducement the government of Pakistan must resist the imposition of NWO as it will be tantamount to our becoming the slaves of India once again as the United States ditches Pakistan to woo India. Our acquiescing in the NWO will be a catastrophe to Pakistan and all those weak Muslim states who pin their hopes on Pakistan for survival in the context of oppressive NWO. What if we give in ourselves?!!

Editorial Views Continuing Impasse With U.S.

92AS0587B Karachi JANG in Urdu 24 Jan 92 p 3

[Editorial: "Pakistan-U.S. Disagreement Over Nuclear Issue"]

[Text] President Ghulam Ishaq Khan said that the disagreement between the United States and Pakistan over the nuclear issue can be removed by holding mutual agreeable talks and if both countries try to understand each other's view point. The president was talking to Frank P. Kelso, chief of the U.S. Navy, on Wednesday, in the Ivan-i-Sadar [president's residence]. The president said that Pakistan respected U.S. laws and was not upset with the United States for implementing those laws. He added that the United States should also view Pakistan's peaceful nuclear program in the framework of its legitimate needs and the support of the whole nation for the program. Pakistan is not any less worried about proliferation of nuclear weapons. However, this is an autonomous nation. There are some nations in this region which have nuclear capabilities. These facts are ignored when Pakistan is the target of biased treatment.

In spite of the long history of cooperation, friendship, and partnership between Pakistan and the United States, there have been some misunderstandings between the two nations for the last one and a half or two years because of Pakistan's nuclear program. Pakistan's primary stand is that its nuclear program is essentially peaceful and it is ready to sign the Nuclear Nonproliferation Treaty. However, it will do so only if its neighbor is willing to sign it also. This neighbor's ability to make and use nuclear weapons is a proven fact. Pakistan has made several proposals for keeping this region nuclear weapon free; however, it [India] has not expressed any concrete interest in these proposals. In this context, expecting an autonomous and independent nation like Pakistan to unilaterally ignore the options necessary for its defense is not realistic. Unfortunately, the U.S. Government and the Congress have failed to understand this point. Pakistan is constantly being pressured to satisfy the real and imaginary fears of the United States about its nuclear program and to do whatever it asks. As President Ishaq Khan has said, Pakistan as an independent nation cannot comply with this request. It would be wise for the United States, being an old friend, to focus on finding a regional solution to this problem by talks and negotiations. Influential U.S. sources often give the impression that they support a regional solution and are taking steps to implement it. They also support Prime Minister Nawaz Sharif's proposal for a five-nation conference. However, until they have not tried these conciliatory efforts, they should not put unilateral

pressure on Pakistan. If the U.S. Government takes into consideration the consensus of the Pakistani people's opinion it would learn that it is unfair to exert unilateral pressure on a friendly and ally nation. Our president has expressed the hope that the hurdles in the nuclear issue will be removed and both parties will try to understand each other's point of view. The head of the U.S. Navy made assurances to the effect that he will try his best to remove the obstacles in the way of improving relations between Pakistan and the United States. We hope that his view will be able to influence the U.S. Government and that this issue can be resolved to the satisfaction of both countries. It appears to be a difficult task; however, as a Persian adage goes, no task is impossible. The U.S. Government should not put pressure on Pakistan just as Senator Pressler has. It should consider finding a solution through bilateral talks. These will also validate Pakistan's concerns. U.S. laws need not be ignored to be able to reestablish normal relations between the United States and Pakistan.

Turkey Said Assisting in Manufacture of F-16 Parts

92AS0587A Karachi JANG in Urdu 25 Jan 92 p 1

[News Report: "Pakistan and Turkey To Manufacture F-16 Parts Jointly"]

[Text] Islamabad (Special Correspondent)—Turkey and Pakistan are expanding their cooperation in aeronautic engineering. It has been learned that both countries are cooperating in a venture to manufacture F-16 parts. Both Islamic countries will exchange visits by deputation to discuss this project. JANG learned that the chief of Turkish Air Force will visit Pakistan with a high level deputation in February for one week. He was invited by Farooq Feroz, Pakistan's air chief marshal. He will also meet with President Ghulam Ishaq Khan and Prime Minister Nawaz Sharif.

Japanese Said Reluctant To Make Investments

92AS0646G Peshawar THE FRONTIER POST in English 7 Feb 92 p 4

[Article by Altaf Hussain: "Japanese Reluctant To Invest in Pakistan"]

[Text] Islamabad—The head of the visiting high-level Japanese economic delegation, Minoru Inoue, has urged Nawaz government to ensure transparency at all the sectors and sub-sectors of the economic system of the country.

Addressing a press conference at the conclusion of the visit here on Thursday, he said "by transparency we mean that the things should be done in a manner that is easily understandable to everybody." In other words, he said, everything has to be done in the framework of a very easy and understandable procedure and the decisions should be made only in accordance with those laid down procedures open to everybody.

Without specifically mentioning any incident or event involving unfair means, he said "the conditions imposed under these rules and regulations has to be fair and with regard to various permits and approvals, a very uniform

and fair treatment has to be given to everybody." He also expressed his concern over administrative procedures and rules saying that all the documents might sometimes be expressed in a very abstract fashion and manner. However, when it comes to implementation of these measures, the contents of enforcement had to be laid down in a very easy manner understandable to everyone.

Talking about the purpose of his visit to Pakistan with such a big delegation, he said that the former prime minister of Japan, Toshiki Kaifu, visited Pakistan in 1989 and this visit was in fact a follow up of that visit in which both the sides agreed to explore various ways and means for the enhancement of economic co-operation between the two countries. He also mentioned the 40th anniversary of Pak-Japan Business Co-operation Committee that provided an opportunity in this regard to visit Pakistan.

To a question about the possibilities of future foreign direct investment in Pakistan by the Japanese investors, he said that his mission was going to examine and evaluate various proposals that came under discussion during the visit and a detailed report would be submitted to the government of Japan. He was not sure when the recent visit of the Japanese delegation was going to be translated into concrete capital investment by the Japanese investors.

The overall impression that was given by the mission leader makes it clear that while appreciating enormous reforms in the national economic activity, the Japanese were still curious and conscious about the translation of these measures into practical realities of the business world. Inoue said that Japanese concern was of somewhat technical nature and the mission was of the view that the improvements should be made in the following areas of concern:

First, he said "we are more concerned about the implementation of these reformatory measures in a pragmatic manner." By this he meant that there should be continuity and consistency in the implementation of these policies.

Second, he was of the view that rules, regulations and the procedures about the enforcement of these rules should be streamlined in an articulate manner clearly discernable to all the people concerned.

Third, stress was laid on the improvement of basic infrastructure facilities to attract direct foreign investment in the country. The mission leader, at this moment, said that Japan was having innumerable investment offers and Pakistan would have to come up with competitive incentives if foreign direct investment from Japan was really required. It is to be noted that the Japanese mission has been raising its concern about the lack of infrastructural facilities in the country, poor living conditions, bureaucratic hurdles, procedural complications, lack of information about investment opportunity and law and order situation.

To a question about the possibility of investment by the Japanese private sector in the industrial estates to be established along the proposed Lahore-Islamabad Motorway, he said that it was difficult for the Japanese investors

to make up their mind about the said industrial estates because there were already some business houses in Japan on their way to invest in similar projects in Indonesia and Thailand.

About the future course of Japanese investment in Pakistan, he said that the risk of investment had to be borne by the private investors and the Japanese government in this regard would not provide any guarantees. Nor the government of Japan would instruct or order the private investors to invest in Pakistan but the decision would be entirely individual, he added. He said, the Japanese investors could be attracted towards Pakistan only if competitive incentives were offered to them at par with those offered by the other countries in the world.

The mission leader also emphasised the need of provision of official guarantees to the foreign investment and the repatriation of the money. Above all, he said "we want to be ensured that nothing would be renationalised in the future."

While the high-level Japanese economic mission has concluded its visit without reaching to any concrete result regarding Japanese investment in Pakistan, independent economists are of the view that the Japanese shyness to invest in Pakistan is an eventual outcome of the government policies in which on several occasions the Japanese investors were made target of discriminatory treatment. Examples in this regard are being quoted from the cancellation of licence of Indus Motors and a recent decision in which a South Korean firm, Daewoo, was given preference over the Japanese bidder in one of the major projects in the telecommunication sector.

International Islamic Conference Recounted

Unity Amongst Muslims

92AS0647A Karachi DAWN in English 13 Feb 92 p 4

[Text] Karachi, Feb 12—Millat-i-Islamia Conference on Wednesday called upon the Muslims of the world to unite to wage Jihad against the anti-Muslim forces.

The conference was organised by Jamaat-i-Islami Karachi, at the premises of Idara-i-Noor-i-Haq here this evening.

Speakers from the International Muslim Movements from Egypt, Jordan, Syria, Tunisia, Malaysia, America and other countries addressed the conference.

Leader of the Jordanian "Ikhwanul Muslemeen" movement Mohammad Abdul Rehman said the remedy of all problems of the Ummah lies in the unity of the Muslims and eschewing from factional differences.

He said: "We have to hold the flag of Islam because Islam provides solution to all problems."

He said Palestine at present was under the control of Jews, but the Muslims of the world would liberate it with unity.

Another speaker from Jordan Abdul Qadir Abu Faris underlined the need to establish Islamic governments in all the Muslim countries.

He also called for unity among the Muslims to liberate Palestine. He said: "Palestine can only be freed with the joint struggle of Muslims."

Ahmed Salam said, "today nationalism among Muslims has become a very sensitive problems and we have to solve it with the same spirit which the holy Prophet Muhammad (PBUH [Peace Be Upon Him]) had adopted in Madina after migration."

Among others who addressed the conference were: Karachi Jamaat-i-Islami chief Namatullah, advocate, Ibrahim Mohammad Masood, Dr Mohammad Abdul Qadir and Ahmed Alhatab.—APP

Conference Resolutions Condemn West

92AS0647B Peshawar *THE FRONTIER POST*
in English 10 Feb 92 p 2

[Quotation marks as published]

[Text] A two-day international Islamic conference, which took place in Lahore this week, has pointed out the United States, Western powers and its collaborators are busy hatching conspiracies against Islam, Muslims and Islamic movements.

The conference, during its two-day deliberations on February 7 and 8, discussed at length the progress of the Islamic movements the world over.

Over 80 leading scholars and leaders representing major Islamic movements and organisations from Afghanistan, Bangladesh, India, Azad Kashmir, Indian-held Kashmir, Malaysia, Indonesia, Philippines, Thailand, Sri Lanka, Egypt, Jordan, Gulf states, Sudan, Palestine, Syria, Turkey, Tunisia, Algeria, France, Sweden, Germany, United Kingdom and United States participated in the conference.

The conference was convened by the Jamaat-i-Islami as the concluding event of the celebrations on the completion of 50 years of the Islamic revivalist movement of the Jamaat, founded by Maulana Syed Abul A'ala Mawdudi in 1941.

According to a press release issued by the Peshawar Jamaat office, the international conference entitled 'the role of Maulana Syed Abul A'ala Mawdudi and Jamaat-i-Islami in contemporary Islamic resurgence adopted several resolutions on the prevailing situation of the Islamic movements.

Following is the full text of the press release issued by the Jamaat yesterday:

"The conference expressed in all humility, its profound gratitude to Allah Subhanahu wa Ta'ala for enabling the Jamaat-i-Islami for completing its first 50 years of da'wah, whose impact on the intellectual, social, cultural and political life of the Ummah has been immense not only in the Pak-India subcontinent but all over the world, and whose role in bringing about a new Islamic awakening in the Muslim people and in achieving greater cooperation and coordination between different Islamic movements and organisations working in different parts of the world has been of a pioneering nature;

"The conference affirms that Islam is final message of Allah Almighty for the guidance of mankind that it provides complete guidance to mankind in all walks of life and all dimensions of its existence and that Islamic Ummah is a universal community of believers in the La'elaha Ellallah Mohammad Rasool Ullah, whose sheer anchor is the Quran and Sunnah and whose main aim is to establish a Shariah-based community, society and state ensuring for mankind an era of Godliness, moral excellence, freedom, peace and justice for all human beings leading to success in the world and salvation in the hereafter;

"The conference further affirms that the Muslims all over the world owe their identity to Shariah as their supreme law, which forbids mutual strife, bloodshed oppression and exploitation of others and enjoins on the Ummah to live in brotherhood, solidarity and respect for one another, practice Shura as their way of life, ensure for all protection of human rights as guaranteed by Allah and His Prophet (Peace Be Upon Him), seek just distribution, equitable sharing of the wealth within the Ummah, and help each other to achieve collective security and defence against fitna and aggression from within or without;

"The conference looks up on Pakistan as a citadel of Islam, as this has been the first country in contemporary phase of the history of the Ummah which was founded in the name of Islam and which resolved to develop as an Islamic republic and expresses the hope and aspiration of the Islamic Ummah that Pakistan will resist all mechanisations of the enemies of Islam and shall spare no effort in actually establishing the Islamic world and social order in all walks of its life so as to become an example for others and this is possible only when the Islamic order is actually established in practice and Shariah becomes the effective law of the land, an ideal that must be pursued by the Ummah in every country and region in the world;

"The conference expresses its solidarity with the Muslims of Jammu & Kashmir who are engaged in a heroic struggle to seek the fulfilment for their right of self-determination as guaranteed by UN resolutions on 1948 & 1949 and the unequivocal commitments of the governments of India, Pakistan and the world community;

"The conference declares that the only peaceful solution to the Kashmir problem lies in immediate restoration of the right of self-determination of the people of Kashmir through free and impartial plebiscite under UN auspices and requests all Muslim countries in particular and the entire world community in general to exercise all their influence including resort to political and economic sanctions, to force the government of India to vacate its illegal occupation of Jammu & Kashmir and give to the people of the state of Jammu & Kashmir the right to freely decide their own future;

"The conference notes with great anguish that the Indian armed and other security forces have unleashed a reign of terror and persecution on the innocent and peaceful people of Jammu & Kashmir. Over 10,000 persons have been killed and over 30,000 persons were arrested and put in torture chambers during the last two years. All Muslim

political leaders including Sayyed Gilana, Mir Qayyum and Shabbir Shah have been put behind the bars, political and religious parties including Jamaat-i-Islami have been banned and Islamic-oriented educational institutions (over 400) have been closed down. People are being subjected to long and torturous spells of uninterrupted curfews. Whole localities have been burnt to ashes, women have been gang raped and children maimed. The conference condemns these atrocities against the innocent people of Kashmir and demands that their civil liberties and human rights shall be immediately restored, international and Muslim aid agencies should be allowed to visit Kashmir and provide humanitarian aid to the suffering peoples of the valley, failing which the United Nations and the world community should impose economic sanctions against India for its violation of human rights in Kashmir.

"The conference expresses its solidarity with the mujahideen of Afghanistan in their historic struggle to liberate Afghanistan from the Russian supported Kabul regime, pays warm tribute to their glorious struggle which has resulted not only of the withdrawal of Russian forces from Afghanistan and later on from East Europe but also played a key role in the decline and disintegration of communism and of Soviet Union as an imperialist superpower, condemns all efforts of imposing in the name of political solution, any leadership in Afghanistan against the will of the mujahideen who represent the new historic leadership of Afghanistan and assures the mujahideen that the Islamic Ummah shall continue to unconditionally support their struggles in all possible manner till they succeed in establishing a truly Islamic government in Afghanistan fulfilling the real aspirations of the Afghan people and capable of resisting all imperialist manipulations and intervention;

"It also expresses its complete and profound support for the Islamic resistance of Intifada, led by the movement of Hamas and other sincere groups in their illustrious struggle to seek the liberation of Al-Quds and Palestine from illegal Israeli occupation and to restore the sovereignty and Islamic identity of Palestine and Al-Aqsa, the first Qibla, and the third holiest mosque of Islam. The conference unequivocally declares that liberation of Al-Quds and Palestine is not merely a Palestinian or Arab issue, it is an Islamic issue with which the entire Islamic Ummah is concerned as a matter of faith and Islamic Ummah would never accept, however, long may be the struggle, any solution which does not result in restoration of complete sovereignty of the Muslims on Al-Quds and Palestine;

"The conference congratulates the people of Algeria on their commitment and clear verdict to establish in Algeria an Islamic state and condemns efforts aimed at undoing the verdict of the people, reversing the democratic process and imposing the will of a small minority supported by western powers and media against the will of an overwhelming majority of the Algerian people. The conference expresses its solidarity with the Algerian people, condemns the double standards so shamelessly pursued by the American government and other western powers and expresses the resolve of the Ummah that the Islamic movements will continue their

peaceful struggle against political, economic and cultural imperialism of the west and its local collaborators;

"The conference expresses its utter grief and anguish over the whole manner and design in which the Gulf crisis appeared, continued and finally resulted in destruction of Muslim peoples and resources, strengthening of the foes of Islam, particularly Israel, injury to Muslim and Arab honour and intensifying the grip of American and other western colonial powers on the region. Iraqi occupation of Kuwait was an act of aggression which provided America and her allies with an opportunity not only to crush Iraqi military and economic power but also exploit the region and its regimes financially and politically and further entrench itself in the region and even dream to impose a Pax-Americans in the name of a new world order;

"It also invites the Muslim Ummah in general and the peoples and regimes of the area in particular to objectively review the whole situation from the perspective of the real interests of the people of the region and the Ummah and to explore the possibilities of making a fresh start with a view to resolve the problem and disputes between the Muslim countries within Muslim framework. As a step towards making the climate congenial for such an invitation, Iraq should immediately release all Kuwaiti prisoners in Iraq, stop the blockade of Kurd areas, giving them the autonomy they deserve, restore civil liberties and democratic process and apologise and repent for whatever excesses were committed during these dark days of crisis. The Arabs and the Muslim world should initiate withdrawal of economic sanctions against Iraq whose result has been the untold misery and suffering of the Iraqi people with the result that innocent people are starving, children are denied milk and basic diet and patients are unable to get even minimum medical and health care facilities;

"The conference expresses its solidarity with and support for all those people in different parts of the world, Palestine, Kashmir, Philippine, Burma, Thailand, Eritrea, Cyprus, Yugoslavia, South Africa, etc. Where people are engaged in liberation struggle against regimes who have denied them their civil liberties, human rights and the right to self-determination;

"The conference expresses its profound concern over denial of human and political rights to the peoples in a number of Muslim countries in general and on repressive measures against Islamic movements and their workers in particular. Denial of human rights and subversion of the democratic process in any part of the world constitutes violation of universal and Islamic values and must be treated as a crime against humanity by all human beings. The West's discriminatory attitude in respect of violation of human rights of the Islamic peoples is a living testimony to their double standards. The conference invites Muslim people to make all possible efforts to seek the probation of civil liberties, human rights and the democratic process in the Muslim lands.

—"The conference welcomes the liberation of the Muslim Central Asian republics and assures them the Ummah's

fullest support in their efforts to consolidate their freedom and rediscover and strengthen their Islamic identity and economic and political power. The conference invites all Muslim people to extend fullest support and cooperation to those new Islamic republics and hopes closer, economic, educational, cultural and industrial ties would be forged among the Muslim republics of Central Asia, Pakistan, Iran, Turkey and Islamic Afghanistan as a start.

—“The conference also condemns imperialism in all forms and in all parts of the world and resolves that all people of the world have to establish their own political, economic and ideological destiny and all efforts made by imperialist forces, aiming at political subjugation, economic exploitation, financial strangulation, cultural domination and political manipulation, in the Muslim and Third World countries deserve to be condemned in stronger terms. The wave of democracy overstating countries in different parts of the world and the struggle for human rights and search for economic sovereignty are legitimate urges of our times and the world would become a safer and better place to live in only if just rights of people all over the world are ensured and respected.

—“The conference finally urges the Muslim people to strive for achieving greater economic, political, educational, cultural, and ideological integration within the Islamic Ummah for establishing the Shariah as the supreme law of Muslim lands, to restructure their polity and society on the Islamic foundations of ‘Shura, Adl and Ihsan’, and to strive for seeking economic, military and technological self-reliance by the Islamic Ummah, and its collective security and defence. May Allah enable the Muslims all over the world to follow the principles of Islam in their individual and collective life and establish Islamic social order that could be a blessing for the entire mankind.

“The conference notes with satisfaction the efforts towards the establishment of an Islamic society and state in Sudan and assures the people and the government of Sudan of their united support of the Islamic Ummah in their historic efforts. The conference urges all Muslim organisations and governments to extend their fullest and sustained support and cooperation to the people of Sudan in this effort which is bound to take some time to materialise.”

REGIONAL AFFAIRS

President Said Unhappy With New Afghan Policy

92AS0646F Peshawar THE FRONTIER POST
(supplement) in English 7 Feb 92 pp 1

[Article by Khawar Malik: “Deliberate Contradictions”; first paragraph is THE FRONTIER POST introduction; quotation marks as published]

[Text] Is the President’s separate furrow on Afghan policy a tactfully agreed upon method to keep various options open for the troika.

Although national and international media has generally chosen to highlight only the ‘conforming’ bits of President Ghulam Ishaq Khan’s statement on Afghanistan (January 31), discerning observers maintain that it did not exactly conform with the ‘shift in policy’ statement of January 28 by the minister for state for foreign affairs, Mr Siddique Kanjoo. It would be instructive to present the differences in the two views within the Pakistani establishment.

While comparing the two statements, one is struck by the fact that President Ghulam Ishaq Khan emphasised a great deal that there was ‘absolutely no shift’ in the Afghan policy. Rather, he was at pains to explain that ‘it is consistent with our stand of many months’ in which ‘we have already welcomed the UN peace plan’ and ‘always emphasised upon a political solution’. His sardonic ‘where do you see the shift’ contrasts starkly with Mr Kanjoo’s categorical ‘there is now a complete shift in the policy’ and ‘we had only welcomed the UN peace plan earlier but now we intend to get it implemented’.

Even more important than these ‘little verbal discrepancies’ are the contradictory stands of the two representatives of establishment on crux issues. ‘The minister for foreign affairs rejected the mujahideen totally by saying ‘UN peace plan cannot be held hostage for a few now’ and that ‘we have waited for mujahideen to reach a consensus. We will not wait now’. The president, on the other hand, said that ‘we are making our best efforts for making our Afghan brothers agree to this and they also agree that there should be a political solution’.

Another clear incongruity between their respective stands is on the issue of the inclusion of Zahir Shah and Najibullah. Mr Kanjoo, when questioned on King Zahir Shah’s presence in the representative assembly (or the Loya Jirga), said that ‘it is up to United Nations to consult and invite him’. On Najibullah or his representatives, however, the minister added a condition of ‘after consultations with all the other parties’ to this ‘blank cheque’. The President, on the other hand, recalled in his statement that one of the three points clearly spelt out in the Secretary General’s report to the UN last year was that ‘there would be no controversial personalities in the interim arrangement’.

The proponents of ‘Ishaq unhappy with new policy’ theory also present reports in the international media that the president was conspicuously absent from the January 25 meeting of the Afghan Cell, the very day when this elementary change in policy was debated and decided upon. ‘That is highly unusual. Unprecedented too, because I can recall at least two occasions in the past when the previously scheduled meetings of the Cell were cancelled due to his unavailability although other members (including prime minister, COAS [Chief of Army Staff], minister for foreign affairs and Director General, etc.) were all available’ a source from Islamabad disclosed.

The advocates of the theory have a ready-made answer to the disturbing question that arises quite naturally. How was the new change in policy affected if President Ghulam Ishaq Khan, generally regarded as the ‘other custodian’ of the country’s Afghan policy, was not in agreement with it?

'Obviously, the first player changed tack after his visit abroad where certain things were decided and agreed upon. And the junior most member of the troika is supporting him rather than the president'.

A jubilant PPP [Pakistan People's Party] leader told this scribe: 'The new change in policy is a victory of the PPP which had favoured and pursued 'the political solution' during its tenure. General Nasirullah Baber, the man who created the Afghan resistance in 1974, has been instrumental even in this. He not only arranged the recent meeting between the COAS and Zahir Shah's son-in-law in Rome (he was also present in the meeting himself) but was also instrumental in arranging the meeting between the head of a sensitive intelligence agency with Najibullah in Kabul. It is, indeed, sweet revenge that we should check-mate the man who has been responsible for the fall of both of our governments'.

There are others, however, who give less currency to the theory of 'the deal abroad', or at least, attribute President's present retreat on the Afghan issue to a let down by Mujahideen. 'The mujahideen have been divided, selfish and indifferent to the interests of their hosts. They have let down the Pakistan government on two important occasions, during their combined visit to Moscow for dialogue and on the return visit of Russian envoy, Alexander Rutskoi to Pakistan for repatriation of Soviet POWs. Both times, they created ill-will in Russia for Pakistan, their host for 12 years, when it was hoping for a breakthrough in relations with the leadership of the new Soviet republics. Also, with no mujahideen unity in sight, the establishment had to acquiesce to the pressure from abroad'.

It may be mentioned here that president himself has made hectic efforts for unity of mujahideen. On December 3, before the establishment declared its intent to implement the UN peace proposal, Burhanud Din Rabbani, Gulbadin Hekmatyar, Sibghatullah Mujadadi, Pir Ahmad Shah Gillani, Mohd Nabi Muhammadi, and two representatives of two Shia factions, Qazi Amin and Ayotullah Mohsini, were reportedly called to the Presidency and asked to sign an accord proposing formation of a council of 100 representatives to hold election within a year and give way for the elected government. The absentees from the meeting included Professor Abdul Rasul Sayyaf and Moulvi Younis Khalis although Professor Sayyaf did send a nominee, Engineer Masud, as an observer.

The accord was signed but did not see the black light of the print as the developments overtook it. Efforts, however, are still underway to gather various factions of mujahideen on a common platform and the live-wire Jamaat Amir, Qazi Hussain Ahmad, is making concerted efforts for it. Since Jan 18 Qazi Sahib has been busy holding meetings with various mujahideen leaders and both president and prime minister. The Jamaat sources indicate that 'Qazi Sahib has had a good measure of success as leaders of the four major parties, that is Hekmatyar (Hizbe Islami), Rabbani (Jamiat Islami), Sayyaf (Itihad Islami) and Khalis (Hizbe Islami K) have agreed to a formula envisaging interim Islamic government headed by a man having no

leadership role to play in future, cease-fire, repatriation of refugees and elections, in that order.

Although the agreement does not include three out of seven group leaders based in Pakistan (Mujadadi, Gillani, Nabi Muhammadi) and Qazi Hussain Ahmad's mission has been severely criticised by the AIG [Afghan Interim Government] chief Sibghatullah Mujadadi as 'shameful intervention in Afghan's affairs', the Jamaat is not worried. 'Small-fries like Mujadadi are controlled by the government and do not matter. Once the big four get together on a formula, they will be forced to follow suit'.

The Jamaat has also indicated that the Qazi mission has the tacit support of both president and prime minister who seem to hold that if mujahideen could agree on something, the UN peace proposal could be reworked. Another recent incident that they regard as an important development in this regard is the recent negotiations between UN Secretary General's special envoy Benen Sevan and Professor Burhanud Din Rabbani on February 3. Mr Sevan is reported to have told Rabbani 'we are not really sure ourselves and would welcome proposals from you.'

There are some others who agree with Jamaat that if the Mujahideen could develop a consensus somehow, things might change. Still others hold the view that the mujahideen can upset the UN applecart by producing another 'Tanai' in Kabul. 'A collapse in Kabul at this stage could change everything and I suspect that in the next month and a half, Pakistani establishment would secretly allow the mujahideen to make one last ditch effort for it. I am convinced that president's isolation on the Afghan issue is actually a hoax. His separate furrow is actually a tactically agreed upon method among the troika to fool the world till such a thing happens'.

Editorial Says Likelihood of Peace in Afghanistan 'Bleak'

92AS0646C Peshawar *THE FRONTIER POST*
in English 10 Feb 92 p 10

[Editorial: "Bleak Chances for Peace in Afghanistan"; quotation marks as published]

[Text] The chief of Hizbe Islami, Engineer Gulbudin Hekmatyar, has rejected the UN peace plan saying that nothing short of (a) stepping down of Najibullah (b) for formation of an 'interim government of representatives of all groups' and no 'controversial personalities' could provide the coveted (c) cease-fire and (d) elections. It is important to understand the difference between the five-point UN peace plan and Engineer Hekmatyar's four-point counter-proposal. The UN peace plan asks for a ceasefire first, followed by an Afghan assembly (Loya Jirga) of representatives of all significant groups, both in and outside Afghanistan, to nominate a sovereign interim government for holding elections. Engineer Hekmatyar's formula differs from that of the United Nations in that it eliminates step two, of calling a Loya Jirga, completely. More importantly, it makes cease-fire conditional to the formation of an interim government of the type that he considers desirable. The Hizbe Islami chief's argument for rejecting

the Loya Jirga is that 'it no longer commands respect of the Afghan people as it has been consistently used to get sanction of legitimacy for all 'usurpers, imperialist agents and coup-masters of our country, including Zahir Shah, Dawood and Taraki, etc'. His underlying motives for delaying cease-fire till the formation of 'a sovereign interim government with no controversial personalities' is also obvious; he would not lay arms till he has the solution of his choice. And he is not the only one who would have the guns do the talking. All other significant mujahideen groups, from the Pakistan-based Jamiat Islami (Rabbani), Ittehad Islami (Sayyaf), Hizbe Islami (Khalis), and the Iran-based conglomerates of Shia mujahideen groups, that is Hizbe Wahdat and Shoora-e-Ittلاف, are reportedly agreed that they would rather be at war than let their people have UN-sponsored peace.

That, of course, means greater problems for Pakistan which has officially agreed to the UN peace plan and has even committed that it would not 'hold it hostage to the whims of a few'. It appears, though, that Pakistan will be unable to honour that solemn commitment. Not only is the public opinion in the country very hostile towards the official view, but the establishment in Islamabad itself seems quite divided. There are speculations of president not being in full agreement with the army and the government at the helm. The army is reported to be divided on the issue, while the IJI [Islami Jamhoori Ittehad] government is being brow-beaten on the subject by its allies. The biggest threat of all the presence of an armed militia of 3.5 million in the country's north at the beck and call of Hekmatyar and Co. The prospects for the UN peace plan, thus, are rather bleak.

Prime Minister Attends Tehran Summit Meet

Remarks on Departure

92AS0744A Lahore THE PAKISTAN TIMES
in English 16 Feb 92 pp 1, 12

[Article: "Nawaz Accorded Red Carpet Welcome in Tehran; Najib's Ouster Must for Afghanistan Inclusion in ECO"]

[Text] Islamabad, Feb. 15: Prime Minister Mohammad Nawaz Sharif has categorically hinted at unacceptability of Najib administration in Afghanistan to pave the way for a broad-based mujahideen interim government to ensure general elections to end 13-year of subjugation of foreign aided forces in a traditional Islamic country.

The Prime Minister who left here for Iran to attend ECO (Economic Cooperation Organisation) summit beginning there tomorrow, while talking to reporters at the airport termed stepping down of Najib administration and establishment of a broad-based interim government of mujahideen in Afghanistan necessary for inclusion of Afghanistan into ECO as member state.

The ECO, Mr. Nawaz Sharif said, is being expanded to include three Islamic independent republics of former Soviet Union as full members. Representatives of these three Central Asian republics, Azerbaijan, Turkmenia and Uzbekistan, are attending the ECO summit.

This is for the first time that the ECO, after its renaming in 1985, will double its membership and also the area of its jurisdiction for developmental activities of people of the vast Muslim region.

Prime Minister Mohammad Nawaz Sharif in reply to a question, said that with inclusion of three new states to ECO all round development will be made more affective by increasing collective efforts of member countries.

The Prime Minister said that ECO summit will consider steps to accelerate the pace of development in ECO countries cooperating with each other in economic, industrial, agricultural, trade and also joint ventures.

Prime Minister Mohammad Nawaz Sharif will lead Pakistan delegation at the summit along with Turkish President Turgut Ozal and Iranian President Hashemi-Rafsanjani who will lead their respective delegations.

Talking about his state visit to Qatar, Mr. Nawaz Sharif said that bilateral relations, economic cooperation, situation of the region and joint ventures between the two brotherly countries will be discussed during his talks with Amir of Qatar.

When asked about the health of Sindh Chief Minister Jam Sadiq Ali, the Prime Minister said his health had fastly improved and it was his desire and prayer for him to continue to serve the province and the nation with devotion. He wished that Jam Sadiq Ali would be playing his dynamic role with greater strength and vigour.

The Chairman Senate Mr. Wasim Sajjad, Secretary-General Foreign Affairs Mr. Akran Zaki and Secretary-Foreign Affairs, Mr. Shaharyar Khan were present when Prime Minister's special PIA [Pakistan International Air-line] plane took off for Tehran from the Islamabad airport.

Federal Ministers Sartaj Aziz, Ghulam Ahmed Billour and Minister of State for Foreign Affairs Mohammad Siddique Kanjoo and a number of Senators and MNAs [Members of National Assembly] accompanied the Prime Minister. Maulana Mohammad Hussain Naeemi and Jan Mohammad Abbasi have also accompanied the Prime Minister.

At the Mehrabad International Airport, the Prime Minister was warmly received by President Ali Akbar Hashemi-Rafsanjani, Pakistan Ambassador in Teheran Shamsad Ahmed Khan and the members of the diplomatic corps. The Pakistani community was also present at the airport to greet the Prime Minister.

Nawaz Sharif will lead a delegation at the two-day Economic Cooperation Organisation (ECO) summit which begins here tomorrow.

Earlier, Prime Minister Mohammad Nawaz Sharif arrived in Mashhad, Saturday morning.

Speaking briefly to reporters at the Airport Nawaz Sharif, described the summit meeting as "a major step" for expansion of economic relations among the member countries and expressed optimism over its outcome.

The ECO is a tripartite organisation grouping Iran, Turkey and Pakistan and recently the newly-independent republics of Azerbaijan, Turkmenia, Tajikistan and Uzbekistan have expressed interest in joining the Organisation.

Nawaz Sharif said the summit meeting, also to be attended by the heads of state of the Muslim republics of the former Soviet Union, was of a special importance for the future cooperation among the member states.

He said the summit provided an appropriate opportunity for exploring further grounds for cooperation and exchange of views.

On the Afghan crisis, Nawaz Sharif said the issue had taken a political form, adding it would be solved by stepping down of Najib from power.

The Premier and the accompanying delegation, later, paid a pilgrimage to the holy shrine of Imam Reza (AS).—APP

Addresses Meeting

92AS0744B Karachi DAWN in English 17 Feb 92
pp 1, 12

[Article: "ECO Summit Opens; Nawaz Calls for Stronger Economic Cooperation"]

[Text] Tehran, Feb. 16: Prime Minister Mohammad Nawaz Sharif has said the Economic Cooperation Organisation (ECO) must evolve strategies for collaboration among Iran, Turkey, Pakistan and the new Central Asian Republics so that the people of these countries can benefit from the emerging opportunities.

"ECO must focus on a common vision of our nations. Governments of Iran, Turkey and Pakistan have consistently endeavoured to institutionalise political, economic and cultural cooperation among themselves, an objective that is in accord with the wishes of our people who desire the strengthening of ECO."

The addition of new member States would undoubtedly provide a greater depth and substance to our cooperation, Mr. Nawaz Sharif said in a wide-ranging speech at the inaugural session of the first-ever ECO summit in Tehran on Sunday afternoon.

"We envisage in the ECO the creation of a modern and efficient infrastructure, linking not only member States of the organisation, but also providing them access to other areas of the world. ECO would thus be able to forge stronger economic and commercial ties not only among the member states, but also with outside world, in a spirit of harmony and mutual benefit," he said.

He stressed that ECO must bring about progressive expansion and diversification of commercial exchanges, optimum utilisation of financial resources, development of joint infrastructural projects and promotion of technical cooperation. It must also coordinate efforts to develop a more efficient and sustained pattern for the acquisition, assimilation, development and transfer of technology among the member States. But more than anything else it must tackle with urgency the problems of under-development.

"I say this in the firm belief that success of ECO will be ultimately judged by the improvement in the quality of life of its people," he observed.

Mr. Nawaz Sharif was of the view that development of an efficient communications infrastructure was fundamental to the strengthening of our economic and commercial ties from that would flow progress and development that would improve the quality of life of our people.

"I am convinced that the time was never more opportune and conditions never more conducive to infusing greater efficacy and substance to ECO which offer limitless potential for cooperation among the governments and people of our region.

"We remain confident that this summit would take bold and far-reaching decisions to expand and deepen our collaboration and decide on ways and means of promoting socio-economic growth Pakistan for its part is fully committed towards the realisation of the lofty objective," he added.

He welcomed warmly the presence of distinguished leaders of Central Asian States of Azerbaijan, Uzbekistan, Turkmenia and Tajikistan at the summit and said it had given to ECO a new dimension and special significance. He said with these States we all enjoyed long-standing ties of shared history, common culture and faith.

He expressed the hope that ECO would soon include other Central Asian States. "We also look forward to an early political settlement and peace in Afghanistan which would pave the way for its inclusion in ECO. Such an expansion would further strengthen our organisation.

He said last year had brought into focus a revolution in global affairs, a transformation without precedent in this century. The dangerous tension that prevailed in many regions since the Second World war had disappeared. The East-West cold war had become a chapter in history. Cooperation and understanding was becoming the order of the epoch, doctrines of confrontation had lost their relevance and new political and economic imperatives had emerged to alter the fundamentals of global relations.

He said as the East-West confrontation ebbed and the North-South divide widened the world was moving in a direction in which many regional organisations were emerging as strong entities. In the underpinning of the new international order there was a pronounced trend towards the strengthening and consolidation of the major economic groupings in various regions of the world.

There was also a heightened realisation that regional cooperation can play an increasingly important role in the enrichment of world economy, he said.—PPI

INTERNAL AFFAIRS

Article Apprehensive of JKLF March's Consequences

Military Solution Unworkable

92AS0648A Peshawar THE FRONTIER POST
in English 7 Feb 92 p 10

[Editorial: "The Opiate of Military Solutions"; quotation marks as published]

[Text] The day of solidarity with the Kashmiri freedom-fighters on Wednesday was officially a protest against India's continued aggression in Held Kashmir, based on the policy adopted by Islamabad to seek a peaceful solution to the long-simmering dispute with India. The IJI [Islami Jamhoori Ittehad] government's consistent line has been that it would bend all efforts to persuade India and the world that the Kashmiri cause was a genuine cause of a people's self-determination with a record at the United Nations that no one could ignore. Throughout, the Foreign Office has carefully avoided the expression of an intent to seek a military solution to the Kashmir dispute with India while morally supporting the Kashmiri uprising against India's misgovernment in Held Kashmir over the past three years. But this posture has been steadily undermined by a part of the IJI that openly favours war with India as a solution of the dispute. State-owned media have been vague in separating the official point of view from the more warlike view being expressed by the Jama'at and its leader Qazi Hussain Ahmad. In fact, the vagueness practised by PTV [Pakistan Television] inclines more in favour of a military solution than the solution advocated by the Foreign Office. On the streets, it is not the official view that is being endorsed, but the Jama'at view, which embarrasses the government, but which it is scared of contradicting. Speakers at public meetings and seminars who don't favour war with India disingenuously conceal their real thoughts in order to win plaudits from audiences. Retired generals who once cautioned against seeking a military solution when in office are now predicting war with India over Kashmir to further stiffen the public mind against the official position of a peaceful strategy. Some of them have forgotten the analysis they made of the earlier wars fought by Pakistan over the issue as defeats or as options that failed to deliver the objective. Apart from the Jama'at, which cares little for the precarious economic plight of the country, many speakers who otherwise realise that foreign investments will evaporate on rumours of war, go on stoking the passions of war.

The IJI has not purged itself of the opiate of military solutions even after the fiasco this mind-set made of the Afghan war. Thirteen years of war in Afghanistan have been lost to the strategy of 'conquering' Kabul. The 'planners' in Islamabad simply refused to perceive that the enterprise was coming to grief even after the Soviet army withdrew from Afghanistan, leaving the PDPA [People's Democratic Party of Afghanistan] government vulnerable. Now that the military solution has been abandoned, the IJI is divided over the UN proposal to bring peace to Afghanistan. In spite of the consensus expressed in the press against seeking military solutions to foreign policy problems, the alliance in power in Islamabad seems unable to complete the transition from militaristic thinking to a political approach. It is a failure of the process of 'civilisation' of Pakistani politics that elements who propose war go on eclipsing the government point of view based on avoidance of war. Prime Minister Nawaz Sharif is reportedly worried about the Kashmir agitation getting out of hand, but he has done little to take the PTV and radio Pakistan out of the control of those IJI elements who are

undermining his policy on Kashmir. Islamabad must begin to propagate its real point of view instead of letting others run away with the issue as an instrument of internal power politics.

Sharif Promises Financial Help

92AS0648B Peshawar *THE FRONTIER POST*
in English 6 Feb 92 p 1

[Excerpt from article by Abdul Hameed: "Pakistan Incomplete Sans Kashmir"]

[Excerpt] Muzaffarabad—Prime Minister Nawaz Sharif lauded the struggle of Kashmiri freedom fighters and expressed the hope that their day of deliverance from Indian yoke was not far off.

Addressing a big public gathering here on Wednesday in connection with the solidarity day with the people of the Indian held Kashmir, he said that the liberation movement there could not be suppressed by the use of force.

He said that in the present age of awareness the world stood behind the struggling people of the occupied Kashmir. He assured the people of the held valley that they were not alone in their struggle for freedom and Pakistan government would do all possible within its means to liberate them from the cruel clutches of India.

Nawaz Sharif bitterly criticised the Indian presence in the occupied Kashmir and said that the people of the valley had every right to resort to arm struggle in order to gain freedom. He deplored that the people of the held Kashmir were suffering worst type of brutalities at the hands of the Indian military and para military forces which must come to an end.

The AJK [Azad Jammu and Kashmir] government headed by Sardar Abdul Qayyum Khan and Pakistan government, both were committed to the Kashmir cause, he further added. He said that as Pakistan was incomplete without Kashmir then how could 'we leave Kashmiris alone in their struggle for freedom'.

While paying glowing tributes to the people of occupied Kashmir, Nawaz Sharif said that he was aware of the immense difficulties faced by them and assured them of all possible help in this regard.

Nawaz vowed that he was committed to provide financial assistance for the betterment of the general masses and also for the liberation of the Indian occupied Kashmir. [passage omitted]

Poorly Timed

92AS0648C Karachi *DAWN* in English 10 Feb 92 p 11

[Article by Hasan Akhtar: "JKLF Plan Poorly Times"]

[Text] Islamabad, Feb. 9—It is amazing that it should have taken the Pakistani authorities so much time to realise and counter the grave threat to peace in the wake of the ultimatum given some two months ago by the Jammu and Kashmir Liberation Front (JKLF) leader Amanullah Khan

and his volunteers corp to violate the Line of Control (LoC) in the disputed Jammu and Kashmir state on coming Tuesday.

As of now the JKLF leader who has reportedly gone underground to avoid being detained by the authorities, has nearly completed all arrangements to launch his movement at Chakothi and various other border points along the LoC in Azad Kashmir. Volunteers in thousands are reported to be already on their way to Azad Kashmir capital, Muzaffarabad, which is designated by the JKLF as its base camp.

Analysis

While the Pakistani authorities who belatedly expressed their opposition to the JKLF decision to violate LoC are said to be taking political and administrative steps to prevent the February 11 operation, reports from across the border indicate that the Indian authorities are equally determined to meet the JKLF challenge with all the brute force at their command.

Press reports from New Delhi say that, apart from building up military opposition along the Line of Control, the Indian Government has redoubled their diplomatic efforts to convince various foreign governments, specially those who constitute the permanent membership of the UN Security Council, that it was Pakistan and Islamabad-supported Kashmiri organisations which were hell bent on launching a covert offensive on Indian held Kashmir to disrupt regional peace and security of India and in order to internationalise the present Kashmir situation.

As things stand today, unfortunately for Pakistan and the oppressed people of Kashmir, the Indian position is generally believed to be more acceptable to these influential governments in spite of the fact that several Western governments have been quite critical of the Indian authorities' record of human rights violations. But ironically these very governments have generally accepted the Indian allegation that Pakistan has been instigating alleged terrorist activities in Kashmir and the Indian Punjab.

Perhaps some of Pakistan's own actions such as the recent observance of the Kashmir solidarity day originally planned by the Jamaat-i-Islamic and later backed by Prime Minister Nawaz Sharif, which at places demonstrated violent tempers, quite possibly went to prejudice the Western world opinion against Pakistan. Unwarranted propaganda that Pakistan is attempting to lead an extremist Muslim bloc against the Western influence at least in this part of the hemisphere, with the help of newly acquired nuclear capability, has possibly gained ground. Obviously Pakistan is under an economic and military squeeze from the Western sources which were its mainstay until recently.

On the other hand India has apparently succeeded in mending fences with the Western governments such as the United States with which it did not enjoy such close relations until recent past. New Delhi seems to have succeeded in impressing several Western governments that India, being the largest democracy, was better placed to

counter "communist China and the rising Islamic fundamentalist forces" following the disintegration of the Soviet Union which at once led to emergence of five or six independent central Asian Islamic states, one of them having a nuclear arsenal.

In the backdrop of international opinion, the JKLF leaders show an unexplained apathy to Pakistan's serious military and political constraints which are bound to come under unpredictable strain and stress should the JKLF goes ahead unchecked with its plan to violate the LoC in Kashmir. Even AJK [Azad Jammu and Kashmir] Prime Minister Sardar Abdul Qayyum Khan, fairly well-known for his militant attitude, has expressed deep apprehension that the violation of the Line of Control by a mass of people from this side, even though unarmed, might lead to a military flare-up. Sardar Qayyum pleaded with JKLF chief Amanullah Khan to realize the gravity of the situation and postpone his operation at least for the present.

The planned JKLF action in the present circumstances inevitably brings to wind the disastrous consequences which had followed the hijacking of an Indian civil airliner by some Kashmir youth allegedly linked with the JKLF, in 1971 at the height of the East Pakistan crisis.

Although Pakistan is not that badly placed today, it is undeniably confronted with a lot of economic and military problems. The nation lacks political harmony and the armed forces are overstretched on account of the external and internal factors. The Afghanistan crisis remains unresolved even after 13 years of war and despite the dissolution of the Soviet Union which was responsible for causing the civil war in that country.

In the present day objective conditions, few in Pakistan would favour any such adventure which might lead to a major military conflagration. The fact is that even on the last three occasions when Pakistan and India were locked in military conflict, none could emerge victorious with its objective achieved.

Foreign Office Blamed for Failure of JKLF March
92AS0655B Islamabad THE MUSLIM in English
13 Feb 92 p 6

[Article by Farhatullah Babar: "The Fallout of JKLF (Jammu Kashmir Liberation Front) Long March"—first paragraph is author's introduction]

[Text] It was the responsibility of the foreign office to have profitably exploited the publicised plans of the march, says Farhatullah Babar, rather than being complacent about it and allow the situation to get explosive.

By the time these lines appear in print the planned JKLF march to cross the Line of Control (LOC) into occupied Kashmir would have fizzled out. The Pakistan Government has decided that it will not allow the march nor permit the killing of innocent civilians at the hands of Indian troops. When the Chief of Army Staff General Asif Nawaz called on the President in Islamabad 48 hours before the planned march the General was unmistakably directed by the Supreme Commander of the Pakistan

Armed Forces to firmly stop the JKLF marchers from crossing over the LOC. Accordingly the armed forces sealed the border along the whole Azad Kashmir, barbed wires were spread miles before the LOC and all roads in Azad Kashmir leading to the Line of Control blocked. It had been made virtually impossible for the militants to march into occupied Kashmir.

It is pertinent to ask what implications the aborted march will have for the liberation struggle across the Line of Control. Will it serve to enhance or undermine our credibility with the Kashmiris? Was a diminution of the government's credibility in the eyes of Kashmiris avoidable?

The JKLF Chairman Mr. Amanullah Khan had given a two months' notice of the intention of the Front to cross the LOC. The date of February 11 was chosen because of its sentimental significance for the Kashmiris. It was on this day in 1984 when the Kashmiri freedom fighter Maqbool Butt was hanged in an Indian jail ostensibly for a crime he had allegedly committed 18 years earlier but in reality to still the voice of freedom which Maqbool Butt had come to represent.

During the past two months while the JKLF leaders were mobilising the Kashmiris living in Pakistan to take part in the march and launched a media blitz abroad, the government in Islamabad failed to take any notice. No effort was made to persuade the Front leaders that crossing the Line of Control would be a violation of the accepted norms of conduct of international relations and amount to aggression against another country. Under the Simla Agreement it remains Islamabad's responsibility not to allow any breach of the LOC.

More importantly however no effort was made by the Foreign Office to internationalize the issue by drawing the attention of UN Security Council to the grave repercussions of the planned march and calling upon the international community to do something about the Kashmir problem. After all the international community was already seized of the matter and the plight of Kashmiris had echoed in the House of Commons in England and the U.S. Congress. Barely a few months ago, on August 13 last year a Kashmiri leader was allowed to address a UN organ in Geneva as a JKLF representative and not as a member of either a Pakistani or an Indian official delegation. The organization thus is fairly well known and respected internationally and given Pakistan's diplomatic material and moral support the Front's plans of a march could have been profitably exploited to increase pressure on India.

But the rulers in Islamabad obsessed with compulsion of domestic politics, chose to ignore the call and at best adopted an ambivalent approach towards it. The Azad Kashmir Prime Minister initially endorsed the right of the Kashmiris to cross the Line of Control. The Prime Minister Nawaz Sharif declared February 5 as the day of solidarity with the Kashmiris and called for a general strike throughout the country and in Azad Kashmir. In an emotional speech dramatised by the fact that it was delivered in the capital of Azad Kashmir barely a few days before the march Mr. Nawaz Sharif thundered: "The

Kashmiris can not be suppressed by guns by any power on earth and the day is not far off when they (the Kashmiris) will succeed in their struggle." Quite understandably the JKLF leaders took it as a reaffirmation of Islamabad's support to their plans. All this was perceived by the Kashmiris as Islamabad's acquiescence in their plans to march into the Occupied valley.

Meanwhile India was actively busy in arousing international public opinion against Pakistan by saying that Islamabad was bent upon launching a covert offensive on the Indian-held Kashmir behind the facade of Kashmiri organizations. Foreign Secretary J. N. Dixit called on the envoys of permanent member countries of UN Security Council to apprise them of the situation. Mr. Nawaz Sharif's speech in Muzaffarabad was fully exploited to create alarm in the West. This India did even at the risk of internationalising the issue which it has insisted was out of UN jurisdiction. India reaped diplomatic dividends when the permanent Security Council members cautioned Pakistan against disrupting regional peace and security.

Mr. Nawaz Sharif's speech in Muzaffarabad was also promptly taken notice of in New Delhi. The Indian government declared that it would use force to stop Kashmiris from crossing the LOC. Defence Minister Sharad Pawar warned of "serious consequences" if Pakistan failed in its "duty to stop any violations of the Line of Control."

Suddenly Sardar Abdul Qayum made a volte face and declared that he did not favour the crossing of the LOC. And within three days of his hard-hitting speech at Muzaffarabad Mr. Nawaz Sharif also declared that the government would not permit the violation of the Line of Control and none would be allowed to cross over to the other side. Promptly the Foreign Office assured the UN Security Council that Islamabad was not backing the JKLF.

The fiasco of the JKLF march will not be without its fallout both for the liberation struggle in the valley and for the IJI [Islami Jamhoori Ittehad] government in Islamabad. In the first place the call for crossing over to the other side was given primarily to bolster the freedom movement in occupied Kashmir which is perceived by some Front leaders as gradually tapering off.

The failure of the Front leaders to stage the march for whatever reasons will have a demoralising effect on the liberation struggle. The freedom fighters across the line will have little faith in the promises and assurances of the Kashmiris and the government on this side. Seeds of suspicion have been sown.

Second, the JKLF which had made so much of the planned march would have its credibility severely undermined. Rival groups will claim with some justification that the Front's strategy was ill-conceived and miscarried. The Front leaders will blame Islamabad for this resulting in mistrust between the two.

And finally the IJI government of Mr. Nawaz Sharif which had perched itself on a higher ground vis-a-vis the PPP [Pakistan People's Party] government of Benazir Bhutto on the Kashmir issue, will have to face an embarrassing

climb down. Having laid barbed wires in the path of Kashmiri marchers it can no longer justifiably discredit the erstwhile PPP government for allegedly removing Kashmir signboards from the path of Rajiv Gandhi during his visit to Islamabad in 1989.

Balochistan Opposition Leader Talks to Press

Remarks to Quetta Newsmen

92AS0743A *Quetta BALOCHISTAN TIMES in English*
18 Jan 92 pp 1, 4

[Article: "Afghanistan Issue Be Solved by Afghan Themselves: Bugti Supports Efforts for Benazir—Nawaz Meeting as Good Sign"]

[Text] Quetta, Jan. 17. Nawab Mohammad Akbar Bugti, Jamhoori Watan Party [JWP], Chief, has said that Afghan people should solve their problem themselves and their decision should be honoured by all.

He was talking to pressmen at his residence here last night on the occasion of a dinner he hosted for them.

He said if there was not any outside interference in Afghanistan, the problems could have been solved long before.

Referring to American aid to Pakistan, he said every country has her own policy according to its internal and national interests. He said for how long any country can provide aid to other country.

He said that now the method of bullet is adopted for a political change rather than ballot. It is a dangerous trend. The recent example of this trend has been exhibited in Algeria where the results of the elections were not accepted. The other examples are Pakistan and Burma, he added.

Referring to All Parties Conference (APC) meeting, he said JWP would not participate in the meeting. He attributed non-participation of JWP in APC for not honouring the decision of the last APC.

He said it was decided that next meeting of APC would be held in Quetta where heads of parties and APC action committee would meet separately for further line of action. But now the venue has been changed from Quetta to Karachi. He said that APC can not stand by their decision but we are bound to the decision it should be held here as was decided.

He termed reported meeting between Ms. Benazir Bhutto and Prime Minister Nawaz Sharif a good sign. He said it is not common to our country. In Europe, such things do take place. Oppositions are loyal to govt's but in our country rulers take such things personal and equate themselves with the country. He said both, parties and people come and go but the countries stay. He said such meetings help solve problems and bring good results for the country and the nations in the long run.

He said it seems that there is no govt. or rule of law in the country and checking cases of rape, murder, kidnapping and dacoity are no longer the responsibility of the govt.

Govt's only work is to sell public property to private entrepreneurs and issue statements to the newspapers, that all is OK.

He said during his recent visit to Karachi, he was told that 91 cases of rape were registered during the past 2 to 3 months. Number of unreported cases could be well guessed, he added.

Mr. Bugti said corruption is at its top and more and more are going in this business. The prices are increasing day by day and taxes raising two, three or four of 25 percent, but people are not raising any voice against these trend in rise of prices.

He said it looks as if the people have become wealthy and there is no poor in the country.

He said we see that everything is okay up to the newspapers and there exists complete political stability in the country, if one goes through newspapers.—PPI.

Karachi News Conference

92AS0743B *Quetta BALOCHISTAN TIMES in English*
24 Jan 92 pp 1, 4

[Article: "Bugti Urges President To Use Emergency Constitutional Powers To Improve Situation"]

[Text] Karachi, Jan. 23: Nawab Akbar Khan Bugti, Chief of Jamhoori Watan Party (JWP) and former Chief Minister of Balochistan has said President Ghulam Ishaq Khan should use his emergency constitutional power in order to improve the deteriorating situation in the country.

It is for the President to decide the constitutional course of action in this regard, he said while talking to newsmen at his residence in Karachi on Thursday. Mr. Anwar Durrani, Secretary General JWP was also present.

Nawab Bugti, who is leader of opposition in Balochistan Assembly, maintained that corruption was rampant and the law and order situation was deteriorating gradually. In addition honour of the citizens is not secure and there was no justice or fairplay. If any Government cannot guarantee this to the people, it has no right to rule, he stressed.

Answering a question, he said, we believe in a fresh social contract among the Provinces within the federation. All problems facing the country, can be solved provided leaders of all the 4 Provinces sit together to find a way out.

He explained that his party did not participate in All Parties Conference (APC) held in Karachi on Jan. 21, as we had reservations about the APC. Nothing has happened since the last APC was held in November last at Karachi he added.

According to Mr. Bugti, there were parties in the country who were directly and indirectly both with the Government and the Opposition.

Asked in case PDA [People's Democratic Alliance] withdraws its support from Balochistan coalition Government, would the JWP form Government in that province, the former Chief Minister replied in negative and added "The JWP has 13 members in a House of 43 in Balochistan. If 3

PDA members join us we cannot form Government there. I never said that change of Government in Balochistan is imminent.

Asked to comment on the resolutions of APC that the present Assemblies were illegal and unrepresentative Mr. Bugti said if it is so, why they (without naming PDA) are sitting in the Assemblies. By attending Assembly session, they have accepted them.

He claimed that conditions were becoming conducive and are also being moulded for military rule in the country.

About his idea of third political force in the country, he said he had suggested this 2 years back as I felt both PPP [Pakistan People's Party] and IJI [Islami Jamhoori Ittehad] had failed but so far no headway has been made in this connection.

About dacoits, he maintained they are genuine home grown in Sindh, and used to take shelter in Balochistan after committing dacoities but when I became Chief Minister I stopped them. However, now they (dacoits) are again taking refuge in his Province.

On Afghanistan, he said people of that country should decide their future.—PPI

Azad Kashmir Prime Minister Meets Press

92AS0741A Lahore THE PAKISTAN TIMES
in English 14 Feb 92 pp 1, 12

[Article: "Qayyum for OIC Summit, Sanctions Against India"]

[Text] Muzaffarabad, Feb. 13: Sardar Muhammad Abdul Qayyum Khan, Prime Minister, Azad Jammu and Kashmir [AJK], has lauded Prime Minister Mohammad Nawaz Sharif's declaration that Pakistan could not stop Kashmiris from crossing ceasefire line in future.

Addressing a Press conference here today at the Prime Minister House, the AJK Prime Minister said it is high time the world take notice of the Kashmir issue and make urgent endeavours to resolve this issue under UN Resolutions. We do not recognise the ceasefire line as a permanent line between India and Pakistan.

He referred to the statement of Prime Minister Nawaz Sharif that how long Pakistan could stop Kashmiris from crossing the line deserves urgent attention.

He said negotiations were held last night between JKLF [Jammu Kashmir Liberation Front] and authorities near Chakothi. The JKLF gave an undertaking that they will not go to Chakothi and will remain in Chinari and then return. Some 40 workers of JKLF who were arrested were released later.

He has just received information that about 200 JKLF workers have assembled in Chinari where Amanullah (JKLF Chief) will address a meeting.

He hoped that they will not again march towards the ceasefire line. "If they will go we will stop them, the JKLF leader should be content with it." They also fully know that they cannot go ahead, he said.

To a question, the AJK Premier said that if the JKLF workers had stopped at Chinari, a few miles from Chakothi, it would have brought a positive effect, but by going further they had caused negative effects on the Kashmiris cause. The Kashmiris in the occupied territory would have been upset with the happenings in Azad Kashmir, he said.

He said that people had joined the march to express solidarity with the people of Kashmir and their freedom struggle.

All people belonging to different walks of life and shades of opinion had joined it.

To a question, Sardar Qayyum said that Prime Minister Nawaz Sharif has categorically stated that the government cannot stop Kashmiris from crossing the ceasefire line, and in future they will not be stopped if time is appropriate in future, there is unity in the national ranks, the movement could yield positive results.

We have discussed this issue in all sincerity with the Government of Pakistan and concerned organisations. It was resolved that the purpose of the Feb. 11 call have been achieved, it had drawn international attention and it should be stopped further. Time was inopportune, Pakistan was not given an opportunity to establish a contact with the Security Council to give attention to this issue, he said.

He called upon the Pakistan Government to persuade the international community to implement UN Resolutions on Kashmir and exert pressure on India to hold plebiscite and give right of self-determination to the Kashmiris.

A summit of OIC [Organization of Islamic Conference] should be convened immediately to chart out future strategy on Kashmiris and steps should be taken to impose economic sanctions against India.

He castigated those elements who were fomenting hatred among the people and preach violence and militancy. He also condemned those elements who were trying to achieve their ulterior motives in the name of Kashmir liberation movement. He said that they should realise that they were promoting the designs of India by such activities. He said opposition had nothing to criticise the government.

"We speak the truth and do the right, and need not fear from some one."

"Anything done with malafide intention never bears fruit. People are fully conscious and will not be exploited by these elements" he said.

To yet another question, he said that three persons were killed while 19 were wounded who are under treatment in hospital.

He said that certain elements are spreading baseless rumours among the people. He said that effective measures will be taken to maintain law and order in the city.

Azad Kashmir Political Scene Examined

92AS0588C Karachi JASARAT in Urdu 29 Jan 92 p 3

[Article by Sayyed Arif Bahar: "Azad Kashmir's Political Scenario"]

[Text] "Sardar Abdul Qayum Khan, the powerful political leader of Azad Jammu and Kashmir, is restructuring his policy regarding Kashmir." This is the common impression among some journalists and intellectuals in Jammu and Kashmir. This belief is further strengthened by his changing attitude and the statements published in the newspapers. When the Liberation Front chairman, Imanallah Khan, announced his "Ekta Yatra"[unity pilgrimage] to cross the Control Line, Sardar Abdul Qayum Khan issued statements in support of this event. However, other opposition leaders, especially Mumtaz Hussain Rathor, were very careful about saying anything. Prime Minister Sardar Abdul Qayum Khan is considering two options for the liberation of Kashmir. He is trying to regroup the Kashmir Liberation Alliance. This Azad Kashmir alliance of half a dozen parties has been inactive for several years. This is an amazing alliance since it is made up of the Muslim Conference and Jamaat-i Islami, which support Kashmir's annexation to Pakistan, and the Liberation Front, which supports secularism and the independence of Kashmir. The Liberation Front leader is also the secretary general of the alliance. During the past three years, when the people in occupied Kashmir were being killed, the people's protests were being sprayed with bullets, innocent young women were being raped, and the young men from occupied Kashmir were entering Azad Kashmir for military training in droves—the Kashmir Liberation Alliance had not even been heard from. Azad Kashmir was made into an arena for political and election games. What is worse? Two parties included in the Alliance, Jamaat-i Islami and Liberation Front, were engaged in a fullscale war with each other. The truth is that their mutual hostility had spread into occupied Kashmir. The result was an armed confrontation between Hizb-i Almu-jahiddin and Front members. Had the Liberation Alliance played its role at that time and the political tension between the JI and the Front had been removed, then such unpleasant incident would not have occurred in occupied Kashmir. When there is time for action, the Kashmir Liberation Alliance leadership buries its head in the sand like an ostrich. What is the reason for reinstating this alliance when the difficult time has passed? This alliance of parties with opposing views is also causing a headache to the pro-Pakistan groups in occupied Kashmir. Some mysterious groups have introduced this alliance as the advocate of "autonomy" in occupied Kashmir. The usefulness of this alliance is over now because two parties included in the alliance had an armed confrontation with each other. The alliance could not play an effective role at that time. When the caravans of refugees and freedom fighters entered Azad Kashmir, they were greatly hurt upon hearing the election slogans of "Live and Arrive." At that time, the Kashmir Liberation Alliance leadership did not come out to help the freedom fighters nor tried to make a decision to cancel or postpone the elections. This proved that the Kashmir Liberation Alliance had failed in

achieving its goals. Even now, there is no indication of any unity of purpose and philosophy in this alliance. With the blessing of Sardar Abdul Qayum Khan, Azad Kashmir's prime minister, an all parties conference was held in the government guest house. A new group, Tehriq-i Islamia Jamhooriya Kashmir, hosted the all parties's conference. In general, this conference "had discussions and was adjourned" because it was after three years that the Azad Kashmir government and political leaders had "considered" how to help the Muslims in occupied Kashmir.

Compared to this loose political alliance in Azad Kashmir, the Tehriq-i Hariat Kashmir, the 11-party alliance in occupied Kashmir has a clear goal and deep-rooted convictions. The basic goals of this alliance include the right of the Kashmiris to have a referendum according to UN resolutions. Similarly, the green flag of the Tehriq-i Hariat Kashmir mirrors its clear goals. Sardar Abdul Qayum Khan's second effort is aimed at a conference of political leaders in both Azad Kashmir and occupied Kashmir. He is trying to have this conference in Great Britain or another country to give it a neutral look. He says that all Kashmiri political leaders will be invited to this conference. In this context, the question is asked as to what does "all" mean here. The word "all" includes the Kashmiri leaders that are in Indian jails and torture chambers. How will these leaders be able to attend this conference? This will open a new Pandora's box. The present need is that all Kashmiri politicians give up their mutual quarrels and focus their energies on liberating the occupied Kashmir from the Indian clutches. The basis for this has already been provided in the UN resolutions. Nations looking for new ways, wisely or unwisely, sometime lose their way chasing mirages.

Search for New Sindh Chief Minister Said Under Way

92AS0646A Peshawar THE FRONTIER POST
in English 12 Feb 92 p 8

[Article by M. Ilyas Khan: "Search on for New Sindh CM"; quotation marks ss published]

[Text] Karachi—A man is wanted for the post of Sindh chief minister [CM] because Jam Sadiq Ali will not be able to continue in office due to the exceedingly thinning condition of his health.

Moreover, since the said man will be expected to 'replicate' as well as replace Jam Sadiq, the procedure of his selection would not involve 'unimportant bodies', such as the Sindh Assembly, at the stage of 'selection'. However, they can 'elect' him later on.

The man must offer at least one quality of his own in addition to Jam's traits—that of balancing the wounded PDA [People's Democratic Alliance] in Sindh. Otherwise, he will be routinely required to make himself acceptable to the existing groups playing the power-game in the province.

To elaborate this a little further, he should be acceptable to the MQM [Muhajir Qaumi Movement], the Jam Group (which includes a horde of power nuclei such as the Pir

Pagaro factor, the Hala factor and G.M. Syed factor), and to whatever synthesis emerges from the complex web of the transactions between the prime minister, the president and the COAS [Chief of Army Staff].

Besides, such a man should strictly lack memory about the Sindh affairs during the past 19 months. For instance, he should not be able to recall the gross excesses committed in Sindh during Jam era, his blatant victimisation and torture of political opponents, his methods of shutting off irrigation waters to the enemy's fields, kidnapping of MPAs [Members of Provincial Assemblies] and implicating them in transparently false cases, even his nerve for using rape as a form of political extortion. If he remembers all this and is willing to voice it, he is not the man for the job because he may rock the boat for the high-ups in Islamabad.

Since such a specialised person can only be found and examined by a more unified authority, the Sindh Assembly, which in theory remains the ultimate forum to decide upon the new leader of the House, has no role as a body in the hobnobbing which is on to achieve this end. And since it has no role, it also offers to candidate for the post. The four persons short-listed thus far are all members of the National Assembly. Following are their details.

MAKHDOOM AMIN FAHIM: A PDA MNA [Member of National Assembly], who belongs to the enigmatic family of the Makhdooms of Hala. Having a political career rooted throughout in the Pakistan People's Party, this heir to the Hala shrine, nevertheless, entertains a peculiar liaison with Jam Sadiq in the name of family relations. He held important meetings with Syed Ghaus Ali Shah in Karachi on February 6 and 7. Since February 9, he is in London, and political circles are betting all their expertise to prove that he is having his last session with MQM chief, Altaf Hussain, before taking over as Sindh chief minister.

Some of the PPP [Pakistan People's Party] sources say that their party has decided not to take over power in these days of economic hardship, but it may not be a surprise if Amin Fahim once again violates party discipline in order to "oblige" Jam—a family friend after all.

ILLAHI BUX SOOMRO: An independent MNA, like Jam Sadiq, who is also federal minister for science and technology. Deprived of popular support, Soomro will prove more susceptible to want support from the groups that hold power. This fact, say some informed sources, make him a more attractive choice for ministers, advisers and other groups who can offer this kind of support. Considered to be very close to Jam Sadiq and President Ishaq, Soomro, however, has no sympathies of Pir Pagaro. The prime minister is also reportedly averse to him.

MIR HAZAR KHAN BIJARANI: An MNA and minister of state for defence production. Formerly president of PPP Sindh, Bijarani was returned on IJI [Islami Jamhoori Ittehad] ticket in the 1990 polls. Considered to be close to president, Bijarani, however, runs the same handicap of Soomro. That is, Pir Pagaro detests him.

GHAUS ALI SHAH: (An MNA from Narowal in Punjab, because Sindhis wouldn't vote for him) and federal minister for defence. According to knowledgeable sources, Jam never trusted him but kept his feelings to himself. He is also considered to be the man behind the formation of MQM. Furthermore, he is said to be closer to the prime minister than the president. Though his period as chief minister of Sindh during Gen. Zia's rule is remembered here with bitterness. He does enjoy the blessings of Pir Pagaro.

Political Leadership Claimed Unable To Implement Reforms

92AS0646I Karachi DAWN in English 13 Feb 92 p 11

[Article by Sultan Ahmed: "The Stalemate at the Top"]

[Text] Striking indeed is the fact that it has become easier for the prime ministers [PM] of Pakistan and India to meet frequently, even when their troops are facing each other eye-ball to eye-ball, than for Mr Nawaz Sharif to meet his predecessor. For all that he and the Leader of the Opposition are not physically polls apart, but are sitting on swivelling chairs in the National Assembly divided by an aisle of three feet.

Mr Nawaz Sharif met his Indian counterpart in Zimbabwe in October, then in Sri Lanka, and in Davos, Switzerland this month. He is looking forward to meeting him again in Rio de Janeiro in June when the World Environmental Conference takes place. That makes four meetings within nine months, but Mr Nawaz Sharif and Ms Benazir Bhutto have not met each other even once during this period. Instead they prefer to sustain their confrontation with fluctuating tempos.

Mr Nawaz Sharif told the Press following his meeting with Mr Rao in Davos: "Mr Rao is a good man, and that is why our talks were also very good." Mr Rao too has been pretty complimentary about Mr Nawaz Sharif as a person, although soon after returning to New Delhi he was as firm in his stand against Pakistan as ever.

Mr Nawaz Sharif would not be as complimentary about the Opposition leader, nor she about him, as she wants his office as soon as she could get it.

The two leaders were to meet in Islamabad, not formally but socially or casually, at a lunch hosted by National Assembly Speaker Gohar Ayub; but the PM did not turn up. Instead he chose to prolong the cabinet meeting. That is a said commentary on the state of our politics even when the country is facing grave external and internal problems.

It is easy for the people to elect their leaders—we have done that thrice within five years—but difficult to make them meet even when they are sitting next to each other in the NA [National Assembly]. They are simply vindicating the proverb that it is easy to take the horse to the fountain but difficult to make it drink. In the case of Mr Gohar Ayub, he found it impossible even to bring them to a luncheon table along with many others.

Whether the PM abstained to ignore Ms Bhutto or did not want to bolster the presidential ambitions of Mr Gohar

Ayub by enabling him to be the match-maker or bridge-builder, or both, is not clear. President Ghulam Ishaq on his part says that he is not an obstacle to their meeting.

What we are expecting instead is a long march against the government from the Punjab sponsored by the All Parties Conference, and heightened tension between the government and the opposition. Is that what should be happening at a time when the Kashmir issue is becoming more explosive, the Kashmiris on both sides of the Line of Control more restive and crime and violence is increasing in Sindh fearsomely?

Evidently our leaders have come to regard external and internal crises as a way of life, as something normal, and do not want to be upset by that. The fact is that such crises do small harm to the leaders as long as they do not escalate them into a major war which can be politically fatal for them, and it is the people of this poor country who are hit hard by them. So the rulers are not too disturbed. They presume the people have always been suffering, and some more suffering will be bearable for them.

The opposition and the government need not be split on every issue, particularly external issues. In the case of Afghanistan, for example, after the Geneva Accord was signed four years ago we are making the first right move. We want the Afghans to settle the issue among themselves. With seven parties in Pakistan and eight in Iran, and more in Afghanistan and the mujahidin commanders who have been leading the actual fight, we are not in a position to settle their dispute for them. Instead, let the UN and the Afghans handle the issue. To describe that as a betrayal of the mujahidin, as Ms Bhutto does, or to want to treat Afghanistan as if it is another province of Pakistan, as the Jamaat-i-Islami insistently does, is outrageously wrong. The first right step taken by Pakistan after four years should not be sabotaged maliciously. We have enough problems of our own to involve ourselves non-productively in the Afghan imbroglio forever, particularly when it is obvious that any pressure cooker settlement will not last long and blood may flow again.

Kashmir, too, needs a non-partisan approach. While the government is keen to avoid a war with India, and the opposition, too, does not want that, we should not blunder into a war, as was done in 1965 and 1971. Such a course will not serve the cause of Kashmir but do critical injury to Pakistan.

But in the process of avoiding a war we have also to avoid coming into conflict with the militant Kashmiri groups like the JKLF [Jammu Kashmir Liberation Front] led by Amanullah Khan or others who may want to be even more militant to make their mark. Pakistan has hence to present a united front both to India and the Kashmiris seeking the liberation of their state and an end to the horrendous repression there.

The nuclear issue on which marginally varying statements are being made by the officials, leading to diverse speculations regarding Pakistan's nuclear capability, too, needs a national or bi-partisan approach. The President says there is a national consensus on the nuclear issue; but it is

imperative to have a formal or negotiated or publicly affirmed consensus. Mr Nawaz Sharif and Ms Bhutto have traded accusations in this regard, but that should end for good so that the country can concentrate on other vexing issues.

There is need for a consensus on the economy, particularly on privatisation and Islamisation of the economy, the means to increase employment and reduce the un-ending poverty. The welfare of the 118 million people, mostly poor, should have higher precedence over the didactics of the disputes between the rulers and the opposition.

The process of the rich getting richer and becoming financially all too powerful, and the poor becoming poorer, cannot go on forever. Nor can the country sustain the increase of 3.2 percent in population annually along with a marginal increase of two percent in per capita income, which is more than neutralised by the gross inequalities in new and old incomes. That is why the leaders have to get down to the business of talking to each other and find viable solutions to the problem.

Let us not be in the dark that setting up the Baitul Mal of Rs[rupees]2 billion, with the promise of another Rs one billion, is not going to reduce the pervasive poverty or distress in the country, while in itself it is a good measure. Zakat and Ushr, too, now yields Rs3 billion; but together the two are equal to barely 3 percent of the budget. So if the Zakat and the Ushr, which hardly any landlord pays, cannot reduce the poverty in our midst, how can the Baitul Mal produce miracles. Poverty alleviation and real distress relief need far more funds. They need a total national effort on a sustained basis for a long period.

It is easy for the PM to say that the policy of self-reliance has started paying and "the day is not far off when Pakistan would attain self-sufficiency in every field and become a model Islamic welfare state." Is that the direction in which we are really moving, except in terms of rhetoric and official pronouncements?

Look at the manner in which scores of passengers are being kidnapped from trains in Sindh after all the passengers had been robbed! What we have now is not selective kidnapping but mass kidnapping to make larger sums. Bus passengers too are being treated similarly. Banks and government institutions in Karachi continue to be robbed and deprived of millions of rupees. And let apart the criminals, even a DIG [Deputy Inspector general] police like Mr Samiullah Marwat does not want to obey government orders following his suspension nor does he want to surrender the many official vehicles he has.

Economic reforms, however radical and all embracing, cannot be a major success in such an environment with all its fears and uncertainties. Nor can the investors, foreign or domestic, be certain that these policies will continue and not reversed when another government comes in. President Ghulam Ishaq too stressed the importance of law and order for the economic reforms to take off when he addressed the Management Association meeting in Lahore, but he has not been forthcoming with positive measures although he seems to be taking more and more of

the administrative problems in his hands. When he had a long meeting with the Chief of Army staff, Gen Asif Nawaz, on Sunday to discuss the threat of the JKLF to cross the Line of Control, the PM, who is the chief executive of the state, was not there.

We have a government which is not able to govern but can continue in office. Because of the diarchy following Gen Zia's Eighth Amendment, the President can blame the PM for his failure and the PM the president. And because of the power structure at the Centre now the government does not want to do away with the Eighth Amendment, although Ms Bhutto has offered her full support for it.

If the government could not succeed in its efforts to seize illegal arms, its move to eradicate the widespread adulteration—on which there is total national consensus while the traders oppose it—did not just take off. Its economic reforms are not going to produce miracles if the deep political divide is not bridged, the situation in Sindh not changed altogether and a consensus reached on major national issues. Mr Sartaj Aziz, Finance Minister, has already spoken of the foreign exchange crisis which is looming despite the sweeping foreign exchange reforms. And one more cell has been set up by the Finance Ministry, after many committees and commissions, to look into the issue of eliminating interest in all its manifestations.

Some have argued the National Assembly should intervene to bridge the gulf between the rulers and the opposition. Can the NA succeed where the speaker has failed—even to bring about a meeting between Mr Nawaz Sharif and Ms Bhutto. The schedule of the budget session of the Indian Assembly has been announced. It will last for two months and 12 days. But our NA has brief sessions and most of the time the members are absent. On the opening day of the present session of the NA the ministers were absent. Can such a body achieve anything much, besides elect a PM and leave him to do just what he will?

Persecution of Hindu Sindhis Regretted

92AS0585G Peshawar THE FRONTIER POST
in English 1 Feb 92 pp 10-11

[Article by Suresh Rajani: "Persecution of Sindhi Hindus"; italicized words as published]

[Text] [Box] On the other hand, can a Hindu dare to join a religious organisation? What will be the attitude of religious organisations themselves? What to talk of Hindus, how many Muslim students in Sindh as well as all over the country are attracted to them? [end box]

In Pakistan, Hindu population, according to 1981 census, is 1.3 million. About 96 percent of it, i.e. 1.22 million live in Sindh and the other 30 thousand in Punjab, 20 thousand in Balochistan and 5 thousand in NWFP [North-West Frontier Province]. [sentence as published]

Some factions and religious groups of the country, through their speeches and print media, particularly Urdu press, have been always trying to create negative impression against the Hindus in general and Pakistani Hindus in particular, as if Pakistani Hindus are not sincere and loyal

to their motherland. They do not hesitate to make even fabricated stories. For instance, sweepers of Liaquat Medical College, Hyderabad, are accused by them as alien country agents. Be it ordinary theft of telephone wire in Tharparkar, they take it as a sabotage of Hindus. If it is a railway tragedy at Ghotki, the public, particularly in Punjab, is misinformed by saying that it is the area where significant population of Hindus live.

In their view, in the country, specifically in Sindh province, all the lawlessness and chaos is caused by local Hindus. The ground on which these self proclaiming patriotic and sincere people propagate the hatred against these sons of the soil, is baseless. Let us discuss these points which are:

- (1) In political as well as educational institutions the Hindus influence and support the *Jeay Sindh [J.S.]* elements.
- (2) The Hindus are doing the same thing they had done in Bangladesh (former East Pakistan).
- (3) They are frequent visitors to India. They send money to India.
- (4) They instigate Sindhi Muslims, and are instrumental in creating lawlessness, unrest and disarray.

While, analysing the first point in factual perspective one would see that had the Hindus encouraged J.S. then all the Hindu members (4 in NA [National Assembly] and 5 in Sindh Assembly) could have been elected in the elections of 1988 and 1990 from the J.S. group. But the fact is; in 1988 no one was elected to either assembly with the support of this group. Bhagwandas Chawla and Mahr-oomal were elected as MNA [member of National Assembly] and MPA [member of Provincial Assembly] respectively with the support of Pir Sahib Pagara and they later supported the PPP [Pakistan People's Party] government. All the rest were elected with the PPP support. In 1990, the candidates who won the elections were supported by PPP or IJI [Islami Jamhorri Ittehad] except one in Sindh assembly. It may be pointed out that in Pakistan a non-Muslim cannot contest the election on the ticket of any Muslim party. They can contest elections either as independent candidates or from the parties made of their own religious members.

It is surprising that those very nationalists are allowed to take part in the elections. Their cooperation is sought to run the governments at provincial as well as central levels. And all this is normal. Then what is wrong if one non-Muslim gets or gives political support.

It is also very strange to note that in referendum of 1984 by General Zia-ul-Haq, majority votes of Hindus were cast in "yes." On this so-called champions of Islam were silent. In 1988 elections these same *Islam parast* were annoyed. *Haq parast* (MQM) [Muhajir Qaumi Movement] became angry with all Hindus for the role of P.K. Shahani during political talks between PPP and MQM. Actually his sincerity was exploited. He was under fire for his stand and in

case of his lenient approach he would have been treated as a traitor by Sindhis. In both ways the PPP leadership was spared.

Before blaming the Hindus one should not forget that late Gen. Zia-ul-Haq was eager to see G.M. Syed and had sent a nosegay of flowers as a token of goodwill. They also might be knowing who allowed this veteran nationalist to go to India. On the one hand, he is portrayed as a traitor and disloyal, while on the other hand he has been allowed to move freely. Why not one should consider it the hypocrisy of the rulers and political parties to frighten the people of Punjab only to extend their influence and power. If this old man is really a danger and has acted to break the country then why have they been avoiding to try him under the law. One would ask whether all the high-ups of the successive governments have acted as per Hindus' directions?

Many a politician has so far called on the Syed including Pir Sahib Pagara, Illahi Bux Soomro, Mahmood, A. Haroon, Altaf Hussain, Ghulam Mustafa Jatoi, sitting chief minister Jam Sadiq and so on. A question arises that on whose instruction/advice all these big ones have been making trips to see him, and seek his cooperation.

As far as the activities in educational institutions is concerned, it is apparent that different groups have their grip in different places. Personality lovers, democrats, nationalists, socialists, Islamic groups *Haq parast etc.* dominate at one or the other place. In a bid either to get hold or maintain command, they resort even to terrorism. Vast majority of the students who actually want to study, willingly or under compulsion for their security, have to cooperate with one of these groups, otherwise it becomes very difficult for them to survive. All over the country, what is going on in these institutions is no more a secret. In this perspective, like the majority, Hindu students, compromisingly or under compulsion, are also affiliated with different students' organisations like Sindh Peoples Students Federation, Sindhi Shagrid Tehrik, Sindhi National Students Front, Jeay Sindh groups, democratic students front etc. They are members of any single organisation. The reason of their priority to join these groups is that they claim that all the citizens are equal and sons of the soil and don't encourage religious discrimination at least in the books and by the word. On the other hand can a Hindu dare to join a religious organisation? What will be the attitude of religious organisations themselves? What to talk of Hindus, how many Muslim students in Sindh as well as all over the country are attracted to them?

For their worries about Hindu's influence in political field, it is to say that one having common sense would find that their number in any policy making body is zero. Even the political parties have no minority member in central committee here to show. Hindus have no role to play in the provincial as well as national buildup. Now Rana Chandur Singh has been inducted in the cabinet. It does not mean that some great change has occurred or heaven would fall. Nawaz Sharif, either under the positive thinking that for the prosperity and progress of the country let all factions of the population be given representation or just to show, in

any case, has taken a good step, and one should not worry about it. This attitude should be followed in Sindh also where 5 assembly members are from the Hindu community. Hindu population needs to be represented in Sindh government to take part in the development and welfare of the province.

Our Urdu press and religious groups allege that in dismemberment of Pakistan in 1971, Hindus of the country played the major role. If it was so then how was an important post in foreign ministry assigned to Raja Tridev Rai (head of the Chakkma tribe). He represented Pakistan in United Nations, and for some time was federal minister in present Pakistan, moreover a commission under the chairmanship of Justice Hamoodur-Rahman was set up to find out the causes of the breakup of Pakistan. Despite strong demands from every nook and corner of the country, it has not yet been made public, whether to give cover to the minority! Those who claim to be true believers and loyal Pakistanis, must have courage to get the report published so that all the big fish, responsible for the heinous and hair raising crimes in former East Pakistan, should be exposed. The people should know the brutalities and inhuman acts of al-Shams and al-Badar organisations committed in the name of Allah and Pakistan.

There is also a wrong impression that the majority of Hindus pay frequent visits to India. Whoever may go to Indian visa office at Islamabad or Karachi would see vice versa. In long queues of thousands seeking Indian visa one would not find more than fifty Hindus. What will they say for their Muslim brothers going to India? What does it reveal? To get the Khokharapar border open, Maulana Vasi Mazhar Nadvi, Maulana Shah Ahmed Noorani and Altaf Hussain have been demanding in their public meetings to facilitate Muslim visitors. Signature campaign was initiated by those very groups for the above purpose who spare no movement to doubt the visit of some Hindus to India but ignore this fact.

These native Hindus, living for hundreds of years, have now started migrating to India. Going through the perspective and causes of this, it would come out that they have no role in the political field of the country at all. Economically they are confined to petty business and small trade like general-stores, cloth shops, etc. In government jobs they are at the most clerks and teachers, and could be counted on fingertips. Hardly ten officers of 19 grade would have been given executive/important posts.

Wrong impression is construed by seeing some shopkeepers in towns that the majority of this community is prosperous. In fact their vast majority live miserable lives like the rest of the population. One can observe in Tharparkar and Sanghar districts, where about 75 percent of the total Hindu population live, in the perspective of discrimination and hatred on religious basis, some fundamentalists run after their lives and property. And when all is at stake then they have no other option but to leave their soil with tears in their eyes. A great man and world famous social worker Abdul Sattar Edhi the recent reaction of over hooliganism was so bitter that he did not hesitate to express his wish to go to India. Many politicians and

businessmen flee to European countries during the crises and settle down there. Many of them come to Pakistan only as visitors. Are they all traitors and disloyal? Do those countries allow these people under the Islamic spirit?

It is also necessary to mention that resettlement in India is not easy as is generally believed. One has to wait for about 5 years to get citizenship. Until then he can not purchase property and do business legally. There are so many hardships with this background that there is no need to write any more in this regard.

As far as the instigation of Sindhi Muslims by Hindus is blamed, it is to point out that long boasts are made about Sindhi people that they welcomed Mohammad Bin Qasim. Sindh is called *Babul Islam*. First ever assembly which passed the resolution in favour of Pakistan was that of Sindh. They are praised for their awareness and sacrifices for creation of Pakistan. One wonders that their consciousness must have mounted by the passage of the time. Those very people, who were, decades ago, very aware, are now being termed so simple and naive that they are easily exploited and instigated by a few helpless non-Muslims.

There are contradictory approaches. These people should review their friends.

It will not be wrong to say that these so-called enlightened people are very allergic to Pakistani Hindus for their pre-partition experiences meted out to them by some factions. Now they try to find the solution of every problem of the society in punishment of this minority. The Hindus of Sindh are most affected subjects of the ever growing lawlessness. They have paid hundreds of thousands as ransom. And hundreds of them have lost their lives. They are the main targets in country side as well as in the cities. Even a man of common sense would be able to conclude how one would like deterioration of the situation in which he himself suffers the most.

Corruption and bribery are unchecked all over the country. Justice is weighted in scale. High profits even in the month of *Ramzan* are extorted. Who is responsible for this *lootmar* in this holy country?

Under whose instructions and for whose benefits the enquiries into disasters and tragic incidents like General Zia-ul-Haq, Nowshera blast, railway accidents, Ojhri camp and death causes of Quaid-i-Azam, Liaquat Ali Khan, and so on, are not made public?

There has been frequent occurrences of Shia-Sunni riots. In past some mosques were sealed in Banori town, Karachi, during the governorship of S.M. Abbasi. Few years ago, Holy Books of Quran were set on fire in Qazi Ahmed and other places of Sindh province. Some of the culprits were apprehended but not yet punished. On 5 April 1991, a large mosque (peace brick was demolished at a place called Khyber on National Highway between Hala and Hyderabad only to pave the road. Many mosques were demolished to construct the Pano Aqil military cantonment. These devotees of Islam remain silent on these issues and so many other social evils that spoil our society. But they become very active, and even fanatic, to persecute

the Hindus of Pakistan if some insane people damage the religious property in India. What a contradictory and dual standard they have for their sacred places and books!

In 1988, drought hit the Tharparkar that caused famine there. Government of Sindh distributed Rs.[rupees]six hundred to every Muslim family and Rs. three hundred to every non-Muslim family claimed to be according to Islamic injunctions. Separate electoral rolls for minorities to keep them out of the national stream are considered to be as per Islamic rules *Qaum-i-Shahadat*, *Diyat* etc. reduce a minority person's status to a half. There are so many instances of persecution and discrimination of the minorities on "religious basis," unofficially as well as officially, which could not be discussed and explained in words.

In the last it will suffice to say that the Hindu community of Pakistan is peace-loving. They have no doubt that in chaos and lawlessness they, being the weaker section of the society, would suffer the most. In the time of unrest no one prospers. They along with the rest of the silent majority, have a strong desire to live in peace and harmony. They are aborigines of this pure land. It has neither been allotted to them nor are they usurpers of it. Their spiritual as well physical attachment to their motherland is free from impurity and bias. They also wish to make this home land a living place like heaven.

Basis of Sindhi Discontent, Potential Reconciliation Explored

92AS0646K Karachi DAWN (supplement) in English
7 Feb 92 pp II

[Excerpt from article by Iqbal Jafar: "SINDH"; quotation marks as published]

[Excerpt] [passage omitted] The estrangement of Sindhis began as early as 1948 when Karachi was taken over by the federal government, much against the wishes of the Sindh Muslim League. It was quickly followed by an act of callous disregard for Sindhi interests and sentiments: allotment of agricultural land and rural property, under mortgage, to the refugees. Hindu money—lenders had acquired as much as 40 percent of the agricultural land, on mortgage, by 1947. It was declared to be evacuee property, intended to be allotted to the refugees. The Sindh Provincial Assembly passed a resolution that the property be returned to the owners, but it was not accepted by the federal government, although a similar decision had been taken and accepted for such property in the Punjab. In consequence, where the property was valued at Rs[rupees]10,000 or more, the local occupants, including landless peasants, were ejected. The creation of Pakistan brought for them the remission of extortionist loans, but ejection from occupancy! Later, huge tracts of land were to be allotted to settlers and to employees of the federal government, from other provinces, out of the state land commanded by Guddu and Kotri Barrages.

These wounds had hardly healed when One Unit was created, in 1955, through intrigue, threat, and blatant suppression of the Opposition. Sindh ceased to exist as a province. Remoteness of the provincial capital at Lahore

relegated the life of rural Sindhis to a state of even greater neglect, and the dispersal of Sindhi civil servants to various places in West Pakistan made them almost invisible and ineffective. The resentment against One Unit mounted as its consequences sank deeper into the Sindhi consciousness.

Resentment

In this atmosphere of simmering resentment and of helplessness, came the recommendations of the Commission on National Education. With heightened reformatory zeal and a muffled sense of reality, the Commission handed down its pronouncements in 1960. The Commission recommended, among other things, that the medium of instruction for Sindhi students should be Urdu and Sindhi from class 3 to class 6, and thereafter, Sindhi should cease to be a medium of instruction. The Commission was obviously unaware of the fact that Sindhi had been a medium of instruction from the 17th century, if not earlier, up to secondary level, and up to higher secondary level for the last 90 years. It had also been the official language since 1851. Not surprisingly, it unleashed a wave of protests and demonstration throughout Sindh.

The stage was, thus, set for regional movements in Sindh. A high watermark in the Sindhi nationalist feelings was reached on March 4, 1967, when police opened fire on a procession of students of Sindh University. Many students were killed and wounded. The officials responsible for law and order in Hyderabad, who were all non-Sindhis, were obviously oblivious of the consequences of the violent use of authority. This is the least that one can say. The provincial government, located in Lahore since 1955, took a serious view of the incident and promptly removed the Sindhi vice chancellor!

It was in the protest meeting, held after the incident of March 4, that the slogan of 'Sindh Desh' was raised for the first time. Thereafter, March 4 has been observed as a day of mourning every year by the Sindhi student community.

All this led to the decision to isolate the Sindhis in Sindh itself, to weaken their opposition to all that had been done to them. Following the glorious imperial traditions, the then governor of West Pakistan gave instructions for the creation of a non-Sindhi political party in Sindh. As soon as the governor said, "Let there be a party," there was, lo and behold, a party—Mohajirs, Punjabi, Pathan Mutahida Mohaz! Those Mohajirs, Punjabis and Pathans of Sindh who founded that party, in Hyderabad, were no more than a bunch of small time, district level, seekers of patronage and influence. If all the crimes that they could have been guilty of, this was the most condemnable. It was condemnable for they created a mohaz (front) against the Sindhis when Sindh did not exist as a province and whatever little political and administrative power Sindhis ever had, had been diluted or taken away through the device of One Unit. What was the mohaz against, or for? The move to divide Sindh on ethnic lines through official sticks and carrots, was also the meanest of the options that 'guardians' of the national interest had at that time.

In Sindh, ethnic feelings spurred by an ethnic front against Sindhis continued to gather momentum. By 1967, the extremist Sindhi politicians had become the most powerful, in fact the only, political force commanding the support and sympathy of Sindhi masses.

By a happy turn of events, there emerged, in 1968, a Sindh-based national party that became, by the end of 1969, the most popular political party in Sindh with credible support in other provinces. Political analyses of that momentous period of our history fail to consider the consequences of an unquestioned growth of Sindhi extremism at that time. Had the emerging political trend in Sindh, in 1968, run its course for the next two years, the political scenario in Sindh, at the crucial moment, would not have been much different from what it was in East Pakistan in 1971. The convergence of regionalist and international forces in East Pakistan and Sindh at the same time and in the same manner would have led to similar consequences.

Fortunately for all of us, when elections were held in 1970, the Sindhi extremists were defeated, and after a tragic interlude, the first ever elected government in Pakistan was installed in December 1971.

A process of national reconciliation was begun but it soon floundered before it could achieve even the preliminary objectives. Many factors were the cause of it but, at least in Sindh, the most important cause was the attitude of Sindhi civil servants and some provincial leaders of the ruling party. Most of the Sindhi civil servants and some of the politicians in power displayed an arrogance of power that alienated even some of their well-wishers.

That arrogance has often been explained as a reaction to similar arrogance displayed by the non-Sindh civil servants and politicians during the preceding two decades. This is true enough, as an explanation is not a justification. That first-ever democratic rule which began as a consensus rule should have continued as such. In fact, its base of consensus should have been broadened and strengthened. But it was not to be.

On July 5, 1977, began the longest of the three martial law regimes of our history. With it came executions, flogging, arrests and punishments. Sindhis bore the brunt of it. They were pushed back to the pre-1968 position of conflict with the federal authority. This created an impression, shared by an influential section of the Establishment, that Sindhis are at best dissidents, and at worst secessionists. In support of this view, reference is made to the unpatriotic stance of some of the Sindhi leaders. But if the statements of some politicians, however small their following, is made the basis of such conclusions, then we shall have to draw similar conclusions about Balochs and Pukhtoons as well. That, in turn, would lead to the conclusion that the only true patriots are the Punjabis and Mohajirs!

[Box: A Comparative Profile]

Cultural

1. No regional language has as elaborate an alphabet and as rich a literature as Sindhi which has been used as a medium of instruction since 17th century.
2. No regional language except Sindhi has ever been the official language of a province. Sindhi has had that position since 1851.
3. No regional culture, except Sindhi, has been swamped by another culture.

Economic

1. In no other province is the industry dominated by persons from other provinces.
2. In no other province have huge tracts of state land been allotted to settlers and employees of the federal government from other provinces.
3. In no other province have the inhabitants been confined to rural areas and small towns.

Administrative

1. In no other province does the police force consist of such a large number of persons from other provinces.
2. In no other province the federal departments/corporations/agencies employ such a large number of persons from other provinces. This excludes those who, under the rules, have to be recruited on all-Pakistan basis.
3. In no other province the Chief Secretaries and Inspector Generals of Police have been persons from other provinces for 43 years out of 45 years.

Political

1. Sindh is the only province where the chief executive (chief minister under a democratic set-up, and governor under military regime) has been a man from the province for no more than 15 years out of 45 years.
2. Sindh is the only province that has been placed in a situation of conflict with the federal authority since 1948.
3. Sindh is the only province where the federal government has acted as a catalyst, often intentionally, for enhancing ethnicity since 1954.
4. Sindh is the only province where the original inhabitants could be reduced to a minority due to constant migration from other provinces.

Military

1. Presence of Sindhis, unlike any other ethnic group of this size, is almost non-existent in the armed forces and the civil armed forces.
2. Sindh is one of the two provinces (the other being Balochistan) that, due to unwise policies, has been pitched against the army, at least once, in the name of national integrity. [end box]

I would seek the indulgence of the readers to present an alternate view of unpatriotic conduct: those who question

the patriotism of others are unpatriotic. I am conscious of the fact all this can possibly lead to the conclusion that all of us are unpatriotic. Such a conclusion, I must hasten to concede, is not only possible, but might as well be the truth!

While talking about the credentials of Sindhis as good Pakistanis, we tend to ignore a curious and significant fact of our post-Independence politics: the ethnic Sindhis are the only ones to have produced leaders (three) of national stature with credible support in all the four provinces. Of the two such leaders, one was deposed of, the other merely deposed, and both by the same General! In the next context of that situation one could have asked the question: how does the Establishment propose to defend national integrity after eliminating national leadership and leaving the politics of the polarised people of Pakistan in the care and custody of regional leadership?

Without going into any more details of what happened during those years of military regime and later, let us focus our attention on the immediate present. I do not propose to describe the present situation, for it has been, and continues to be, a subject of much comment and analysis. What I do intend is to offer some thoughts on three subjects of greater interest and importance: Law and order situation, administrative reforms and reconciliation with other provinces, for reconciliation is needed not only between old and new Sindhis, but also between Sindh and other provinces. As for the reconciliation between old and new Sindhis, it would follow as a consequence of all that I intend to propose.

Law and order: The unemployed are no more unarmed. This is the simplest and the briefest statement of the immediate cause of lawlessness to which Sindh is more exposed than other provinces. Maybe there are more unemployed in Sindh, or there are more weapons, or maybe there is more of both.

Since lawlessness inhibits commercial and industrial activity, it causes more unemployment, and that causes more crime, and that causes even more unemployment, and so on. Thus, at a certain stage lawlessness becomes both the effect and the cause of unemployment. Control of lawlessness is, therefore, the key to the solution of many social, political and economic ills.

Three steps may be taken simultaneously.

1. Supply of arms and ammunition must be curbed at the source. Free and private sale and manufacture of arms in the tribal areas must be stopped. Those making their living out of this business must be provided jobs or helped to set up less lethal businesses. The application of this principle is likely to be more successful in this case, than it has been in the case of poppy growers.

2. Illegal arms must be retrieved. Its modalities should be worked out through consensus between the major political parties and the administration. Thereafter, all necessary means should be used to retrieve illegal weapons. The operation to retrieve weapons may begin with a period of

amnesty (a week or two) during which the government may buy the weapons voluntarily surrendered.

3. Serious consideration should now be given to grant amnesty to dacoits. While sitting on judgment on the dacoits, we should keep in mind the fact that most of the dacoits have been victims of the oppressive hold of the local influentials and the police in rural areas. They are a product of a cruel and unjust way of life, where there is neither hope nor reprieve. If that does not disturb our conscience, the grant of amnesty too should not disturb our conscience.

Reconciliation

Reconciliation with other provinces: Even a cursory glance over the comparative profile (see box) would convince the reader that there is need for reconciliation between Sindh (not Sindhis) and other provinces. For the moment, the need for this has been lost sight of because of our preoccupation with the ethnic polarisation within Sindh.

Sindh is home to hundreds of thousands of people from other provinces. It is the quintessence of Pakistan. Its prosperity and harmonious relationship with other provinces is, therefore, in the selfish interest of all the other provinces. I use the word 'selfish' advisedly, for appeal to 'Islam', 'patriotism', 'justice', or 'fair play' has ceased to have any relevance to our actual conduct. In fact these words have lost their utility even as slogans.

Disproportionate visibility of people from other provinces in trade, industry, and government offices cannot but cause resentment. It has often been argued that Sindhis have no acumen for trade or industry, and are not sufficiently educated for jobs in the government and public and private enterprises. But haven't we been here before? These are the arguments that Hindus gave against us before Independence, and we gave against East Pakistanis after Independence. Most of us realised the dishonest and selfish intentions behind these arguments rather suddenly in 1970, when it was too late. We must, therefore, pay attention to the grievances of Sindh. Now!

The following proposals may, therefore, be considered by the Council of Common Interests, to ensure national consensus:

1. All state land allotted to settlers and employees of the federal or provincial governments that has not been developed or, having been developed, has been leased out by the allottees, should be resumed. Compensation may be given where land has been developed.
2. Employees of Sindh government belonging to other provinces should be absorbed in their own provinces within a stipulated period.
3. Employees of federal departments/corporations/agencies, in BPSI to 16 or in equivalent grade, working in Sindh should belong to Sindh. For this purpose, there should be no quota fixed for old and new Sindhis. This should apply to all future recruitments.
4. Issue of domicile certificate to persons from other provinces should be governed by an agreed guideline.

Certificates issued so far, which do not conform to those guidelines should be cancelled.

5. Names of persons belonging to other provinces should be deleted from the electoral rolls of Sindh. This principle would apply to other provinces also, for this is consistent with the spirit of a federal form of government.

Administrative reforms: One of our cardinal political sins that we are guilty of the neglect of democratic institutions at the districts and divisional levels. Democracy as a way of life must percolate down to the lower levels in a meaningful way. The principle of autonomy must, to a lesser degree, apply to the lower formations of administrative units. People should be drawn into the process of participatory democratic rule at the levels and over matters that are closer to their daily lives.

Let us begin with the level next below the level of provincial government. There should be more devolution of power to the Divisions which should be administered by an elected body, and relieved of the bureaucratic stranglehold.

While making this suggestion, I should like to clarify that this is not a proposal to convert the Divisions into provinces—an idea that keeps surfacing every now and then, and has been mooted again recently. The swing from one extreme of One Unit to the other of 19 units is, to the least, most ill-advised.

While making this proposal, the proposers obviously have the situation of Sindh in their minds. But Sindhis and Mohajirs happen to be human beings living together all over the province. They are not two tracts of land that can be demarcated and renamed. If they can live peacefully in Divisions, they can live peacefully in the province too. If not, they better mend their ways rather than amend the boundaries of the province.

The most insidious aspect of this proposal is that it implies belief in 'hostage theory'—Sindhi hostages in Karachi, and Mohajir hostages elsewhere. I must confess that I do not find the social evolution of refugees into hostages a very exciting prospect.

Minister Denies Kashmir Marchers Fired Upon

92AS0742A Karachi DAWN in English 14 Feb 92 p 1

[Article: "Kashmiri Marchers Not Fired Upon"]

[Text] Islamabad, Feb. 13: The National Assembly was assured that neither the security forces of Pakistan nor of Azad Kashmir government fired upon the JKLF [Jammu Kashmir Liberation Front] workers proceeding to cross the Line of Control and only three persons were killed as a result of accidents.

The categorical assurance was given by Federal Minister for Kashmir and Northern Affairs Mehtab Ahmed Khan while making a policy statement here on Thursday afternoon. He was responding to a volley of points of order by PDA [People's Democratic Alliance] members who alleged

that the JKLF workers were killed by security forces on Wednesday, hence the situation should be discussed in the House.

He said that according to the Azad Kashmir Government, one person was killed when he fell down from a motorcycle, while the two others died when they were climbing a mountain on the way.

The Minister for Kashmir affairs said at one point the JKLF marchers attacked a police station and torched the government property and as a result the local police fired in the air to scare them. However, he said categorically that nobody was killed or injured.

When the marchers, he said, reached Chinari, about six kilometers from the Line of Control, the AJK [Azad Jammu & Kashmir] civil administration stopped them by erecting many barricades. However, the processionists became violent and the administration was thus compelled to use tear gas to prevent them from going ahead.

He said when the marchers realised that they could not go ahead their leaders, including JKLF Chairman Amanullah Khan, requested for a dialogue with the security forces.

The negotiations were held between the JKLF leaders and civil administration last night which resulted in an agreement under which the 50 arrested workers were set free. The marchers, he said, as agreed decided to retreat.

Mehtab Ahmed Khan said the Kashmiris had the right to cross the Line of Control but the time and the occasion opted by the JKLF was not proper. He said crossing the Line of Control at this moment was suicidal. The government, he said, could not allow the unarmed Kashmiris to be killed by the Indians.

The Minister of Kashmir Affairs said the government fully respected the sentiments of the Kashmiris and was mobilising every international forum to resolve the Kashmir problem on the basis of the UN resolutions.

He reminded the PDA members that even the leader of the Opposition and all other AJK and Pakistani political parties had opined that crossing the Line of Control at this stage was not proper.

The IJI [Islami Jamhoori Ittehad] government, he said, regarded as its moral, national and constitutional obligation to champion the cause of Kashmir and settle the issue on the basis of UN resolutions.

Earlier rising on a point of order, Federal Minister for Parliamentary Affairs said the government would welcome discussion on the burning issue of Kashmir. He requested the Speaker to set a specific date for discussing the issue in the Lower House.

He criticised the leader of the Opposition for acquiescing to the Indian former Prime Minister during his visit to Pakistan when he stated that Kashmir was an integral part of India. He said it was during PPP [Pakistan People's Party] tenure when even the Boards of Kashmir were removed from the roadside during Indian Prime Minister

Rajiv Gandhi's visit to Pakistan. But now the PPP members were crying hoarse for the cause of Kashmir.

Earlier, Ch. Aitzar Ahsan, raising on a point of order, alleged that the security forces had fired upon the JKLF workers which had resulted in deaths and injuries.—APP

Government Urged To Implement Shariat Laws

92AS0588A Lahore NAWA-I-WAQT in Urdu 5 Feb 92 p 10

[Editorial: "Implementation of Shariat Laws"]

[Text] The Sarhad Assembly has adamantly demanded from the federal government to implement shariat laws and that this implementation should begin in Sarhad. In this context, Wair representative Sayyed Sardar Alam Bacha introduced two proposals. Everyone in the nation wants shariat laws and one indication of this is that whenever there is a campaign for implementing Islamic rule, the people all over the country support it. However, Sarhad state by expressing the desire to start shariat laws there deserves acclaim. The state should be given proper credit for it. The purpose of establishing Pakistan was to have an Islamic form of government. Quaid-i Azam's various speeches express desire for this sacred cause. However, half a century has passed and the great mission of establishing an Islamic form of government has not been achieved. The greatest desire of the people is related to establishing an Islamic government. With the demand to implement shariat laws, the discussion is whether it would take a long time to shape laws according to Islamic principles or should the shariat laws be implemented directly. The social and economic problems that the people are facing now can be realistically solved only by Islam. The time has come for the government to seriously consider it and take necessary steps so that the people of this country at least get an Islamic form of government.

Casual Attitude, Poor Performance of MNAs Criticized

92AS0655A Islamabad THE MUSLIM in English 8 Feb 92 p 6

[Article: "Duty Must Be Done Though Heavens Fall"]

[Text] The National Assembly began its 11th session Thursday on the predictably wobbly quorum. The shape of the ruling IJI [Islami Jahmoori Ittehad] benches was pathetic. This is a coalition which prides itself on a two-thirds majority. Enough to virtually rewrite the constitution of the Islamic Republic of Pakistan. The total strength of the flag-flying team of Ministers, Ministers of State, Parliamentary Secretaries adds up to 79 or so. The minimum number of MNAs [Members of National Assembly] present to make a quorum is a mere 54. What would you say of the political consciousness, sense of duty and parliamentary etiquette of a ruling party and government which cannot muster the minimum presence to ensure that the house is in a position to start work? The IJI ruling party does have a Chief Whip. What does he do? It is a marvel of administrative efficiency of the ruling party that it cannot provide the Chief Whip with an office. But

how can it, if it must have something like 80 ministers, each with a claim to a chamber in the parliament building? If the ruling party does not know that it is its duty to produce a quorum in the House, all one can say is that somebody has to teach the elementary lessons to the government of Mr. Nawaz Sharif. And Mr. Nawaz Sharif? The Prime Minister [PM], that is? As it turned out, he was himself conspicuous by his absence on the opening day of the 11th session of the National Assembly. If the Leader of the House is not there, how do you expect his followers to be there? It is possible to argue that the PM was busy elsewhere. But what prevents the Leader of the House to so organise his engagements that he is at least present on the opening day of a session? The Baitul Mal was not divinely ordained to be born on the very day the National Assembly was to commence its first session of the year 1992, was it?

The problem of quorum in the National Assembly is assuming the proportions of a joke, if not a scandal. One could understand if the ruling party were an outfit of modest numbers. This is not the case. They have a huge majority. But why does this majority nearly always fail to appear where it ought to be seen in convincing strength? Primarily, it is the responsibility of the leader of the ruling party, alliance, coalition or whatever. It is his duty to ensure this discipline. All Members of the National Assembly (the hallowed MNAs), quite a few of whom are in the habit of displaying that fact on their cars (in disregard of the law), ought to attend the meetings of the House. Quite as their children are expected to attend their classes—or be punished for their failure to do so. What is the Chief Whip there for, if not to ensure, among other things, that the House enjoys a working presence of the members of his party in the House?

Most regrettable is the casual attitude of the office-holders, that is, the Ministers and, particularly, the Parliamentary Secretaries. The main function of the Parliamentary Secretaries is to be present in the House so that the absence of the Ministers does not in any way impede the progress of the work of the House. Here, it would appear, the Speaker has a very important obligation. He is the presiding officer of the National Assembly. He would be perfectly within his right to take the majority party, the party of the government, to ask for its failure to come up to the standards expected of a parliamentary government. As far as we are concerned, we promise to do our bit, in whatever way it is fair and proper, to give expression to the sentiments of the people in whose names these worthies are Honourable Members of the National Assembly of the Islamic Republic of Pakistan. Does Islam not expect people to perform their appointed or assumed duties? After all, the Honourable Members are paid for the duty they are assigned as MNAs. And wages earned without the work performed fall short of honestly earned bread. The MNAs, headed by the Prime Minister, are expected to set a good example. What you generally see in the National Assembly is an example most parents would tell their children not to follow.

Rift Between PML, IJI Said Widening

92AS0646H Peshawar HORIZONS in English 4 Feb 92 pp 8-10

[Article by Agha Iqrar Haroon: "PML/IJI Cracking Alliance"; quotation marks as published]

[Text] The recent results of the local bodies elections in Punjab have played a pivotal role for Pakistan Muslim League (PML), boosting up its morale. PML, which was considering to go solo, has yet to make a public announcement to the effect.

PML top brass has checked up the strength of Jamaat-e-Islami's (JI) position in the province. At many places JI has failed to bag seats despite making lofty claims in this regard. On the other hand these elections provided a chance to the PML to prove its might. The power game between the two parties aside these elections have also brought into the fore the cracks within the ranks of PML and caused set back to its solidarity.

As compared to the last held local bodies polls the Jamaat has lost 31 seats in Punjab this year. An important circle of the PML is of the view that the bold decision taken by Punjab Chief Minister Ghulam Haider Wyne, to field candidates against the Jamaat candidates in the LB [Local Bodies] polls has confirmed that the Pakistan Muslim League can survive in the country's politics without taking assistance from any other political party, particularly JI.

During the recently concluded local bodies polls the Jamaat went into alliance with the PPP [Pakistan People's Party] in certain areas of Punjab. The political observers are of the view that by keeping a window open to the PPP the JI is at its shrewdest best. This would also keep the option of joining hands with the opposition intact for the Jamaat leadership in case of sudden major change takes place on the national political scene, such as the one experienced in the past.

Most likely, it is for this reason that the Jamaat has decided not to join hands with the PML in its post-poll efforts to muster support for key posts in the District Councils, Municipal Corporations, Municipal Committees, Town Committees and Union Councils of the Punjab.

This policy drew an astute comment from a political analyst who observed: 'Jamaat has always trimmed its sails according to the changes taking place on national political scene'. To quote one such example, the Jamaat contested the 1990 general elections on the IJI [Islami Jamhoori Ittehad] platform, being one of its major religious components.

After the IJI came into power and the federal cabinet was being finalised, the JI reportedly demanded of Prime Minister [PM] Nawaz Sharif that the Ministry of Information and Broadcasting be given to it. The demand faced outright rejection and subsequently, the JI decided to stay out of the cabinet altogether.

Later, when things got hot for the prime minister, the Jamaat became most 'vocal' in its criticism of the government, bypassing the obligation of its membership in the IJI.

Such policies of Jamaat even forced the Punjab Chief Minister Ghulam Haider Wyne, who is also the Secretary General of PML, to publicly state that the JI leadership was trying to blackmail the IJI President Mian Nawaz Sharif.

During one of his press conferences, an incensed Mr. Wyne made it clear to the JI Ameer that PML would never allow him to blackmail the IJI high command. He even went to the extent of asking Qazi Hussain Ahmed to act upon his threat of parting ways with the alliance, if he could really do it.

These comments were made by Mr. Wyne at a time when the JI was chalking out its future strategy to contest the local bodies polls in Punjab. It was after this statement that the Jamaat finally decided to discard the IJI umbrella and contest the LB polls from its own platform under the name of Al-Khidmat group.

It was in this backdrop that the Jamaat has come up with its five points—the five queries by the JI's Majlis-e-Shoora for the present Nawaz government. The Jamaat wishes to know whether or not the prime minister really wants to retain IJI in its present form. Secondly, JI is upset that the prime minister is not giving it due importance and is taking decisions concerning the alliance without consulting the other component parties.

Moreover, JI's Majlis-e-Shoora and its Ameer have also talked of manifesto pledges of an Islamic order of Shariat, and of the futility of trying to improve law and order with the help of the 12th amendment.

The concerned political circles are of the view that the recent major shift in the Afghan policy of the Pakistan government is a supplementary step of PML high ups to give a polite signal to JI after local bodies elections that it should not "poke its nose" into foreign affairs or policy formulated by the PML top brass.

Meanwhile, the same circles opined that the prime minister Mian Nawaz Sharif is confident that the JI would never leave the IJI because the IJI is fighting against the PPP, the only political enemy of the JI. Why should Mian sahib work under the pressure of JI when it has nothing to offer?

In case the Jamaat decides to leave the IJI umbrella, even then the PML would not be really upset as the circles close to the PM believe that the IJI President Nawaz Sharif is fed up with the black mailing strategy of the Jamaat-e-Islami top brass.

These circles added that the PML leadership has checked up the weak footings of JI in masses after observing the results of local bodies.

The recent statement of Ameer Jamaat-e-Islami, Qazi Hussain Ahmed in which he accused the IJI government of comforting Washington by changing foreign policy of the

country over the issue of Afghanistan has further worsened the already strained relations between the two main components of the ruling Islami Jamhoori Ittehad.

The proposed meeting in Rome between Zahir Shah and COAS [Chief of Army Staff] Asif Nawaz Janjua may well be an indication that there has been a convergence of interest on Zahir's candidacy to head a possible interim government against the will of Jamaat. This new development is also frustrating Jamaat's supporters. However, Chief Qazi Hussain Ahmed is still sitting with the prime minister on IJI benches in the national assembly.

The JI-IJI rift has been simmering for some time but came specifically into the open with Prof. Ghafoor Ahmed's resignation from the secretary generalship of the alliance. Since then a rapid deterioration can be witnessed in relations between the two components. However, it is the conciliatory attitude of Prime Minister Nawaz Sharif which has kept the Jamaat under the IJI umbrella to-date. Mian Nawaz Sharif has also provided a cash grant of Rs.[rupees]20 million to an institute run by the Naib Jamaat-i-Islami. He also announced the provision of Rs.120 million loan to the same institution, apparently to soothe the JI top brass.

Meanwhile, some fights have also been seen within the PML ranks when the PML like-minded councillors fought with each other. This trend even irritated the Provincial Minister for Finance, Shah Mahmood Qureshi, who claims that a group of PML was working for the defeat of his group in Multan Corporation's elections.

The exemplary scene was observed during the elections of Lahore district council where the MNA [Member of National Assembly] of IJI Ashiq Dial formed an alliance with the PPP candidate against a MPA of the IJI. In this fight, the IJI backed Dial framed an alliance with PPP backed Ghurkis against Ch. Shukat Ali of an IJI MPA. The Ghurki group, with the help of Dial group won all five reserved seats of district council and planned for defeating Ch. Shaukat group during the election of chairmanship.

However, things changed on the night of Jan. 27.

At least nine elected councillors of the District Council Lahore, belonging to the Ashiq Dayal group, were kidnapped in the presence of district administration and an MPA from the Mayor house on Monday night.

The Ghurki group claimed that those who had been abducted were reportedly taken away in a Tourism wagon, with MPA, Akhtar Rasool in its front seat, to an unknown place from the mayor house. The wagon was said to be guarded by the police commandos and concerned DSPs [Deputy Superintendents of Police].

It was also claimed that those who had been abducted included Abdul Rashid Bhatti, Malik Sardar Ali, Subhan Khan, Chaudhary Akhtar, Rana Iqbal Hussain, Maj. Rafiq Hasrat, Ashraf Bara, Ijaz Dayal and Mohammad Siddique who were supposed to vote for Gurki group. Meanwhile, the head of the PDA backed group, Arshad Ghurki expressed concern over the abduction of nine of his allies. In a telegraphic message to the Punjab Election Authority,

he requested to postpone the elections if the house failed to maintain a quorum on election day.

According to the details, Ashiq Dayal, the head of the Dayal group was asked to reach the Mayor house along with his group as an important figure of ruling party wanted to meet him in connection with the election of the chairman.

According to some family sources, Ashiq Dayal left his office along with nine councillors at 4 pm for Mayor House, where commissioner Lahore, DIG [Deputy Inspector General] police, deputy commissioner Lahore and assistant commissioner Cantt were already present. They asked the councillors to wait for the important political figure who was to return from Islamabad. Till the morning of Jan. 28, Dial was away from home. On the day of election of chairman, Ch. Zulfiqar, backed by Ch. Shaukat won the election.

PPP, MQM Relations Claimed Improving

92AS0589B Karachi TAKBEER in Urdu 30 Jan 92 p 6

[Editorial: "PPP and MQM Getting Closer"]

[Text] It seems that the MQM [Muhajir Quami Movement] and the Pakistan People's Party [PPP] are getting closer. Both parties have agreed to work together to hold up slogans against the federal government. On Friday, the People's Party held a demonstration at noon in front of the Eiffel Tower in Paris. The demonstrators carried banners and pamphlets which proclaimed that Pakistan should stop violating human rights and activities seeking political revenge. Many people spoke at this demonstration. The speeches mentioned cooperative scandals and rapes of women.

After these demonstrations in Paris, the impression was that Pakistan was a country of animals with no respect for human rights or women. In Pakistan there are no agencies to help get justice against those who violate human rights and women; it gave the impression that there is no constitution, no law, no law enforcement agencies, and no agencies to fight for justice. The Pakistanis had to demonstrate on the streets of Paris in very cold weather, seven seas away. The question arises: Did the People's Party get confirmation about the crimes against human rights or about political revenge that it mentioned in these demonstrations? Did a court decide that the government was guilty of violating human rights in these cases? If this is not so, then what was the purpose of giving Pakistan a bad name without any reason, and that in another country? Is it patriotism? Against whom is this political revenge being taken? If all this is happening, then why does the People's Party not go to court? This is not Zulfiqar Ali Bhutto's era, when all basic rights were suspended, when people were being arrested for political revenge under the emergency law and defense rules, and the courts were not allowed to hear any cases from those who complained. Pakistan guarantees more rights than ever at this time. The People never had so many rights in the past. Even Shari'a courts are operating now. These courts can impart justice even against the president's orders. Now what do the politicians

in the opposition want? What kinds of rights and freedoms do they desire? Even though they have all these freedoms, their demonstrations abroad, based on imaginary allegations, are condemnable actions and are hurting our national dignity. Following in the footsteps of the PPP, the MQM had planned to hold a demonstration on Saturday at noon, when the prime minister was visiting Paris. This was published on the front page of the JANG. It was announced that this demonstration was arranged against "unknown" conspiracies hatched against the MQM and its leaders. Interestingly enough, the JANG correspondent and other journalists in Paris did not know of this. The correspondent learned about it upon returning to Karachi by reading news stories by a staff reporter. It is obvious that this "news" issued from Alkram Square was "home made" news, and the newspaper was forced to publish it. However, this wicked plan is public knowledge now. The MQM is not an opposition party; actually, it is an ally of the prime minister. It has cabinet positions at both the federal and state levels. It blames the prime minister for its own incapacities. When Iltaf Hussein returned to Pakistan after several months abroad, the police had a confrontation with a car thief about 30 minutes prior to his arrival. Two persons were killed in that encounter. One of these persons had a hand bomb which exploded. He was killed on the spot. The other was killed by a police bullet. This incident was called an assassination attempt on Iltaf Hussein. This so-called assassination attempt was not even timely, because the alleged attacker had been killed even before Iltaf Hussein arrived. Perhaps we can say they had intended to perpetrate an attack on Iltaf Hussein; however, this did not happen. It would have been appropriate to have this incident investigated so that information could be found about the intentions of these people. It was the state government's duty to investigate, since law and order is its responsibility, not that of the federal government. All police stations are managed by the state government, not the federal government. Whose government rules in this state? It belongs to Jam-i Sadiq group and the MQM. Mr. Jam-i Sadiq has always been very sincere and friendly with Iltaf Hussein. So far, the MQM has never complained about Mr. Jam-i Sadiq. In such a situation, it would be the MQM's responsibility to investigate this incident. This was its own affair.

In an amazing turn of events, however, the whole incident was presented to the prime minister, and the whole party demanded that the prime minister call for an investigation. Then Iltaf Hussein suddenly left for a pilgrimage. The MQM officially announced that he was going to a pilgrimage. They did not say that some kind of conspiracy was being hatched against him, and that he had left to save his life. As soon as he had gone, a member of Karachi's central committee of the MQM was either kidnapped or arrested. A lot of hue and cry was raised over this, and finally, Azim Ahmed Taraq released him when threats to disrupt the peace in Karachi were issued. Meanwhile, Abdul Aziz, a counselor in Hyderabad, was murdered, and the box of complaints was reopened. It was said that the prime minister did not take notice of the counselor's

murder. Actually, the state government should have investigated such an incident immediately, and should have sent the report on the arrest of the criminals to the prime minister. However, the Ganges flowed in the opposite direction here, and their complaints to the prime minister, asking him why the murder of Abdul Aziz was not investigated. Iltaf Hussein started to issue a series of statements against the prime minister under the title of "disloyalties of the prime minister" from Jiddah. The situation has now reached the point where arrangements are being made to hold demonstrations against the prime minister in Paris. Elections will be held in Sindh in February, and Iltaf Hussein and other senior MQM leaders are on tours. The average member of the MQM asks in amazement whether the municipal election for Karachi will be held in Europe or the United States of America this time! Why is Pir Sahib leaving Karachi and Hyderabad and holding meetings in London and the United States of America?

Meanwhile, in a high-level meeting under the chairmanship of the prime minister, the law and order situation in Sindh was discussed, and some very important decisions were made. According to these decisions, two DIG's, Samieh Allah Marut and Aftab Nabi, were transferred from Karachi. This action resulted in accusations against the prime minister of disloyalty and a negative attitude toward friends. Again, a lot of noise was made over it. Later, Jam-i Sadiq Ali, Sindh's chief minister, took responsibility for it, saying that these transfers were made for administrative reasons, and were done at his behest. This chapter has been closed after the chief minister's statement. In sum, the present recklessness of the MQM cannot be fathomed even by MQM members themselves.

Religion-Based Parties To Get Together

92AS0646D Peshawar *THE FRONTIER POST*
in English 9 Feb 92 p 10

[Quotation marks as published]

[Text] Jamiat Ulema-i-Islam (JUI-F) and Jamiat Ulema-i-Pakistan (JUP-N) have agreed in principle to enter into an alliance, Muttahida Islami Mahaz (MIM). [sentence as published] The Mahaz will strive for the enforcement of 'Nizam-e-Mustafa', change in the existing electoral and political system. Only those like-minded religious and political parties will be eligible to membership of the alliance which were prepared to part ways with their existing alignments and subscribe to its manifesto. Creation of an alliance between the main factions of contending Deoband and Barelvi sects is indicative of a possible polarisation on religious and secular or quasi-secular lines on the national and regional scale. While it reflects the failure of Nawabzada Nasrullah Khan to bring the opposition religious parties into the fold of APC [All Parties Conference], it has the potential to benefit from the emerging cleavages between the fundamentalist and modernist sections of the IJI [Islami Jamhoori Ittehad]. The religious parties have been divided on sectarian lines, and have failed to create an impact in electoral politics due to their alienation from the real issues of life. Thanks to their isolation, they were forced to enter into broader alliances

for tactical gains. Despite their thin electoral base, they did gain tremendous leverage and influence through the politics of alliances as was evident from the experience of PNA [Pakistan National Alliance] and IJI. But their efforts in solo flights proved fatal and resulted in further isolation as evident from the results of general elections 1970. Betrayed by the non-conformist right-wing parties in the past, the religious parties have been contemplating a separate alliance of their own ever since the debacle of PNA. Ideologically committed rank and file of most of the religious parties have been frustrated with the non-ideological outcome of the mainstream alliance like DAC [Direct Action Committee], PNA, COP [Combined Opposition Parties] and the IJI. They have been increasingly worried about the dilution of their ideological purity in the broad-based alliances under the leadership of pragmatist leaders. Contrary to their more politicised leaders, they ignore overall gains and impact of their 'compromise' with the 'political' parties.

The religious parties are faced with a dilemma; if they join more powerful forces out of political expediency, they are bound to compromise their maximalist stance, and if they go it alone they are condemned to isolation. But this is not a new phenomenon. When the Deoband and Barelvi schools of thought were obliged to join either of the two main political forces in the political divide, it resulted in their moderation at the cost of ideology, but when they preferred their own world view over political necessity, they found themselves on the sidelines. The dilemma is also rooted in the history of Muslim political sociology in the subcontinent. On the one hand, the modernist vision of Aligarh was more inclined to the West even at the cost of patriotism, and the traditional schools of Deoband and Barelvi remained allergic to western culture to the extent of rejecting rationality. It resulted in distortions in both the modernist and traditional schools of thought, and created a gulf between the two. Ironically, whenever, a synthesis emerged, as in the thought of Iqbal, both the extremes tried to interpret it in the opposite direction. While a gradualistic pace of change has narrowed down, the social space for the fundamentalist in Pakistan, the fundamentalist parties like the Jama'at opted for an alignment with the dictatorial forces to achieve their designs from above by infiltrating the state structure. On the other hand, the revivalist parties like JUI and JUP got legitimacy only by aligning with the democratic opposition. The fundamentalist notions, however, preclude the political art of the possible. Nevertheless, in the given circumstances, launching of MIM will have contradictory effects on national politics. It will increase the fundamentalist pressure from without on Nawaz Sharif's government and help evolve a more secular vision of modernist forces both in the opposition and the Muslim League.

History of IJI Alliances Traced, Fate Viewed

92AS0654A Islamabad *THE MUSLIM* in English
4 Feb 92 p 7

[Article by Pervez Kazi: "Is IJI Going the Way of Past Alliances?"]

[Text] In the almost 45 years of its existence as an independent country, Pakistan has seen the formation and break-up of at least two major alliances, with the present Islamic Jamhoori Ittehad (IJI), apparently, charting an uncertain course to nowhere.

In the time of the late Field Marshal Ayub Khan, the Jugto Front was formed in the then East Pakistan with the sole purpose of toppling him from power. This Front made a lot of noises on many issues but got nowhere in its attempt to oust the Field Marshal. Ironically, it was a minor development like a two anna increase in the price of sugar which put an end to the military dictator's regime.

Following Ayub Khan and Yahya Khan, in the time of the latter, the country was truncated with East Pakistan becoming Bangladesh. What was left of the motherland, the western wing, came to be ruled by the Pakistan People's Party of the late Zulfikar Ali Bhutto, his party having obtained a thumping majority in these parts.

Whatever other faults Mr. Bhutto may have had—and which politician does not have any?—the one major mistake he made while addressing a public gathering was an admission that he did take alcohol, albeit in moderate quantity. If memory serves one right, he had declared, "Yes, I do drink liquor, but I do not drink the blood of the people."

This had been enough to set Opposition political leaders, and more particularly the mullahs after him, and another body, the Pakistan National Alliance, was formed to bring about his ouster. Another contributory factor to his downfall were the March 1977 National Assembly elections after which there were widespread allegations of massive rigging by his government. He did say he had not ordered the rigging and that the bureaucrats had overdone themselves in their enthusiasm, but by then it was too late. It was only a matter of time before the dictator Zia moved in to subvert the Constitution and impose martial law.

What followed was the worst autocracy this country has ever faced, and it lasted more than 11 long, painful years. A merciful Providence rid the country through the C-130 crash at Bahawalpur, and general elections were once again held. As a result, the government of Ms. Benazir Bhutto was installed in power. In fact, President Ghulam Ishaq Kahn had no choice but to make her the Prime Minister, especially after the party had supported his candidature for Presidentship.

After a brief 20 months in power, the President dismissed Benazir's government on August 6, 1989, and elections were announced for late October. This was when the IJI was formed by a number of political parties with the Pakistan Muslim League (Junejo) and the Jamaat-i-Islami [JI] as the major components, so that the impending general elections could be contested on a one-on-one basis. The objective, as usual, was to prevent one person from acquiring power, and that was none other than the luckless Ms. Bhutto. She ended up with the position of Leader of the Opposition, the prime ministerial slot going to her arch-rival, Mian Nawaz Sharif.

For about 15 months now, the IJI has managed to hold together, but only just. At no stage have the chinks in its armour been more exposed than during and after the local bodies polls of 1991. If the infighting among the stalwarts of the IJI including three Federal Ministers and the Deputy Speaker of the National Assembly had not been so very pathetic, the situation would have been funny.

The honourable Minister for Culture and Industries, Sheikh Rashid Ahmed, affectionately known to the people of Rawalpindi as Sheeda Tulli but himself preferring the appellation of Farzand-i-Rawalpindi, decided to take on Mr. Nawaz Khokhar in supporting a rival candidate as Mayor of Rawalpindi, while Federal Minister for Labour and Overseas Pakistani, Mr. Ejazul Haq, decided he had no time for the person being favoured by the Prime Minister's very close confidant, Chaudhry Nisar Ali, Federal Minister for Petroleum, as Chairman of the District Council—and there was this battle royal between them.

To cut a long story short, both Sheikh Rashid and Ejazul Haq ended up with egg on the face. The elections are over, but the rancour persists, if statements issued by the four gentlemen to the national press are any indicator. A small correction: Chaudhry Nisar Ali has not yet fired any salvo.

We are openly attempting to reproduce as accurately as possible what these gentlemen are reported to have been saying without putting in our two bits worth.

Sheikh Rashid is alleged to have said that after his return from Switzerland (for all we know he may have returned by the time this gets into print), Nawaz Khokhar ka dhool ka pole khol doon ga. Translated as nearly accurately as possible, it means he will thoroughly expose his rival!

Khokhar Saheb, on the other hand, is reported to have said that the Sheikh will end up having his face blackened. Pretty strong words from both sides, don't you think?

Mr. Ejazul Haq is also ostensibly fit to be tied. He wants Chaudhry Nisar Ali to be unceremoniously thrown out of the Cabinet for interfering in the affairs of the District Council. As stated earlier, Chaudhry Saheb has as yet decided to be magnanimous in victory.

Quite a few Councillors of the Rawalpindi Municipal Corporation have issued a statement to the press calling for the immediate resignation of Sheikh Rashid. For two reasons. Firstly, for having his two candidates for Councillors from Bhabra, his home constituency, so badly defeated, and then for not being able to get Sardar Tariq Khan elected Mayor of Rawalpindi.

About 17 Muslim League Councillors from Chakwal have demanded that both Chaudhry Nisar Ali and Ejazul Haq resign from the central Cabinet.

Going by the above, things are not all rosy in the IJI garden. Do we foresee a breakup of the alliance soon?

The Jamaat-i-Islami is also unhappy with the IJI on the issue of its challenging the Federal Shariat Court judgement on *riba*. The JI had threatened to resign if this happened, but they are still part of the alliance.

Maulana Abdul Sattar Niazi of the JUI [Jamiat-i-Ulema] is also very vociferous on the matter of riba. But he is sticking to his central portfolio. The maulana has been known to compromise his position in the past. Perhaps, public memory will recall the incident when he reportedly shaved his beard in the Wazir Khan Mosque in Lahore to evade arrest in Ayub Khan's time. Some say he even went to the extent of wearing a burqa!

Once again, with some components, what promises to be the IJI's fate?

Conciliation of Ruling, Opposition Parties Viewed

Political Consensus Urged

92AS0644A Islamabad *THE MUSLIM in English*
9 Feb 92 p 6

[Article: "Are We At Last Moving Towards Conciliation?"]

[Text] The National Assembly started its 11th session in what is now its characteristically uneventful manner but, for all we know, there may be a surprise for us. Could well be a pleasant one, too. The general atmosphere is seen by knowledgeable observers as relatively calm, possibly also non-confrontational. Ostensibly, the main item on the agenda is the President's address of December 19 which provoked such heat and noise. As compared with those proceedings, the opening day was serenity itself. Lobby correspondents note that the opposition People's Democratic Alliance (PDA) and the ruling IJI [Islami Jamhoori Ittehad] coalition have been able to evolve some sort of understanding over national issues which are central to the country's policies at home and abroad. On Kashmir, which has suddenly started hitting hot headlines, the Ayes and Nos are at one. So, more or less, on the nuclear issue. The PDA appears to be looking rather benignly on the five-power talks proposal advanced by Prime Minister Nawaz Sharif and endorsed by all except India. There is a fairly visible concord between the government and the PDA on attitude towards the United States in the context of the country's nuclear programme and the US aid issue, if there is any issue on that account at all. Most significant of all, the leader of the Opposition, Ms. Benazir Bhutto is reported to have agreed to open the debate on the President's address. There had been suggestions that she may decline to do so, in order to register her protest over what the Opposition generally believed was an overly (if not provocatively) partisan address from the head of the State.

At a time like this, what the country needs is to bring the political temperature down to a tolerable level because the problems facing the nation are truly soul-testing. The whole world is in a whirl. There are few certainties to base any calculations on. Some of the facilities and favours which had come to be taken for granted by succeeding governments have not only disappeared, we have very adverse and awkward questionmarks in their place. The leadership on the government side is mostly young and untried. It is the same story on the other side. The old-timers are fading out. That's a fact, not comment. Pakistan's life has been a string of challenges. Today's,

however, are more pressing, complicated and in some ways unique. Politics of confrontation is unlikely to help us sail out of the eddies the nation is in at this moment. Given sane and sustained political behaviour, the storms can be weathered. Pakistan seldom needed the politics of consensus more than it does today. The first gestures (after December 19) from the Opposition are notably sensible. The government owes it to itself to return an adequately conciliatory response. The "reference war" must be called off.

To the Leader of the Opposition goes the credit of pacifying the generally intemperate politics. It has also to be said, only to be fair that the IJI alliance has been fickle and nagging more often than businesslike and responsive. It is time, the parties in power realised that they must learn to give and forego, instead of always insisting on premiums and bonuses. After all, politics is the art of the practical and most certainly not of gimmickery. Half-way houses that Mr. Nawaz Sharif has been persuaded to build are leading him and his government into some infuriatingly confusing situations. His "Islamisation" ventures are disjointed, ill-timed and in most cases devoid of purpose. While he should be better advised on this subject, Ms. Bhutto would do herself a deal of good by giving more time to the politics of the people. Adopting philosophical postures on nuclear international issues, instead of taking hard and concrete steps directed toward the solution of the commonman's problems, is not what the people expect of her. The PDA and its main component the PPP [Pakistan People's Party] have so far failed to put forward a reasoned critique of the government's privatisation hit-and-run tactics. It is one thing to allege wrong doing in privatisation deals, quite another to expose the flawed logic of the major premise of Mr. Nawaz Sharif's philosophy, or complete absence of consistent thought and action.

Let us take the country out of needless and wasteful confrontational politics into the sunshine of conciliation and consensus. It is not too soon to turn a new page.

Response From PM Sharif Delayed

92AS0644B Islamabad *THE MUSLIM in English*
13 Feb 92 p 6

[Article: "Time for Political Conciliation Running Out"]

[Text] There would be great and genuine appreciation of the patience and accommodation Ms. Benazir Bhutto has shown in responding sportingly to the general desire in the country to see the government and opposition cooperate in a spirit of conciliation. Although the Prime Minister [PM], Mr. Nawaz Sharif is widely seen to have made an awkward hash of Speaker Gauhar Ayub Khan's lunch last Sunday, Ms. Bhutto has once again extended a sporting gesture, saying she stood for a "political dialogue." In the recent past, more than once hopes raised by moves to bridge the chasm between the IJI [Islami Jamhoori Ittehad] government and the PDA [People's Democratic Alliance] Opposition have been set at naught, unilaterally by Mr. Nawaz Sharif. He can hardly escape the blame for the fiasco of the joint inquiry committee to look into serious allegations of political misdemeanour by the Sindh administration. It

will no doubt be noted that the joint committee was set up by Mr. Nawaz Sharif himself. One can only wonder how the PM can tolerate his own decision being flouted by lesser people—and with total impunity. But such seems to be the fashion in Karachi, if not elsewhere. The public stares at these happenings with wonder, not untouched with worry. And in the process, the Prime Minister's credibility gets notably devalued.

The people of Pakistan wish for nothing so ardently as political peace because without it their fragile democracy would remain in jeopardy. The parties in the opposition are by no means paragons of democratic virtues or politically infallible. But all things being equal, the majority party bears greater responsibility to keep the process on rails. And it cannot shrug off the odium of failure in the event of derailment. That the political climate of the country is not idyllic is all too obvious to be argued about. That the majority alliance under the IJI flag, presided over by Mr. Nawaz Sharif, has all too often been unmindful of its major obligations is becoming increasingly manifest. Of late, keen-eyed observers have been led to feel that all is not very well with the coalition. On certain issues, dissidence within the IJI camp has been all but explicit. Want of credible harmony within the coalition inevitably gives birth to gossip which is oftener hurtful to the wielders of power and tends to be to the advantage of those who have little to defend. The state of the pitch is becoming more and more tricky for the PM and he must attend to the political side of his party and government. Above all, to his own political base which is less formidable now than at any other time.

In the first place, the people want to have a sense of tranquillity and security. They want to see the ship of the State steady and moving ahead. It is also the general

concern that political instability inhibits, if not arrests, economic growth. The PM ought to be keenly conscious of the fact that there has been a back-breaking rise in the cost of living. And the upward trend shows no sign of abating. The government's strategy of raising the price of energy—oil and power—as also of services like telephone, gas, post, by sporadic instalments is not enhancing its image in the eyes of the citizen. He is now seeing how his pocket is being raided upon by ill-concealed stealth. The speed of privatisation has not been awfully impressive. On the diplomatic front, the government remains tentative, where it is not casual. Pakistan had never had fewer friends to rely upon on a rainy day. Campus unrest may not be at its worst but the general atmosphere remains clouded over by a sense of unease and indifference. All in all, the Nawaz Sharif government cannot consider itself doing splendidly at any point on the wide national horizon.

Taken in its totality, the IJI government ought to clear the ground for political conciliation with a clearly thought out higher national purpose. The pettiness of personal vanity is a defect which can be dangerous in politics. Particularly so, in the kind of politics we are involved in as a nation. It has been said before in these columns and it is being said once again that the problems facing the country are far too complex and pressing to be effectively tackled by the kind of outfit the IJI government is in its present shape. If the idea of a government of national consensus is too radical for Mr. Nawaz Sharif and his colleagues, they ought to give earnest thought to working out a proper equation with the Opposition. They should at least have the good sense to return an appropriate response when the leader of the Opposition should see her way so clearly to make ingratiating gestures. Not to respond with courtesy is to betray political immaturity at a time when the nation needs wise and sober leadership.

Need for Auditing Public Accounts Stressed
92AS0654C Islamabad THE MUSLIM in English
6 Feb 92 p 6

[Article: "After All the Fuss About Accountability"]

[Text] The members of the National Assembly are busy people carrying an awesome burden of legislative responsibilities. So much of their time is taken up by the complex problems of safeguarding the sanctity of the House and protecting the privileges of its members that for the last sixteen months they have not been able to find time to examine the Annual Finance Accounts of the Government.

The current session, too, is likely to be dominated by a matter of urgent national importance: the need to regulate the traffic on a side road, apparently of great strategic importance, which runs between the Parliament and the President's House. The Prime Minister is anxious to get over this traffic hazard without causing unnecessary inconvenience to the members, and a summit meeting between the President and the Speaker of the National Assembly is being arranged to debate the grave security and sanctity implications of the problem, while a high level committee of officials is keeping the explosive situation under careful watch.

Once the issue of the road is amicably resolved, the members may be able to devote their attention to other mundane issues such as the working of the Public Accounts Committee. Under the Rules of Procedure and Conduct of Business (1973), the Standing Committee of Public Accounts, consisting of not more than 12 members, is required to examine the financial accounts showing the appropriation of sums granted by the Assembly and the report of the Auditor General of Pakistan. According to available information, the last time the Committee met was in 1989 when it considered the Auditor General's report for the year 1987-88, but the Committee was not destined to complete its consideration because the House was dissolved. Since then, the Committee has been in a state of limbo. The 12 members of the Committee have been duly elected under Section 171 of the National Assembly Rules. Of these, 7 belong to IJI, 3 to PDA [People's Democratic Alliance], and one each to ANP [Awami National Party] and MQM [Muhajir Qaumi Movement]. The Committee has not been able to function because members have failed to agree on a Chairman of the Committee. It is possible that the Chairman of the previous Committee, Mr. Hakim Ali Zardari, put up such an adroit performance that no one can be found to take his place.

The convention has been that the Chairman of the Committee is always chosen from amongst the members of the Opposition. Even under Ayub Khan's government, it was Mr. Nurul Amin who was elected as the Chairman of the Public Accounts Committee, and he established extremely high standards of objectivity and integrity in the performance of his duties. One reason why the last Committee did not enjoy any credibility was the fact that the Chairman of the Committee was a member of the ruling family. It is reported that the members of the present

Committee are unable to elect a Chairman because the ruling alliance wants to retain the chairmanship of the Committee under its fold, and since the alliance consists of several parties, each party wants its own nominee to hold that office. The whole purpose of the Committee is that the accounts of the Government should be examined with the utmost care and objectivity, and this can be ensured, to a great extent, if the Chairman of the Committee belongs to the Opposition. As it is, seven out of the twelve members of the Committee belong to the ruling party so there should be no fear that the Opposition will dominate the proceedings of the Committee. The suggestion that the chairmanship should go to the Jamaat-i-Islami, which does not have any representation in the Federal Cabinet, is as self-serving as it is in violation of a long respected parliamentary tradition.

There are grave allegations circulating in responsible circles that funds in many government departments have been disbursed for services and purposes for which they were not intended: that the expenditure in some instances does not conform to the authority which governs it, and re-appropriation has not always been made in accordance with the rules. The veracity of these reports can be judged only after the Committee has carefully examined the statement of accounts showing the income and expenditure of the Government and of all the state corporations and other concerns and projects. Above all, there is the immediate requirement that the report of the Auditor General of Pakistan relating to the income and expenditure of the Government and all the autonomous and semi-autonomous bodies should be examined.

One hopes that the National Assembly will immediately take up the question of reviving the Public Accounts Committee by electing a Chairman from the Opposition. Any further delay will only strengthen the feeling that there is something seriously wrong with the financial accounts of the Federation.

Progress Said Impossible Until Population Control Achieved

92AS0646J Karachi DAWN in English 8 Feb 92 p 13

[Article by Mushtaq Ahmed: "The Demographic Barrier"]

[Text] Overpopulation and illiteracy are the two most intractable problems facing the Third World generally and Pakistan in particular. Both are so inextricably and interdependent and intertwined that it is difficult to think of their solution in isolation from each other.

The immensity of the scale on which they exist is certain to set at naught all development plans howsoever grandiose in conception and meticulous in execution. In an overall perspective our experience in planning has proved to be an exercise in futility and frustration. By no criterion it is a story of success and achievement.

In a climate of corruption, the achievement of financial targets by itself is no evidence of progress, nor the attainment of physical targets which woefully lag behind, an indicator of success. No matter how rapidly we multiply our farms and factories or modernise our economy, the

multiplication of numbers is a grim reminder of the failure to solve the problem of poverty. For, in the ultimate analysis, it is the economic conditions of the masses by which we judge the legitimacy of official claims. These claims have invariably gone by default, and will continue to do so until we are able to strike a balance between population and resources. In our state of imbalance, it is the resources that have to catch up with the population.

The question of population catching up with the resources has not arisen and will probably never arise. The concept of the optimum population is not relevant to our case, where an expansion is warranted to maintain or raise living standards in the country. Human fecundity has always been ahead of the fertility of the soil or the productivity of the factories, with the result that our problem is one of arresting a decline in the quality of life.

Our resources were scarce even when our population was one-fourth of its present size. More than four decades ago, agriculture was our only resource. Since then the progress we have achieved in the field of modern industry has been phenomenal. We have increased our manufacturing capacity a thousand fold in the intervening period but our per capita income has not registered a fraction of that increase, bracketing Pakistan with the lowest income economies of the world.

The co-existence of poverty and progress, paradoxical as it may sound, is a stark reality, explicable only by the unbridled growth of the population. Today our population is twenty million more than the combined population of East and West Pakistan in 1947. With six children to a family against four of Bangladesh and Indonesia we have outstripped them in the race. Despite their determined efforts to check the expansion in recent years, they are still overpopulated and will remain over-populated even if they succeed in attaining a zero growth rate, which is an impossible feat to accomplish.

In this game of numbers, we have more points on the score board than medals in our bag. No wonder that our planning policies have become an object of universal criticism. The loan-giving agencies, like the World Bank, associated with our development plans have themselves been severely critical of poor performance.

We have fared worse than our next door neighbour. India, at the time of independence, had prided itself in the fact that its per capita income was thirty two percent higher than ours. It was not wrong in making that presumption. After all, it had inherited nearly ninety nine percent of the total industries of the sub-continent compared to Pakistan's one percent. With all its development, and it was more developed than China at that period of time, the world's second largest country was also among the poorest.

Now it is reckoned the leading industrial nation, equipped with a manufacturing capacity and technical manpower, which can fabricate anything from a pin to an aeroplane and even a nuclear device. And yet, it is also counted among the countries with the lowest per capita income. It is as low as that of Pakistan, perhaps lower, all because of the fantastic growth in its population from three hundred

million at the time of independence to its present eight hundred million. Forty per cent of its people live below the poverty line.

Poverty is writ large on its demographic map as it looms large on our own horizon. During the freedom struggle, reacting to the British rejection of his demand for Swaraj, Gandhi had bitterly lamented: "I asked for bread and they gave me a stone." Forty four years after the attainment of independence, the vast majority of the Indians have only the freedom to starve. We do not know what his reactions would have been to the gigantic leaps and strides India has taken following the advent of freedom. For him, organisation of a network of cottage and small industries throughout the length and breadth of the subcontinent was a panacea for banishing hunger from the land.

This was the traditional mode of livelihood for the people of the East. Mechanised industry was more appropriate to the requirements of less populous countries of the West. The spinning wheel and the handloom and not spindles and powerloom were an answer to our problems. But neither of them was a solution to the problem of over population about which the father of Indian independence was least worried.

The experience of both India and Pakistan has borne out that industrialisation, essential and unavoidable though it is in the age of progress, can benefit only a small segment of the population. Breaking the poverty barrier is a task only an effective control of population can accomplish. India's so-called take off stage and Pakistan's drive to speed up its industrial development, are aimed at achieving self-sufficiency and self-reliance within the parameters of the market economy, where the capacity to pay is the condition of availability. While a society which provides to the few every conceivable form of luxury is basically unjust, the elimination of injustice by itself will not eliminate the problems of poverty, ignorance, disease, and unemployment to which a surplus population inevitable gives rise.

The problem of overpopulation cannot be treated and tackled or made over to the care of a department of population planning and welfare at the provincial or federal level. Being the heart of the matter, it must be viewed as a centre-piece of the development plan. Without according it a top priority, all our planning exercises must necessarily end into a catastrophic failure. The present government's decision to transfer to the private sector, what is basically an area of public policy, will make that certainty doubly sure.

Population is not like one of those departments of the government whose functioning can be improved by a mere change of ownership, management and control. Planned parenthood cannot be left even to the discretion of the parents, or decision-making entrusted to private organisations, or enforce demographic discipline. We have wasted billions and billions more would be sent down the drains by a futile experiment in privatisation if the public sector has failed to deliver the goods.

The failure of the public sector in achieving a breakthrough was manifestly attributable to bureaucratic apathy and avarice. If the government cannot enforce accountability on its officials who have squandered its funds, how can it hold accountable individuals and organisations on whom it has no control for misusing them.

Population serves as a perennial reservoir for the supply of cheap labour to industry since an over-crowded labour market enables it to keep wages to rock-bottom level. A casual and perfunctory approach has, therefore, admirably suited its proprietorial interests. Shifting that responsibility to private care would be, for it, a more attractive proposition. The departments of population planning have made their presence felt through extravagant publicity on radio and television, giving the government an impression that they have done their duty and it was for the people to act on their advice. A society whose citizens are not conscious of their rights and obligations calls for a bold and positive action by an army of trained personnel, engaged in a door-to-door campaign supported by audio-visual aids, birth control devices and clinical facilities available in all the forty five thousand villages of the country. Slogans, no matter how loudly and persistently shouted from house-tops, will fall on deaf ears. If a highly regimented country like China, is finding it difficult to make a success of its one-child family programme, Pakistan without a sense of discipline is bound to land itself in a predicament. With a growth rate of 3.10, instead of marching forward into the twenty first century we might as well slide backward into the nineteenth century by allowing our population to drift to a point of no return.

Financial Crisis Claimed Worst Ever

92AS0646E Peshawar *THE FRONTIER POST*
in English 8 Feb 92 p 1

[Article by Altaf Hussain: "Government Faces Worst Financial Crisis"]

[Text] Islamabad—The government is facing worst financial crisis due to deteriorating current account deficit and very low rate of loan disbursements from the potential donors, necessitating the need to go for more short-term external credits and heavy domestic bank borrowings, *THE FRONTIER POST* learnt from a well-placed source in the government.

According to the source, the inconclusive visit of the high-level World Bank [IBRD] mission, that further delayed the release of last tranche of Financial Sector Adjustment Loan (FSAL), amounting to 150 million dollars, has pushed the economic managers of the country towards a dismal situation, where the only solution left for them is to acquire short-term loans from various sources, mainly from the commercial banks.

Anticipating the probability of delay in the release of FSAL tranche, the source revealed, the secretary general for finance, Saeed Qureshi, and an additional secretary (Development) in the Ministry of Finance, Moeen Afzal, left for a South East Asian capital early this month to

negotiate short-term loans for the repayment of money in the form of foreign exchange to the other international commercial banks.

It is to be noted that during and after the Gulf crisis, the government relied heavily on the short-term high-interest rate loans for the procurement of oil and oil products whose supplies were suspended from the traditional supplier in the wake of the Gulf war. The repayment of such loans, according to the source, is one potential source of foreign exchange resource depletion besides scarcity of funds caused by the suspension of the US aid.

The latest estimates available about the state of economy reveals that the monetary assets continued to expand rapidly during the period of December 1991, bringing the cumulative increase in money supply during the first half of the current fiscal year to Rs.[rupees]27 billion or 7.5 percent as compared to an increase of 12.5 percent envisaged for the whole year in the annual credit plan. Expansion in the domestic credit at 11.5 percent during the same period is even more perplexing as it has already exceeded the planned annual expansion of 10.8 percent.

The major source of domestic credit expansion was the excessive borrowing by the government for budgetary support, which is already three-times the target set for the whole year. The source said that heavy borrowing by the government from the banking sector during the first half of the current fiscal year 1991-1992 was attributed to the government's failure to roll-over about Rs.18 billion worth of bearer National Fund Bonds (BNFBs) that matured in December 1991. The financial position of the government is getting worst at external and internal fronts due to the fact that the government is spending more than what it is receiving from both the sources.

A group of economists blame the wrong economic policies of the government that have left a marked difference between the anticipated revenues and the allocated resources. It is to be noted that the Federal Minister for Finance and Economic Affairs, Sartaj Aziz, is keeping hopes alive on the release of funds from the monetary agencies in various sector loans but none of them except one has so far materialised.

During the current fiscal year, only the IMF has released the second tranche of the Structural Adjustment Facility (SAF) and the other most talked-about loans like tranches from FSAL, CCFF [Compensatory and Contingency Financing Facility] and PSAL have yet to be released. Sources in the government believe that the IMF did not release second tranche of SAF because of better economic performance of the economy but due to the fact that the government requested the twin monetary agencies to postpone the target of fulfilling the conditionalities for a period of one more year. Moreover, it is believed, that since the IMF wanted to provide some financial assistance to India as well, it deemed necessary to disburse some loans to Pakistan as well in order to keep some balance in the region.

Official sources disclosed to this scribe that during the previous financial year, the resource imbalance touched

the highest figures with a record budget deficit of 8.8 percent of the GDP [gross domestic product] or equivalent to Rs. 100 billion approximately. There was, therefore, no choice left for the IMF to postpone the target period to the next fiscal year 1991-92. An IMF Mission, which visited Pakistan at the start of the current financial year, is believed to have put the initial estimate of budget deficit for the fiscal year 1991-92 to around 7 percent of the GDP. Sources in the government told this scribe that after the passage of first half of the current financial year, the budget deficit has jumped to around 8 percent of the GDP and is likely to increase further at the end of the year making it impossible for the government to meet its budget deficit target of 4.8 percent of the GDP for the year 1991-92.

THE FRONTIER POST understands that the recent World Bank mission has delayed the release of FSAL tranche because of various steps taken by the government

that have caused innumerable pressure on the budgetary position. Besides Lahore-Islamabad Motorway Project, the source believed, it was the announcement by the government of various concessions for the agriculture sector that caused concern.

The decision of agricultural concessions was so abrupt that nobody in the government including the minister for finance exactly know what would be the financial impacts of these concessions on the budget. Since the government was counting on the release of funds from the IBRD to meet its foreign exchange requirements, and since there is no other disbursement in sight from the potential donors, the government has to rely on short-term loans from the international commercial banks that would continue to put pressure on the balance of payment position of the government to the next financial year, no matter who is at the helm of affairs of the fiscal management.

Education Problems, Deficiencies Detailed

92AS0589C Karachi AKHBAR-E-JEHAN in Urdu
27 Jan p 15

[Article by Anjum Khokhar: "Educational Problems in Pakistan"]

[Text] Economic prosperity, national progress, and development can be attained only when the people of a nation or society are educated. The people should be politically savvy, intelligent, and knowledgeable about their duties and rights. They should be able to oppose nondevelopmental, unnecessary, and undemocratic actions. They should be able to play an important role in national unity and in the country's welfare. Therefore, education is extremely important for these purposes. It would be appropriate to say that these goals cannot be achieved without education. Unfortunately, the statistics about education in Pakistan are not only negative, but the educational standards are also very low and in need of attention.

At present, the literacy rate in Pakistan is only 26.2 percent, and our country is one of the least literate nations in the world. This rate includes the people who can barely read and write and are not considered to be educated. In other words, we are still very backward in the area of education. In our national budget, education is only 2 percent of total expenditures. The corresponding figure in other countries is between 15 to 50 percent. This also shows that the need for education has not been felt at a high level in our country. Otherwise, in 40 years, we should at least have made primary education required of every child. We have not done this. The fact is that even today, only a very small portion of our population has educational amenities available. Most of the people do not have access to education. The situation is even worse for

women. Their literacy rate is barely 6 percent. Only 12 percent of the educational institutions are for women. This article will take a close look at education in Pakistan. We will learn about the education situation in our country, the kinds of problems education is facing, and what the government is doing about them. Finally, some viable suggestions will also be made. We can get better results if we implement these suggestions.

As mentioned earlier, Pakistan's literacy rate is very low. The rate is only 26.2 percent. If we exclude people without high school educations from this number, then this number goes down to 17 percent. This is the world's lowest literacy rate, and a cause for concern for us all. The world is entering the 21st century with knowledge about super-sonics and modern technology. Where are we, who have not even met the basic need of education? It is imperative that the years left before the beginning of the 21st century be used for revolutionary steps in the area of education. Otherwise, because of a lack of appropriate education, most of the people in our country will not be able to understand the complicated political and scientific issues of the modern world. A handful of capitalists, landlords, and educated people will gamble with the fate of the majority of the people. All of our developmental projects will prove to be no more than the dreams of a lunatic.

Various governments have tried to increase literacy rates; however, because of short-term projects and temporary programs, these did not help to alleviate the problem. The present government has taken some more effective steps. Instead of spending a lot of national resources on temporary programs, it has decided to take long-lasting action. This government has stopped all those programs which were wasting national resources in the name of literacy.

**Annual Admissions to Educational Institutions
(In 1000's)***

Year	Primary	Middle	High	Colleges	Universities
1989-90	8,615	2,397	820	576	73,382
1990-91	8,856	2,531	866	604	77,400

* [Only applies to primary through college figures; university figures are actual.]

**Number of Teachers at Various Levels
(In 1000's)***

Year	Primary	Middle	High	Colleges	Universities
1988-89	204,400	65,700	104,900	26,032	4,162
1989-90	209,800	68,200	108,200	25,892	4,304
1990-91	218,300	70,200	114,000	26,315	4,425

* [Only applies to primary through college figures; university figures are actual.]

A new educational policy has been formed for this purpose. Practical steps are being taken to encourage educational institutions, both in the public and private sectors. The establishment of the Educational Foundation is a big step in this direction. Fundamental changes are being effected, and efforts are being made to make elementary-level education

available to the whole population by the year 2000. If education is made mandatory to this level, then there will be fewer problems. The present educational arrangement is deplorable and disappointing. I am presenting a glimpse of this in the following pages. At present, the total number of primary schools in our country is 127,575. If this is divided

by the total population, then there is one school to every 1,019 persons. There are 7,389 middle schools, which means that there is one middle school for every 17,377 persons. There are 6,215 high schools, leaving only one high school for 20,113 persons. The number of secondary and technical schools is 930, and there is only one institution of this kind for 134,410 persons. The number of arts and sciences colleges is 612, leaving one college for 204,250 persons. There are only 99 professional training colleges, or one for 1,262,626 persons. There are 22 universities in the

whole country, which allows one university for 5,681,818 persons. These figures show that there is only one primary school for about 1,100 persons. If there are 600 children among these 1,100 persons, then they all have only one primary school available to them. The fact is that only 150 students are admitted to a primary school. This means that out of 1,000 children, 600 of them are deprived of primary education. They do not even have the opportunity to attend school. The figures at the middle and high school levels are even more deplorable.

Total Number of Professional, Arts, Science Colleges in Pakistan

Year	Secondary/Vocat.		Arts/Science		Professional Institutes	
	Women	Total	Women	Total	Women	Total
1986-87	259	501	171	502	8	99
1987-88	289	560	203	248	8	99
1988-89	455	999	206	556	8	99
1989-90	419	916	210	575	8	99
1990-91	426	930	218	612	8	99

The number of universities in our country has remained at 22 from 1985 to 1991. During these six years, our population increased by 15 million. The establishment of women's universities is a very important and immediate need of our country. A city like Rawalpindi, with a population of 2.5 million, has no universities. There is a great demand for admission into the universities, and it is important that separate universities for women in Lahore, Karachi, Islamabad, and Peshawar be established. In addition, the present universities must be improved. The number of professors should be increased there. Another deplorable aspect is the problem of children dropping out of school between the primary and high school levels. In

Pakistan, about 8 million children are admitted at the primary level; however, only about 800,000 of these children reach the high school level. This means that only 7.04 percent of children reach the high school level. The remaining 94.96 percent join the 60 percent of children who are already deprived of all educational opportunities and are never admitted to any schools. Thus, only about 8 percent of children reach the high school level. Of these, 60 percent fail the high school examinations. By the time they arrive at the college level, their number is only a few thousand.

If we separate the number of women from these figures, then they would be only one-fourth the figures for males.

Total Number of Schools in Pakistan

Year	Primary Schools		Middle Schools		High Schools	
	Women	Total	Women	Total	Women	Total
1986-87	23,480	97,228	2,062	6,769	1,538	5,253
1987-88	24,898	105,884	2,161	6,993	1,602	5,492
1988-89	25,962	111,302	2,162	7,004	1,668	5,694
1989-90	27,333	118,608	2,228	7,162	1,749	5,877
1990-91	28,535	127,575	2,333	7,389	1,864	6,215

Of the total 127,575 primary schools in our country, there are only 218,300 teachers, which means an average of 1.71 teachers in each primary school. This gives us an estimation of how we and our government pay attention to basic education. There are only nine teachers for every middle school and 18 teachers for every high school, which does not make us think that it is a satisfactory position at all. Not all of these teachers are trained or experienced. Untrained teachers are also included in these numbers. These [teachers] are for our schools only, and not for the whole the population. The situation is not so bad in colleges and universities; however, the basis structure of all

this requires attention. There is no doubt that there are schools in our villages where there is only one teacher, and that he comes to work only when he wants to. Therefore, if we want to improve our educational standards and literacy, then we and the government must pay very serious attention to education at the primary level. If the foundation is weak, then we cannot rely on the durability of the building. If we compare the figures for now and the time of Pakistan's establishment, then we can get some consolation. There were only 8,430 primary schools, 2,119 middle schools, and 408 high schools during the 1947-1948 year. The number of arts, science, and professional training

colleges was only 84, and there were only two universities. However, it should be noted here that the total population of Pakistan (including East Pakistan) was less than 40 million. Now, in present-day Pakistan alone, our population has passed 120 million. If we look at the 1947 average, there was one primary school for every 6,000 persons. Now there is one for every 1,000 persons. This average is much less in some areas. One thing is clear: we have made significant progress in the area of education since independence. Similarly, at the time Pakistan was established, in 1947-1948, the situation of admission at a school was as follows. Only 770,000 students were admitted at the primary level. This number went down to 221,000 at the middle school level. In high school, the number was reduced to 58,000 students. At the university level, the number fell to 644. It is by the grace of God that at the time when Pakistan was established, the number of students at the primary level at that time is now the same as current university enrollment. The teacher situation was also similar. In 1947-1948, we had 17,180 teachers at the primary level. The present number is 218,300.

Even though we have made significant progress since the establishment of Pakistan, this progress is not congruous with the present time and demands. Our progress is like that of the world's most backward countries. The primary level is especially deserving of our attention. Otherwise, dreams of progress will remain unfulfilled.

Human Rights Situation of Minorities Claimed 'Nightmare'

92AS0585J Peshawar *THE FRONTIER POST*
in English 31 Jan 92 p 6

[Article by Beena Sarwar: "Why Turn the Other Cheek"; italicized words, quotation marks as published]

[Text] Poet, writer and teacher Naimat Ahmer, 44, was cold bloodedly murdered in Faisalabad on 6 January. The murderer, a young man doing his F.Sc privately, was greatly influenced by certain religious organisations. He seems to have been influenced by certain pamphlets distributed anonymously, alleging that Ahmer, a Christian, had blasphemed against the Prophet of Islam (PBUH [Peace Be Upon Him]).

Interestingly, the killer himself had never heard the victim say anything objectionable, and the children that Ahmer taught had never heard anything either. Nor had anyone who had ever known Ahmer been heard to complain. It seems that Ahmer was victimised for his egalitarian beliefs. It has also been learnt that he was in a teaching post to which another (Muslim) teacher aspired, who happened to be the murderer's uncle. The victimisation was made easier by the fact that Ahmer wasn't a Muslim, and was, in fact, the only Christian teacher in the school.

Recently, two Christians were arrested in Sargodha on similar charges; one of them is being held in protective custody because the authorities reportedly fear that he will be murdered if released.

Such incidents bring into sharp focus the plight of the minorities in Pakistan. Anyone can be hauled up on

blasphemy charges, while the real reasons may range from personal enmity to property disputes—much the same as with the Hudood Ordinances under which innocent women are often victimised and sentenced while rapists go scot free.

In the case of the blasphemy law, while the law is taking its course, inflamed public opinion can contribute to shutting down businesses owned by minority communities, to making short shift of their very life. In addition to this, the state has lent support to such persecutors, for besides laws which are misused, statements against the minority communities add fuel to the fire.

The situation confronting the minorities in Pakistan today was analysed at a seminar in Karachi last month—a month before the murder of Naimat Ahmer. Organised by the Human Rights Commission of Pakistan (HRCP), it featured papers presented by prominent lawyers and human rights activists, as well as lively discussions following each paper.

Among the issues discussed was that the minority communities themselves, threatened on all sides, become close minded and insular, often aligning themselves with the forces of oppression in an effort to stave off persecution, and thus leave themselves open to further persecution when they become the focus of this oppression.

As Asma Jehangir pointed out, the recent law pertaining to punishment for blasphemy is being used for personal vendettas, as in the case of Tahir Iqbal, a school teacher who happened to be a cripple; he had converted to Christianity twenty years ago, after he was looked after by the Christian missionaries, when his own community didn't help him. Tahir was arrested last January for having supposedly said something derogatory about Islam. Although released on bail, he was kept imprisoned because, even though the judge ruled that it was not a crime to convert, there was a threat to his life as the local mullahs had their madrassah boys at their command.

If Pakistan is going to be a modern state with modern concepts, religion will have to be part of people's private lives, and the minorities and majority will have to struggle together to make a better society, pointed out participants. Unfortunately, what is abundantly clear at present is that the minorities have been sidelined, and their position made weaker by the separate electorate system. For example, 90 percent of the bonded labourers are Christians, but their owners, who often go into politics are not bothered about their opinion, as they do not form part of their constituencies.

Minorities in Pakistan are not organised to resist, because of lack of leadership, or repression. Further, as Ms. Jehangir pointed out, the minorities tend to be more establishmentarian, and to go along with the oppressors. They have no links with other minority communities, and therefore, no support when the establishment ditches them, as it generally does.

In the last couple of years, things have changed for the Christian community, however, which has become fairly

organised and more confident. This poses new dangers: the more active members of this community become, the more open they are to attacks from a majority which barely even tolerates low key minorities, like Ahmedis and Hindus, who keep themselves well in the background. In the meantime, women from all these communities remain doubly handicapped, with their own men oppressing them as well. Christian women are beginning to break out of this—with the support of their men. Again, the dangers of such organisation are clear.

One of the participants pointed out that if the Hindus were to organise themselves, they would be “wiped out.” He felt that they had survived because some people had stood to defend them, and because they had integrated with the Muslim population. However, such (forced) integration is also a human rights violation. As Charles Amjad Ali pointed out, “Minorities can’t lose their identities for the sake of survival.”

The question boils down to one about the secular state versus the theocratic. “Today,” said Asma Jehangir, “Judges of the High Court are talking like maulanans. We are getting more backward, the situation is getting worse, and we are accepting it. Their statements don’t offend us anymore. And worse is to follow.”

There weren’t many there who disagreed with her, although a heated debate followed a statement that there is hope for betterment in India, where at least the constitution gives full equality to minorities. There is no separate electorate, and no bar on Muslims or other minorities assuming political positions. However, as Asma Jehangir said, the idea is not to draw comparisons and to glorify what’s right, but to pinpoint what’s wrong. “And the human rights situation on both sides of the border is horrible.”

When one studies the constitution of Pakistan, however, it becomes clear that the rights of the minorities are not enshrined within it. This was illustrated point by point by lawyer and constitutional expert Makhdoom Ali Khan who went through various Articles and elaborated upon them.

He pointed out that the perception that constitutional jurisprudence was running smoothly until Zia, is only partially true. The roots of discrimination against the minorities lie within the much quoted 1973 Constitution itself. For example, Article 1 states that Pakistan shall be the Islamic Republic of Pakistan while according to Article 2, Islam is to be the state religion of Pakistan. This, points out Mr. Khan, means that Pakistan is a theocratic state, and not one that is secular or based on equality. Therefore, the Hudood Ordinances and the Shariat Act are not constitutionally wrong “and you can’t challenge them unless you challenge the Constitution itself.”

Furthermore, in Article 20, which deals with fundamental rights, it is stated that minorities have the right to profess, propagate, and practice their religion, *subject to* 1) law, 2) public order, and 3) morality. The courts can test the reasonableness of these premises, but our legislators “don’t stand up to the majority” and “no single person protests”

against these laws. Laws can be struck down if the court finds them unreasonable, but are our legislators brave enough to go against the fundamentalist pressure? He added that you can’t blame the judges when they pander to maulvis and zealots in control, because they are part of our society, and are from among us.

It was also discussed that under the new oath, judges can cease to be judges, and that the judiciary was not created as a separate and independent institution, and was part of the law and order machinery of the state ruled by the British.

Also pertinent is the fact that nothing came of the historic Munir Report compiled after the anti-Qadiani riots of the ’50s, because “no politician ever has the courage to stand up to the maulvi.”

Justice Dorab Patel, who has retired from the Supreme Court, pointed out that it is for the courts to give a rational interpretation to the law. He also talked about the law of contempt, which he has long been arguing against. “You should be free to criticise but without attributing motives.”

Makhdoom Ali Khan pointed out that the reasonableness of the law is not discussed in Article 20, and the vague terms like ‘public order’ are not questioned. “Even pillion riding has been seen as an incentive to riot,” he said, “and so can a meeting of the Ahmedis.”

He also pointed out that although the Objectives Resolution was already incorporated in the preamble of the Constitution, it was made a substantive part of the Constitution when Zia ul Haq added Article 2A. And when this was done, the word ‘freely’ was quietly dropped from the clause which gave non-Muslims the right to *freely* profess, practice and propagate their faith.

“However,” said Makhdoom Ali Khan, “the rot didn’t start with the 1973 Constitution. Nor did it start when we declared the Qadianis non-Muslims. It started when we demanded a state based on religion.” The Quaid’s speech of 11 August, 1947, he added, was not in conformity with Pakistan, while the passage of the Objectives Resolution made non-Muslims second rate citizens. Ironically, the person who moved the Objectives Resolution, Sir Zafarullah Choudhry, did not know then that he himself would be shunted out as a second rate citizen.

Makhdoom Ali Khan quoted several articles and sub-articles from the Constitution which can be used to victimise minorities. For instance according to Article 295 C, derogatory remarks about the Prophet (PBUH) are punishable by death, while Article 298 A makes derogatory remarks about holy personages punishable by three years imprisonment or rigorous imprisonment. Likewise, a Qadiani referring to his place of worship as a ‘mosque,’ or preaching his faith is liable to a similar punishment, under Articles 298 B and 298 C.

As one of the participants boldly stated, “We have to forget ideology at the state level and face up to the reality today. The question of why Pakistan was made is not relevant. What is relevant is that there are violations of human

rights, that child labour exists, that minorities are persecuted and that women are raped. The human rights situation in Pakistan is a nightmare today."

Minister Claims Antinarcotic Efforts Benefit Only Westerners

*92AS0588D Karachi JASARAT in Urdu 24 Jan 92
pp 7-8*

[News Story: "Western Nations Benefit From Antinarcotic Efforts—Rana Chander Singh"]

[Text] Karachi (Staff Reporter)—Rana Chander Singh, federal minister for narcotics controls, said that all the steps taken to control narcotics have benefitted the Western and European nations only. Our various agencies have stopped smuggling drugs from Pakistan and the Western nations have neither praised nor helped us. These statements came after having inspected the charas [hemp] confiscated by the customs staff. He said that the

weakness of the antinarcotics agencies has been that they are able to catch only minor criminals and drugs; they never succeeded in arresting a 'big fish.' He said that antinarcotic agencies should arrest the major criminals instead of the minor runners so that this evil can be eradicated from our society. Answering a question, Rana Chander Singh said that the arrests and convictions of Iqbal Baig and Anwar Khatak were great achievements by the antinarcotics staff. However, he added, what happened after these convictions cannot be ignored. He said, "We are helping the Western nations by seizing the narcotics being smuggled to those nations. However, our gesture and efforts were not appreciated. Pakistan's efforts were not even praised. We will have to stop the entry of narcotics into our country. Falak Sher, customs collector, briefed the federal minister earlier. The work of "narcotics sniffing dogs" was also demonstrated at that time. The federal minister admonished the dogs caretaker for making certain sounds at specific times.

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