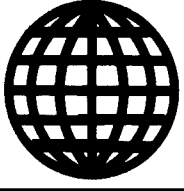


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PAKISTAN

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Near East & South Asia

PAKISTAN

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International Affairs

Cordial Ties With U.S. Seen Possible

93AS0440I Lahore *THE PAKISTAN TIMES* in English
12 Jan 93 p 6

[Editorial: "Ties With US"]

[Text] Talking to newsmen in his chamber at the parliament house, Prime Minister Muhammad Nawaz Sharif said Pakistan wants to further improve its relations with the United States and there could be no two opinions about it. Replying to a question regarding a rumoured U.S. move to declare Pakistan a terrorist state, the Prime Minister said Kashmiris had been struggling over the past 45 years to realise their right to self-determination and that Pakistan was extending only its "moral, diplomatic and political support to the people of Kashmir and to give any other impression was wrong and unjustified." He said if India considered Kashmiri freedom fighters "terrorist," its aim was only to divert the world's attention from the oppression let loose by it in the valley.

A few weeks earlier, Prime Minister Muhammad Nawaz Sharif in an interview with a Hong Kong daily had refuted the Indian allegations of Pakistan's interference in the Indian Punjab or Kashmir and categorically declared that Pakistan recognised Punjab as an integral part of India. Besides, Pakistan's Ambassador to United States Begum Abida Hussain and foreign Secretary Sheharyar Khan have stated that there was no U.S. move to declare Pakistan a "terrorist" state. This view received further support from a State Department briefing on January 7, maintaining that the U.S. had taken no decision to declare Pakistan a terrorist state. Obviously, all this propaganda regarding Pakistan's involvement in Indian-Occupied Kashmir and Punjab has been carefully planned and orchestrated by New Delhi and the rumour of a U.S. move to include Pakistan among states supporting terrorism is also the handiwork of the Indian lobby in Washington. It need hardly be reiterated that the uprising in Indian-occupied Kashmir is purely indigenous in nature and is the result of a reign of terror let loose by the Indian army personnel on the unfortunate inhabitants of the Valley. In East Punjab also, the unrest stems basically from the injustices suffered by the Sikh minority at the hands of the Hindu majority. Pakistan, therefore, has played absolutely no role in these uprisings or their continuation because the systematic and ruthless Indian repression in both the regions was sufficient to inflame their inhabitants. As far as Pak-U.S. relations are concerned, they have been close and cordial over the decades despite frequent Indian attempts to sour them. Pakistan has always upheld the principles enshrined in the U.N. Charter and pursued a foreign policy which has been a practical demonstration of its principled stand on various international issues. It is a measure of the esteem enjoyed by Pakistan in the comity of nations that it was recently elected a member of the U.N. Security Council. Obviously, no "terrorist" state would have been accorded this honour. Pakistani diplomats have been in

touch with the U.S. authorities to explain the Pak stand on various issues and also to counter the vicious Indian propaganda. Therefore, there is no reason why Pak-U.S. ties should not improve further. The two countries have remained close allies over the years and there is hardly any reason why they should not continue the same cordial relationship.

Clinton Administration Seen Desiring Nuclear Rollback

93AS0441B Karachi *DAWN* in English 2 Jan 93 p 6

[Article: "N-Plan Rollback, 1989 Position Only Way Out"; boldface words as published]

[Text] Lahore, Jan 1: Though lively and useful, a discussion on future Pak-U.S. relations turned out to be a reiteration of the respective positions the countries have adopted in the spheres of nuclear programme, national security, human rights and foreign aid.

The discussion was sponsored by the movement for Justice and Social Tolerance (JUST) where Ms. Judith Kipper, a scholar and expert on the Middle East, told a select gathering without mincing words that politics of Washington were consistent and did not change with the administration. The end of Cold War had given birth to new realities in which Pakistan was low on the U.S. agenda and Islamabad would now have to roll back its nuclear programme and go back to the 1989 position in order to initiate a dialogue with the Bill Clinton administration.

But the Pakistan Ambassador in Washington, Syeda Abida Husain, was also clear in communicating the message that "we are committed to our nuclear programme and the question of its rolling back does not arise." But she was optimistic of the outcome of a dialogue with the new Washington administration. She was critical of the U.S. stance of equating India and Pakistan, particularly on the question of enlisting the latter as a terrorist state while it was the former which was committing gross human rights violations in Kashmir.

The Opposition, represented by the PDA [People's Democratic Alliance] Secretary-General Mian Khurshid Mahmood Kasuri, showed unanimity of views with the IJI [Islami Jamhoori Ittehad] Government on the issues of Pakistan's nuclear programme and Kashmir, yet it chose to criticise Islamabad, though unwarranted in view of the scope of discussion, for violation of human rights, failure of its foreign policy and lack of interest of foreign investors. He, however, pleaded that Pakistan must be seen by the new U.S. administration in the context of Washington's victory in Afghanistan owing to sacrifices rendered by Islamabad. He hoped that Mr. Clinton would also keep in mind the strategic and useful role which Pakistan could play in the present geo-political conditions.

The questions posed by the JUST for the discussion were: Will the Clinton administration be more tolerant of our nuclear programme? Is it not unjust for the U.S. to discriminate against Pakistan in favour of India in matters relating to nuclear programme and human rights and what is the role of Pakistan in the New World Order (NWO)?

Initiating discussion, Ms. Judith Kipper said she personally believed that Clinton's would be the first administration which would not be having issues confronting Washington as they were during the Cold War. But it was also true that the U.S. policies have been consistent regardless of change of rulers. Contents and not the issues would undergo a change. The major concern which the new administration would be showing were about human rights, nuclear non-proliferation, economic development and democratisation.

First months of the new administration would be more concerned about Bosnia, Somalia, Kuwait, improvement of economic ties with Japan with whom Washington had about 40 per cent of its total economic interests and a closer understanding of issues with Russia. The United States might depend increasingly on the offices of the United Nations to cope with the issues under the policy of "preventive diplomacy." Then the new administration would be attaching more importance to regional arrangements. In this context, she added, Pakistan, Iran, Turkey and Afghanistan would be dealt with rather than separately.

As for Pakistan, Ms. Kipper maintained, it had nuclear capability and it had already stepped beyond certain limits in developing the programme. She made it clear that the U.S. administration was no longer under the compulsions of the Cold War that required different sets of rules because of a fight against communism. Now when the new situation had developed the principles and rules, aimed at promoting human rights, peace and democracies the world over would have to be applied strictly. During the Cold War the United States had to deviate sometimes from the principles, which were the cornerstone of its policies, and even support to dictators was extended under expediencies. But now when such compulsions were not there, the United States would have no excuses for not applying the standards, she added.

As for Indo-Pak relations, the American scholar, admitted that Kashmir was a matter of dispute between the two countries. The issue must be mediated for an early resolution as none would be risking another war; it must also be solved to bring about peace in the region. But, she later told in reply to a question, that India and Pakistan would have to solve the dispute through bilateral negotiations.

In reply to another question she said the Pressler law was not aimed at discriminating Pakistan. She said the United States did not interfere in other states' internal affairs. Replying to another question, she said it was not

Washington which put dictators. She frankly admitted that the United States backed General Zia for Afghanistan as "sometimes we have to compromise" in fighting out a bigger menace.

Replying to yet another question on whether Pakistan could be declared as a terrorist state, Ms. Judith Kipper said, "It is a complicated issue." She was of the view that keeping in view special relations with Pakistan, the new U.S. administration might arrive at some understanding by way of mutual talks. As for the question of resumption of the U.S. aid to Pakistan without rolling back on its nuclear programme to the 1989 position, she made it clear that it would be difficult. Nevertheless, she said "Bill Clinton is not a confrontationalist; he seeks consensus on all the issues; he will hold talks with Pakistan on various issues with an open mind; and only forceful negotiations may improve ties with Pakistan."

Abida Husain: Declaring that Pakistan was committed to its nuclear programme and there was no question of its rolling back, the Ambassador in the United States, Begum Syeda Abida Husain, said Islamabad would sign the nonproliferation treaty [NPT] if India did the same. She said Pakistan was within its rights to protect the programme keeping in view the realities that the five-time big neighbouring state India had acquired the nuclear capability about two decades back. If realities in the New World Order's transition period had changed, they must also be changed in the treatment with Pakistan, which genuinely feared India to be a security risk with its vast military potentials. At the same time it was also a new reality that none could dictate others. She said Pakistan had been subjected to colonial rule and after independence it was fighting for economic sovereignty. As such it was difficult to accept that Pakistan would sign the NPT would India doing so.

She declared that Pakistan's nuclear programme was for peaceful purposes; it had no aggressive designs against any one; it sought peace with all. It was Pakistan that sought a nuclear-free South Asia.

As for human rights violation, she said it was India whose record was marred with gross violation of human rights with the atrocities being committed in Kashmir. "It is unjust that the United States is not showing concern over these atrocities and instead is considering to declare Pakistan a terrorist state." Similarly, the Pressler amendment had been discriminating only against Pakistan. It was ironic that the amendment was not invoked during the war in Afghanistan and the moment the Soviet troops left Afghanistan, the U.S. administration chose to bring it into action. She said during the period the United States gave Pakistan 4.2 billion U.S. dollars aid for military and economic development. But after 1989 "we were punished." She, however, hoped that the Pressler Law no longer in vogue, the U.S. administration would review its policy.

Syeda Abida Husain said Pakistan could play an important role in the region. The ECO [Economic Cooperation

Organization] was too a useful body for collective development. She asserted that a dialogue and understanding was the way to restore better relations with Washington, particularly strengthening the business linkage as Pakistan had shifted from aid to trade.

Khurshid Kasuri: In his five-page written statement the PDA Secretary General, Mian Khurshid Mahmood Kasuri, said Pakistan's nuclear programme was for peaceful purposes. On the other hand the Indian nuclear programme was at an advanced stage. With development of indigenous atomic reactors and "Agni" and "Prithivi" missiles, India was posing a threat not only to Pakistan but also the Middle East and Central Asia. The Indian programme was developed so alarmingly that a group of the U.S. Congressmen were compelled to express concern over New Delhi refusing to sign the NPT. The issue's resolution required a regional agreement.

On the question of Kashmir, he said the U.S. administration would have to view the South Asian region as a whole; any policy not devised in the regional context would not be fair and just. He said that India was committing atrocities in Kashmir and thus grossly violating human rights in the valley.

U.S. Said 'Blind' on Indian, Israeli Nuclear Programs

93AS0441D Lahore THE NATION in English 3 Jan 93
p 7

[Excerpts from article by S.M. Koreshi: "U.S. Hypocrisy on Nuclear Weapons"; italicized words, quotation marks as published]

[Excerpts] The mere mention of Pakistan's nuclear capability gives a stomach ache to American Administration and Senators. Their Senators arrive in Pakistan, like inspectors visiting their subordinate organisations, admonishing Pakistan on its nuclear technology. On 16th November 1992, two Senators came on a visit to Islamabad and one of them, Paul Simon, had hardly set foot in Islamabad when at the airport he said: "The United States has great concern on the development of nuclear technology in Pakistan, India and China. The failure of Pakistan for not becoming a party to the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty [NPT] is a matter of concern for the United States." Observe that only Pakistan had been singled out for his kind admonition for being the delinquent in not having signed NPT; no mention made of India. And strangely China has been relegated to a regional nuclear power status by an American Senator, after the United States has become the only global Super Power. China is one of the Big Five and if it is to be downgraded to a regional status, so should U.K., France and Russia.

Latest to have the stomach ache was Senator Pressler, who has come across reports that Pakistan has components of seven nuclear weapons. He seems to give an impression that this is a very recent discovery, but any researcher of the nuclear problem in the Middle East and

South Asia knows that since the last three years such claims have been made in Carnegie Endowment's research document *Nuclear Ambitions: The Spread of Nuclear Weapons* by Spector. But the latest research revelations are not limited to Pakistan's nuclear capability, they also include information about India and Israel on which these honourable and honest senators are totally mum. Is this a case of America's nuclear blindness towards Israel and India?

There are three authoritative latest accounts in this regard, one by the famous American investigative reporter, Seymour Hersh in *The Samson Option* published in 1992 by World renowned publishers Random House of New York, the other in the book *Arms Control and Weapons Proliferation in the Middle East and South Asia*, containing papers by American, (ex) Soviet, Israeli and other regional experts at a Carnegie Endowment organised meeting in Italy at the Rockefeller Centre and published by Macmillan; and of course the third one is that of Spector already mentioned.

The revelations made in these documents cause Pakistan's nuclear capability to pale into insignificance. The sum-total of the research on these two other countries is as follows:

Israel: Nuclear weapons: 200, already fitted as warheads on missiles and F-16 "black squadrons"—so-called because of their nuclear warheads. Israel is the only power that has miniaturised nuclear bombs which can be put in the boot of a car and used for "terrorist activities." Since 1980, Israel has laid "nuclear mines" on the Golan Heights. Israel's delivery system, Jericho missiles with maximum range of 900 miles, brings all Middle East capitals under Israeli strike range. The Jericho missiles are fitted with nuclear warheads and are listed in the U.S. Defence Department documents.

In addition, Shevit II, launched in September 1989, has an ICBM capability, with a range estimated at 4500 miles with a half a ton payload and 3500 miles with a one ton payload, bringing the entire Middle East, South Asia, North Africa and some part of Central Asia under the range of Israeli nuclear missiles.

Furthermore, Israeli Space Launcher Ofeq I, launched in September 1988 has military uses such as espionage, jamming and command and control functions.

We come to this subject later. Now let us turn to India.

India's nuclear weapons: Estimated up to 60.

Delivery system: Agni with a range of 1550 miles.

Nuclear submarines on lease from former Soviet Union and some nuclear cooperation being worked out with Ukraine.

Israel can flout every "control," nuclear, missiles, arms and that the United States turns a blind eye towards all its violations can be seen from the following:

There are no arms controls or limitations on Israel; in fact controls on all others are to ensure that they remain below Israeli line of superiority. Since now Arab regimes have agreed to accept this situation who are we to object to it? Let us go to the Israeli violations of the Missiles Technology Control Regime [MTCR] of 1987 evolved by the U.K., the United States, France, Japan, Australia and Italy, which embargoes supplies and technology to any country developing missiles of any description, including space launchers, with a range of over 300 kilometers and payload of over 500 kgs. Now Israel has Jericho, Shevit and Ofeq which violate these limits, yet Israel is developing the "Arrow" anti-missile missile under American-Israeli strategic cooperation. [passage omitted]

America's turning of its blind eye towards Israeli delinquency on all counts, including nuclear weaponisation, is based on one logic: the stick that it wields on Arabs to which now everybody in that part of the world bows.

India is another blind spot of America. Since 1987, when Carnegie Task Force concluded that India can produce dozens of nuclear weapons from its plutonium by that time and estimated that Pakistan could have a modest nuclear weapons producing capacity too till today no senator has counted how many nuclear bombs or weapons India has to date. To bring them up-to-date on this subject is CIA's task, but let me quote Spector: "India is said to be making 20 nuclear bombs yearly and adds: "India's claim that it could make nuclear weapons, but has decided not to do so is a myth, American officials told *Foreign Affairs* magazine (p 325).

It would be appropriate to conclude this discussion by quoting a French expert, Christophe Carle: "One may wonder what would happen if the United States were to make aid to Israel contingent on the kind of nuclear non-proliferation criteria recently applied on Pakistan," and says "lest Israel may become the United States" Achilles heel of its nuclear non-proliferation policy (*Arms Control* p 56).

Perhaps it may not be a case of America's nuclear blindness. The honourable American Senators like Pressler did not learn to count beyond seven, or did they?

Clinton Policy on Proliferation Viewed Favorably
93AS0442D Lahore *THE NATION* in English 7 Jan 93
p 7

[Article by Khurshid Kasuri, Secretary General of the PDA (People's Democratic Alliance): "Pakistan's Nuclear Programme and the Clinton Administration"; italicized words, quotation marks as published]

[Text] Ladies and Gentlemen, at the very outset I would like to thank the organisers of JUST [Justice and Social Tolerance] for inviting me to express my point of view on the themes of discussion today. I had told the organisers that I was hesitant to speak at this function

because my wife, who is an active member of JUST, had been repeatedly reminding me that JUST was a non-political organisation. Perhaps it was more than a hint to me not to bring in politics into this discussion which basically concerns issues of foreign policy. I had informed Mr. Shahid Hamid that it would not be possible for me, as the Secretary-General of the PDA [People's Democratic Alliance], to avoid touching on and clarifying the PDA's point of view and, where necessary, distinguishing between the PDA's stand and that of the government on the issue under discussion, such as the issue of human rights. Mr. Shahid Hamid assured me that there was no such embargo.

As far as the themes of discussion are concerned, obviously on a large number of issues there may well not be very great disagreement between the government's view and that of the Opposition. This applies in particular to matters of security and Pakistan's nuclear programme. Where I find it is necessary to distinguish between the government's point of view and that of the PDA, as on the issue of human rights or Pakistan's role in the New World Order, I shall not hesitate to do so.

The first theme under discussions is "*Will the Clinton Administration be more tolerant of our nuclear programme?*". I think the question to ask here is how serious the Clinton Administration will be towards devising a coherent and fair policy towards nuclear non-proliferation and the upholding of human rights universally. It is my belief that the Clinton Administration will attach a very high priority to both these issues. If I may be excused, I would like to deal with the first two themes together since they are quite obviously related.

If the Clinton Administration's policy is to be successful globally, it has to be consistent and fair. I am encouraged in believing that this may well be the case primarily for two reasons. Firstly, with the end of the cold war, American priorities have changed and there is scope for greater consistency in the application of policies and principles which the Americans hold dear. For example, major compromises were made by various American administrations in the recent past, even at the expense of the ideals cherished by the founders of the American Constitution; these ideals were sacrificed at the altar of the political and state expediency at the height of the cold war. It is for this reason that previous American administrations had supported dictators all over the world including those in Pakistan, despite the fact that those dictators violated ideals like independence of the Press, freedom of the judiciary and respect for minorities, ideals, I might add, that the American people themselves cherish and uphold at home. Similar considerations will apply to a more consistent application of nuclear non-proliferation policies. Secondly, Mr. Clinton's own past and his adherence to a degree of idealism as evidenced in his own attitude toward the Vietnam war which was at variance with that of the establishment at that time encouraging me in so believing. Also, Mr. Clinton's adherence to democratic principles as demonstrated as the Democratic Party

convention lead me to believe that the Clinton Administration will try and evolve a consistent policy which is less selective and cynical in its application than was unfortunately the case at the peak of cold war.

Unless a policy is inherently fair and consistent, there is no chance of its long-term success, and since I genuinely believe that the Clinton Administration will be serious both on issues of nuclear non-proliferation and also on the application of human rights, I feel confident that it will be less discriminatory towards Pakistan on these matters. Unless security matters are viewed in the South Asian regional context, the policy will neither be fair nor will it have any chance of success. There are many instances in history where policies failed with disastrous consequences for world peace because they were not fairly conceived or implemented. For example, the failure of the League of Nations is one such example. The imposition of an unfair peace forced on Germany at Versailles in the First World War was the immediate cause of the rise of Hitler in Germany and subsequently of the Second World War. American failure in Vietnam, the failure of imperialism world wide, the absence of peace in the Middle East forty three years after the creation of Israel, the present carnage in Bosnia, the collapse of the internal political system of old U.S.S.R. are all examples that conclusively prove that unless policies are fair in their conception as well as in their execution, peace cannot be guaranteed. A selective application of principles and policies is doomed to failure.

On the nuclear policy, there has been a great degree of criticism in Pakistan towards the discriminatory nature of the Pressler Amendment which is Pakistan specific. To fairly answer the two themes under discussion, we must ask the following questions:

- i) What is the nature of Pakistan's nuclear programme?
- ii) What is the nature of India's nuclear programme?
- iii) What does fairness demand?

The nature of Pakistan's nuclear programme, as stated repeatedly by various governments, is peaceful. Because of political problems which have delayed the construction of the Kalabagh Dam, it can also provide the cheapest form of energy for Pakistan. Pakistan has been making efforts for advancement in the field of peaceful nuclear energy in agriculture, medicine and other fields. At the very worst, even if the views of the critics of Pakistan's nuclear programme regarding its nature are accepted for the sake of argument, no one can deny that it is reactive in nature because in the historical context it was India which initiated this race by exploding the so-called peaceful nuclear device in 1974 at Pokhran. By then Pakistan had undergone three wars and lost half of the country in 1971 as a result of naked Indian intervention in Pakistan's internal affairs. Significantly, Mrs. Indira Gandhi at the end of the 1971 War, did not say that she was happy that it ended with the freedom of Bangladesh. She let the cat out of the bag by declaring that India's victory in 1971 was sweet revenge for one

thousand years of Muslim rule in India. This does not say much for Mrs. Gandhi's professed secularism. It is equally clear that India's nuclear explosion completely upset the military balance of power in the subcontinent leaving Pakistan at the mercy of India.

The Indian nuclear programme, on the other hand, is at a very advanced stage. India does not even bother to pay lip service to a solution within the regional context but wants global nuclear disarmament before it will contemplate any checks on its own nuclear ambitions. India has made great advances in the nuclear field since 1974 and the nature of these advances is not hidden from any well-informed observer, least of all from the United States which is well aware of the nature of those advances. For example, India has the capability and has made nuclear reactors indigenously on a large scale. The Indian government has recently granted approval for the construction of two more 500 megawatt electric pressurised heavy water reactors at the Tarapur nuclear station. Additional approval has also been granted for the construction of eight more reactors, four 350 megawatt units at Tiga and four 350 megawatt units at Rajistan. India intends to build its first nuclear propelled submarine by the year 2000. India has been caught for illegally smuggling heavy water from Norway. This happened as early as 1983 when Norwegian heavy water was shipped to a Bombay office which is listed as an affiliate of the Indian Government's Department of Nuclear Energy. This incident was widely covered by the world media including the NEW YORK TIMES. The aggressive nature of India's nuclear programme can be seen in the rapid strides India is making in its missile programme capable of delivering nuclear weapons. For example, India has successfully tested its 2500 kilometre range missile, 'Agni'. Washington, Moscow, London and Paris have all expressed their concern at this quantum jump in India's nuclear ambitions. India is known to be now engaged in a programme to produce inter-continental ballistic missiles. The fact that Russia, which has been an old ally of India, has also expressed its apprehensions on India's development in the nuclear field is also very significant. India has already said that 'Agni' and 'Prithvi' missiles will be installed for use in 1995. The entire Southern Asia, Central Asia and the Middle East will fall within the striking range of these missiles. These alarming nuclear developments in India have compelled a group of twenty four United States Congressmen, both Republicans and Democrats, to express their concern over India's continued intransigence on the question of nuclear non-proliferation. In a letter addressed to the Indian Prime Minister and handed over to the Indian Ambassador in Washington recently, these congressmen said that India's stance on this issue was causing grave concern in the American Congress.

The only fair solution to this problem seems to lie in an agreement within the regional context. In this connection the United Nations General Assembly adopted on November 12, 1992 a resolution seeking to make South

Asia a nuclear weapon-free zone. 117 member countries voted in favour of the resolution and only two countries (India and Bhutan) voted against it while 13 countries abstained. Significantly, France which had abstained in the past when voting on this resolution, this time voted in favour of it. India has been opposing a solution within the regional context on the ground that nuclear non-proliferation can effectively take place only on a global level. This seems nothing but a lame excuse which is part of India's tactics of seeking delay by one means or another to a solution to this problem. The latest U.N. resolution helps in a significant way to bring about peace in this region and this resolution should be fully supported by all peace-loving nations. India has thus been isolated internationally as the rest of the world comes around to a regional solution to the problem. We expect that the Clinton Administration will join the international effort to make India see reason. No Pakistani of sane mind can be oblivious to the dangers that nuclear proliferation poses. Even relatively advanced countries such as the Soviet Union paid a heavy price when there were leaks at the Chernobyl nuclear plant. Unfortunately, India has been relying on the ignorance of its people since the public is not aware of the dangers faced by inadvertent leaks, nuclear accidents and storage of nuclear waste. It seems, luckily, as the letter from the 24 congressmen to the Indian Prime Minister shows, that the opinion of the American public as well as the Congress is coming round to this view. President-elect Clinton should not, therefore, find it insurmountably difficult to get India to see reason in view of India's international isolation on this issue as shown through the U.N. resolution last month and of a favourable public opinion in the U.S. as well as the U.S. Congress.

Clinton Administration View on Human Rights Said To Favor PDA

93AS0442E Lahore *THE NATION* in English 8 Jan 93 p 9

[Article by Khurshid Kasuri: "Human Rights and Pakistan's Role in the NWO (new world order)"; quotation marks as published]

[Text] On the issue of human rights, the PDA [People's Democratic Alliance] has very little to fear from the policies of President-elect Clinton. It is understandable why some sections of the IJI [Islami Jamhoori Ittehad] government are apprehensive regarding the emphasis that the new administration may plan on human rights because many of its members are political heirs of General Zia's dictatorship. The PDA, as all right thinking Pakistanis, would of course expect a universal and fair application of human rights to all countries, and hopefully compromises of the type made during the cold war by various American administrations will not be made by the Clinton Administration for reasons already given at the beginning of my speech. In this connection, all Pakistanis would want due condemnation of India's violation of human rights in Kashmir to figure prominently on the Clinton agenda on human rights. Violation

of human rights by India in Kashmir have been closely documented not only by a commission under Lord Avesbury, Chairman of the House of Lords Human Rights Commission, the Amnesty International and a large number of other international human rights organisations but also by India's own Commission on Human Rights under Mr. Justice Tarkunde. It is, therefore, unthinkable that the new administration will close its eyes to these massive violations of human rights if it expects to be taken seriously on the issue of human rights.

As far as the PDA is concerned, it is not afraid of any closed monitoring on human rights or strict enforcement of human rights in Pakistan. On the contrary it welcomes the salutary effect of a stricter monitoring both globally as well as in Pakistan. No government has a right to violate human rights of its own citizens as the IJI government has been doing with impunity ever since it came into power. The manner in which peaceful demonstrators exercising their constitutional and democratic rights of protest, were mercilessly beaten up is a black mark which will be difficult for this government to wash away because it has been widely reported and screened by the international media and TV networks. The harsh treatment meted out to the Press by the present government is unparalleled in our history. Working journalists including women have been hounded and beaten up by security agencies under the direct orders of the IJI government. False cases have been instituted against owners, editors and working journalists. Resort to violence by state agencies is also unparalleled in its barbarity and savagery. Even during the British colonial rule, the police had never been allowed to beat political demonstrators over the head with batons and lathis. They used to be under strict orders to only hit the lower part of the body in order to avoid inflicting grievous injuries. It is no wonder that severe injuries should have been inflicted on journalists, lawyers and political activists when the Chief Ministers and Ministers have been urging the police to break people's legs and arms and gouge out their eyes so as to prevent them from exercising their democratic right to protest against the policies of the IJI government. Therefore, the PDA has nothing to fear from a greater emphasis by the Clinton Administration on the application of human rights universally.

Ever since the term 'New World Order' came into use after the collapse of the former Soviet Union, it has been interpreted and misinterpreted in many ways. Initially, President Bush's remark was interpreted as the remark from the Chief Executive of the sole superpower and a threat to the rest of the world to fall in line with the dictates of the United States' foreign policy. The White House thought it prudent to clarify that it had not meant this and that what was really meant was that, after the end of the cold war during which international disputes were decided less on merit and more on a partisan basis, under the New World Order, these disputes would be settled on merit and that the U.N. would be able to play

a freer and more effective role as a resolver of international disputes. Despite this clarification, however, fears are expressed in certain quarters particularly in the Third World that the U.N. might be hijacked by America. The fact remains that the United States has presently emerged as the sole superpower in the world. The implications of wielding such power in all spheres of international power struggle need not be elaborated.

The concept of a superpower, if taken in a wider context, also means any nation with the potential of undertaking global responsibilities—whether in the domain of military capability, political role or economic influence. Seen in this context, other than the United States, Japan and Germany and the European community as a whole could claim a global role in one sector or another. The United States, however, is the only power combining within itself all roles in the military, political, as well as economic sectors. The United States obviously is determined under the circumstances to protect and promote its interest all over the world by maintaining the required military strength and economic posture to play this role as has been declared by President-elect Clinton in his acceptance speech and also in his latest Press conference.

In the backdrop of the above international scenario, Pakistan's role is visualised as follows:

i) Pakistan continues to retain its geo-political and geo-strategic importance. Despite the end of the cold war, its geography, bordering as it does India, China, Central Asia, the Middle East and the Gulf ensure the importance of the role that Pakistan can play in a region that contains more than half the world's population had a substantial part of the world's mineral and oil wealth.

ii) Pakistan is a gateway to central Asia for world trade for both the West (including the United States, Europe) as well as the East (including Japan, India, South East Asia and Australia). The economic potential of Central Asia is vast. It is a major producer of oil and there are vast mineral deposits. In this connection, it is pertinent to point out that the Economic Cooperation Organisation (ECO), which originally had three members viz Pakistan, Iran and Turkey, has now been expanded to include Afghanistan, Kazakhstan, Turkmenistan, Tajikistan, Kirghizistan, Uzbekistan and Azerbaijan. This new ten-nation Economic Cooperation Organisation also places Pakistan strategically in the Central Asia region, a region in which Europe, the United States and Russia have very great economic as well as strategic interests. It may be significant to point out that for the first time in modern history a powerful non-Arab block of Muslim countries has emerged and that, according to the West, both Kazakhstan and Pakistan have access to nuclear weapons. Prior to this, the West and Japan had largely been concerned with the oil-rich Arab part of the Muslim world. The significance of this new development should not be minimised, Pakistan can be a bridge between Central Asia and the rest of the world.

iii) Pakistan is one of the most powerful Islamic states in the world, with the capacity to influence other Islamic countries. The world of Islam is in a ferment and Pakistan, under a visionary leadership, can play a major role in this region in the interest of peace, security and economic development.

iv) Located on the shoulder of the Gulf with its vast oil potential, Pakistan continues to be of importance to Japan, the Gulf and the United States. It is true that after the end of the Gulf war and with the presence of the American troops on its soil and navy within the vicinity of the Gulf, this role may have somewhat declined for the present. It is, however, not clear how long foreign troops may be stationed in the Gulf or for that matter be tolerated there and the governments of the region cannot be totally insensitive to popular opinion in the region which does not take kindly to the stationing of foreign troops on their soil. Over the years Pakistan has developed close links both militarily and diplomatically with the countries of the Gulf. A large number of officers in the Gulf forces are trained in Pakistan's military academies and a very significant percentage of the Omani armed forces are of Pakistani Baloch origin.

v) Pakistan is a major military power in the region and unless the Indo-Pak disputes are solved, there can be no peace in the region and the potential of SAARC [South Asian Association for Regional Cooperation] will remain unfulfilled. Any role, therefore, that the United States has in mind for India cannot be realised unless there is a solution of the outstanding problems between India and Pakistan. In this connection, it is pertinent to point out that whoever controls the Khyber would control the destiny of India.

vi) Despite hiccups during military rule, the political culture of Pakistan continues to be democratic. Despite its relatively low rate of literacy, Pakistan is basically a liberal country with a modern outlook. This explains why the government has failed in implementing its reactionary decision to introduce a religion column in the national identity card. The decision of the government has attracted wide-spread condemnation throughout the country and it is believed that, like the decision to withdraw the Black Laws curtailing the powers of the judiciary in matters of bail, this ill-conceived decision of the government regarding the religion column will also be withdrawn. Pakistan can, therefore, serve as a democratic role model for other Muslim countries.

vii) As in the past, Pakistan can serve as a bridge between the United States and China which no other country in the region including India can do. It is clear that China is not particularly popular in the United States at the moment but it does not take long for priorities to change in international relations.

It is, therefore, clear that President-elect Clinton cannot ignore Pakistan and it would be in the mutual interest of

the United States and Pakistan if the Clinton Administration were to help remove the existing tensions between Pakistan and India in a fair and equitable manner so that Pakistan can play its proper role in the shaping of the world of the twenty first century. Both Pakistan and the United States should have a high stake in preserving the relationship that has survived 45 years of ups and downs and in which at least the establishments in both countries have acquired a fairly profound knowledge about each other's countries. In this connection it may be pertinent to point out that most Pakistanis feel that Pakistan has paid a very high price for the liberation of Afghanistan and the United States has emerged as the chief beneficiary of the sacrifices made by Pakistan. The war in Afghanistan destroyed the social fabric of Pakistan. It resulted in unprecedented lawlessness due to the easy availability of sophisticated weapons which found their way into Pakistan; the war contributed to the increased menace of drug addition in the country. The least that a large number of Pakistanis would expect from the new Clinton Administration in return for those sacrifices would be an even-handed application of policies regarding nuclear and human rights issues with respect to India and Pakistan.

It is, however, clear that Pakistan's role in the New World Order will largely be determined by the level of leadership in the country. Unfortunately, the inept and incompetent handling of the country's foreign affairs during the past two years is without parallel in the history of Pakistan. It would not be incorrect to state that during the last two years Pakistan has had no foreign policy worth the name resulting in Pakistan's virtual isolation in the emerging global scenario. Many political observers regard Pakistan as a friendless country in the country of nations. This is an alarming situation created by Nawaz Sharif's government's policies in the domain of inter-state relations. The most striking example of the failure of Pakistan's foreign policies is a spate of reports that have appeared in the world media regarding the possibility of Pakistan being declared a terrorist state by some Western countries. It is really amazing that at a time when the Indians are involved in the grossest violation of human rights in Kashmir where Kashmiri freedom fighters are being mercilessly murdered, women raped by Indian troops and houses and huts of Kashmiris being razed to the ground by the Indian army, it is Pakistan rather than India which is under the threat of being declared a terrorist state. Surely, a more striking example of the ineptness and failure of Pakistan's foreign policy would be hard to find.

Even regarding friendly Muslim countries like the U.A.E. and Saudi Arabia there have been disturbing reports of Pakistani nationals being expelled from those countries in large numbers. Similarly, Pakistan seems to be the only country which provided troops during the Gulf war and which has singularly reaped no benefits either from Washington or from the oil-rich Gulf states. Countries like Egypt and Syria have reaped major financial and diplomatic benefits by taking part in the Gulf

war. There is an endless list of failures in foreign relations and it would suffice at this stage to make a fleeting mention of them. Afghanistan, Kashmir, Central Asia and Siachen are some of the more glaring examples where, despite major Pakistani investment in time, money and effort, the country has failed to realise the potential benefits which would have accrued to Pakistan under a more competent political leadership. To cover up his failure at Tokyo during his recent trip to Japan, the Prime Minister has adopted the unbecoming, though familiar, tactics of passing on all the shortfalls of his own doing to the former Prime Minister, Mohtarma Benazir Bhutto. The whole world, and above all the United States and Japan know that the former Prime Minister in that much trumpeted interview said nothing new and did not add even a comma or semi-colon to what had already been stated by Prime Minister Nawaz Sharif's Foreign Secretary in a public statement at Washington as well as General Ziaul Haq's interview to the TIME MAGAZINE. Ms. Judith Kipper correctly pointed out that it was misleading and incorrect to say that Mohtarma Benazir Bhutto's interview to the NBC in any way influences the outcome of Mr. Nawaz Sharif's trip to Japan.

Pakistan undoubtedly can play a major role in view of what has been stated above, but that potential can only be realised if there is at the helm of affairs a leadership which understands the dynamics of foreign policy and is imbued with a vision to take advantage of Pakistan's geo-strategic and geopolitical situation.

U.S. Military Hardware Called 'Junk,' Boycott Urged

*93AS0440C Islamabad THE MUSLIM in English
31 Dec 92 p 6*

[Editorial: "Please Do Not Crawl Back Into the Old Trap"; quotation marks as published]

[Text] Prime Minister Nawaz Sharif has assured that the government was keenly conscious of the need to bolster the country's navy. The timing of this assurance is unusually significant. It is no longer a secret that the United States pressures on Pakistan have now reached the Pakistan Navy. The U.S. demand for the return of the nine vessels leased to Pakistan amounts of impoverishing the Pakistan Navy. There is obviously more politics to it than anything else. Surely, the U.S. Navy is in no compelling need for these ancient craft whose war-worthiness has never quite been hundred percent reliable. The demand for the return of these antiquated craft at this moment in time has an unmistakable motive: to tighten the screw which has been the United States policy towards this country ever since it lost all interest in the Afghan affairs. Intelligent and patriotic citizens had never been in favour of total dependence on any single source for defence needs. But succeeding governments, most of them dictatorships manoeuvred in power and maintained by the United States itself, couldn't possibly have the nerve to pursue self-respecting

and self-reliant policies. These dictators have brought the country to a situation that for every little nut and bolt we have to extend the begging bowl towards Washington and more often than not get the boot. Navy had without doubt been the underdog among the three armed forces. Which only speaks of wrong-headed and short-sighted planning. The service which exercised started power all these years managed the lion's share. Air Force has its own enchantment. But the Army, too, is feeling the pinch of having been left high and dry by Washington. The Air Force has scores of the F-16s here at home and also in hangars in Houston, but cannot be pressed into service. The former because of U.S. refusal to supply spares, and the latter, because Pressler Amendment forbids their export. And the wonderful part of this story is that the poor Pakistani tax-payer has paid for all this billions of dollars worth of equipment. Only fools would blame the United States. The basic fault lies with the Pakistanis who have thrown their own country into this trap. The United States is only doing what it perceives to be in its interests. It used us when it suited U.S. interests. Now it can just cast Pakistan into the trash can. And that's what it has started doing with a vengeance, too.

We must not allow ourselves to be overtaken by gloom over this prospect. There is a bright side to this picture. We are now thrown to our own devices and resources. And if these are intelligently and diligently mobilised, we can open a new window in our national thinking and begin a new chapter in self-dependence. For the navy, we have the shipbuilding facilities in Karachi. These were deliberately sidetracked because there was money to be made on purchases from the U.S. and from other foreign dealers. Given due support, these shipbuilding works should be the main source of naval craft for the navy. Let a beginning be made without any delay. The air force has not been doing very badly in its efforts toward self-reliance. Had we started forty years ago on these lines, we should not have been in the mess we are. The chances are that our troubles are going to get worse in the coming months, may be years. But that should steel our resolve and not daunt us into making unworthy and unsafe compromises. If the United States at some later date, and after having humiliated us to its heart's content, decides to extend the leases of its vessels, we should not go down on our knees in grateful supplication. Why are we fooling ourselves? What the United States and other Western powers sell to the third world states by way of military hardware is mostly junk and the whole idea is to make money, most certainly not to enhance the defence capability of these God forsaken peoples. We have seen and heard the song and dance at Karachi Tuesday, welcoming the French mine-hunter. We must have paid handsomely in hard cash. What good it is going to be, only the naval egg-heads would know. What we do know is that it is by no means going to be some sort of a wonder on the waves.

We have come to a point where, courtesy the United States, we simply must bring commonsense and our national self-interest to determine what our defence

procurement policies are going to be in an era of betrayal by our closest allies. The details are of course for the experts to work out, but the basic principle is easy enough to enunciate: a full stop to buying junk from abroad against the poor Pakistani tax-payers hard-earned money. It is time our defence expenditure was tuned to our defence, not to saving jobs in the United States and other rich war merchants in Europe.

U.S. Said Dictating to Sovereign Nations

93AS0445A Lahore NAWA-I-WAQT in Urdu 11 Jan 93
p 10

[Editorial: "Not Acceptable—The Demand To Live Under Conditions Imposed by America"]

[Text] Foreign Secretary Shaharyar Khan has confirmed that U.S. Ambassador John Monjo met with him on Thursday and handed him a letter clarifying the new U.S. policy regarding Pakistan. Pakistan's ambassador, Syeda Abida Hussain, was also called to the State Department in Washington where she was informed of the U.S. policy. A spokesman for the U.S. State Department said that the United States is concerned about Pakistan's support for Indian Sikhs and Kashmiris who are committing terrorist acts in India, and that in regard to this matter, Pakistan or any other country could be designated a terrorist country at any time. Shaharyar Khan may make any statements he wants, but the fact is that Pakistan's nuclear program, its support for the people of Kashmir, and its being Muslim are unbearable for the United States, and we have to be prepared to accept either a living death under U.S. terms or being called terrorists. There does not seem to be a third choice. The policy followed by the United States in South Asia is based on 100 percent support for non-Muslim India and intense opposition to Muslim Pakistan. The new world order appears to require that we accept the hegemony of Hindu India so that the United States can control this region easily and that, to achieve this aim, the United States will take any measures it pleases. The nuclear program, support for the Sikhs and Kashmiris, and fundamentalism are mere pretexts. If, God forbid, we were to abandon our nuclear program, cease to support the Kashmiris, and become Muslims in name only like the Bosnians, but at the same time refuse to kneel before India and reject U.S. terms, the brave United States would find some other pretext to treat us in the same way that it is now preparing to do.

Pakistan's nuclear program is not a recent event, and the whole world knows that it was started in reaction to the nuclear explosion carried out by its enemy neighbor India in 1974. In its quest to become a "mini-superpower," India has always upset the balance of power in this region. Our efforts to protect ourselves are justified by the fact that Pakistan has been the victim of Indian aggression three times. Half of our territory was taken away, and we cannot defend ourselves using traditional weapons alone.

From 1980 to 1988 the United States supported Pakistan because of the Afghan problem and accepted our position as the frontline state and was prepared to give us every kind of aid. At that time also our peaceful nuclear program was under way. The U.S. President himself certified to Congress that we did not possess nuclear weapons. But, since in those days India was sitting in the lap of the Soviet Union and making eyes at the United States, Pakistan's nuclear program was considered acceptable. However, after the end of the Soviet Union when India fell into submission before the United States, the latter suddenly remembered that Pakistan's nuclear program was a threat to peace, in spite of the fact that Pakistan has urged India repeatedly to sign the nonproliferation treaty and has expressed its own readiness to join India in accepting all nuclear restrictions.

The struggle for self-determination being carried on by Kashmiri freedom lovers is in accordance with the resolutions of the United Nations and accepted international laws. Two or three resolutions have been passed by the United Nations in support of the people of Kashmir, and the Kashmir problem has remained on the UN agenda for the last 45 years. For many years, the United States supported us on the Kashmir issue, whereas the Soviet Union cast its veto in favor of India. The Soviet Union at that time used the same language regarding the Kashmiris that American spokesmen are now mouthing. The atrocities being committed in Kashmir by India and its merciless destruction of the fundamental rights of the Kashmiris have drawn the condemnation of Amnesty International, Asia Watch, and other organizations, but the flag bearer of fundamental human rights, the United States, is not prepared to put any pressure on India to end its endless oppression; on the contrary, the United States is calling the oppressed Kashmiris terrorists and trying to keep Pakistan from supporting them. Kashmir was never an inseparable part of India; Kashmir is a disputed territory, and the people of Kashmir are struggling to rid themselves of Indian control. As long as the Kashmiris are not allowed to vote on whether they wish to join India or Pakistan, the 1947 agenda for the division of India remains incomplete. It is a manifestation of U.S. discrimination against Muslims that the oppressed do not receive its sympathy. By siding with the oppressor, the United States is giving expression to its intentions and plans.

As for fundamentalism, during the introduction of the Shari'ah bill in the Parliament, Prime Minister Nawaz Sharif openly said that he was not a fundamentalist. All religious parties, once part of Islami Jamhoori Ittehad, have separated from it, and all that is left now is the democratic front. Two parties, the Mohajir Qaumi Movement and the ANP [Awami National Party], are partners in office of the government. The Muslim League is a political party, not a religious one. It has never claimed to be a religious party; thus the U.S. accusation of fundamentalism is a mere pretext. Moreover, can the word fundamentalist directed at an Islamic country be considered a term of opprobrium? As the

saying goes, those with evil intentions can find many excuses; if the United States had not made these accusations, it would have prepared a charge sheet of some other allegations. It could, for example, say that the 1947 division of India was wrong and that, since the creation of Pakistan resulted from that partition and the people and government of Pakistan support the partition, they are all criminals deserving the penalty of death. As the only superpower left, the United States can act as it pleases and is trying to do so now. But the facts are quite different. Pakistan is a peaceful, free, and dignified Muslim country and as such is disliked by the United States; hence, no matter what arguments we present, the United States will not be convinced. The countries which have been designated as terrorists are all Muslim countries, with the exception of Cuba and North Korea. The objective behind this designation is to give them the choice of either living under the conditions laid down by the United States and its agents in the region or to continue to be blackmailed. From the point of view of human rights and international laws, what is happening in Iraq is shameful. But the United States does not care. The cruel treatment of the Palestinians by the Israelis, which cannot be condoned by any system of morality, is ignored by the United States because Israel, like India, is a puppet of the United States. Thus the efforts of our foreign office to convince the United States of obvious truths do not appear to be achieving any success. What is needed is the awakening of the Islamic world. The Muslim nation should be made aware of the seriousness of the situation and be told the real and secret reasons for the U.S. treatment of other Islamic countries so that a joint plan of action may be drawn up to save [the Muslims] from the degradation and humiliation that each Muslim country is being subjected to by turns.

Prime Minister Nawaz Sharif has been saying for some time that we have thrown away our beggar's bowl. Syeda Abida Hussain has also said that we are surviving without American aid. But the question is not merely that of throwing away the beggar's bowl. The United States will not only end aid and loans but put pressure on the World Bank, IMF, and its allied countries. In his recent tour of Japan, the prime minister must have learned of American intentions and the restrictions under which friendly countries are being placed. It is thus necessary to make the Muslims aware of the fact that, not only Pakistan, but all those Muslim countries who want to live with dignity, will be facing hardship. The Islamic world should be told that just as the stupidity, cruelty, and arrogance of the Soviet Union wiped it off the map, the United States also will not always remain a superpower. India will be punished for its oppression in Kashmir, as Russia was punished. The United States will of course suffer punishment for its crimes against humanity; nevertheless, the Muslim nation should prove its vitality, demonstrate its dignity and sense of honor, and abandon its habit of self-intoxication. Instead of aligning themselves with any block, the one billion Muslims of the world should acquire the identity to form a block themselves.

At this critical juncture, it is essential to demonstrate national unity and singleness of purpose. As a result of the bitter relations between the government and the opposition, it is difficult for Nawaz Sharif to accomplish anything. A desirable action would be for the patriotic, serious, and moderate elements in the government and opposition to unite, and with the aim of achieving national unity and saving the dignity of the nation and the country itself, summon a round table conference with a single point agenda. The prime minister, the leader of the opposition, and the leaders of all political and religious parties should participate in the conference. The topic of discussion should be: "The Campaign of India and the United States to Designate Pakistan a Terrorist Country and Our Counteraction and Role." The people should declare those leaders and politicians who refuse to participate in the conference guilty of turning their backs on Pakistan's interests. It should thus be made clear to the United States that we are not terrorists, and moreover, that we are opposed to terrorism in any part of the world; therefore, the United States should put an end to its propaganda against us. India should be forced to sign the nuclear nonproliferation treaty, to declare its acceptance of the right of self-determination for the Kashmiris, take steps to control the growing Hindu fundamentalism, and abandon the policy of interference in the internal affairs of India's neighbors. India should also be forced to stop at once its continuous terrorist activities in Sri Lanka, Bangladesh, and Pakistan under penalty of being declared a terrorist country if it refuses to do so. We do not favor unnecessary confrontation with the United States, but we also do not consider life lived under U.S. imposed conditions as worthwhile. We will not preserve our freedom and independence if we follow a policy of submission. How can there be any freedom or dignity left if we bow our heads in submission before India? Do we not want to live a life of dignity as a nation?

U.S. 'Naked Aggression' in Iraq Criticized

93AS0441F Lahore THE NATION in English
15 Jan 93 p 5

[Article: "Ummah Silence Over US Aggression Is Criminal: JI (Jamaat-i-Islami)"; quotation marks as published]

[Text] Islamabad (PPI)—Parliamentary party leader of Jamaat-i-Islami (JI), Liaquat Baluch has strongly condemned the United States and its allies for launching attack on Iraq and called upon the world community to raise voice against the naked aggression.

Talking to newsmen at the Parliament House cafeteria the JI member from Lahore supported President Saddam Hussein's remarks that criminals have come back to the Gulf.

He said, the United States, Britain and France had once again created hostilities in the Gulf, saying that, if serious notice was not taken it would affect the Muslims the world over.

He regretted that in spite of aggression against Iraqi Muslims heads of the Islamic country have adopted criminal silence on the issue.

Liaquat Baluch called upon the Organisation of Islamic Countries (OIC) to convene emergent summit meeting to discuss the situation arising out of the aggression against Iraq.

He urged the government to strongly condemn the attack on Iraqi civilians and play its role for convening emergent meeting of the OIC.

U.S. Said Controlling Japanese Purse Strings

93AS0371B Islamabad THE MUSLIM in English
20 Dec 92 p 6

[Editorial: "Pakistan Focus on Tokyo"; italicized words as published]

[Text] Looking back on Prime Minister Nawaz Sharif's official visit to Japan one finds a mix of several shades in the picture. There is no doubt that Mr. Nawaz Sharif was batting for Pakistan and he tried his very best. His gifts of salesmanship were deployed to the full in the endeavour to convince the Japanese investors that Pakistan offered ideal conditions. His emphasis on the fact that Pakistan's economy is now going to be the freest in the world cannot be faulted seriously. Shorn of the public relations embellishments, reports from Tokyo seem to suggest that any jazzy celebration would be premature. We shall have to wait and see how good has the PM's [Prime Minister] visit been from the Japanese angle of vision. All investors are very cautious and hard-nosed people. When doing business, the genuine businessman means *business*. Admittedly, Mr. Nawaz Sharif has striven valiantly to rid the economy of many stifling controls and a lot of humbug has been shed. This would impress the investor and may even attract him. But the foreign investor is likely to remain skeptical if the freedom of economy is not adequately supported by other equally vital freedoms. The latter requirement is just as imperative as the former. And there may lurk the element which could become an inhibiting factor.

Political stability and freedom from uncertainty is what the investor—domestic as well as foreign—demands before he would take any decision. While the Prime Minister was talking to his counterpart in Tokyo, the President of Pakistan was delivering a thunderbolt. The latest from the presidential palace has been an exceedingly unsettling tremor. Reaction across the country has been one of extreme dismay and sorrow. On the one hand the Prime Minister is emancipating the country's economy and on the other the President is striking blow after blow on the freedoms of the country and the basic human rights of the people. Any prime minister riding a chariot with its two horses facing opposite directions would find himself in a nasty jam. What national purpose can the President be pursuing if whatever he does causes further erosion in the country's credibility abroad and the incumbent government's at home? Freedom of

economy is significantly devalued if it is not backed by other freedoms which make for a healthy, robust and stable society.

Mr. Nawaz Sharif quite appropriately took pains to explain to his hosts the essential injustice in the United States' strident orchestration against what it perceives Pakistan's nuclear ambitions might be. The PM stood on very firm ground. One should hope that he succeeded in assisting the Japanese Prime Minister to separate the truth about Pakistan's position from the fiction and calumny promoted by certain quarters. Japan is an exceptionally good friend of Pakistan. It has been demonstrating this by the helpfulness and generosity which distinguish Tokyo as the biggest donor for Pakistan's economic development. It would be unrealistic, however, not to realise and budget for the fact that the United States wields no small weight in Tokyo. In order to keep Pak-Japan relations on sound and stable foundations, it is in our interest to leave Tokyo in no doubt about the quality of political life in the country. We must do our homework and do it well enough to earn universal appreciation. Let's not be slow to accept that much remains to be done, Mr. Nawaz Sharif's emancipation of the economy notwithstanding.

Relations With Japan Said Independent of U.S.

93AS0370D Lahore *THE NATION* in English
27 Dec 92 p 6

[Article by Mushahid Hussain: "Pakistan's Japan Connection"]

[Text] A recent four-day visit to Japan as part of the media team accompanying the Prime Minister was instructive in providing insights into Japan's foreign policy as well as the relationship between Islamabad and Tokyo. Prime Minister Nawaz Sharif's journey was clearly his most significant foreign visit during his 25 months in office, given the fact that Japan is not only our biggest donor but also Pakistan's most important trading partner with an annual turnover of trade worth 2 billion dollars. The visit had assumed symbolic significance for three added reasons. The last time around when Prime Minister Nawaz Sharif was planning to visit Japan in July 1991, it had to be cancelled at the last moment due to "internal security reasons," thereby upsetting of the arrangements of the protocol-conscious Japanese. Additionally, this visit came in the context a threatened new round of the Long March, and by going there as scheduled, the Prime Minister managed to exude a confident, "all is well at home" posture.

Finally, the visit was significant because just a week before the Prime Minister's departure for Tokyo, the Japanese Government had formally conveyed to the Foreign Office that following a controversial interview of Benazir Bhutto to the American Television Network, NBC, the Government of Japan had decided to stop all assistance to Pakistan in what was tantamount to a Japanese version of the Pressler Amendment. In other

words, Japan too, like its American friend, had decided to stop all assistance unless Pakistan satisfied Tokyo about its nuclear concerns. While the Japanese had been informed about Pakistan's position on the nuclear issue, the Japanese response was that the allegations contained in the NBC programme were not something startling or new but their significance was that now a former Prime Minister was apparently coming across as endorsing and indeed confirming these American allegations regarding Pakistan's nuclear programme.

Since Japan is a member of the elite Group of Seven (G-7) which comprises the world's leading industrialised countries like the United States, Britain, France, Germany, Italy and Canada, the Japanese have decided to go along with the five conditionalities which the G-7 has agreed upon which henceforth will form the framework under which aid to the Third World countries is to be disbursed. These five conditionalities include:

- Assurance that a country is not embarked on a nuclear weapon programme;
- The defence budget of the recipient is within "reasonable limits" so that defence spending is neither too much, nor is it at the expense of the social sector;
- The country to which aid is being given is pursuing fiscal reforms that combine privatisation and deregulation within a free market economy;
- The political system of that country is essentially democratic with political pluralism as its basis;
- The country is committed to what is referred to by the G-7 as "good governance," which is a term liable to all sorts of interpretation that can be stretched from administrative incompetence to corruption and human rights as well.

Given this context, Prime Minister Nawaz Sharif's journey to Japan had three broad objectives. The first was to establish a rapport at the highest level of the political leadership of Japan so that such a rapport can be built upon to seek new openings in trade and diplomacy for Pakistani interests in Japan, as part of a new policy to promote ties with East Asia following the unravelling of the American connection. The second objective of the Prime Ministerial visit was to get Japan, which is a key member of the G-7 club and which is also hosting the next G-7 Summit in Tokyo in the summer of 1993, to view the nuclear issue in a regional framework so that Pakistan is treated at par with India on this issue and not subjected to a policy that is selective or discriminatory, as has been the case with American nuclear policy in South Asia, which only pressurises Pakistan but exonerates India from any wrongdoing. And the third goal of the journey to Japan was to encourage Japanese investors to move into Pakistan in a big way, perhaps only smaller in scale to what they have done in China and the ASEAN [Association of South East Asian Nations] countries. It was in this context that Pakistan offered a special economic zone exclusively reserved for

Japanese investment in an area that could be around 500 acres with all infrastructural facilities. Japan has an annual trade surplus of approximately 100 billion dollars, of which approximately two-thirds goes out for foreign investment and the Japanese have been expressing interest in new areas particularly Central Asia.

The most substantive fall-out of Prime Minister Nawaz Sharif's visit to Japan was that it succeeded in reversing the earlier Japanese decision to link aid with the nuclear issue. After two meetings, his Japanese counterpart, Klich Miyazawa, told the Pakistani visitors that while they would like discussions with Pakistan on the nuclear issue, this issue would not retard the flow of assistance which has already been earmarked for the current discussions of Japan's aid as a part of the annual loan package. Pakistan's case was helped not just by the candid discussions between the two Prime Ministers on this issue, but also by a couple of other factors. Unlike the Americans, the Japanese have taken a clear decision to treat India and Pakistan at par in their bilateral relationship. Since it is India which is the initiator of the nuclear arms race in South Asia, having exploded a nuclear device in 1974, something which Pakistan has not done, and it is India which refuses to sign the Non-proliferation Treaty, and it is still receiving Japanese assistance, the Japanese feel it would be wrong and unfair to single out Pakistan for punishment on a count for which India is, by far, the more serious and long-standing violator. It is thus no accident that Japan has decided to start a nuclear dialogue with both India and Pakistan concurrently and a senior official of the Japanese Foreign Ministry will fly into South Asia for that purpose, visiting India on February 8-9, 1993, followed by a visit to Islamabad on February 10-11.

Interestingly, the other aspect which has helped Pakistan's case on the nuclear issue with Japan, apart from the Prime Minister's visit and India, happens to be the Iran factor. Of late the United States has been pressuring its G-7 allies to stop sending sophisticated technology to Iran on a reasoning as dubious, and allegation as unsubstantiated, as in the case of Pakistan. In what is perhaps a welcome manifestation of Japan's political autonomy in foreign affairs, Tokyo decided to go through with its resumption of assistance to Iran for the first time since the Islamic Revolution in 1979 by giving Iran a credit of 300 million dollars to help finance a new hydroelectric plant there. In a statement at a news conference in Tokyo just a week before Prime Minister Nawaz Sharif's visit, Japanese Foreign Minister Michio Watanabe said that "we cannot agree 100 per cent with the United States because our ties with Iran go a long way back and are different from Iran-U.S. relations." And the senior Foreign Ministry official heading its Economic Bureau remarked that "economic cooperation with Iran and the security question are not directly related." If such reasoning can be valid for Japan's assistance to Iran, then it is obviously also valid in the case of Pakistan. Both countries are being subjected to an

arbitrary and an unfair American approach which is not based on a consistent American commitment to principles.

Japan is also keen to chart out a somewhat independent stance in its foreign policy in Asia. For starters, this has been evident in a couple of Japanese initiatives that are at variance with stated American foreign policy goals. Japan, for instance, has decided to renew aid to Vietnam, despite American advice to the contrary. In the case of China as well, the Japanese maintained economic political cordiality with Beijing notwithstanding American opposition on this issue. In fact, the biggest question mark for Asia in the last decade of the 20th century pertains to Japan's future political role and whether Japan's economic strength will be matched by an assertive diplomacy whose basis will have to be Japan's economic interest and not necessarily, a willingness to toe the American line on any given issue.

With countries like Japan, while one visit can help clear the confusion or be a modest step towards achieving long-term objectives the real success would lie in planning for the future and coordinating policy via many different ministries. Here it is pertinent to point out that the Nawaz Sharif visit could have been much better planned and coordinated, given the fact that the contingent had probably the most heavyweight representation of officialdom to accompany the Prime Minister with six Cabinet Ministers, two Secretaries-General and four Federal Secretaries. Two examples are instructive in this regard. There was a large contingent, a score or so, of businessmen who accompanied the Prime Minister. They were complaining that while they were asked to be available for a protocol occasion or photo opportunity, they were deprived of possibilities of professional interaction with the Japanese investors. These could have been organised in advance so that this contingent of business leaders did not spend their time listening to speeches or stiffly sitting still at the Seminar on Investment which was held in the presence of the Prime Minister in Tokyo.

The other instance pertains to the Investment Conference in Osaka, Japan's second largest city, which was planned after the one in Tokyo and which took place following the departure of the Prime Minister from Japan. Barring the Ministers for Industries and the Secretary for Industries, none of the big guns in the financial bureaucracy chose to stay back to participate in the Osaka Investment Conference. As was evident from the questions raised at the Tokyo Investment Conference by potential Japanese investors to Prime Minister Nawaz Sharif, the Japanese industrialists were intelligent and well-informed. As the experience with Japan underlines, the potential for investment is there. The Japanese are willing to listen to Pakistan's case in a manner that they are willing even to reverse a previous policy as was evident in the case of delinking the nuclear issue from aid. Future successes can only be ensured if policies are seriously followed through in an organised and coordinated manner.

Regional Affairs

'Liberation' of Kashmir Called Urgent

93AS0440D Islamabad THE MUSLIM in English
13 Jan 93 p 3

[Article: "Pakistan's Policy on Kashmir Has Failed: Sikandar"; quotation marks as published]

[Text] Islamabad, Jan 12: Pakistan has failed to propagate the Kashmir cause to the world at large. This was stated by President Azad Jammu and Kashmir [AJK] Sardar Sikandar Hayat while addressing a meeting of the Tehreek-e-Takmeel-e-Pakistan held at a local hotel here on Tuesday evening.

He said the Kashmiris had decided in 1947 to stay with Pakistan but they were not allowed to take up arms then. He said Kashmiris as a nation were still supportive of accession to Pakistan. However, he regretted that Pakistan's foreign policy on Kashmir had failed.

He said Kashmiris who are facing innumerable atrocities at the hands of Indian forces and sacrificing their lives for their independence, are being termed as "terrorists." He said Kashmiri women are being molested and their children are being killed but the foreign powers are bent upon declaring them terrorists. The AJK President said it was the utter failure on the part of Pakistan's foreign missions in European countries and the policy makers of Pakistan.

Sardar Sikandar Hayat said the people of Pakistan had unflinching support for the Kashmir cause. He appreciated the concern of the people for the oppressed Kashmiri people who, he said, were being massacred by the Indian occupation forces in the Indian-held Jammu and Kashmir.

Mehmood Ali, Chairman of Tehreeki Takmeel-e-Pakistan and Chairman of the Social Welfare Council of Pakistan, in his address called for self-reliance. He said the people of Pakistan should endeavour not to rely on foreign powers. He stressed that looking to foreign powers for arms and other help was unbecoming of a proud nation.

Mehmood Ali was of the opinion that America was the greatest enemy of Muslims. He said after Libya and Iran, the United States was now trying to intimidate Pakistan.

Brig (Retd) Sardar Khan stressed the need for doing something urgently for the liberation of Kashmir and completing Pakistan as he said without Kashmir the geographic entity of Pakistan was incomplete.

Dr. Sagheer Kamran, Mrs. Naseem Ali and Rana Shaan also spoke on the occasion.

Reciprocal Diplomatic Expulsions With India Viewed

93AS0369G Lahore THE NATION in English
31 Dec 92 p 10

[Editorial: "Escalating Expulsions"]

[Text] Pakistan and India seem to be sliding into one of their periodic bouts of worsening relations. Since the summer of this year, the meandering series of negotiations on outstanding issues such as Kashmir and Siachen, which by themselves seemed to be getting nowhere but had nevertheless given the impression of a mutual attempt to deescalate tensions and normalise relations, were derailed. First came the issue of the two Pakistani tourists killed by Indian security forces whose bodies, despite repeated requests from our Foreign Office, have yet to be returned. Pakistan is still considering its options, including an approach to the U.N. to compel India to follow the norms of international law and civilised conduct. This sorry incident was followed closely by the torture and expulsion of one of the Pakistani diplomats in Delhi. Apart from the fact that it was in clear violation of our mutually agreed code of diplomatic behaviour, the maximum that such situations permit states that may, rightly or wrongly, consider a member of a foreign mission unacceptable, is to declare him persona non grata and ask his government to withdraw him. This mistreatment of one of our diplomats inevitably led to a retaliatory expulsion of some Indian diplomatic staff from Islamabad. The Babri mosque desecration added more fuel to the fire. In the aftermath, the wave of revulsion which swept Pakistan targeted the Indian Consulate in Karachi. Hindu chauvinists on the other side laid virtual siege to our High Commission in Delhi and our Consulate in Bombay. The order yesterday to the Indian Consulate in Karachi to reduce its bloated contingent of sixty two to twenty is the largest act in what is becoming an escalating cycle of expulsions of each other's diplomats. More expulsions can be expected from India, which may make the intent of sending more staff to man the Bombay Consulate difficult, if not downright dangerous.

Pakistan, in this exchange, seems more to have been on the receiving end of unreasonable Indian intransigence, unprepared to conform to the demands of diplomacy, international law and covenants, and normal relations between states. There are those who have been convinced all along that India is using the fig-leaf of normalisation talks merely as a tool of a policy of duplicity, intended to retain whatever advantages it feels it commands on the ground, be it the Kashmir dispute or its capture of the Siachen glacier. India's pretensions to being the mini-superpower of South Asia and browbeating all its smaller neighbours are obviously blind to the lessons of history or contemporary developments, in which one actual superpower has come to grief and the other is hard-pressed, for economic reasons, to maintain its status. What chance then for a lame-duck regional power beset by the crippling problems of poverty and

underdevelopment confronted by India? It may be a fond hope to expect better sense to prevail in Delhi, but it is the only wise course for a country still reeling from the fallout of the Babri mosque crisis. It behooves India to put its own house in order and treat its neighbours with the courtesy and respect which is the norm amongst civilised nations before things reach a point of no return.

Reactivation of Regional Pact on Minorities Urged
93AS0442B Lahore THE NATION in English 4 Jan 93 p 7

[Article by Mubashir Hasan: "Nawaz-Rao-Khalida Pact"; italicized words as published]

[Text] The extremely tragic events which followed the ignominious act of the demolition of the Babri Masjid gave rise, surprisingly, to some rather sensible statements by the Prime Ministers of Pakistan and India. Both the leaders condemned the madness. Both promised relief and rehabilitation of those affected and expressed the intent to rebuild the structures that were demolished or damaged. The debate in the Lok Sabha was also a happening in the right direction. The secular elements in India exhibited a rare unity which one hopes will augur well for the future. Opinion in Pakistan was also in tandem. Important political as well as religious leaders supported the general stand taken by Mr. Nawaz Sharif.

What has followed since then defies logic and, in the absence of information which the foreign offices of the two countries might be keeping close to their chest, in most puzzling and inexplicable. Diplomats are being kicked out of the two countries and the rhetoric is becoming harsher. There is deterioration in their relations. The question is: towards what end?

As with the rulers of any two countries in their position, the rulers of Pakistan and India have only three choices before them. The first is to maintain a state of no-war-no-peace. The choice of this posture of confrontation during the last forty-five years brought them three wars but neither peace nor prosperity. Ironically enough, through maintaining the posture of confrontation, they remained intensely close to each other, through strong links of hatred and suspicion. In doing so they partly debased the *raison d'être* of the Partition, which was, that with the creation of two independent countries, India and Pakistan, the peoples of the subcontinent would be better able to order their lives towards progress and prosperity—for fighting poverty, ignorance, and disease in accordance with their own lights. The pre-independence dreams of cooperation and harmony through acquisition of sovereignty remain to be realised. The posture of no-war-no-peace through confrontation has paid negative dividends and a period of forty-five years is a long enough time for giving it a trial. Two generations bore the ill-consequences.

The second choice is of going to war and settling their differences in the field of battle. Unfortunately for

war-mongers, the rulers seem to be aware that there is nothing to settle between them which can be settled only through war. Grabbing of another sovereign country's territory is not possible in modern times. Breaking up of neighbouring countries creates more problems than it solves. Disarming the vanquished is only a temporary affair. Besides, war is a costly business. No wonder, that whenever they have gone to war, both India and Pakistan have shown willingness to call a cease-fire at the first opportunity.

The only alternative left for India and Pakistan for improving their relations and bringing peace and prosperity for their nationals is the third choice—that of trying peace. For reasons of history and culture, India after freedom, and before that the Indian National Congress, have found it very hard to relent on perceptions they held to be basic. Simla has been the exception, where Prime Minister Zulfikar Ali Bhutto was able to convince Prime Minister Indira Gandhi, on the very last day of the negotiations, that the creation of conditions of friendship was the only choice left. It resulted in the Simla Agreement. Contrary to the attitude of the Congress and Indian Government, the Muslim League before independence and later successive governments of Pakistan have often shown willingness for give-and-take solutions. How one wishes that India should not have rejected the offer for new pacts made by General Ziaul Haq, for whatever it was worth.

The need of the hour is that negotiations should be initiated for building further upon the Liaqat-Nehru Pact. The security of minorities in India, Pakistan and Bangladesh is in jeopardy as never before. The threat is eating into the vitals of the national fabrics. Such a pact will have to be called Nawaz-Narasimha Rao-Khalida Pact. There is need for debate and discussion. The time is ripe.

Internal Affairs

Difficulties, Challenges Facing Sharif Analyzed
93AS0440F Islamabad THE MUSLIM in English 8 Jan 93 p 2

[Article by Musarrat Babar: "Nawaz Sharif's Dilemma in '93"; quotation marks as published]

[Text] As the IJI [Islami Jamhoori Ittehad] government of Mr. Nawaz Sharif enters the year 1993 his supporters claim that the system has worked and that despite challenges to its legitimacy the government has completed yet another year in office. They assert that this in itself is no mean achievement in a country where political survival is not always dependent upon popular mandate.

The government's detractors however argue that the Prime Minister has entered the new year with an awesome political baggage of the previous year which will prove to be his undoing before the year is out. They

contend that the year which has just passed by has witnessed a dangerous erosion of Nawaz Sharif's domestic political base. And on the foreign policy front he is faced with a clear policy dilemma: his government has either to accept the conditionalities of the post cold war era or face increasing diplomatic and political isolation. If he succumbs to the conditionalities and forgets about his election rhetoric he runs the risk of being swept aside by domestic public opinion. And he does not have the kind of political strength and bipartisan support needed for resisting the conditionalities, they say.

In the first place Nawaz Sharif today is presiding over a splintered IJI and faced with a political opposition which is both determined and bitter as never before. Jatoi's NPP [National People's Party] and Qazi Hussain Ahmad's Jamaat-i-Islami have already left the alliance. An important regional ally, in MQM [Mohajir Quami Movement], has broken ranks with him. Within the Muslim League itself all is not well as there are other serious contenders for power. The rightist parties—the mainstay of the IJI—have abandoned him and the Prime Minister in the year 1993 seems destined to preside over an alliance which does not exist.

At the same time the parliamentary opposition has been pushed into a desperate situation. When the Prime Minister publicly accuses the leader of the Opposition of treason and refuses to shake hands with "these enemies of the state," hounds her and her husband with references which have lost credibility and refuses to integrate the Opposition in the system the latter is bound to seek other fora to destabilise the government. No wonder that the PDA [People's Democratic Alliance] has responded with the long march and vowed to demolish the citadel of power in Islamabad through street agitation. Political leaders whether belonging to the Opposition or the government are hurling at each abuses and invectives which are reserved for sworn enemies. With prospects of civility returning to Pakistani politics remoter than before the Prime Minister will be subjected to increasing pressures of a determined opposition's onslaught.

By the year's end the confusion in the troika over Sindh remained as pronounced as it was at the beginning of operation clean up. Federal ministers and military commanders have been issuing statements often at cross purposes. During the operation the Army discovered that MQM—a partner in the IJI government—was a terrorist organization, yet no heads in the government rolled. In the first four weeks of the new year the government has to take the crucial decision whether the army is to stay in Sindh or pulled back to barracks as is being openly demanded by the generals. There are indications that the Army's stay in Sindh will be prolonged beyond January. Interior minister Ch Shujaat said last week that if the provincial government desired the Army may be asked to stay on.

It is a political compulsion of Islamabad to rely more and more upon the army for law and order in Sindh. But the harder Mr. Nawaz Sharif relies upon the Army and the

more powers he confers upon the Khaki for law and order the less relevant he becomes to governance in the province. And the more he keeps the Army's hands tied and asks it to pull his political chestnuts out of the fire, the more he is discrediting it in the eyes of the public and in the process alienating the Khaki from civilian set up and increasing confusion in the troika.

1992 has witnessed an erosion in the strength and effectiveness of the parliament. It is a measure of the ineffectiveness of the National Parliament that the Opposition has chosen to go directly to the people. Legislation has been done mostly through the executive fiat of issuing ordinances. Over two dozen ordinances were issued last year. Lack of quorum and the absence of Leader of the House from Assembly's proceedings has been a marked feature which is not likely to improve in the new year. The Speaker's impartiality has been seriously questioned by the Opposition with public allegations that its motions had been killed by the Speaker in his chamber.

It is doubtful whether the Parliament will regain—even partly—its role in the governance of the country whether by law making or keeping a tab on the Executive. When executive actions are rarely discussed, when leader of the House makes only a fleeting and rare appearance in the Parliament and when important economic and political decisions are taken outside it, the Parliament is sure to be discredited. The downslide of Parliamentary authority which began with the ascendancy of IJI was complete in the year 1992.

The so called Islamisation which has remained a dominant feature of Nawaz Sharif government, desperate to seek political legitimacy, is fast approaching its dead end. The government has found itself in a fix over the Shariat Court ruling over bank interest which ran counter to its programme of liberalisation of economy and massive economic and industrial development. The issue has even divided the cabinet and although the government belatedly went in appeal to the Appellate Bench of the Supreme Court foreign financial commitment to the 1300 MW Hub power project has reportedly been held back.

At another plane, however, when the Government's interests were not directly threatened and Islamists were sought to be appeased the drive for Islamisation has been even more pronounced. The minorities came under increasing pressure and policies designed to further increase their isolation. The consequences of the anti-blasphemy law providing mandatory death sentence for making derogatory remarks about the Prophet (peace be upon him) became visible during the year as a Christian Gul Masih was sentenced to death in Sargodha by a sessions court on the testimony of just a lone complainant who was also his neighbour. In another incident the killer of a Christian school teacher murdered for alleged blasphemy was publicly applauded and the relatives of the slain teacher could not find a lawyer willing

to take up his case. It pleased the fundamentalist. The government was not moved because it did not feel threatened.

The trend of distorting laws to appease the religious lobby continued. The National Assembly passed a bill in February without debate prescribing rigorous imprisonment of 10 years to any one who "defiles the ideology of Pakistan" without even defining what is meant by the ideology.

There was also the move to include religion column in the national identity card for instant identification of non-Muslims from Muslims. The President and the Prime Minister applauded the decision. It however provoked wide spread criticism both at home and abroad and when the protest demonstrations appeared to be crossing 'safe threshold' the decision was reversed but not without aggravating fears in the minds of the minorities.

Sindhis have continued to feel alienated and deprived. The politically most sensitive and touchy issue of repatriation of Biharis from Bangladesh was decided without taking into confidence either the Sindhis or the National Assembly. Here too the Prime Minister became a victim of his own rhetoric. As Biharis, ostensibly being settled in the Punjab, inevitably descend on Sindh during the course of the year the frustration of rural Sindh will be almost complete. The repatriation issue will be a powder keg in 1993 and might well prove Nawaz Sharif's Achilles heel.

On the foreign policy front the Prime Minister's dilemma in 1993 was highlighted by his recent visit to Japan. In Tokyo Mr. Nawaz Sharif was told by his hosts that henceforth the nuclear issue will be regarded as a bilateral matter between the two countries and that talks on it will be held in February. It will be on the outcome of these talks, he was further told, that Japan will take a decision whether to link its economic aid to the issues of nuclear non-proliferation or not. As Pakistan's largest trading partner and biggest aid donor, Tokyo's decision to bilateralise the nuclear issue has been the most significant foreign policy setback of 1992.

The countries of the G-7 with which Pakistan has 60 per cent of its trade have already laid down their conditionalities for continued assistance. These include signing of the NPT [Nonproliferation Treaty] and reduction in defence spending besides respect of human rights and upholding of democratic systems. In addition, two U.S. senators Larry Pressler and John Glenn are reportedly working on a new draft law to not only stop all international assistance to Pakistan but also to provide for even harsher penalties for our alleged nuclear programme. These developments along with Japan's foreign policy shift signal that Pakistan may be on way towards isolation.

Can Mr. Nawaz Sharif face up these conditionalities and pressures aimed at isolating the country in the year that has just started? Perhaps not, because due to intense

political polarisation he does not have the sort of bipartisan consensus needed for facing such pressures. Perhaps not, because he is a captive of his own bomb rhetoric and hollow slogan of self reliance from which he can not extricate himself.

Government Foreign, Domestic Priorities Viewed

93AS0442A Lahore THE NATION in English 5 Jan 93
p 7

[Article by Azizuddin Ahmad: "IJI (Islami Jamhoori Ittehad): Agenda for 1993"]

[Text] Strategic decisions postponed for the last two years will have to be taken by Nawaz Sharif during 1993. These decisions relate both to the economy and relations between political parties. It will be no more possible to continue taking ad hoc decisions for a long time even if the strategic alternative is painful.

The economy is already in bad shape. Foreign exchange reserves have shrunk to less than \$1b. That is equivalent to 7 weeks of imports. The current account deficit in the balance of payments is around \$3b, while fiscal deficit is around Rs 100b. Both are expected to rise in 1993 and in the words of an economist both act as a nutcracker.

Recent floods have added to our economic misery. The valuable cotton crop that brings in much of the foreign exchange directly as well as indirectly has been affected badly.

Expulsion of large number of Pakistanis from the Gulf in the aftermath of the Babri Masjid incident will further reduce the foreign exchange coming through remittances.

To meet the deficit in the balance of payments, we will have to resort to more borrowing than last year's. But the donors are now adamant that we first agree to a package of conditionalities before further aid is resumed.

The conditionalities can be summarised under four heads. The donors that now include Japan beside the U.S. and the developed Western countries want us to reduce the defence budget, sign the Non-Proliferation Treaty [NPT], produce better record vis-a-vis human rights and put the fundamentalists on a leash.

The donors mean business this time. Gone are the days when they looked the other way as the regime in Pakistan flouted all the four conditionalities. They no more need to defeat the Soviet Union in Afghanistan where we played a crucial role in fulfilling their designs and they could not afford to annoy us. Pakistan is no more that important for the United States and the developed world in spite of the wishes and daydreams many of us are fond of indulging in.

The axe has already fallen on defence procurements where we increasingly find it difficult to get the spares of the arms systems that we have purchased from them. The U.S. has gone one step further by recalling the

warships we had got from it on lease. It has simultaneously started having joint naval exercises with India.

In order to isolate Pakistan further, it might even declare the country a terrorist state. More pressure will be exerted on us this year to accept the four conditionalities mentioned above.

So we have to decide whether we want to accept the diktat of the G-7 and manoeuvre to get the best of terms available to us, or to continue the present policies and refuse to seek aid from the developed countries. So far the government is undecided and if it continues to remain so, it will be in the unenviable position of the proverbial fool who had to eat one hundred onions and also receive a hundred shoe beatings.

There is at present no effort to create a national consensus on these sensitive matters. There is not complete harmony even between the ruling troika on these issues. The IJI [Islami Jamhoori Ittehad] itself lacks cohesive thinking on vital issues like these, various parts of it having various points of view. The government has entered into an internecine war with the Opposition and, in spite of ample advice available to it to stop it, it is not taking the necessary steps without which no reconciliation is possible.

In case we want to reject conditional aid—and aid today is never unconditional—we will have to reshape our economy. The nation will have to lead a Spartan life and forego many things people have become used to. They will have to “eat grass” as a politician once had put it. Self-reliance is not possible with the sort of consumerism that has become a part of our daily life these days. Unless all join hands, the party in power and the opposition talk about self-reliance would remain empty and hollow. If the government alone tries to sell the policy nobody, least of all its own ministers and legislators, will ever buy it. Without bringing about a national consensus, a form of which could be a national government, talking about self-reliance would be fooling oneself.

If the government decides it cannot live without foreign aid, and is ready to accept the conditionalities, a national consensus again will be required. The present government cannot reduce the defence expenditure or sign the NPT and still remain in power. It will have to satisfy not only the army but also the public which was told during the election campaign the IJI would not bargain on these matters and would take a stiff stand vis-a-vis India besides continuing to extend help to Kashmiris.

The IJI government will have to take strategic decisions about its stand towards the religious parties that have continued to blackmail it since it came to power. We are all Muslims but we cannot allow narrow-minded clerics who are ignorant of the needs of the times to dictate to us what Islam is. There is no place for theocracy in Pakistan, as the Quaid-i-Azam had stressed more than once. As the IJI government brought together many religious parties while opposing the PPP [Pakistan People's Party], they now feel the IJI cannot exist without them

and continue to press one impracticable demand after another. If they are not checked in 1993, it will become impossible for the IJI to run the country. Take the example of the question of interest. Modern banking system on which industrial development depends, did not exist in the days of the Holy Prophet (PBUH) [Peace Be Upon Him]. What he opposed was the curse of usury that used to be rampant in those days and with which modern interest system has no parallel. But the religious parties have taken a stand against it. The economy of the country cannot run if their demand is accepted, nor will any foreign country or any international institution give us a loan if we renounce interest.

The entry of religion in the identity card is a demand that the Father of the Nation, an enlightened Muslim as he was, would never have agreed to. In his presidential address to the Constituent Assembly of Pakistan on August 11, 1947, he had clearly and authoritatively dissociated religion from statecraft. “You are free,” he had said, “you are free to go to your temples, you are free to go to your mosques or to any other places of worship in this state of Pakistan. You may belong to any religion or caste or creed—that has nothing to do with the business of the state.” Towards the end of the same speech, he further clarified the matter. “Now I think we should keep that in front of us as our ideal and you will find that, in course of time, Hindus would cease to be Hindus and Muslims would cease to be Muslims, not in the religious sense, because that is not the personal faith of each individual, but in the political sense as citizens of the state.”

If Nawaz Sharif wants to run Pakistan as a modern industrialised state he will have to allow industrial culture without which investments cannot take place. For this he will have to take on the religious parties on which he continues at present to depend. Religious bigotry is already creating divides and schisms in the country, with one sect calling the other *kafir*. The religious minorities are being made second-rate citizens due to the influence of religious parties. “Insult laws” have been passed and recourse is taken to them in order to harass the minorities. Demands are being made to enact more laws of this sort. The IJI alone cannot take on the narrow-minded clerics on its own. It will have to reach an understanding with the Opposition if it wants to take up the matter.

The Eighth Amendment has made the President all-powerful. Nawaz Sharif cannot continue to be a dummy Prime Minister for long. He cannot allow the President to control foreign affairs, finance and defence forever. If the Eighth Amendment is to be amended or repealed, an understanding with the opposition is a must.

The IJI government has a heavy and difficult agenda for 1993. Only an understanding and close collaboration with the Opposition can help it carry it out.

Army Mission in Sindh Claimed Successful

93AS0442C Lahore THE NATION in English 2 Jan 93
p 5

[Article by Fazal Qureshi: "Army Operation in Sindh-Mission Completed"; italicized words as published]

[Text] Early this month a senior colleague from Islamabad came to Karachi after a long time. He stayed at Shara-e-Faisal, visited Nazimabad North Nazimabad, Federal 'B' Area, drove through Bunder Road and Burns Road for two days and then had this to say: "I must say, Karachi looks cleaner, brighter and busier both at day and at night. I find the atmosphere much more relaxed. When I visited last, there was tension, fear and sense of insecurity in the air. Outsiders were either not visiting the city or leaving in a hurry after meeting their business or family obligations."

A night drive to Thatta and the impressions of the editor from Islamabad reflect the changed situation in Sindh today. They are a tribute to the highly successful operation of the army in dealing with the two-pronged "Sindh phenomenon"—the total breakdown of law and order in the interior of Sindh and the alarmingly high rate of crime in big cities such as Karachi, Hyderabad and Sukkur. The army's mission was further complicated by the existence of deep-rooted ethnic tensions between Sindhis and Mohajirs. The Army had to conduct the Sindh operation in a way as not appearing to be taking sides between the people of the interior and the urban areas.

The odds it faced were formidable. In the interior of Sindh dacoits, terrorists, saboteurs and other anti-national elements openly enjoyed the patronage and protection of powerful *waderas* and political top brass both in the government and the Opposition hierarchies. A crackdown on them essentially meant challenging the mighty domains of the well entrenched elements who could rock the governments in Sindh and at the Centre. In the urban areas the army had not merely to smash powerful gangs of criminals but also retrieve the liberty and security of the citizens from the clutches of political hoodlums who harboured armed gangs to ensure their political sway. The reference is not merely to MQM [Mohajir Quami Movement] but also to other political organisations and factions of Pathans, Punjabis, Baloch and Sindhis. Each nurtured their own armed gangs, not only to deal with their opponents but also with their own dissidents. In addition, political parties had well-armed student wings who often fought bloody battles in educational institutions.

When dealing with the chaotic conditions in the interior the army soon proved its mettle through well-trained, disciplined commandos, superior firepower, sophisticated communications network, and above all remarkable mobility. While before, police had neither the will nor the means to reach dacoit hideouts located deep inside thick jungles, inaccessible marshes and distant mountains, army had jeeps, armoured troops carriers

and the helicopter. It soon proved that unlike half hearted and demoralised police force, army *jawans* were determined, motivated and well trained for any exigency. Within days, the dacoits and terrorists were on the run, but no place was now safe for them.

Army was greatly helped in this arduous task by the local people, who cooperated wholeheartedly with the law-enforcing agencies with the confidence that unlike the unreliable police, their identities were safe. Secondly they understood that on being tipped off, army acted swiftly and decisively to wipe out even the most dangerous gangs of dacoits who previously held whole villages hostage, wrote arrogant ransom notes, dishonoured women and massacred innocent people. Such a helpful local attitude, witnessed for the first time, produced impressive results.

The Army was called in by the Federal Government for six months to help civil administration weed out criminals. This period ended in the last week of November. And there is already talk that army may soon be winding up its operations since they have completed their mission. Their stay has been extended probably to allow the Sindh government to prepare itself to meet any untoward situation after the departure of the armed forces. What they achieved during this period is best reflected in comparative statistics for 1991 and 1992:

	1991	1992
Kidnapping for ransom	454	15
Recovery of stolen cars	200	740
Armed encounters with dacoits	140	698
Dacoits killed	25	59
Car thefts in Karachi daily	20	4

The latest figures showed that 165 dangerous dacoits were killed and 455 arrested in the army operation so far.

The overall result has been that people in rural areas of Sindh have heaved a sigh of relief on being freed from virtual dacoit *raj*. The faces of the people are more cheerful today and life in the interior has returned to the hustle and bustle of the old times. No wonder then that people in rural areas are not merely raising slogans "*Pak Fauj Zindabad*" but also demanding that it stay on some more time to make certain that dacoits and terrorists are completely wiped out.

The role of the armed forces in cleansing the urban society of its criminal content is no less notable. It goes to the credit of Prime Minister Mr. Nawaz Sharif that he allowed the army a free hand in dealing with criminal elements without discrimination as friends or foes. The army went for criminal elements irrespective of their political clout. Criminal was a criminal whether he belonged to MQM, PPP [Pakistan People's Party], Punjabi Pakhtoon Ittehad or any other group or faction.

MQM was an ally of the ruling party but criminals among its fold were also not spared. The top brass of

MQM displayed the strange reaction of ordering its entire leadership to underground despite repeated assurances that the law abiding among the MQM need have no fear. It was not an anti-MQM operation. It was an anti-criminal operation.

Since a sizable section of people rounded up in urban areas belonged to MQM and also because entire MQM leadership chose to go underground, an impression was sought to be created that in the urban areas the army operation was directed against the Mohajirs. At all official levels, from the Prime Minister down to the Chief Minister of Sindh, as also in repeated declarations from the army spokesmen, it was repeatedly clarified that the army operation was not against any political party or ethnic group. It was neither an anti-Sindhi operation, nor an anti-Mohajir operation. It was an anti-criminal operation. That is what the objective of the army mission was and that is what has been achieved.

In the cities also, in their task of rounding up the criminal elements, the law-enforcing agencies had the benefit of willing cooperation from the peace-loving law-abiding citizens. They provided valuable information which led to the arrest of a large number of criminal elements, recovery of large caches of arms and ammunition, and even uncovering a large number of torture houses. The army started its task by dismantling hundreds of steel gates throughout Karachi which had turned some localities into impenetrable fortresses. Through painstaking intelligence work and determined, swift raids, the armed forces were able to break the back of crime in Karachi, Hyderabad and other big cities of Sindh. The residents of major cities also heaved a sigh of relief on being liberated from the clutches of criminals and unscrupulous political gangsters. Army's success is reflected in the fact that the recovery rate of snatched and stolen cars is now 60 per cent. Nearly 587 persons involved in various nefarious crimes have been arrested, smashing powerful gangs of car snatchers and kidnapers. Among those arrested were people of all ethnic groups, Mohajirs, Sindhis, Punjabis, Pathans and others.

Much of the misunderstanding at the MQM level now seems to be receding with the recent emergence of many important MQM leaders, including party Chairman Azim Ahmed Tariq and Sindh Assembly speaker Raziq Khan. They came out on the assurance of the law-enforcing agencies that except for those wanted for their criminal actions, other have nothing to fear. The emergence of Mr. Azeem Ahmed Tariq and other important MQM leaders is an indication that this message has been finally understood. The recent announcement by Mr. Altaf Hussain to abdicate in favour of party chairman Mr. Azim Ahmed Tariq, the last hurdle in the way of a reorganisation of MQM on new lines, minus the criminal elements, has been removed. One would hope all MQM elements would now engage themselves in the task of a new political programme for their organisation. And would it be too much to suggest that for once Mohajirs move out of the confines of their narrow ethnic shell, towards a broader and brighter national outlook not just

for Mohajirs, but for all those Pakistanis who may agree with their political philosophy and cause.

The only question that now remains to be answered is what will happen once the army withdraws from Sindh? Will Sindh plunge back into the turbulent law and order chaos of the past? This is a question difficult to answer at this moment. Some people believe this will happen. But a more optimistic and pragmatic view is that it may not. Dangerous dacoits, and gang leaders have been killed and arrested in such large numbers that the back of gangsterism has been broken. Secondly those greed-loving youngsters who came to think car-snatching and kidnapping for ransom was an easy way of becoming millionaires overnight would now think twice before jumping into the fray once again. Sindh government is also reportedly making preparations for a specially trained and equipped police force to combat the menace of dacoits and terrorists. And finally, after the decisive army blows, some fear will definitely linger on in the minds of left over criminals, from the knowledge that army may have gone back, but it is not too far away.

Resentment of Bihari Immigrants Seen in Sindhi Press

93AS0440G Islamabad THE MUSLIM in English
4 Jan 93 p 4

[Article by Aziz Bughio: "Sindhis Resentful on Biharis' Issue"]

[Text] Once again, the issue of repatriation of Biharis seems to be agitating the minds of the people of Sindh who have continuously been opposing it for fear of being reduced into minority in their own province and for threat to their already limited economic resources.

The Jaog (30/12) has published a lengthy analysis on the issue of Biharis, by one Siddiq Palejo, describing the repatriation as a well planned conspiracy "to reduce Sindhis into a minority and thus throwing them into a permanent slavery." The writer maintains that due to strong opposition from Sindh, no government in the past including that of dictator Ziaul Haq, could dare decide the issue of bringing indirectly, paving the way for eventual arrival of Biharis in Sindh, behind the creation of Mohajir Qaumi Movement [MQM], argues Mr. Palejo.

He alleges that this organisation of Mohajirs is so indispensable that even after the exposure of its misdeed by not less than the Army itself, it is being protected and gradually restored.

He maintains that the people in the interior of Sindh are being arrested on suspicion, whereas the accused MQM leaders went underground, remained untraceable, only to be presently surfacing for new assignment. According to him, when underground, these leaders were in contact with each other on mobile telephones. "The people of Sindh are not so foolish as not to understand all this," writes Mr. Palejo, adding "the educated and intellectual

class of Sindh understands that the Urdu and government press are fighting psychological war for MQM leaders. They are crying to give the impression as if mountains of grief has fallen on them and the Army is very kind to Sindhis. Is this not hypocrisy and a game of tricks?"

The writer feels that what needs to be understood in this context is the fact that "today Army is present in the villages of Sindh to root our crimes, to the advantage of Sindhis, and there is Dacca, Pakistan High Commission is distributing identity cards among Biharis."

Referring to the present silence in the Punjab on the issue of Biharis when they had opposed it as a first reaction, Mr. Palejo thinks that it seems that the secret agencies and IJI [Islami Jamhoori Ittehad] government members have quietly assured the people of the Punjab that it is a question of brief time and that within months the Biharis would go to Sindh. In conclusion, the writer warns against serious repercussion if Biharis are repatriated and allowed to settle in Sindh.

The Ibrat (27/12) fails to understand why legitimate fears of Sindh, on the issue of Biharis' repatriation, are not looked into and the government seems decided to bring these people in Pakistan. The paper says that Sindhis have raised two well founded arguments, in this connection which deserve official attention. One, the Biharis, wherever temporary settled, will finally come to Sindh, as has been proved in the past. Second, Sindh province is already under tremendous economic pressure where the original people are genuinely complaining against absence of employment avenues and opportunities. According to the paper, the ultimate addition of Biharis population to Sindh will, understandably, bring the present resources of this province under more burden, thus complicating economic and social situation.

This daily has also published an article by one Zakir Hussain ridiculing the claim of the Punjab government of settling Biharis in Punjab to save Sindh from worries of economic pressure. The writer has reminded the people of the Punjab of their advice to the arriving Mohajirs immediately after partition to go ahead (pointing to Sindh) for settlement in Pakistan, thus refusing them residence in their province. According to the writer, the present generosity of the Punjab is based on its belief that Biharis would leave for Sindh to live among their kith and kin in Karachi.

Technical Education and Social Awakening

Referring to the assurance of doubling the present number of technical institutions and increased teaching opportunities in schools, in the new education policy announced by the government, the Awami Awaz (29/12) feels that the rulers are not serious and sincere because no measures are visible to meet the basic requirements for bringing about the promised technical revolution in the country. The basic requirements, in the opinion of

the paper, include producing infrastructure and know-how to improve and maintain necessary machinery, engineering and processing technology. Second important thing is to produce and repair items of machinery essential for daily use and to train personnel to handle all these departments of activity, thinks the paper.

According to the paper, no step seems in the offing to take care of all these essential equipments. Official callousness is discernible from the fact that there is no separate ministry or department to plan and implement policies regarding technical education in the country, laments the paper. As regards Sindh Education Department, the paper alleges that not only technical experts are not there but those non-technical men employed in the department, are creating hindrances in technical education.

Recruitment of Sindhis in Army

The Sindhi daily Hilal-i-Pakistan (30/12) has felt jubilant on the recent disclosure of acting Col Commandant of Sindh Regimental Centre during his talk with journalists that the Sindh regiment would be made purely Sindh regiment because the Sindhis who have joined the army have proved their worth and work. He rejected the impression that Sindhis cannot be good soldiers, maintaining that they have already proved their interest in this service by being disciplined and sincere.

The daily feels that if properly encouraged, young men from Sindh would be forthcoming to join our army which had remained confined to the provinces of Punjab and NWFP [North-West Frontier Province]. The recruitment of more Sindhis in the army would provide an opportunity to the people of our province to serve the country in this sensitive field and would render the army a really national organisation.

Sindh Operation Said Still in Limbo

93AS0441C Lahore THE NATION in English 6 Jan 93
p 6

[Editorial: "Ending Sindh Operation?"; italicized words as published]

[Text] To those who had predicted or hoped that the Army, having completed its mission in Sindh, could now return to the barracks, the killing of some MQM [Mohajir Quami Movement] workers in Karachi will come as a shock. It has only revealed, if such revelation was needed, that the apparent peace in the urban Sindh, is an uneasy one. In the rural Sindh there is calm on the surface but the big fish, whom the Army was not allowed to touch, and the *patharidars*, to whom the patronage of outlaws is a way of life, are still around and there is no indication yet that there is any feeling of penitence among them. The Federal Interior Minister and the Federal Defence Minister are now talking about a fresh mandate for the Army's presence in Sindh, rather than of the pull out that the Army had probably suggested. The Army was of course neither expected to, nor in a position

to remove the socio, politico, economic causes that brought Sindh to the mess that it was. But the fact that these causes are still there and no attempt has so far been made to address them, can only mean that a fresh mandate, as and when it is given to the Army, would remain sterile. The Army may be able to keep the lid on but trouble would continue to simmer underneath and resurface when the troops leave—which indeed they will have to sooner than later.

As matters stand there are problem galore. The MQM infighting, of which the recent killings are just one manifestation, not only promises urban instability in the days to come, but also political instability in the entire province. Understandably, the Sindh administration finds the prospects of by-elections to seats vacated by MQM resignations, too unnerving. The reform of the police, thoroughly corrupted during the late Jam Sadiq Ali's long misrule, has so far been spotty. A few dismissals here and there are unlikely to have prepared it to take on full responsibility for law and order in the province when the Army leaves. Its training at the hands of the Army is said to have been undertaken, but the results are unknown. The coalition government now in power is being sustained by the Centre and has yet to find a viable enough political base of its own. The by-elections could, it is feared, only aggravate its precarious political hold. The kind of economic package that could have salvaged some of its credibility, appears unfeasible. Because the Centre, which could have helped, is itself in deep trouble in matters of cash. Sindh is thus in a limbo.

Intelligence Organizations, Leaders Said Fracturing Nation

93AS0370C Lahore THE NATION in English
20 Dec 92 p 9

[Article by Husain Naqi: "Issues in Politics"; quotation marks as published]

[Text] The political mess that intelligence agencies can create for the very country and State whose interests they are expected to protect is much in evidence in today's Pakistan. Having been expanded larger than the size required for an under-developed country like ours, they have assumed the role of an 'invisible government.' Their bosses seem to believe themselves the real 'rulers' and 'guardians' of the State. As a corollary, they try to 'guide' and dominate every sphere of life, including the country's polity and its institutions, its security concerns and, last but not least, its ideology. Hooked to a global power soon after the establishment of the country, thanks to a myopic bureaucratic establishment the country inherited from the colonial masters, these 'super-patriots' scuttled every endeavour made by the people and their political leadership to march forward as a free and independent democratic nation. They branded political leaders as 'subversives', 'anti-State' and 'unpatriotic', while at the same time planting their surrogates and agents as 'patriotic' and 'upholders of

ideology'. Their mischief bore its first fruit (sic) in the form of the country's dismemberment. Instead of admitting their monumental blunders and accepting the guilt for undoing what the people had been able to create, they blamed it on others, including the political leaders in the then two wings of Pakistan, and, at the same time tried to make a large segment of the people believe that the secession of the then East Pakistan was a 'good riddance' and unburdening of a 'nuisance'. For the remaining Pakistan, their prescription was, divide and rule through carrot and stick, in place of people's right to rule themselves under a system based on justice and fairplay, mutual trust and confidence, tolerance and compassion. The policy was most vigorously pursued under the darkest and longest reign of (late) General Ziaul Haq, the most hypocritical and ruthless of military dictators Pakistan has suffered so far. His times coincided with the superpowers' conflict reaching its climax and consequently helped him exploit the same for his coterie's perpetuation and the emergence of the mafia. The growing ambitions of Zia's coterie having come into conflict with the invisible(?) masters, his and his coterie's leading personages' end did not take long to come. But the remnants were still pursuing their goals, now a great deal trimmed, yet lethal for Pakistan and its people. However, they were faced with a problem that could be likened to internal haemorrhage. The internecine conflicts between the agencies' 'warlords', came to the surface when the predominance of one agency over the others ended with the end of General Zia. In her short stint as Prime Minister, Benazir Bhutto resented their interference with matters entirely political and clipped their wings, suffered the consequences and is still being branded as subversive and what not. 'Security-cleared' Nawaz Sharif opted for a safer course and placed his trust in civvies, without critically annoying the other ones.

Elsewhere, and particularly in Sindh, one set of 'patriots'—rediscovered as terrorists—were getting dislodged while others were yet to be 'dropped'. Hectic efforts seemed to be underway to pick and choose loyalists and 'honour' them with the title of 'patriots'. That was being considered essential by the warring agencies' 'warlords' to keep the initiative in their hands in urban and rural Sindh, especially in the former. For the time being, Altaf Hussain was to be left to hibernate in the cool climes of England as some kind of a 'reservist', with the softer face to be given a try. After all, in politics there were no permanent friends or foes and if the agencies' 'politics', at some point of time, demanded the return of the prodigal son of urban Sindh who could stop that? A clear indication to that effect was available in Senator Ishtiaq Azhar's statement appearing in the Press. This should, however, not be expected so soon as it would completely lay the whole ploy bare. The 'reservists' (for there were others as well in the agencies' cupboards) would have to wait and, for the time being, enjoy their overdue rest! In the meanwhile, lesser mortals like Mr Sarwar Awan of Punjabi Pakhtoon Mahaz had initiated the old gauge of (late) General Ayub Khan days. Mr Awan was reported

to have announced his plan to, first, try to forge 'Punjabi, Pakhtoon, Mohajir Ittehad/Mohaz', which was a fore-runner of MQM [Mohajir Qaumi Movement] and PPM [expansion not given]. With one or the other agency backing these and other parochial, chauvinist and fascist organisations, it is quite a difficult task to persuade their adherents to join mainstream politics. Similar is the situation with regard to a growing number of sectarian and communal organisations, most, if not all, funded by other countries, including our Islamic brothers.

In the situation thus obtaining, Pakistan had been all but turned into a battleground for internal and external agencies, some collaborating amongst themselves while others are working at cross purposes, with the country and its people being exploited and misused as their guinea-pigs and cannon fodder. How can this be conducive for the country and especially for its development and progress. Now, in particular, when Pakistan's use as a frontline state for promoting the interests of one superpower against the other has been drastically reduced, if not rendered totally undesirable, there appear quite a few fertile minds toying with some fresh linkages with inferior powers loaded with hefty coffers. One would be little surprised if the mafia was looking to buy 'expertise' or already utilising its services. That is a sure way of inviting trouble, particularly at a time when not alone adversaries but the very same power that for long misused us were seeking amends and threatening reprisals.

In the circumstances, one fails to understand the wisdom of the country's establishment and the plethora of intelligence agencies opting for division and fragmentation, fanning communal and sectarian hatreds, resisting non-partisan political progress and encouraging political discord and confrontation, fast pushing it to a head-on collision. Isn't that a suicidal course? What good could be expected out of it for the country or its people? Gambles being indulged in by the establishment and agencies are, clearly, not paying. Instead, the risks are on the increase. Pakistan is getting threats of being declared a terrorist state and not alone the United States, but also a couple of OIC [Organization of Islamic Conference] countries were pointing an accusing finger. A friendly state was reportedly deporting thousands of our citizens, working as foreign exchange earning tools there and elsewhere. Surely then, the time has come for the establishment to see reason and work for compromise and concord amongst all segments of the population and, to begin with, especially those regions and people who were denied their share, both in power and in all the other State institutions. This is not possible if the establishment continues to retain its stranglehold or tightens the lid further through lawless 'laws' or through persisting with acts that have already converted it into a brutalised, depoliticised, police state. A relapse into military dictatorship would only hasten the disaster.

Before parting for the next week's column, one hopes against hope that there would not be a repeat performance of state terrorism this Tuesday in Islamabad and elsewhere, as was witnessed last month. The ruling establishment should keep the civil, armed and intelligence agencies on the leash. That could be a beginning for reason and dialogue replacing brute force as also for confining the intelligence agencies to their job, instead of indulging in politics. Let politics be the vocation of political leaders and parties, their activists and supporters. Let this hope not be dashed and smashed by lathis, teargas fumes or gunfire.

Lawlessness in Northern Territories Said Rampant

*93AS0440E Islamabad the MUSLIM in English
7 Jan 93 p 6*

[Editorial: "Terror Reigns in Northern Areas"]

[Text] According to our wholly trustworthy sources, most of the Northern Areas have now been reduced to a state of intolerable lawlessness and chaos. In the recent past, these areas have been the scene of some of the most brutal and shameful sectarian violence. Since there is no way one can get full and correct information, there is no knowing how many innocent lives were lost and how much property was destroyed. Whatever indications are available lead to the conclusion that the sectarian violence was deliberately fomented by criminal obscurantists, not always unaided by local officialdom. Whatever the truth about this allegation may be, there is no denying that the government administration—whatever of it is intact and functional—remains inexcusably guilty of failure to, first, prevent these terrible happenings, and second, contain them once they had erupted. There are grave doubts about the efficiency and even-handedness of investigation and prosecution of those really guilty. The people of the Northern Areas have lost all trust in the administrative personnel. They look upon the government officialdom from top to bottom with dark misgivings and fear. The bureaucracy in Northern Areas has been able to intimidate even the media correspondents most of whom openly confess to inability to report the truth for fear of vindictiveness from the local police and executive authorities.

The situation being so utterly unrelieved and murky, it is the duty of the minister in charge of the Northern Areas to make official arrangements for the newsmen from Islamabad to tour Northern Areas and discover the truth about the tales of horror that are trickling through what are now terror-stricken regions in the remote mountains. We find little evidence of any interest or concern about this state of affairs as far as the government in Islamabad is concerned. It is difficult to recall when the minister concerned cared to visit the Northern Areas. He could scarcely be less interested in his responsibility in respect

of these forgotten and forlorn places. After all, they are parts of Pakistan and the people so badly neglected are citizens of this country.

The only true and enduring solution for the chronic problems of the Northern Areas lies in giving them a proper constitutional status equal to that of other provinces of Pakistan and let them have full franchise and political autonomy and self-rule. There is no earthly reason why the people in those areas be treated as tenth rate citizens, if citizens at all. To leave them at the tender mercies of a set of bureaucrats responsible to nobody is the gravest piece of injustice and affront. It is nothing short of an insult to the Constitution of the Republic of Pakistan, because it denies the people of Northern Areas equality with citizens in other parts of the country. But while the constitutional aspect is sorted out, the Northern Areas should be given a clean, responsive and human administration. The situation as it obtains today is simply shameful and the government in Islamabad alone is responsible for things having gone totally out of control.

Senators Argue Against Rollback of Nuclear Program

*93AS0440A Islamabad THE MUSLIM in English
6 Jan 93 p 2*

[Article by Razaqat Ali: "Pakistan Should Not Roll Back Its Nuclear Programme"; quotation marks as published]

[Text] Rawalpindi, Jan 5: Pakistan must not, under any pressure, roll back its nuclear programme which is a question of "to be or not to be" for the nation.

This was the consensus of four legislators (three Senators and one MNA [member of National Assembly]) at a seminar organised by Rawalpindi Press Club, here Tuesday on the nuclear programme of Pakistan.

The speakers alleged that a lobby, dominated by the retired Army Generals, "was on the behest of some arms dealers, advising the government to abandon its nuclear programme which the Pakistani nation had pursued so vigorously during the last two decades."

The speakers included Senator Iqbal Ahmed Khan Secretary General Pakistan Muslim League, Senator Tariq Chaudhry, Mian Abdul Wahid MNA from Toba Tek Singh and Senator Ishtiaq Azhar of MQM [Mohajir Quami Movement].

Before the seminar, the audience were shown a film of NBC in which former Prime Minister Benazir Bhutto had delivered a statement about Pakistan's nuclear programme.

The interview of the former Prime Minister, which has already been discussed extensively on various platforms, did not attract much attention rather the speakers concentrated on the nuclear issue in general.

Today's session was part of the two-day seminar. On Wednesday some former Generals including former COAS [Chief of Army Staff] Mirza Aslam Beg will express their point of view on the issue.

Mian Abdul Wahid, former Ambassador and relative of late Ziaul Haq said writing books like 'Islamic Bomb' was no service to the nation and this epithet was quoted by all the anti-Islam forces which were against the peaceful nuclear programme of Pakistan.

Mian Wahid said a nuclear deterrent was imperative for Pakistan's existence as it was facing direct threat from hegemonic designs of India. He said nuclear non-proliferation was desirable but Pakistan should not be singled out. He demanded that nuclear non-proliferation should start from the United States.

Senator Tariq Chaudhry advised the government to end its apologetic attitude and reveal the truth to the nation about its nuclear programme. He said the programme, which was started by late Z. A. Bhutto, was essential for Pakistan's integrity.

He criticised two retired generals, Mujeeb-ur Rehman and Kamal-ud-Deen for advising the nation to abandon its nuclear programme.

He demanded of the government to take care of those playing on the tunes of foreign arms dealers. He termed the non-proliferation proposal, tabled by Prime Minister Nawaz Sharif as a trap set by the United States.

Iqbal Ahmed Khan said there were no two opinions about Pakistan's nuclear programme.

Senator Ishtiaq Azhar who remained mostly irrelevant during his speech, termed the nuclear programme of Pakistan as peaceful.

Jatoi Attacks on Government Claimed Hollow, False

*93AS0371A Islamabad THE MUSLIM in English
20 Dec 92 p 6*

[Editorial: "Has Mr. Jatoi Lost His Marbles"]

[Text] Mr. Ghulam Mustafa Jatoi has always been known as a harmless person, as ineffectual in the luxury of office as in the wilderness of opposition. Whatever his other addictions, principles have never been one of them. And nobody has ever accused him of keeping any democratic weapon in his feudal armoury. He is known to enjoy an occasional swim but of late he has taken to nose-diving in deep water. He first declared with an air of injured innocence that the last elections held under his supervision, when he was caretaker Prime Minister, were comprehensively rigged, and balloting in at least 90 percent of the constituencies was manipulated by his administration. One would have thought that after making such a bold confession Mr. Jatoi would retire from politics. No such luck. Mr. Jatoi proceeded to form another alliance of opposition parties only to find it

hijacked by Benazir Bhutto's long march. So he was back in fold of PDA [People's Democratic Alliance] under Benazir's banner. But brisk walking does not suit Mr. Jatoi's style of politics. While he was recovering from the exertion of the march, the government decided to freeze the defence expenditure at its present level. That gave Mr. Jatoi an opportunity to launch an attack on the government more to endear himself with the defence establishment than to topple Nawaz Sharif. He claimed that freezing the defence expenditure would endanger the security of the country. Mr. Jatoi probably does not know that our defence expenditure is at an unconscionably high level. Fortunately for Mr. Jatoi there is no one in the government or in the opposition who would even breathe a word of criticism against the present level of defence expenditure. Whatever their internal difference they all are united in their praise of the armed forces and in urging them to help themselves to as large a chunk of the national pie as they can swallow. One would have thought that a politician like Mr. Jatoi would know how badly neglected our social sectors are because of the size of our defence expenditure. Does Mr. Jatoi know that our expenditure per soldier exceeds \$2500 per annum whereas our annual expenditure on education is no more than \$4 per adult and less than \$3 per annum on health? Does he know that our real level of literacy does not exceed 5 percent? Does he realise that more than half the population of the country does not have access to safe drinking water? We go on buying tanks and ammunition of all kinds, old and new, without discussing the defence expenditure in the national assembly. We are made to believe that all this secrecy is necessary because we do not want to alert the enemy. The truth is that every item of our defence equipment is known not only to the suppliers but to every important country including the United States, India, Israel and Britain. Who are we hiding our defence expenditures from? Only from our own people. The enemy is in possession of all the facts about our military capability as we should be in the know of his capability. There is immediate need to review and re-examine our doctrine of defence based on deterrence which is now out of date. The Gulf war demonstrated the limited relevance of the ground forces. In any major war the decisive battles will now be fought in the air and with long range missiles.

The most important factor in national defence is the preparedness of the civilian population. Unfortunately we have neglected this aspect because it does not suit us to train our people in civil defence. In 1965 when Indian planes came over the Wagah border the "Zinda Dilan-e-Lahore" could not distinguish between the Iftar siren from the air raid siren. Thousands of them left the city blocking the Grand Truck Road.

The government's decision to freeze the defence expenditure is meant only to win the goodwill of the defence forces. It is of the utmost importance that we should review our priorities and devote a major portion of our national budget to the social sectors. At the present rate we will find ourselves in a state of over-preparedness in

terms of military equipment with nothing left to defend in terms of the people's health and education. When we talk of security we are not talking of territory alone; we are also talking of the people who inhabit that territory. It is the welfare and happiness of the people which must take precedence over everything else. An ignorant, unhealthy, and starving mass of people do not need any enemy to exterminate them. Poverty and hunger can do the job more effectively. Our political leaders, whether in the government or in opposition, should realise that defence expenditure must be immediately brought under close scrutiny of the Parliament. Every item of expenditure must be openly discussed if we want to ensure that our resources are not squandered.

Struggle Within Jamaat-i-Islami Analyzed

93AS0375A Karachi JANG in Urdu 15 Dec 92 p 3

[Article by Maulana Kauser Niazi: "Jamaat-i-Islami's Internal Struggle"]

[Text] When elections were to be held recently for the leadership of Jamaat-i-Islami [JI], speculation was rife in the press and rumors were flying around. However, things went well, and the total break up that was expected did not take place. I have not spoken or written about JI for many years and would have remained silent now except that my friend Khalil Malik insisted that I say something. Khalil Malik is an intelligent and well-educated journalist; he worked for Kuwait radio for a long time but returned to Pakistan when Iraq attacked Kuwait. He now publishes a literary and political journal here and he wanted me to write an article expressing my views on JI's internal struggle. The questionnaire he prepared deserves to be read, and in this article I shall first present his letter, which is followed by my remarks.

Khalil Malik wrote:

Elections will soon be held for the chairmanship of Jamaat-i-Islami, and while the present leader Qazi Hussein Ahmed's personality and policy are under discussion, the Islamic ideology of revolution as envisaged by the founder of the party, the late Maulana Sayed Abulala Maududi, also has come under discussion.

It is regrettable that in a country founded on Islam, the intelligentsia shows a lack of interest in the party that is struggling for an Islamic revolution. There are only a few individuals with the necessary knowledge which would enable them to discuss JI's affairs, and those who have the knowledge cannot be expected to keep their biases separate from their views.

You were a member of the party and then left it. Most circles hold strong views about you, but personally I am convinced that, first there are no "gaps" in your knowledge, and second, for the sake of righteousness, you keep your likes and dislikes separate from your views.

I would like your answers to the following questions regarding JI:

1) The late Maulana was in favor of establishing an Islamic religion, government, society, and state. During the term of office of Mian Tufail Mohammad, whose faith and sanctity are enviable, emphasis was placed on the establishment of the Shari'ah and less and less was heard about the establishment of Islam. The promulgation of the Shari'ah was loudly demanded. Is it possible to obtain positive results from the promulgation of the Shari'ah in a society where religion does not exist? Should JI have demanded the establishment of Islam or the promulgation of the Shari'ah?

2) The Shari'ah bill for which JI voted gave temporary protection to the practice of charging interest. Mian Tufail Mohammed was of the view that anyone who rejects even one item of the Shari'ah deserves death, and his view has been published. Is this true? We have seen the abominable practice of interest-charging abolished in Iran and some other countries, but it was done gradually. Do you know what has been done in this regard in Egypt, and do you think it possible to impose suddenly a financial system devoid of interest-charging? (The majority of the people definitely reject the view of an unbeliever, such as Sardar Asif Ali.)

3) In their published views, Naim Siddiqi and Mian consider the approach laid down by Maulana Maududi essential to an Islamic revolution. The late Maududi said that, even if it would take a hundred years, JI would not gather a following around itself as long as a righteous society capable of running an Islamic system did not come into existence. Although there have been many discussions about the method of creating an Islamic revolution, there should be discussions again on whether to bring about an Islamic revolution. It is essential to have a society the majority of whose members are righteous. I am a minor student of Islamic history, but I see this approach as being different from that of our leader and guide, the Prophet Mohammad. If the Islamic society [of that time] had been totally righteous, the mischief of apostasy would not have arisen after the death of the Prophet Mohammad. There did exist, however, a minority of people of exemplary character in Medina's society who saved Islamic society from disintegration and provided a world wide leadership. It seems then that an Islamic revolution does not require a totally righteous society but needs a minority of righteous and innovative people in the society.

Moreover, if the late Maududi's views are to be made the prerequisite of an Islamic revolution, would it not be tantamount to the heresy of creating another prophet? Maududi is held in high regard because of his sanctity, his love of faith, his sincerity, and efforts; but to hold his view and interpretation as irrevocable and as the single fundamental truth is not only to make a prophet out of him but also to abrogate freedom of thought in Islamic culture. What is your opinion on this basic question?

4) Islam does not regard human struggle in society as being the poor against the rich, black against white, or of any other opposites, but as that of the oppressed against

the oppressor and the just against the unjust usurper of the rights of others. From this point of view, the formation of the Pasban [group] and protest against oppression are commendable acts; however, it also appears that Qazi Hussein Ahmed regards the leaders and members of the party incapable of undertaking a practical struggle against injustice. What Qazi Hussein Ahmed should have done is lined up his party members under his leadership and confronted injustice. He would thus have shown the nation that those who come to the aid of the oppressed are not youth who dance to a rhythm but individuals of all ages who grasp firmly the rope of God and follow the tradition of the Prophet Mohammad. Does the formation of the Pasban not show that Qazi Ahmed is disappointed in the members of his party, considers them devoid of any revolutionary spirit, and is seeking new horizons?

Moreover, both the members of the party and of the Pasban should be asked who is doing the work of establishing the faith and creating an Islamic society, and if this work is not being done, then what steps should be taken to start this movement.

Finally, after the destruction of Marxism and, by the grace of God, the rejection of Marxism by us, the basic problem in our society is the economic exploitation of the ordinary man whose personality has been distorted by poverty and exploitation. When creating an Islamic revolution, attention should be paid to this issue also, otherwise the revolution will become distorted. These are some of the questions I have been thinking about and I am sure your views encompass even wider horizons. I am waiting for your detailed analysis.

The following are my answers to these questions.

Your letter has been lying here for the last ten days; as I told you over the phone, it is easier for me to talk than to write. If you had come yourself, we would have exchanged views in detail, and you would have been able to write about them in your own words and thus prepare a comprehensive answer. But you would not hear of it; consequently I am forced to take up pen and answer your questions. I hope you will overlook any lack of spontaneity you may find.

First of all, I would like to express my thanks for choosing me to write on these important issues, in spite of the misunderstandings and suspicions that have been created and which are believed by the JI-influential circles who regard me as their enemy. I would like to say that, even though I resigned from the party, and even though I have not in the past years regretted even slightly my decision to do so, I still consider myself a well-wisher of JI. I learned much from Maulana Maududi, and he was responsible in a large part for my mental training and discipline. I regard him as one of my mentors. In reacting to the actions of certain individuals, I may have exceeded the limits in speeches and writings, but during the last years of his life, Maulana Maududi resolved all the ensuing grievances. I was among those who prayed at

his funeral, and I have dedicated my book *Mushahidat Wa Taasurat* [Observations and Impressions] to him. My article on his death is included in my book *Jineh Main Ne Dekha* [The People I Have Seen]; those who want to know about my relationship with and impression of Maulana Maududi will find it in this book. When I recite the holy Koran in the morning and pray for my elders and those to whom I am beholden, I include Maududi; I have done so for many years and continue to do so. I am not saying all this because I want to renew relations with JI, or because I need the votes of the party's influential circles. My explanation is intended to remain as a statement of fact until the day of judgment, for a life well lived and well ended is what will matter then.

I shall now answer your questions as concisely as possible.

1) Based on what I have read and thought, I would say that Maulana Maududi's efforts were first directed towards achieving "Islam's Influence" and, after Pakistan was formed, toward the "promulgation of Islam." With reference to the latter, his real efforts were aimed at the creation of a true Islamic constitution. In regard to the promulgation of the Shari'ah, he believed in gradualism. In his view, the promulgation of Islamic restrictions on an ignorant society could sometimes give rise to corruption. In advocating the promulgation of Islamic law, he attached great importance to the reform of society.

2. I agree to a great extent with Mian Tufail Mohammad's views about the Shari'ah bill passed by our parliament. He is right when he says that, after the 1973 Constitution and after the objectives agreement was incorporated into the Constitution, there was no longer any need to pass the Shari'ah bill. What is really needed is sincerity and good intentions on the part of the ruling authorities. When a government which possesses these rare qualities comes into office, there will be no constitutional or legal hindrance to the promulgation of Islam in Pakistan. At any rate, the Sharia bill is really a mockery of religious law since it declares finance and politics to be outside the jurisdiction of religious law. The people had expected great things from the Shari'ah bill, but their subsequent disappointment hurt both their romantic notions as well as the Islamic system. Hardly anyone would deny that a gradual approach would have to be adopted in establishing a noninterest financial system. Scholars of religious law may be justified in differing over the definition of interest, but the legitimacy of interest-charging and the capitalist system declared in the Shari'ah bill is totally unacceptable. Had the members of JI rejected this bill in parliament, they would have at least not become parties to this crime.

3) Any method of Islamic revolution is legitimate as long as it does not oppose and clash with Islam. No one can deny the need for a moral society in order to promulgate Islam, but the manner in which the Prophet Mohammad succeeded in establishing an Islamic government had as

its basis the acceptance of Islam by a few prominent individuals and authorities of Yasrab [ancient name for Medina]. After the assumption of authority by the Prophet Mohammad in the small state of Medina, a moral society came into being gradually and automatically at the Prophet's bidding. The efforts which had failed in Mecca gained quick success in Medina after *Beyat-I-Uqba* when a number of Medina's leaders accepted Islam. The Prophet Mohammad had emigrated from Mecca to Medina at the invitation of these disciples and found the people of Medina eager to welcome him. Thus, the influence of a moral, innovative minority in the society made the Prophet Mohammad the ruler of Medina.

This example shows that the creation of a moral society can come about only after the establishment of a moral government. Of course, if the existence of a moral society should cause a moral government to come into office, so much the better. The fact is that the objective pertains to the Islamic movement; the method and scope are flexible. Taking into account the exigencies of time and pace, in order to gain the objective, any method can be adopted, which is not forbidden by God and his prophet.

You were correct when you said that to reject any point of view other than the interpretation and opinion of Maulana Maududi is to paralyze freedom of thought. Maududi belonged to the upper middle class; upper class societies in Hyderabad, Deccan, and Delhi did not reflect the hardships of the poor. The upper classes do not understand and feel the difficulties of the poor as well as do leaders from the middle and lower middle classes such as Qazi Hussein Ahmed. It is natural that these differences in temperament and taste should create different methods of struggle; but this difference should not be made into an issue of religious law and the Koran and become cause for a fight. I would like to say here that the interviews with certain leaders of JI published in periodicals sympathetic to that party regarding JI's recent elections, the creation of the Pasban and the relatively spirited method of approach of Qazi Hussein Ahmed and the manner in which certain pro-JI journalists have participated in the discussion (even if with sincerity) have raised feelings of regret among onlookers such as myself. In our day, such discussions, even when secret and conducted within JI, were unthinkable and would have been called a conspiracy. Now, the party's dirty linen is being washed in public, and no one seems to realize that from the time of the founding of the party to now the party attitude fostered under Maududi regarded disagreement with party discipline as totally un-Islamic; today under changed conditions, the same disagreement is considered an Islamic democratic right. What justification, then, can be found for regarding as contrary to Islamic law the minor changes brought about by Qazi Hussein Ahmed who may be said to have the insight of an interpretive scholar of religious law or of an enlightened fighter for the just cause.

4) Qazi Hussein Ahmed and I worked side by side in the senate for three years. We met frequently, and I know well his approach and enthusiastic performance. There is no doubt that he accomplished the important task of moving the party out of the circle of the elite and bringing it to the people. The end of injustice in every walk of life and the establishment of justice are the real spirit of Islamic society and government. Today, the efforts to organize our downtrodden and oppressed people in a confrontation with injustice would be considered an extension of this movement, which was first started by Maududi himself, after a horrifying display of hooliganism in Lahore. He founded the society for the preservation of public morality. I am proud that I was elected the head of this society, and in those early days we organized a youth movement on the original "Pasban" lines. A great deal of progress has been made in the media since those days when the party was not as interested in propaganda and publicity as it is today. The founders of the party wished to form a resistance movement of young people against injustice and oppression. Today Qazi Hussein Ahmed has also accomplished this by forming the Pasban. Certain types of song grate on the senses, and efforts to form a personality cult cannot be called commendable; but any project which tries to stir up and galvanize into action the warm-blooded outside Jamaat-I-Islami cannot be regarded as showing disappointment in the members of JI. The division of labor in a large organization brought about to fulfill the duty of pointing out the right way and warning of the wrong way can be sufficient justification for forming a separate party. One can look at it this way: It is the duty of every citizen to defend his country, but at the same time an army is organized; this does not imply that the state thinks that, except for the army, it cannot rely on the citizens to fulfill the duty of defending the country.

I do agree with the last part of your letter—economic exploitation is in general the basic problem confronting humanity in general and our society in particular. Far from starting an all-out movement for ending this exploitation and preparing a comprehensive alternative program, forces trying to bring about an Islamic revolution do not even speak out on the issue. Perhaps they think that it would divert attention towards materialism. But if Islam offers a panacea to all people at the present time, and if the disease of economic exploitation is eating away at morality, why is the subject not used as a headline in the context of Islam to draw the attention of the people?

Bhutto Criticized for Attacking Government

93AS0370A Lahore *THE NATION* in English
29 Dec 92 p 6

[Editorial: "Benazir's Tirade"; quotation marks as published]

[Text] Ms. Benazir Bhutto was her usual self, angry and bitter, when she opened the debate on the President's address. Failure on all fronts was her verdict on Nawaz

Sharif government, more so in foreign and economic policies, which she said were a total fiasco. She charged the government with incompetence, corruption and mismanagement, by and large repeating what has off and on been said by her and other PDA [People's Democratic Alliance] leaders and recently put together in the PDA's so-called 'charge-sheet' against the government. A good part of her tirade was probably designed to cater for the U.S. public opinion, and thus she spoke at length about issues like human rights violations and rise of fundamentalism, apart from raising the scare of Washington's wrath. 'Nawaz Sharif will be directly responsible for the horrendous consequences,' she said, citing instances, such as, reports of the State Department considering to declare Pakistan a 'terrorist state', and a new law, harsher than Pressler Amendment, on the anvil in the U.S. Senate, to bring home the message of growing decline in Pakistan-U.S. relations. Nevertheless, she did not spell out as to what Nawaz Sharif government should have done to avert the American displeasure, notwithstanding the implicit suggestion that things would not have gone wrong had she been in charge in Islamabad.

Ironically enough, Benazir Bhutto virtually exonerated President Ghulam Ishaq Khan of any role in what she called 'politics of terror and repression', and making a passing reference to his address as a 'sad story of nation's affairs', tried to project him as a 'besieged' person. It was quite a volte face from the spectacle of her crying hoarse 'Baba go' and refusing to let him address the Parliament on a similar occasion not very long ago. But, strange are the ways of politicians, and Benazir Bhutto is no exception to the rule that there are no permanent friends or enemies in politics. Hence, what follows from the general rule of political alignments is that if Benazir Bhutto could swallow her pride to make peace overtures to the person whom she had publicly declared as the 'villain of the piece' in her ouster from power, there is no reason why there cannot be a compromise deal between Benazir Bhutto and Nawaz Sharif. And though her call for a 'credible political settlement' appeared at variance with her hard-hitting attack on the government, it nevertheless was a signal that she had not closed her doors to negotiations. Whether or not the government is in a mood to consider the option of reconciliation with the Opposition, perhaps the possibility of bringing down the political temperature and finding a way out of the enduring confrontation scenario has not yet been lost altogether. And if creating a climate congenial for the smooth functioning of democratic institutions means anything to the ruling party, it need not be told how to go about it. What really matters is the willingness to make concessions to the Opposition, rather than making it a point of prestige to score points in the futile battle of wits that is being waged in the country today.

Serious Differences Between PDA, NDA Seen

93AS0441J Lahore *THE NATION* in English 7 Jan 93
p 14

[Text] Karachi (PPI)—Secretary-General, Pakistan Democratic Party (PDP), Arshad Chaudhry, has said

that "serious differences exist between the Peoples Democratic Alliance (PDA) and the NDA [National Democratic Alliance] over PDA's remaining with the IJI [Islami Jamhoori Ittehad] Government in Balochistan where the NDA and IJM [Islami Jamhoori Mahaz] sit on the Opposition benches."

Talking to newsmen here on Wednesday, he said: "This anomalous position created by the PDA in Balochistan is the major impediment in the way of formation of a grand alliance of the Opposition parties against the IJI government."

He said: "It is deplorable that leadership of the Pakistan People's Party [PPP] has failed to condemn the hooliganism of its hoodlums to disrupt the NDA's public meeting at Multan last Friday which clearly amounts to encouraging vandalism in politics."

This attitude of the PPP is not understandable as some component parties of the NDA have been actively participating in the PDA's long march and public meetings, he added.

He maintained that under these circumstances, the NDA's component parties who have hitherto been cooperating with the PDA's struggle against the IJI Government, shall have to seriously ponder over the desirability of any further cooperation with them (PDA).

Answering a question, he said never before the Mohajir community living in Sindh had united for the preservation and promotion of their rights as they did under the banner of the Mohajir Qaumi Movement (MQM).

Unfortunately, instead of solving Mohajir's problems, the "immature leadership of this movement chose to act irresponsibly, developed fascist tendencies and held the urban population of Sindh as hostage, inviting harsh administrative measures to curb its activities," he said.

He stressed that unity of Mohajirs so laboriously achieved should be preserved and channelised into maintain mainstream of national politics so that this organisation plays a constructive role in the interest of Mohajirs and contributes to uplift of the people of Sindh and the country as a whole.

Arshad Chaudhry felt that it was the responsibility of Mohajir elders to come forward and play their role to preserve Mohajir unity by bringing the warring factions of this organisation together to avoid further factionalism and break up of the organisation.

The NDA will welcome any positive move aimed at Mohajir unity and their constructive role in the national politics, he said.

Islam Claimed Used To Manipulate People

93AS0371D Islamabad *THE MUSLIM in English*
30 Dec 92 p 6

[Editorial: "Playing Politics in the Garb of Islam"; quotation marks, italicized words as published]

[Text] It was a most thoughtful discourse on Islamisation in Pakistan by the former Chief Justice of Federal Shariat Court Shaikh Aftab Hussain. He demonstrated that the demand for Islamisation has always been inspired not by any urge to serve the cause of Islam but by the personal ambition of the Ulema to enhance their political status and power. When the 1956 Constitution was promulgated by Iskander Mirza they conveniently forgot all about Islamisation and endorsed the Constitution without any reservation. They agitated against some aspects of the Ayub Constitution but they gave their unqualified support to the 1973 Constitution which they considered fully Islamic in every respect. Yet when the country was swept by a popular agitation against the rigging of elections they came up with the demand for "*Nizam-i-Mustafa*" without making any effort to define the meaning of the term. Their sole purpose was to exploit the mood of the people to acquire some political clout.

Shaikh Aftab Hussain explained how the Muslims had been left far behind in the race for progress because of the rigid demarcation of the spheres of knowledge which excluded all sciences except the study of religion. No discipline other than Fiqh was considered an appropriate field of study for a Muslim. The result was that Muslim civilisation and culture found itself reduced to the level of under-developed communities. Perhaps the most thought provoking statement that Shaikh Aftab Hussain made was that "law changes with the change of time and space and this applies to Islamic laws as to other laws." To emphasise the need for 'Ijtehad' he relied on his own experience as a judge when he decided specific cases and found it necessary to carry out a detailed study of the Quran, Sunnah and Fiqh and interpreted the principles laid down by earlier Imams and jurists to relate them to the needs of the modern age.

The one point on which there was some discussion was when Shaikh Aftab Hussain suggested that even permanent injunctions can be suspended for a specific time under compelling condition according to the doctrine of 'Iztrar'. A point which was not fully elucidated was that any injunction can be departed from or held in abeyance in face of a specific danger to some fundamental right or liberty of the individual. Unfortunately, the example that was given to justify payment of money, even in the form of a bribe, to protect one's right was not a happy one. Take a situation where an individual finds his life under threat and he pays ransom to protect his right to live. Normally, a person should fight for his life and payment of ransom would be considered not a particularly honourable option. But the same principle operates in the payment of blood money where one protects the

life of an individual through a financial arrangement. The important thing is that the situation involving departure from a confirmed injunction must be clearly defined and the period of deviation should be specified. But this and other points are for discussion and examination by scholars. The service that Shaikh Aftab Hussain rendered through his 'provocative' discourse was to liberate the mind for the shackles of Taqleed (imitation) and to expose the role of so-called Ulema in the process of Islamisation.

Government Said 'Disappointing' Religious Forces

93AS0441A Karachi *DAWN in English* 31 Dec 92 p 4

[Article: "Sami Says Government Disappointed Religious Forces"; quotation marks as published]

[Text] Karachi, Dec 30: Senator Maulana Samiul Haq, Convener of newly-formed "Muttehada Deeni Mahaz [MDM]," on Wednesday observed that the "failure" of the IJI [Islami Jamhoori Ittehad] government to enforce the Islamic Order during last two years had disappointed religious forces in the country.

He said the problems of the people remained unattended owing to opposition-government confrontation. The people were fed up with them and looking for a leadership which could lead them towards an Islamic revolution, he added.

At a news conference here at Qasr-i-Naz, he dilated on the experiences of religious forces with the secular-oriented rulers during the last 42 years, and said they were now at the cross-roads. He said the day was not far off when there would be a "Shariat March" from every house, every mosque and every Madressah.

Extending invitation to all religious forces, particularly the Jamiat-i-Ulema-i-Pakistan and the Jamiat-i-Ulema-i-Islam (Fazhur Rahman), to unite on a platform to pave the way for an Islamic revolution, he said they could lead the newly-formed "Mohaz" which had in its fold 42 big and small religious parties and groups.

The MDM [expansion not given] Convener said: "The religious parties cannot achieve their goal by joining alliances." These alliances, he said, were not interested in changing the present system. He said if the religious parties did not unite and continue to be the part and parcel of the Opposition, they would become instrumental in imposing a woman's rule on the country.

He denounced the U.A.E. rulers for expelling Pakistanis from their country for their participation in the rallies held against the demolition of Babri mosque. Terming the act shameful, he advised them to apologise to the Government of Pakistan for their attitude.

He criticised the Libyan President, Col Qadhafi, and Iraqi President Saddam Hussein for keeping "mum"

over the sensitive issue of Babri mosque due to their "policy" towards India.

He said his party and the Islamic forces favour "proportional representation" system instead of present mode of elections. He also pleaded for elimination of feudal

system in the country and said sycophant rulers were the biggest hurdle in the enforcement of Shariah in the country.

He said the situation in Bosnia demanded waging of a Jihad by the Muslims against the Serb aggression.

External Debt Claimed Growing Rapidly

93AS0371C Islamabad *THE MUSLIM* in English
5 Dec 92 p 11

[Text] Karachi, Dec 4—External debt of Pakistan continued to grow in the past two years and reached 22.3 billion dollars at the end of 1991.

In terms of composition of its debt, Pakistan remained heavily dependent on official sources of financing: official debt represented three-fourths of its total debt in 1990. In addition, Pakistan, more than any other country in South Asia, still relies heavily on short-term borrowing. In 1990, short-term borrowing made up 15 percent of the country's external debt.

Since 1988, the debt-service ratio of Pakistan virtually remained unchanged as the debt-service growth was at the same pace as trade expansion. In the second half of the 1980s, the average rate of interest on new commitments remained at about five percent with maturity of around 24 years.

Concessional debt, at 82 percent of total long-term debt in 1985, continued to decrease and was roughly 10 percentage point lower in 1990, according to a latest report of the Asian Development Bank (ADB).

The report entitled "recent trends and prospects of external debt situation and financial flows to Asian and Pacific developing countries" said that in 1990, Pakistan attracted the most Foreign Direct Investment (FDI) in the region—about 88 percent of total FDI in South Asia.

India also showed a large share of investments in the region. However, this share is still far below the level achieved by Pakistan.

It said grants (excluding technical assistance) to Asian and Pacific Developing Countries (APDCS) had been increasing since 1985. The growth in grants to the region, the average, was over 10 percent per annum. Main bulk of the grants were concentrated in South Asia especially in Bangladesh, India and Pakistan. These three countries together received almost half of the total grants to the APDCS.

A recent survey of equity market reveals that there are many new country funds established in Asia in 1991. The second Pakistan country fund, a 25-million dollar Pakistan growth fund, will be launched after the first similar fund which was established in June 1991. The fund will focus on the army entities which the government has targeted for privatisation.

In terms of debt flows, after rising by 12 percent in 1990, growth of total external debt in APDCS declared [as published] to four percent in 1991. While growth of net borrowings of Malaysia, Philippines, India and Papua New Guinea was reduced, growth of the external debt of Pakistan, Republic of Korea and People's Republic of China was kept at their average double digit rate in the past two years.

The report said that reflecting robust growth in exports and slow expansion of debt, the debt indicators of APDCS showed further improvement. The debt-service ratio declined substantially from the peak level of 25 percent in 1987 to 16 percent in 1990. A slight decline of the ratio is also estimated in 1991.

As economic prospects for the APDCS remain bright, developing Asia as a whole will be in a favourable position in the competition for external financing. With an expected deterioration of current account, the demand for foreign capital will inevitably intensify.

While the external debt flow of APDCS will grow moderately in 1992 and 1993, FDI is projected to grow rapidly and will play a more important role in financing the demand for external capital in the APDCS. Portfolio investment will become an additional source of external flow.

Financial market liberalisation also helped many APDCS including Pakistan to mobilize external resources through portfolio investment. Country funds are the major forms of portfolio investment. Country funds are the major forms of portfolio investment in many newly opened up stock markets in the APDCS. Many single and multi-country funds have been set up. This new development should be closely monitored, it said.—PPI

Foreign Investment Said Discouraged by Government Move

93AS0370G Islamabad *THE MUSLIM* in English
6 Dec 92 p 7

[Editorial: "Fiscal Policy & Foreign Investment"]

[Text] Industries Minister Sheikh Rashid Ahmad loves to talk of the large foreign investments to come. He said in Karachi that foreign investments of 600 million dollars had come recently and 1.4 billion dollars would be coming in the next few months. He did not specify whether such investments were in industries alone or included the foreign exchange deposited in banks and used for buying foreign currency certificates and acquiring shares of companies already functioning in Pakistan. The need of Pakistan is for more fixed foreign investment than bank deposits, which can come and go.

But while the Industries Minister talks in such euphoric terms the economic counsellors who were invited to discuss the issue of foreign investment by the Federation of Chambers of Commerce and Industry have a different story to tell. They say that best advertisements for foreign investment were that of the foreign companies already working in Pakistan. Foreign investors consulted them more than their economic counsellors or other diplomats. They also consulted foreign banks who advise on how to invest on a massive scale and even provide supplementary funds as loans. They protested against bureaucratic checks in the way of substantial foreign investment and the vast gap between lofty policy

announcements and the nagging situation on the ground because of bureaucratic roadblocks.

These are problems which the government has to attend to earnestly. Foreign investors have been complaining that while attractive terms are being offered to new investors, conditions are being made difficult for investors already in Pakistan. They demand equal treatment for all. They protest against the massive smuggling of manufactures on which there is a high duty and other taxes, including through the green channels now.

They are annoyed with the manner taxation is increased abruptly and those who pay taxes properly are taxed more and more, while those who evade taxes are allowed to go scot free. They want the rules of the game to be determined on a lasting basis.

The primary aim of the official policy appears to be to collect more and more revenues regardless of the manner that impedes industrial growth. If industries like textile are taxed too lightly and permitted to evade taxes in a big way, while others who are heavily taxed are taxed further through curious new taxes, foreign investors are bound to be discouraged. It is a folly to dismiss their complaints lightly and yet talk of the very large investments to come and more to follow soon.

Trade Relations With Saudi Arabia Promoted

93AS0370I Islamabad THE MUSLIM in English
11 Dec 92 p 9

[Text] Islamabad, Dec 10—Saudi-Pak Joint Ministerial Commission for Economic Commercial and Technical Cooperation was formally established Thursday for further expansion and promotion of economic cooperation between the two countries.

An agreement in this behalf was signed by both the countries. The Saudi side was represented by a 15-member high powered delegation led by Dr. Jabbara El Seresri, Deputy Minister for International Economic Cooperation, while R.A. Akhund, Secretary, Economic Affairs Ministry, headed the Pakistan side.

It was the concluding day of the third joint commission's three-day meeting Thursday, which was set up in 1974 and was working informally.

Resume of important decisions taken in the commission is given below:

- Both sides agreed to arrange a visit of Pakistani delegation to the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia to discuss the details of long term contract for the import of refined petroleum products from Saudi Arabia. Lists of items of other commodities engineering goods for export import were exchanged by both the sides.
- Pakistan agreed to take steps for enhanced imports of petrochemicals, fertiliser and iron materials from Saudi Arabia. It was also agreed that exchange of trade delegations and holding of trade fairs and issuance of

business visas on the recommendation of FPCC [expansion not given] and Council of Saudi Chambers. Saudi side agreed to look into any specific cases arising out of customs inspection of Pakistani consignment.

- Pakistan side assured its continuous support for Pak-Saudi Agricultural and Industrial Investment Company and resolution of problems faced by the said company.
- Both sides agreed to increase the existing telephone circuits between the two countries to cater for current and future requirements and also to exchange data for improving the quality of service.
- The facilities for ship repairs at (KSEW [Karachi Shipyards & Engineering Works]) included their capacity to manufacture of heavy machinery, tugs and vessels were brought to the notice of the Saudi side who promised to circulate them to relevant authorities in Saudi Arabia.
- Saudi side was requested to explore means of encouraging their private sector to import more technical manpower from Pakistan.
- The Saudi side was informed of the existing of surplus medical doctors in Pakistan for possible recruitment in Saudi Arabia. The Saudi side expressed its willingness to inform the relevant authorities.—APP

Economy Said Taking Turn for Worse

93AS0370H Islamabad THE MUSLIM in English
13 Dec 92 p 12

[Article by Aroosa Alam: "Economy Continues To Slide Downward"]

[Text] Islamabad, Dec 12—Is the national economy making a nosedive? At the end of the first quarter of the current financial year the bank borrowings have risen to Rs [Rupees] 28 billion. The credit to the private sector amounting to Rs 17.5 billion has shot above the target of Rs 45390.1 million which was estimated to fill the budgetary gap for the entire year.

The figures of deficit financing available from the Presidency sources are much higher than the level of the deficit financing admitted by the Finance Minister.

The steep decline in economy is the result of the uncontrollable spending by the government, declining exports, reduction in production which is reflected by the decline in the imports and sharp rise in the consumer price index and the wholesale price index.

According to official sources, the cash foreign resources have substantially declined during the last quarter contrary to the claims made by the government. They said on the basis of the official statistics that cash foreign exchange reserves held by the State Bank of Pakistan amounted to dollars 946 million on Sept 30, 1992

compared with dollars 970 million on Aug 31, 1992 and dollars 1011 million on June 30, 1992. The sources said draw-down of dollars 65.5 million in the "Reserves" during July-Sept 1992-93 was due to payments of loans, interest and other charges, and IMF drawings, partly offset by increase in short-term borrowings, foreign deposits with the State Bank of Pakistan, foreign currency accounts and other receipts.

According to official statistics, total imports during July-Sept 1992 declined by 1.9 percent over the corresponding period last year. The major import items registering decline were machinery, fertilizers, insecticides, medicinal products, iron and steel, paper and paper-board, silkyarn, synthetic fibre, milk and milk food and pulses.

Going by the economic trends prevalent in the national economy in the first quarter of 1992-93, the budgetary gap may expand to well over Rs 205 billion including the additional amount of Rs 25 billion which is required for the flood-related relief, rehabilitation and reconstruction by the close of the fiscal year.

Perturbed over the deteriorating shape of the economy, the President directed the government to submit to him a confidential report on the true shape of economy which was subsequently presented to him in mid-November.

In the budget, the Finance Minister had envisaged internal resources at Rs 197924.2 million and external resources at Rs 49600.3 million leaving a gap of Rs 45390.1 million. The report presented to the President highlights the fast-deteriorating financial situation, saying that the financial situation became weak due to excessive government borrowing from the banking system and a sharp rise in credit to the private sector following the abolition of the system of credit ceilings.

The report goes on to say that the most worrisome aspect was a sharp expansion of about five percent in the money supply in the first quarter of the year, which is about one-half of what was initially programmed for the year as a whole.

According to the report, the main cause in the money supply is excessive borrowing by the government from the banking system. It said that the government borrowing for the budgetary support in the first quarter of 1992-93 (Rs 28 billion) has already exceeded the allocation made in the credit plan for the year as a whole. The report said that the higher level of the government borrowings was reinforced by sharp increase in credit to the private sector (Rs 17.5 billion) due to a slow retirement of the seasonal credit, expansion in credit under special and concessional schemes and ineffectiveness of credit control measures after the abolition of the quantitative credit ceilings.

Noting that the first quarter is usually a slack season for expansion in money and credit, the confidential report warns that "this rate of expansion, superimposed on two years of a very high growth in money, is bound to

intensify inflationary pressures." The report said that sooner or later the widening gap between the monetary expansion and the real availability of goods and services has to get translated into a high rate of inflation.

The report admits that the deterioration in the budgetary situation in the first quarter is both due to a shortfall in revenues and a rise in expenditure. According to the report, during July-September 1992, the total revenue collections were about 9 percent lower than in the corresponding period last year mainly due to lower receipts from the customs (23 percent), Central Excise (17 percent) and Sales Tax (5 percent).

The report said that while the breakdown of the expenditure is not available, the supplementary grants were probably the main factor for increase in expenditure.

According to the report, the trade deficit in Sept 1992 at 192 million dollars was higher than the corresponding month of the last year and the average of the last five years.

The report said that all the taxes registered decline except direct taxes. While income tax recorded a substantial increase of 46.2 percent, the excise duty declined by 9.2 percent and customs by 4.5 percent.

According to the report, during the period of July 1, 1992 to Oct 1, 1992, the monetary assets (M2) expanded by Rs 22.84 billion as against the contraction of Rs 5.73 billion in the corresponding period last year and the credit plan target of Rs 47.45 billion for the year. It said that the domestic credit expanded by Rs 39.06 billion while foreign assets contracted by Rs 16.22 billion.

According to independent economists, in order to widen its political support in the public, the IJI [Islami Jamhoori Ittehad] government and its short-sighted finance managers are resorting to short-term economic policies without taking into consideration the fact that heavy borrowings would ultimately result in widening the budgetary gap to unprecedented level by the end of the fiscal year.

According to sources in the Finance Ministry, beset with fast-deteriorating economic outlook, the government is now left with no option but to resort to another package of taxation. They pointed out that there could not be any cut in ADP [Annual Development Program], defence expenditure, debt servicing and administrative expenditure because of the political and external security compulsions.

The government economists have sounded a note of warning to political leadership that in order to get out of the morass of aggravating economic problems, appropriate policy adjustments are needed to improve revenue collections and mobilise more resources in the public sector, control expenditures and bring about moderation in expansion of credit to the private sector and increase in exports. They said that the policies adopted by the government to appease the people, will lead to the

overburdening of the public to heavy taxes over the year. They urged the government to discard its policy of economic adhocism.

Economy Said Chaotic, in Need of Control

93AS0371F Islamabad *THE MUSLIM* in English
21 Dec 92 p 6

[Editorial: "Free Economy or Economy Gone Out of Control?"]

[Text] If the drift towards economic abyss or crash is not arrested now, and effectively, Pakistan should find itself flat on its face before long. This was being said by the critics of the government from the very beginning of the Nawaz Sharif era with its unquestioning commitment to unbridled freedom to the private sector. Now, the Casandras are wailing right inside the palace. And these have begun to be heard by those outside the charmed court of the prince of free economy. The government spending has gone berserk. Government control on its own spending is palsied. The recklessness with which the present administration is distributing to private sector financial favours like credit facilities, concessionary interest rates for specially patronised projects, inordinate liquidity in the banking system (the bitter fruit of deficit financing) has begun to disturb the very authors of the phantasy of the new style of economy management.

A logical case for free market economy can perhaps be made out. It can also be conceded for the sake of argument that free economy offered the best available system for Pakistan's economy as it has come to be after decades of confusion resulting from fitful changing of gears. What the authors of the philosophy of market economy under the banner of Mr Nawaz Sharif do not realise is that free economy is not freebooters' economy or a free for all. As a matter of fact, if the economy is to flourish in a climate of freedom for the capable and competent without babus of an incompetent government messing around with it, discipline has to be the name of the game. In the very few countries where market economy has worked satisfactorily and fruitfully, the most outstanding features are efficiency, innovation, technical proficiency, business integrity and credibility—and an honest government administration. Above all, political discipline. The emphasis is on political for the simple reason that it is the government which has to enunciate the parameters of financial discipline. Free enterprise, where the rules of the game do not exist, or can be undermined by the favoured few with impunity, is bound to produce not entrepreneurs but rogues. And the rogues thus produced would, in turn, lead to ruin. We stand on the brink of that very real danger.

Where money is handed out without any sense of what it means, where the big need not pay their taxes and other dues to the public exchequer, where special concessions are doled out to wrong hands, where public treasury is treated as personal and used to promote party politics,

what you have is an environment conducive to imprudence, prodigality, waste and worse. That's just where we are today. So far, what we have seen of the free economy strategy, if that be quite the word, tells a very disturbing tale. The present managers of the economy are exactly the wrong types to make a success of it. These gentlemen are so obsessed with political survival and so unsure about it that management of economy cannot but be exposed to financial speculators and fortune-seekers. At the moment our so-called emancipated economy is, in fact, at the mercy of politics unburdened by scruples. This is not a movement towards genuine free economy or market economy. It is something difficult to define. The best one can do is to point to the fact that those managing it don't have a clue. The kindest comment would be that Pakistan's economy today is in the hands of half-literate, amateurs, groping in the dark, and chanting the free economy slogan rather in the style of voodoo practitioners.

Economy Said 'Strong', 'Resilient'

93AS0370E Lahore *THE NATION* in English
22 Dec 92 p 8

[Article by Ikram Seghal: "Assessment of the Economy"; quotation marks as published]

[Text] Pakistan's economy has been in a transient state for the last couple of years because of the far-reaching liberal reforms enacted by the Nawaz Sharif Government. The revolutionary changes have taken place during a time of world recession and thus we have been passing through a difficult economic period. Despite the continuing law and order problem in the Province of Sindh (reduced considerably now due to the Army's intercession over the past six months) and other factors affecting steady economic growth, an ingrained resilience in the economy has ensured that the transition period has not been inordinately affected and the predicted economic disruption has been avoided because of a combination of good economic management and divine Providence.

When one looks at the overall economic balance sheet there are three main areas of satisfaction when judged in relation to policy targets set forth by the present Government. Firstly, there is continued growth in the economy with two basic features, industrial growth has picked up while growth in the agriculture sector continues to be lop-sided in its dominance of the economic performance. The reason for the impressive agriculture growth is largely due to a bumper cotton crop. Overall the growth rate has gone up from 5.6 percent of the GDP [Gross Domestic Product] in 1991-91 [as published] to 6.4 percent of the GDP in 1991-92. While this may not be a spectacular increase, it is an indication that the economy is certainly picking up.

Secondly, despite the various pressures on the prices due to the unstable world economic environment, it has been possible to contain inflation in 1991-92 to a single digit

9.6 percent, coming down from the 12.7 percent of 199-91.[as published] All present indicators point towards inflation going back into double digits at 10 percent plus in 1992-93. The principal reasons for the relatively satisfactory price performance in the past year, reflected both in the domestic price spectrum and by the very small decline in the value of the Pakistani Rupee against the U.S. dollar, comes less because of the formal sector and more from such areas as continuing investment in small scale industries, the continuing activities of the informal sector and because of the segments of unregulated, undocumented accounts. These are the sectors which may continue to provide a cushion to the ever-increasing economic expenditures and demand beyond the normally acceptable reasonable limits but this may not last long and it would have been more desirable to keep this cushion for a more difficult period. Drug money is being pumped into the economy in large doses, we cannot accept this as a continuing bolster to the economy.

The third area where one is relatively satisfied with the economic performance is the economy's positive response to the series of liberalising reforms taken up by the Nawaz Sharif regime in the past couple of years. The greatest visible progress is the private sector's perception of an improved policy environment, in particular decisions now seem to be dictated by market forces rather than by central regulation and direction. One positive indicator of this is an impressive increase in private sector investment. The newly liberalised economic environment has attracted a fair amount of foreign investment although it would be too early to rate the size of this investment as something which is substantial or for that matter an extremely significant response to the new policies unless the inflow of funds continues unabated for a few years. In addition to foreign investment, substantial resource inflow has also taken place in the form of foreign currency accounts and through other debt-related instruments such as FEBCs [expansion not given], etc. As a result of this flow of resources it has been possible not only to finance a record import of goods and services but foreign exchange reserves have shown an impressive rise to above U.S.\$1 billion. Pertinent to the virtual abolition of foreign exchange controls and the relative stability of the Rupee-dollar parity, there has been the considerable generation of confidence among that part of the public that is already savings-oriented as well as the investors, but more importantly that confidence has generally permeated among the masses of the country as to our financial viability. That perception is as important as the actual fact.

The aforementioned development needs to be evaluated in the context of the economic targets proposed and the medium term viability of the principal indicators of the economy. Whereas the growth rate and relative price increases can be deemed to be satisfactory, the economy has not been without strains felt elsewhere. By this we mean the magnitude of the fiscal deficit, deficit in external accounts and the relative failures in terms of

achieving the much touted self-reliance. The fiscal deficit is reportedly over 7 percent of the GDP [Gross Domestic Product] in 1991-92, which, though lower than the 8.8 percent of the GDP of the previous year 1990-91, is something with which the economy and the government cannot continue to live in the medium term. This fiscal deficit is poised to again grow larger in this financial year. There is an unsatisfactory rate of national savings and our contentment in the continued dependence from abroad indicates a deep sense of national malady. Both the government and the people are sparing no efforts in striving to live beyond their means, something that is at variance with the basic spirit of what the economists call the process of capital formation and enhancing of production capacity. We have to learn to stay within Budgetary limits and avoid continuing deficit financing. Examples of austerity have to be set by the Government. Junejo's Suzuki-slogan is an example to be emulated. There is too much mass poverty for us to be ostentatious. Not unjustifiably the budget deficit has grown at present to such a magnitude that it has been rated by some economists and policy makers as the major problem requiring priority attention. What follows from this is the mode of financing the deficit and the implications for growth, financial stability and external accounts. Reportedly the build-up of the deficits has been met with widescale borrowing from the banking system. Apparently this has been the case for the past 2 years or so and could ultimately become an invisible potential for a sustained increase in prices. This is walking a very dangerous economic path indeed as this will invariably lead to double digit inflation. That in turn would cause commensurate loss of confidence in the basic strength of the economy by all concerned. Combined with other factors including the devastation to the economy by the floods of autumn 1992, double digit inflation is very much on the cards.

In addition to the aforementioned, the size of the deficit in the external account has also grown very large and is tending to grow larger because we cannot control our urge for imported consumer goods. Here we run into severe problems relative to our ability to go for short-term borrowing, our ability to service foreign debt and above all the perception of foreign economic agencies about the financial and economic stability of the country. The large deficit is estimated to be around U.S.\$2 billion and cannot be financed on a continuing basis in the given external finance and economic environment. There may be increasing pressures to shift to commercial borrowing where the rules of the game are widely different from the borrowing from multi-lateral aid agencies and from that obtained on bi-lateral basis. The plight of the South American and Latin American countries in the 70s and 80s was only assuaged because the Western banks themselves got into trouble because of the size of the red ink and had to bail out by short-selling their debt back to the debtors, sometimes as low as thirty cents on the dollar. The only answer to close the external deficit is to have an aggressive campaign for export expansion together with necessary changes in the tariff

structure and investment away from consumer goods to the industrial sector. Some areas are particularly important. One is a definite improvement in productivity through necessary changes in labour policy, job training, diversification of production and further incentives to the industrial sector. As yet our foreign indebtedness, which has risen from U.S.\$16 billion in 1990-91 to U.S.\$20 billion in 1991-92, is still within manageable limits, mainly because our commercial debt is relatively small, but we should not put further pressure on our safe cushion as otherwise it may precipitate an economic crisis.

All said and done, Pakistan's economy continues to remain basically strong and resilient. That is not a mean achievement given the various external and internal pressures. The basic strength and framework which includes a high rate of growth and economic stability have survived four different governments in no less than 5 years. Gradually this margin of survival may be wearing thin and unless we review our priorities and increase national savings while resisting the temptations of spending beyond our limits, we may soon be on the fringes of financial crisis.

Inflation Rate Claimed 'Unprecedented'

93AS0370F Islamabad *THE MUSLIM in English*
27 Dec 92 p 9

[Quotation marks as published]

[Text] Lahore, Dec 26—The year 1992 will be remembered for an unprecedented rise in prices and unemployment.

According to a survey carried out by THE MUSLIM essential commodities remained in the grip of rising trend. The most essential commodity "Atta" was prominent with regard to price hike. Price of Atta bag of 80 kgs jumped from Rs [Rupees] 290 to Rs 325. Atta bag of 20 kg from Rs 77 to Rs 84. Basmati rice from Rs 8 per kg to Rs 10. Old rice from Rs 10 to Rs 14. Mutton from Rs 55 per kg to Rs 65 per kg. Beef from Rs 32 to Rs 38. Sugar from Rs to Rs 12 per kg. [as printed] Dalda pack of 5 kg from Rs 123 to Rs 133. Dal Chana from Rs 10 to Rs 11. Dal Masoor from Rs 16 to Rs 22. Dal Mash Rs 13 to Rs 16. Red chillies Rs 20 to Rs 40 per kg. Desi soap Rs 21 to Rs 24. Gur Rs 8 to Rs 10. Roti 50 paisa to one rupee. Double roti Rs 5.50 to Rs 7. Fresh milk Rs 7 to Rs 10. Cement bag from Rs 100 to Rs 150.

In addition to above price rise of Rs 10 to 12 was witnessed in the prices of toilet soaps. Price of electric bulb also rose by Rs 1 to Rs 2 per bulb. Likewise prices of tooth pastes of all kinds increased by Rs 3 to Rs 5. Price of vanaspati increased from Rs 20 per kg to Rs 23. Sweets from Rs 30 to Rs 40 per kg. Soft drinks per bottle from Rs 4 to Rs 5.

Imposition of 12.5 percent sales tax on all sorts of manufactured goods made the essential commodities

expensive by 15 to 20 percent. Margin of profit for milk, roti, bakery and sweet sellers is stated to be more than 100 percent.

Commenting on price hike during the year President Pakistan Small Traders Retailers Association Sheikh Fayyaz-ur-Rehman said that the year 1992 would be characterized by rise in crime rate, political agitation, unemployment and dearness.

Due to price spiral purchasing power of an ordinary consumer has vanished. But the government has not so far taken any step to curb down the price hike.

No meeting of price control committee has been called for six months. This shows lack of interest by the government. Sheikh Fayyaz expressed his fear that the coming loadshedding would also add fuel to fury.

He regretted that both the government and opposition was not taking the present burning issues, i.e., unemployment and dearness seriously.

"The past governments did something towards these issues but the present government unfortunately is not taking any notice," he said. "Last year the government announced a campaign against adulteration, millions of rupees were spent just on publicity."

Sheikh Fayyaz said the cancer of adulteration had become so chronic that No 2 goods are open for sale. Even the life saving drugs are adulterated.

Food testing laboratory of Lahore Metropolitan Corporation [LMC] has not been operating for the last four years. LMC received crores of rupees as tax from the public but people are compelled to eat and use adulterated food items only because of negligence of LMC.

On the contrary, Sheikh Fayyaz lamented that the small retailers are being fined and even jailed on the charge of adulteration. He demanded for apprehending the real manufacturers and adulterators instead of nabbing the helpless small retailers.

Government Investment in Economy Urged

93AS0440J Lahore *THE PAKISTAN TIMES in English*
2 Jan 93 p 6

[Editorial: "State Bank Report"]

[Text] According to the annual report of the State Bank of Pakistan (SBP) for the fiscal year 1991-1992, the economy's most significant achievements were the acceleration in the rate of economic growth, reduction in the rate of inflation and a marked improvement in the country's foreign exchange reserves. The growth rate of GDP [Gross Domestic Product] was estimated at 6.4 percent as compared with 5.6 percent a year earlier. Both the commodity production and services sectors contributed to the growth rate. Growth in agriculture was 6.4 percent and was almost exclusively due to 33.6 percent increase in the production of cotton. The manufacturing

sector grew at 7.7 percent as compared to 6.3 percent a year ago. The price pressure which had accentuated during 1990-91 eased during the year. The 12-month average of the consumer price index (1980-81 = 100) increased at a slower rate of 9.6 percent in 1991-92 as compared to an increase of 12.7 percent in 1990-91. The report observed, that viewed in the backdrop of world economic recession and compared to non-fuel exporting countries both growth and price performance appeared to be impressive. "The country's foreign exchange reserve position improved significantly and the reserves held increased from 582.9 million dollars at the end of 1990-91 to 1,011.5 million dollars at the end of June, 1992.

The fiscal position of the Government, however, continued to remain weak. The fiscal deficit at 7.8 percent of GDP in 1991-92, although lower than in 1990-91, remained at a high level, leading to borrowing of Rs. 72.5 billion from the banking system for budgetary support as compared to Rs. 43.2 billion last year. This, in combination with increase in credit to private sector, led to an expansion in net domestic assets by 24.9 percent and monetary assets by 20.6 percent as compared with 17.8 percent and 17.9 percent in the preceding year. The excess of current expenditure over total revenue during 1991-92 was 9.8 billion (reduced from Rs. 31.8 billion a year earlier) which the report has described as a healthy development. The deficit on the current account stood at 2.152 billion dollars (5.0 percent of GNP) as compared with 1.567 billion dollars of the previous year (3.7 percent of GNP). The adoption of liberal import policy, together with reduction in tariff rates and marked improvement in investment climate, contributed to the expansion of imports. Capital goods registered an increase of about 55 percent and constituted 42 percent of the total imports. This identified the country as set on the road to industrialisation. The growth rate of national savings was lower than the last year as well as smaller than the growth rate in GNP, this implying a decline in the marginal rate of savings. Ratio of national savings to GNP declined from 13.5 percent in 1990-91 to 13.2 percent in 1991-92. This situation is not sustainable as the SBP report has pointed out: "A failure to improve the level of national savings will put pressure on balance of payments, eventually causing a deterioration in the foreign debt profile." The SBP's report concludes; "Growth rate of 6 percent in the years ahead assumes that development of social and physical infrastructure that has suffered deterioration in the past will receive a relatively higher priority and will promote growth in a longer period. Given Pakistan's resource position, a trade-off between immediate growth and investment in social and physical infrastructure cannot be avoided." This is already on the agenda of the economic reforms of the present Government and it will fructify shortly.

Optimism on Economic Growth Said 'Fluttering Away'

93AS0441E Lahore THE NATION in English
11 Jan 93 p 6

[Article by Babar Ayaz: "State Bank of Pakistan Annual Review"; quotation marks as published]

[Text] This year the tone of the State Bank of Pakistan [SBP] annual overview of the economy is softer, though in content nothing much has changed from the previous report. Readers wonder is it by choice of the central bank or the strength of the Finance Ministry who usually go through the report with a fine toothcomb to weed out anything that is politically not suitable for them. In spite of these constraints, the State Bank has been warning successive governments to contain their current expenditure and raise the national savings. It is not alone in making this demand on the government. International lending agencies also have been pressing Islamabad to curtail its budgetary deficit to around 5 percent.

Contrary to the warnings about the serious implications of rising budget deficit and the resolutions made by each Finance Minister, the political will has been lacking with all the sitting governments. For them temptation to over-spend is hard to resist. The fiscal year 1991-92 started with a resolution to contain the budget deficit to 6.9 percent, as against the recommended five percent. But, according to the State Bank's 1991-92 annual report, the year ended with a deficit of 7.8 percent of GDP [Gross Domestic Product].

During this year, while the government's current account expenditure exceeded the budget estimates, revenue generation fell short of target. This expanded the government's borrowing from the banking system to Rs [Rupees] 72 billion—much above the budgetary estimates, including Rs 26.7 billion from the State Bank. The cost of borrowing from the banking system at the same time has gone up following the decision of the present government to introduce market-related rates of treasury bills and FIBs [expansion not given].

The same trend has gained momentum during the current year and the government has ended up borrowing Rs 47 billion from the banking system in the first five months against Rs 65 billion estimate, for the whole year. Projections are that the year will end with total government borrowing from the banks crossing the Rs 100 billion bar.

It is a vicious cycle. The more you borrow the more debt burden. Last year domestic debt servicing cost went to about Rs 47 billion, while the total debt servicing touched Rs 80 billion, which constitutes 40 percent of the current expenditure of the government. The only other item on which the government cut in the budget is the defence budget.

Contradictory reports are pouring in about defence expenditure. While international lending agencies are claiming to have finally gained assurance from the Pakistan government that defence budget would be frozen, which when discounted by inflation would mean reduction in real terms, government officials are denying this. The irony is that the Opposition is opposing this correct move to woo the military junta.

Rising budget deficit and consequent borrowing of the government from the banking system is also self-defeating for its policy of rapid industrialisation and encouragement of the private sector because it is now sucking in much more credit than the private business. At the same time larger budget deficit always leads to higher inflation. Last year the official rate came down to about 10 percent from over 12 percent, but during the current fiscal year it is already being placed at 14 to 15 percent. Even if government inflation figures which are often disputed are to be taken correct, in IJI [Islami Jamhoori Ittehad] times real income of the people has shrunk. The way things are there is hardly any hope of the easing of pressure on prices in the days to come.

The government can meet the challenge of high current expenditure by raising the ratio of national saving rate to that of GNP [Gross National Product], which has according to the SBP report declined in 1991-92 to 13.2 from 13.5. With savings hanging around so low, high growth rate and handsome investment rates are only possible at the cost of creating imbalances in other areas of the economy. It is for the umpteenth time that the central bank has emphasised the need to raise the saving rate in general and the level of revenue income in particular. But the policy of liberalising imports by cutting tariffs and generous tax incentives for encouraging capital formation conflict with the desire to raise the revenue income of the government.

In this backdrop and alarming reports about the state of the economy during the current fiscal year, all optimism about improvement is fluttering away in the air. The cotton crop which mainly contributed to achieve high agricultural growth rate, is expected to be less than last year. A textile slump would affect the industrial growth rate. Already reports about revenue target shortfall are common and credit squeeze is bound to affect the investment rate. All the indications are telling of rough economic times ahead, the saving grace perhaps is the rapid growth of the informal sector, whose contribution to the economy is not fully accounted for in our national accounts.

Rupee Devaluation Criticized

93AS0441H Lahore THE NATION in English
11 Jan 93 p 6

[Editorial: "Further Evaluation of Rupee"]

[Text] The State Bank of Pakistan has, a mere four days after realignment to 25.9000 rupee per dollar, decided to further increase the rupee-dollar parity, making our domestic currency lose another 5 paisa to the dollar. This is the third such adjustment to the rupee-dollar rate in one week and reflects the state of the economy as perceived by the State Bank. The reason for the conscious policy decision to reduce the value of the rupee in the international market is, without doubt, to make our exports more competitive in the world markets. As the

price of the rupee declines, it is likely to have a favourable effect on the country's sales abroad as our products would be cheaper than before. But, by the same reasoning, imports would now become more expensive as Pakistani importers would have to dish out more rupees to pay for a given quantity of purchases from abroad. Since the rate of growth of our imports far exceeds the rate of growth of exports, it is probably fair to assume that initially at least, the lower rupee value would worsen the balance of payment position further; till such time as exports improve sufficiently to give us a better trade balance.

Devaluing a currency is not a popular form of raising exports because such a policy has other negative impacts as well. The most noticeable for a Third World debtor nation like Pakistan is that interest payments on foreign debt require more domestic resources. And considering that about a quarter of our entire budgetary allocation now goes on servicing foreign debt, the recent devaluation of the rupee will only increase the annual allocation under this non-development heading. And yet it was evident that the government would have to devalue the rupee if it was to be able to maintain price competition with countries like India in the world market, a country which had devalued its currency a year ago and whose exports are similar to ours. Be that as it may, it has to be realised that a declining currency ought to be taken as an indicator of the poor performance of key economic indicators. Pakistan has yet to set up a capital goods industrial sector, reduce its high inflation, try to divert private funds from purchasing government-owned consumer industries, increase domestic savings to boost investment, lower the population growth rate and promote growth through more employment opportunities. Such major problems, visible today, are not going to be solved through a rupee devaluation.

Imports Said Declining Significantly

93AS0441G Lahore THE NATION in English
15 Jan 93 p 11

[Article by Wahab Kazimi: "Pakistan Imports Decline by 4.4 Percent"]

[Text] Karachi—According to provisional figures issued by the Federal Bureau of Statistics here on Thursday imports into Pakistan during December 1992 registered a decline of 4.4 percent to \$798 million from \$835 million in November 1992 and by 6.7 percent compared to December 1991 being \$855 million.

The decline in imports has caused a concern as the process of industrialisation is likely to be affected because of abrupt decline in the import of machinery plants and raw materials. While comparing the individual items with the import of November 1992, it is revealed that the import of machinery and plant fell by \$53.758 million in one month registering a sharp decline of about 30 percent.

But the imports position for the last six months July-December 1992 is not as bad as that of last month. Imports into Pakistan for the half year 1992 amounted to \$4,621 million as against \$4,529 million during the corresponding period last year. Though very insignificant, it registered a growth of 2 percent.

The overall imports of machinery during this period topped the list and remained satisfactory. It comprised about 2 percent of the total imports during the period under review, but the imports of machinery remained far below the imports of the July-December 1991 of last year. It declined by \$64.87 million crating a frustrating situation.

Economists have said that in real terms our imports are declining as the country is getting less quantities as the foreign goods are becoming dearer due to fall in rupee value compared with dollar and other basket currencies.

In rupee term, the imports during December 1992 amounted to Rs 117,048 million as against Rs 111,944 million in the corresponding period last year. This showed an increase of 4-6 percent. However, in December 1, 1992, the imports in rupee term amounted to Rs [Rupees] 20,514 million as against Rs 21,296 million in November 1992.

Nuclear Program Seen as Positive Deterrent

93AS0444C Lahore NAWA-I-WAQT in Urdu 8 Jan 93
p 11

[Editorial: "Nuclear Program: No Need To Be Afraid"]

[Text] General Mirza Aslam Beg, chairman of FRIENDS [Foundation for Research in National Defense and Security] and former chief of army staff, said, "When the enemy tells us that we have nuclear bombs, we should take advantage of the situation and reply: We have not just five but fifteen nuclear bombs; let us negotiate. You have 60 nuclear bombs. We should be neither afraid nor confrontational and thus court destruction. We should have Pakistan accepted as a nuclear power and then reach an agreement with India on a basis of equality."

Pakistan's nuclear program has once again become the target of enemy propaganda. As Mirza Aslam Beg said, the United States has even issued an ultimatum that, if within the next 4 months interference in Kashmir is not ended and if the nuclear program is not rolled back, Pakistan will be designated a terrorist country. Under these circumstances, we will have to give the matter much thought and come up with a decision which will be in accordance with national wishes and exigencies. To bow to U.S. pressure and end the nuclear program would be to commit national suicide, because we would then be handed a long list of demands. Quite possibly, the first on the list of demands would be that we show our submission to India and recognize the status of Bhutan and Nepal. Pakistan has suffered aggression three times and is justifiably concerned about its safety. India's aggressive intentions are no secret, and all its neighbors complain of the treatment they receive. It would not only be difficult but impossible to defend ourselves against India with traditional weapons; hence, when India exploded a nuclear device in 1974 and destroyed the region's balance of power, Pakistan launched its nuclear program to fulfill its industrial and agricultural needs and defense requirements. India is responsible also for the present tensions on the subcontinent, and Pakistan cannot commit the folly of abandoning its nuclear program. Of course, it is also not wise to confront the United States in a belligerent manner. It is possible to find a solution through wise diplomacy and, just as during the Reagan terms of office the nuclear program was regarded as a regional matter, it can now be presented as a Pakistan-India issue.

If, out of fear, we accept the conditions which are being offered, India will try to destroy us. We have a strong case in Kashmir; what we need is to present our position in a better manner and win the support of the international community. We harbor no enmity towards the United States, and we will be able to convince that country not to become our enemy. The policy of deterrence has so far kept us safe from Indian aggression, and we can continue to protect ourselves in the same way in the future. Pakistan will agree to sign the nonproliferation treaty if India does so as well. The prime minister's

proposal of a five nation conference is a link in the same chain. There is no need for our authorities and those who mold public opinion to be afraid.

Khan's Choice of Kakar as Military Chief Praised

93AS0441I Lahore THE NATION in English 14 Jan 93
p 6

[Editorial: "Appointing the COAS (Chief of the Army Staff)"; italicized words, quotation marks as published]

[Text] The appointment of General Abdul Waheed Kakar as the new Chief of the Army Staff [COAS] has ended five days of uncertainty and speculation. In the wake of General Asif Nawaz's sudden death and thus no homework having been done to facilitate the formal process of naming his successor, the delay was unavoidable. Nonetheless, some controversy regarding the mode of the COAS's selection had also preceded the announcement, and there was as usual marked difference of opinion on the interpretation of the Presidential discretion to appoint the Army Chief. General Waheed's rather surprise selection, which has superseded six Lt.-Generals, four of whom were at least on paper equally eligible for the job, would raise eyebrows in quarters expecting President Ghulam Ishaq to strictly adhere to the seniority principle. Ironically, some observers had predicted that if the President were to overlook seniority, then nothing would prevent him from picking a man of his personal choice, no matter how low he was in the order of seniority. All said and done, President Ghulam Ishaq has by exercising his discretion to appoint the new COAS, clearly brought home the message that he intends to stay at the helm of affairs and assert himself as the *de facto* Chief Executive. And whether one likes it or not, so long as the President has the sanction of the Eighth Amendment, he is likely to continue presiding over the country's establishment, regardless of how overwhelming a majority the Prime Minister has in the National Assembly, or a personal rapport with the masses.

General Waheed is reputed to be a professional soldier, more in the mould of his immediate predecessor than earlier Generals vying for a political role, and is said to be eminently qualified to adjust himself to the post-Zia rules of the power game. He is known in the Army circles as a distinguished 'staff officer,' and having been hand-picked by the President for the top slot in the Army, should be, as a rule, prone to accepting civilian authority in policy-making. Hopefully, he would also follow the healthy precedent of the Army's 'political neutrality' set by General Asif Nawaz during his brief tenure as the COAS, and not let himself be used as a lever in power-politics by his political bosses. There has been a good deal of speculation about President Ghulam Ishaq wanting to have a man as the Army Chief who would be helpful to him in his bid for a second term. But in fact after choosing a fellow Pathan as COAS, the President should make way for a Sindhi President to succeed him when his term expires later this year. The new COAS

may in the transition period function as the President's 'protege,' but if history is any guide to understand the complexities of power-politics in the country, no COAS is likely to play the 'surrogate' once he has come of age and is conscious of his leverage as the Army Chief. Needless to say, the only safeguard for ensuring a strictly professional role, in letter as well as spirit, for the Army is to establish the credibility of representative institutions as the true repositories of the people's power.

Potential Impact of New Army Chief Viewed

93AS0444B NAWA-I-WAQT in Urdu 14 Jan 93 p 10

[Editorial: "Appointment of New Army Chief: Balance of Power Issues"]

[Text] Using the discretionary powers granted to the president under the Eighth Amendment to the Constitution, President Ghulam Ishaq Khan has raised Lieutenant General Abdul Wahid Khan Kakar to the rank of general and appointed him the new army chief. The former chief of army staff, General Asif Nawaz, died suddenly last Friday as the result of a heart attack. The appointment of the new army chief has given rise to various speculations. Experts on the Constitution had been urging the appointment of the army chief by the prime minister. It is not known to what extent the wishes and advice of the prime minister were taken into account in the selection of the new army chief. The appointment of General Kakar has given the Pakistan army a new leader without any waste of time. He now faces a heavy agenda. Domestically, the Pakistani army is engaged in operation clean-up in Sindh and the decision is now awaited as to whether the operation should be extended or ended. Externally, Pakistan is facing the traditional danger from India. In Siachin, Pakistani and Indian troops have been fighting since 1983. In occupied Kashmir, the atrocities committed by Indian troops and the struggle of the Kashmiri freedom movement could at any moment erupt into an open war between Pakistan and India. The United States and the progressive countries which support it are pressuring Pakistan to end the nuclear program, which is vital to Pakistan's defense; they are also putting great pressure on Pakistan to sign the nuclear nonproliferation treaty while turning a blind eye to India. It is another matter whether signing a nuclear nonproliferation treaty with a nuclear heavy weight such as India could have any significance. The World Bank and now Japan are urging Pakistan to reduce its defense budget. Efforts seem to be underway to accuse Pakistan of supporting the freedom movements in East Punjab and occupied Kashmir and to declare it a terrorist country. In view of this situation, the heavy burden of Pakistan's defense falls on the shoulders of the new army chief who has to participate in very sensitive decisions.

In regard to the domestic situation, the army chief is an important part of the triumvirate of power. In the past, three army chiefs, General Ayub, General Yahya, and General Zia disobeyed the Constitution and imposed

martial law. During the past few years, the army has openly avowed its dissociation with politics, but no one can deny that the military has a say in domestic decisions. The future will show what attitude the new army chief will adopt in this matter. However, one thing is clear, both the president and the army chief are Pathans, whereas the prime minister is from Punjab. The chairman of the Senate is a Punjabi, while the speaker of the National Assembly is a Pathan; the balance of power has thus not been maintained and the traditional political victim, the province of Sindh, can complain about this situation. Benazir Bhutto and other Sindh politicians have been hinting at the issue for some time. Political analyses regard the appointment of a Pathan as the army chief as an attempt by the president to tilt the balance of power in his own favor; however, it is expected that the new army chief will fulfill the role of a professional soldier and remain above racial and linguistic prejudices and interests. Second, the term of the president will expire before the end of the current year, and it will thus become possible to restore the balance of power. If the president, acting as a patriotic and wise elder statesman, should abrogate the Eighth Amendment to the Constitution and withdraw himself as a candidate, and if the nation should decide to offer the presidency to a Sindh, the balance of power can be restored. It would be a good move for Sindh politicians to agree on a candidate and thus make the process of the election of a president a successful one. As for Ghulam Ishaq Khan, he should retain a rank of respect in the future as well; he should be provided with a residence in Islamabad so that the government may continue to benefit from his experience, advice, and guidance. There is no doubt that the restoration of the balance of power depends upon the voluntary withdrawal of Ghulam Ishaq Khan from the presidential elections and the emergence of a candidate from Sindh who enjoys united [Sindh] support. Under the present conditions, it is necessary to maintain an atmosphere of compromise and understanding. This commendable process has already started with the selection of a committee by the National Assembly. The president should now carry this process to its completion and earn the gratitude of the nation.

Purchase of French Military Hardware Foreseen

93AS0440H Lahore THE PAKISTAN TIMES
in English 7 Jan 93 p 14

[Article: "Pakistan May Buy French Military Hardware"]

[Text] Paris, Jan. 6: Pakistan may avail its necessary defence requirements from France and other Western countries to overcome the difficulties it faced with the stoppage of U.S. military hardware, informed sources revealed here to IPS.

It may be recalled that after U.S.S.R.'s forceful occupation of Afghanistan the then U.S. administration agreed to give 4.8 billion dollars economic and military aid to Pakistan, in a bid to boost-up its defence and offensive capabilities and to avert further U.S.S.R. advances.

The United States, hardly had supplied half of the said economic and military aid after U.S.S.R. pullout. This situation, naturally made Pakistani authorities to tap other resources for acquiring genuinely needed military hardware.

It may be recalled that Government of Pakistan and France decided to deal on a nuclear power plant in 1973 at the first stage, however, due to pressure from United States and the then U.S.S.R., the deal was jeopardised. Again in 1989, when the then Prime Minister paid a visit on the invitation of the French Government the issue was reopened and again Government of France agreed to sell two smaller capacity nuclear plants, which could not be used for military purposes, though it will help overcome Pakistan its power shortage problems. The deal was delayed due to change in the Government in Pakistan, but now it is expected that all modalities about the deal will be finalised. With availing this "nuclear technology," Pakistan would be able to pace up its industrial progress which is at present hampered due to shortage of power in the country.

Both countries will also look into the possibilities of joint ventures, economic and military cooperation besides mutually benefit projects.—IPS

France Reportedly Supplying 40 Mirage Fighter Jets

93AS0444A Lahore NAWA-I-WAQT in Urdu 15 Jan 93
p 3

[Text] Islamabad (news writer): France's foreign secretary for defense [sic] will reportedly visit Pakistan from 10 to 12 February. NAWA-I-WAQT was told that, in the course of his visit, the French secretary general for defense will hold talks with Pakistan's defense officials in regard to supplying Pakistan's essential defense needs. France has agreed to supply 40 Mirage planes to Pakistan as well as 3 minehunters; Pakistan has already received one minehunter. According to reports, the French secretary general for defense will exchange views with Pakistani officials regarding Pakistan's further defense needs.

Minehunter Inducted Into Navy

93AS0369I Lahore THE NATION in English 28 Dec 92
pp 1, 4

[Text] Karachi, (PPI)—A modern minehunter first of its type, capable of hunting mines and equipped with advanced technology purchased by Pakistan from France will be inducted in Pakistan naval fleet on December 29 at a ceremony in Karachi in which Prime Minister Muhammad Nawaz Sharif will be the chief guest.

At present, Pakistan Navy is equipped with mine-sweepers, named PNS Munsif. The Minehunter sailed into Karachi Harbour from a French port on Sunday.

The induction of the minehunter is in pursuance of an agreement signed between Pakistan and France during the visit of Pakistan Navy Chief Admiral Saeed M. Khan to Paris earlier this year.

Under the agreement, two more such minehunters are to be manufactured in Pakistan in collaboration with France. The agreement provides for transfer of advanced technology to Pakistan in the manufacture of minehunters.

Meanwhile, the Pakistan Navy is under a regular programme rebuilding its fleet of six submarines from its own resources.

Informed sources said here on Sunday that no separate budget is allocated to the Pakistan Navy for this purpose.

In contrast, the Pakistan Army Rebuild Factory near Taxila and the Pakistan Air Force Complex at Kamra were allocated separate budget for re-building and manufacturing arms and ammunition and overhauling of fighter aircraft respectively.

The sources also stated that the Eight Brooke and Garcia class frigates given to Pakistan Navy under the military assistance programme from the United States few years back have to be returned in 1994 on expiry of their lease.

The Chief of the Naval Staff had recently visited the United States for talks with American officials, possibly on extending the lease period. However, it was not known whether the American authorities have agreed to extend the lease.

Government Urged To Treat Human Rights Violations Seriously

93AS0271E Islamabad *THE MUSLIM in English*
11 Dec 92 p 1

[Article by Asir Ajmal: "Human Rights in Pakistan"]

[Text] During the last few days the critics of the IJI [Islami Jamhoori Ittehad] government expressed serious doubts about its commitment to human rights. Whatever the truth about the IJI leaders' sincerity in their avowed adherence to universally accepted human rights, the fact remains that Pakistan as a nation has not been able to evolve institutions that could help preserve fundamental rights of the citizen. This is true regardless of the government or leadership at the helm.

During the recent attempts by the People's Democratic Alliance [PDA] to march on the capital, the violations of the Constitution of Pakistan were highlighted in the press. It was argued that this Constitution which purports to protect and preserve fundamental rights, has been violated on several counts, which is probably not an ill-founded assertion. But the truth is that neither the original 1973 Constitution nor its amended version—mutilated as some PDA leaders choose to call it—provides any serious protection to the citizen.

Going through the chapter on fundamental rights, of the Constitution, article by article, one realises that there is no real guarantee of human rights in the book that has come to assume central importance in the political life of this country, even if only in word and not in deed.

The Constitution of the Islamic Republic of Pakistan guarantees "the right to form associations or unions, subject to any reasonable restrictions imposed by law in the interest of sovereignty or integrity of Pakistan, public order or morality." And one has seen many a citizen fall prey to the sovereignty or integrity of Pakistan if not to public order or morality (Article 17 (i)).

While the first two clauses of Article 10 guarantee the right of legal assistance and how cause before arrest or detention, clause (3) of the same article says "Nothing in clauses (1) and (2) shall apply to any person who is arrested or detained under any law providing for preventive detention." What a joke! But the farce becomes a real laugh by the time one is done reading through clause (4) of Article 10, which reads: "No law providing for preventive detention shall be made except to deal with persons acting in a manner prejudicial to the integrity, security or defence of Pakistan, or any part thereof or external affairs of Pakistan or public order, or the maintenance of supplies or services..."

Later the article guarantees (sic) that the person so detained will have the right to be informed within 15 days, of the reasons why he is being detained. But no, don't hold your breath, for the right is taken away in the same clause: ...Provided that the authority making any

such order may refuse to disclose facts which such authority considers it to be against the public interest to disclose."

The comedy doesn't end here. Clause (7) of the same article again guarantees the right of such a person to be detained no longer than 12 months within a period of 24 months, only to take it away in the name of the "integrity, security or defence of Pakistan or any part thereof or blah blah blah blah...."

Even at the international level the nation has not shown any great interest in human rights. How many of us know that the Islamic Republic of Pakistan, despite all its claims to a glorious tradition which brought true civilisation and humanitarian values to a savage world, is still not a signatory to the international Covenant on Civil and Political Rights? It has not even signed the Optional Protocol to the Covenant.

It has been argued that the West has set very unrealistic standards of human rights for the Third World, and that these criteria are not applicable because of the poor socio-economic conditions. But what about standards that are indisputable? Do we all not agree that torture is cruel and inhuman and that the individual must be protected from it. Well, I guess not. For Pakistan is not—and for this all governments past and present share the blame—party to the Convention against Torture and Other Cruel, Inhuman or Degrading Treatment or Punishment.

Could this have been an oversight? Perhaps the Foreign Office didn't even consider these Covenants or Charters serious enough. Perhaps it didn't. No, but the facts tell a different story. When the attention of our Foreign Office spokesman was drawn to the fact that we are not signatory to the above-mentioned charters he said that the Government of Pakistan was considering signing these documents.

This cavalier attitude towards the rights of the citizen has been the hallmark of Third World governments and Pakistan has certainly not been an exception. None of our governments, past or present, democratic or otherwise, can claim to have taken any steps to improve the constitutional or legal infrastructure so as to help ensure the protection and preservation of one's fundamental human and political rights.

The state must start taking the issue of fundamental human and political rights seriously. Without this it will begin to lose any justification it might still have to levy taxes in the name of services it never provides or provides inefficiently. The people cannot be expected to financially support a structure that not only does not ensure their protection from torture or inhuman treatment but as a matter of fact engages in these violations of human rights. This must stop. Now!

Human Rights Said Degenerating in Nation

93AS0440B Islamabad *THE MUSLIM in English*
2 Jan 93 p 3

[Article: "1992—A Bad Year for Human Rights"]

[Text] Islamabad, Jan. 1: The Human Rights Council of Pakistan in its report of the year 1992, has deplored the massive human rights violations in Pakistan.

Releasing the Council's report here on Thursday, the Council President Mumtaz Ahmad Tarar, ex-MNA [member of Legislative Assembly] and Secretary General Nazir Mehmood Mughal said "what happened during 1992 is unprecedented in the country's history." They said the present government has surpassed all previous records of high-handedness and police brutalities.

The report said the most gross violations of human rights and terrorism inflicted on political workers, leaders, lawyers, intellectuals, women and peaceful citizens during last two months was unprecedented in the history of the country.

The report of the council said that thousands of political workers were arrested, newsmen were harassed. Violent

lathi-charged on women procession, inhuman treatment with the minorities, tortures and deaths in police custody, and the incidents of gang rapes gave bad name to Pakistan in the civilised world.

All these acts a the hands of the executive show a grave violation of human rights and democratic norms. The report said during the year 1992, 914 incidents of torture and 23 incidents of death in police custody, 70 persons were killed during police encounter, 14 incidents of violent lathi charge on women processions, 449 incidents of rapes, 713 cases of abduction were reported.

Only in November 10,000 people were arrested, thousands were forcefully dropped from buses and trains. On Nov. 18, the Islamabad was besieged. Citizens were stopped from going to Islamabad and from one province to the other. During 1992 the powers of the superior courts were curtailed and the whole law was changed only to stop one person to get released on bail.

The Council while condemning the increasing violations of human rights in Pakistan said that this situation would destroy the democratic process values and norms in the country.