

WUSC SEMINAR

REPORT ON PAKISTAN

by Peter Hayden

CONCLUSION

THE POLITICAL SITUATION

No reading done in Canada could have made me realize how much the Pakistanis are preoccupied with India. All of their major foreign policy revolves around India. The main foreign policy question at the time of our visit and certainly the most talked about was the giving of military aid to India by United States. The Pakistani explains this as being aid which the Americans have been tricked into giving to India, the latter having the motive of using it against Pakistan in a positive attack or at least in defending their borders against Pakistan. They argue from the apparent fact that the majority of the Indian Army was on the Pakistan border and stayed there at the time of the Chinese "attack" on India in October 1962 to the conclusion that India will not hesitate and probably plans to use American military aid against Pakistan. This argument is further supported by the fact that under a special clause added to the S.E.A.T.O. Agreement by Mr. Dulles, former American Secretary of State, that Americans will only come to Pakistan's aid in the case of Communist aggression.

The Canadian delegation often argued that the United States would not allow India to attack Pakistan using American military aid for two reasons. First, because India and Pakistan are both friendly towards and receiving large amounts of foreign aid from the United States. Secondly, the Communist threat, which is the major concern of United States foreign policy in Southern Asia, could only be advanced by such a war between India and Pakistan.

KASHMIR

The Pakistani reply to this is often convincing. Firstly, they point out that India is unjustly holding a large and important part of the Province of Jammu and Kashmir which belongs to Pakistan. (How they ask, can we trust or expect the U.S. to be able to do anything about further Indian attacks on Pakistan when neither the U.S. nor any of the other Western Powers have done anything to help Pakistan regain Kashmir). This argument assumes the validity of the Pakistani claim to Kashmir, however. The Pakistani adds to this, the evidence of India's invasion of Goa and their taking of the Princely State of Junagadh and Hyderabad by military force in 1948.

They usually concede that since the Pakistani claim to Kashmir rests on the Muslim majority there, Hyderabad and Junagadh justifiably belong to India because of their Hindu majority. Then the point is conceded by the Pakistani that Goa was invaded as a colony rather than as a country. (But on Kashmir, the Pakistani argument is convincing and over my time in Pakistan, I become

more distrustful of India and Mr. Nehru). India's promise of a plebiscite, and the withdrawal of that promise later on the rather flimsy technicality that all Indian and Pakistani troops be withdrawn from the Kashmir area before a plebiscite, give me further basis for distrust of India. Nehru's recent statements that a plebiscite is now out of the question and that some recent moderate Pakistani demands are quite ridiculous give further grounds for the Pakistani position.

MUSLIM MAJORITY

(The author visited Indian Kashmir and from a few interviews with the Kashmiris, the almost established fact that the Kashmiris almost 92% Muslim, would prefer to be a part of Pakistan was verified.) An interesting sidelight was noted while we were in Kashmir. Apparently, the area is the favourite vacation area of India and is particularly favoured by the diplomats and politicians of New Delhi who find it necessary to escape the unbearable heat of the New Delhi summer.

It does not seem unfair to conclude that Pakistan had a right to expect some kind of guarantee from the U.S. that military aid to India will not be used against them. It may be that the U.S. may have been preoccupied with the immediate Communist threat in India and have overlooked what could happen and may be beginning today in Pakistan i.e. the gravitation of Pakistan towards the Communist axis.

BORDER DISPUTES

This gravitation begun with the settlement of borders between Communist China and Pakistan

in 1963, with Pakistan getting a more favourable settlement than India was asking for. This was definitely a move interpreted as unfavourable to India and the West by some observers.

The Pakistanis are quick to point out that border agreements have also been reached with Burma, Afghanistan and Iran. They also argue here that we should examine the amount of trade between some Western countries and Communist China and not preoccupy ourselves with border settlements.

More recently, Pakistan has concluded a transportation agreement under which Pakistani International Airlines big American-aided Boeing 720-B's will be using American aid built airports to fly regular runs to Peking. The Americans have taken this as a slap in the face and Pakistan in her present mood can only be taken to have meant it as such. At present, a \$4 million dollar airport construction loan is being held up by the U.S. in retaliation. If the U.S. Senate agrees with the drastic reductions recently made in the late President Kennedy's foreign aid budget by the U.S. Congress, there may be even further retaliation against Pakistan. (Such retaliation may force Pakistan further into the Communist orbit perhaps against their will).

COMMUNISM

It should be noted here that from the inadequate experience I had with Pakistani students and people in general, I would think that they would not easily move toward Communism. The religion which is apparently quite influential with the masses of people is strongly opposed to Communism. The people seem to have a fatalistic philosophy which allows them to accept whatever comes their way without complaint. The following arguments are put forward, however, to support the theory that Pakistan could go Communist. The most influential force on the

masses of people are probably the religious leaders who are, as far as we could determine, chosen for their demagogic or charismatic qualities. These people may turn Communist, and I was able to find no other explanation for why these leaders do not espouse Communism. This seems a flimsy reason when reading of the economic and social justice which Islam promises but does not provide.

There is also the possibility that when better communication is made with the illiterate masses of Pakistanis by radio (few radios are yet available to them) or infiltrators using the methods employed in South East Asia, there will be better results for the Communists.

I met a few students who definitely felt Marxist methods would be better employed in the economic development of Pakistan. As well, many students felt closer relations with Communist China was desirable because of American military aid to India. (One girl said to me that she could see no reason why the people of Pakistan should not turn to Communism in view of the snail's pace economic development of the country since 1947 particularly in East Pakistan).

One businessman in East Pakistan felt that either complete socialism or complete free enterprise should be employed in the development of the country and although he wouldn't say it, he seemed to favour socialism, free enterprise not having yet achieved any significant results. These comments, however, assume economic development to be a predominant aim of the country. From my observations, there seems to be less concern with economic progress in Pakistan than there is in our countries. Even among students, I met few who were alarmed by the country's slow economic growth since its birth in 1947.

THE ECONOMY

Any discussion of the Pakistan economy must begin with an account of the conditions which existed at the time of Pakistan's coming into existence and the external factors which have since affected and will in the future effect the economy.

POOR NATURAL RESOURCES

At Partition in 1947 because of Pakistan's poor endowment of natural resources and because of Pakistan's position as a hinterland to large industrial centres in India, experts said that Pakistan as a state was not economically viable. As well, Pakistan at Partition lost many business men and skilled workers in the Hindus that fled to India. The Muslim refugees to Pakistan, numbering about 6 million, were not nearly so economically valuable.

The inhabitants of Pakistan according to the 1951 census had a density of 11,666 per cultivated square mile in East Pakistan and 500 to 600 per cultivated square mile in West Pakistan. The differing yields per acre in the East and West wings was such that the pressure of population on the land was equal in both and that pressure was such that the people were living close to the starvation line. Land in West Pakistan was mainly held by large landholders whereas in East Pakistan, land reform had already taken place but holdings were small and fragmented. At Partition, 80% of the population lived by agriculture and agriculture was in a primitive stage. Industry at Partition was almost non-existent and vast water-power resources were almost untouched. Pakistan at its inception was a primary producing country whose main exports were raw cotton.

WEATHER

As well as these conditions which existed in 1947, Pakistan was a country whose economic success depended on the weather. In East Pakistan, floods oc-

curred often, disrupting crops; droughts also occurred which prevented double cropping. In West Pakistan, deposits of salt in the Indus plain caused excess salinity in the soil when the waters of the Indus were used for irrigation. Throughout Pakistan's history, the price of its main crop, jute, has fluctuated according to world conditions because of a varying inelastic demand and a supply varying with weather and soil conditions. Within this framework of internal and external conditions achievements in economic development would be difficult and failures probable.

INDUSTRIALIZATION

The most distinct achievement in Pakistan's economic development has been the growth of industry at one of the fastest rates of industrialization of any country. During the first three years, progress in this area was slow but the index of industrial production with 1954 as a base of 100 has grown from 39.5 in 1950 to 232 in 1962. This growth of industry was particularly remarkable when measured against

available material resources. However, it must be noted that large amounts of foreign aid were available for this development.

The primary objectives of industrial policy initially were to manufacture in Pakistan, the products of Pakistan's own raw materials especially jute, cotton, hides and skins and to develop consumer goods industries to meet the requirements of the home.


In 1958 under the new military regime, the industrial policy shifted emphasis to small, medium and cottage industries to eliminate unemployment and increase purchasing power of rural communities; as well industrial planning was to offer inducements for establishment of industry in less developed areas. In 1963, the government has stated that the establishment of light industry has advanced sufficiently to permit the government to emphasize now the development of heavy industry. Industrial production in the first two years of the Second Five Year Plan, has grown by 23% as against the 60% target set by the Plan for 1965.

The largest industry by far is the textile industry where considerable progress has been made towards establishing industry to manufacture the products of Pakistan's raw materials.

AGRICULTURE

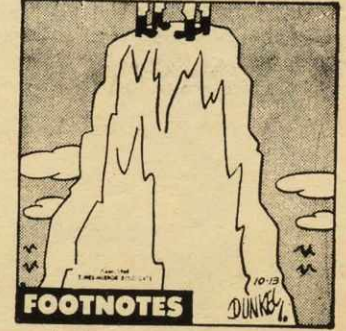
In my opinion, the distinct failure to date in the economic development of Pakistan has been in agriculture. The main reasons for the continued stagnation in agriculture are unproductive systems of land holding, inadequate and poorly administered plans to increase agricultural production and finally and perhaps most important, an apparent distaste of the young educated elite for things agricultural.

SPARKS by Willis Forbes



Around most households an order is an order only when the wife gives it.

FOOTNOTES DUNKER



"I thought you were bringing the flag."

PEKE PERFORMANCE
LONDON, — "Silence in court!" Shouted the bailiff. "All stand!"

Into the divorce court waddled a tilt-nosed Pekingese on a leash held by an usher and Judge Samuel Richards Edgedale, 66 years old.

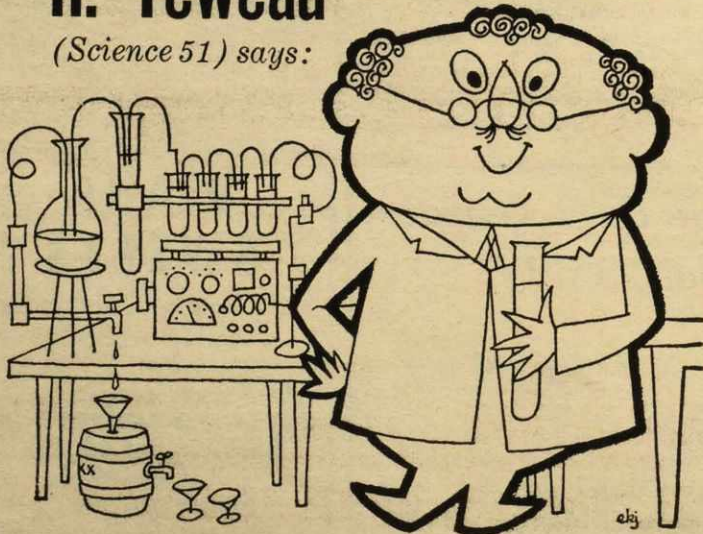
The judge, wearing his gown and wig, took over the leash and maneuvered the dog under the bench. Then he signaled that the court was open for business. He told reporters later:

"Other judges take their wives into court, so why shouldn't I take my dog?"

"Mine is a lonely life travelling around the country to divorce courts, and that is why I take Pinkey Boodies with me."

H. Teweau

(Science 51) says:



I think matter is that which does —

when you step into the future without

a good banking connection at ...



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