

and: "The leadership of the NAP and an unfriendly Afghan, Afghanistan, have synchronized moves in a fore-empt to internationalize an issue that is solely within the domestic jurisdiction of Pakistan. . . . The elements of the NAP and the N.W.F.P. that are at odds with the Government draw their support from outside forces which seek to have the provinces secede from Pakistan."

Mr. Khan described the White Paper on Oct. 21 as "a challenge", and contended that the Baluchistan problem had been created by Mr. Bhutto's refusal to accept the democratic right of the Baluch parties, which had won two elections, to form their own governments in Baluchistan and the N.W.F.P.

Mr. Bhutto stated in the National Assembly on Aug. 26 that he would soon be set up to try several Baluchi leaders, including Mr. Bizenjo and Mr. Mengal. They appeared in court together with Mr. Marri (for the first time since their arrest) on Nov. 28, when the High Court heard a *habeas corpus* petition filed by their counsel, Mr. Mahmood Ali Qasuri, then Minister prior to October 1972—see 25626 A). During the charges of corruption, robbery and incitement were brought against them, Mr. Qasuri revealed that Mr. Bhutto and four of his ministers had interviewed them while they were once in detention in efforts to reach a political settlement, and had offered Mr. Bizenjo immediate release and a political office if he agreed to abandon his party's claim to be the legitimate ruler of Baluchistan.

Mr. Bhutto went to a debate on Baluchistan in the Senate on Dec. 16, 1974, and confirmed that he had tried to bring the Baluchi leaders to a negotiating table, and said that his Government was quite prepared at the appropriate time to open a political dialogue on the subject. Mr. Wali Khan commented on Dec. 18 that the problem was quickly solved if the NAP was allowed to form a Government on the basis of the 1970 election results [see page 24414]. Maulana Mahmood, the general secretary of the *Jamiat-ul-Ulema-i-Hind* and former Chief Minister of the N.W.F.P., said that "the grave situation in Baluchistan is not propitious for resuming negotiations with the ruling party to reach a political settlement" and "on the one hand we are branded as traitors, and on the other hand we are asked to reach a settlement".

Intelligence sources in Kabul reported that from October 1974 the Pakistan Army used 10 helicopter gunships lent from the Shah of Iran against the guerrillas, as well as napalm and fragmentation bombs, with the result that many tribesmen fled to Afghanistan. About 200 Baluchi men, women and children crossed the mountains into Afghanistan on Jan. 12, 1975, in sub-zero temperatures and deep snow.

Disturbances in Other Provinces. - Security Legislation.

A state of emergency proclaimed in 1971 [see page 24995 ; 24996 A] was extended by Parliament for six months on Oct. 4, 1974, and again on Aug. 26. In addition, the following provisions were adopted against secessionist or terrorist activities.

A decree issued on Nov. 22, 1973, empowered the Government to dissolve any organization which attempted to bring about the secession of part of the country's territory, questioned or disrupted the sovereignty or territorial integrity, was based on racial, linguistic or tribal ideologies with the intention of inciting sectarian and tribal feelings, or propagated the idea that the citizens of Pakistan were more than one nationality. Incitement to such "anti-national" activity became punishable by seven years' imprisonment, or a fine for such a movement by five years. These provisions were incorporated into a bill adopted by Parliament on Jan. 21, 1974.

A decree issued on Oct. 5, 1974, provided for the establishment of special courts to try cases of sabotage, subversion and terrorism. These courts were empowered to try *in absentia* an accused person who failed to appear after appearing in court or had been ordered out of court for trying to impede the course of justice. A similar bill was passed by the Senate on Dec. 19 and by the National Assembly on Dec. 21, 1975, after the opposition had walked out in protest, alleging that the Speaker was refusing to allow a full debate.

A decree issued on Oct. 27, 1974, prohibited the formation of any political party "with the object of propagating any opinion or view in any manner prejudicial to the sovereignty and integrity of Pakistan", and empowered the Government to ban any existing party acting against these interests and to seize its funds and assets.

These measures were directed partly against the growth of separatist movements in three of the four provinces, and partly against an increase in acts of terrorism and sabotage. In addition to the rebellion in Baluchistan and the "Pakhtan" movement in the N.W.F.P. [see 26038 A ; 18172 A], there was a movement in favour of an independent "Sindhudesh" which had been organized in Sind, and Mr. Bhutto alleged on Nov. 2, 1974, that there was "foreign interference on a massive scale" in the movement of that province. Bomb explosions became increasingly frequent in the N.W.F.P. in the summer and autumn of 1974, and spread to Punjab in October ; during a five-day visit to

the N.W.F.P. by Mr. Bhutto in that month 11 explosions occurred in the N.W.F.P. and also in Rawalpindi and Islamabad. A series of explosions on the railways in Baluchistan, the N.W.F.P. and Sind on Dec. 29 destroyed a number of locomotives, bridges and stretches of track.

Assassinations and attempted assassinations of both pro-government and opposition political leaders frequently occurred in 1973 and 1974. Mr. Wali Khan's car was fired at in September 1973 ; two members of the Baluchistan Assembly were murdered in December 1973 and March 1974 [see 26564 A] ; and a hand grenade was thrown into the house of a pro-government politician in the N.W.F.P., Mr. Yusuf Khattak, on Aug. 6, 1974. *The Guardian* reported on Feb. 10, 1975, that recently two opposition leaders had been shot dead (Khwaja Rafiq and Dr. Nazir Ahmed), and another had narrowly escaped death, but that no arrests were made in any of these cases.

Opposition leaders were reportedly sometimes kidnapped by the police to prevent them from making speeches. Air Marshal Asghar Khan, leader of the *Tehrik-i-Istiqal*, was detained by the police on Dec. 1, 1974, while on his way to address a meeting in Punjab, driven 300 miles to his home in the N.W.F.P. and released, while the former Chief Minister of Punjab, Mr. G. M. Khar, had previously claimed to have been kidnapped by the police in the same way [see 26564 A].

Imprisonment of Officers on Conspiracy Charges. - New Air Force Chief of Staff.

Four Air Force officers were sentenced to terms of imprisonment ranging from five to 14 years on Feb. 1, 1974, and 15 Army officers to terms ranging from two years to life on March 2, 1974, after trial by court martial on charges of conspiring to overthrow the Government.

A total of 20 serving officers, two retired officers and two civilians had been arrested on March 30, 1973, 12 officers and a civilian on May 2, and three more officers on May 12. A Defence Ministry statement alleged that the group had planned to arrest simultaneously the members of the Government and all the generals between April 11 and 20, 1973, before the adoption of the new constitution and to set up a Government of their own.

Out of 18 Air Force officers tried nine were acquitted, of whom seven were "prematurely retired", whilst out of 21 Army officers tried 15 were imprisoned, two dismissed from the service, three severely reprimanded and one acquitted.

It was announced on April 15, 1974, that Air Marshal Zulfikar Ali Khan had been appointed Air Force Chief of Staff in place of Air Marshal Zafar Chaudhry, who had resigned, and that the seven officers who had been retired had been reinstated. According to press reports, Mr. Bhutto ordered an inquiry into allegations by the seven officers that their interrogators had subjected them to torture.

Tension between Pakistan and Afghanistan. - Mr. Bhutto's Visit to Moscow.

Relations between Pakistan and Afghanistan greatly deteriorated after the establishment in July 1973 of the republican regime in Afghanistan, which revived the Afghan claim to the areas of Pakistan inhabited by Pathans [see 26038 A].

In an interview with *Le Monde* published in its issue of Feb. 3-4, 1974, President Mohammed Daud declared that "we support in every way the right of our brothers in Pakhtoonistan to self-determination", and when asked whether the phrase "in every way" covered military support replied: "I cannot answer precisely, but I can tell you that when bombs are falling on our brothers, when they are being murdered, if they ask for our aid we shall not remain indifferent." After expressing the hope that the problem would be settled "in a friendly and peaceful way", he claimed that the N.W.F.P. and Baluchistan had "always formed an integral part of Afghanistan", from which they had been separated by "unequal and unjust treaties". He also alleged that the recent plot against the republican regime [in September 1973—see 26217 B] had been "financed by certain foreign countries", apparently alluding to Pakistan.

The Pakistan Government repeatedly alleged that Afghanistan was supporting the uprising in Baluchistan and was responsible for the bomb explosions in the other provinces, and accused the NAP of connivance with the Kabul regime. In reply to protests in the National Assembly against the attempts on the lives of opposition leaders, Mr. Bhutto asserted on June 19, 1974, that a professional assassin had been hired in Afghanistan to kill him during the Islamic Summit Conference in the previous February [see 26423 A], and that Mr. Ajmal Khattak (the former general secretary of the NAP, who had lived in exile in Kabul since March 1973) had been involved in the plot. Radio Pakistan alleged on Aug. 12 that Afghanistan had sent three guerrillas in another attempt to kill Mr. Bhutto during his recent tour of Baluchistan.

In a note of Oct. 1 to Dr. Kurt Waldheim, the U.N. Secretary-General, Mr. Bhutto claimed to possess "irrefutable evidence that the present Afghan Government is systematically organizing, aiding and abetting the commission of acts of sabotage and terrorism through hired elements within our territory". Mr. Waheed Abdullah, the Afghan Deputy Foreign Minister, declared in the U.N. General Assembly on Oct. 7 that "the use of force, oppression and imprisonment of those who demand their human rights" would "adversely