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## Rise and fall of Pakistan forces

By Sharon Herbaugh

**B**ENAZIR Bhutto rose to power with the blessings of Pakistan's powerful army generals. Some say she fell that way too.

After 20 months in office, President Ghulam Ishaq Khan abruptly dismissed her government on Monday, citing widespread corruption among senior cabinet ministers and family members and failure to control resurging ethnic violence in Ms Bhutto's home province of Sind.

Although 11 years of military rule ended on August 17, 1988, the army still has a big say in Pakistan's infant democracy. Many politicians, diplomats and political analysts say Ishaq Khan would have never dismissed Ms. Bhutto's government without the military's consent.

Pakistan's top military commanders attended the swearing-in ceremony of Mustafa Jatoi as acting Prime Minister and head of a caretaker government.

Immediately after the President's announcement, soldiers were deployed throughout the federal capital. They took control of the state-run television network and the telephone and telex exchanges, cutting off foreign circuits.

The army chief of staff, General Mirza Aslam Beg, insisted that the military was only out to maintain peace, not to take power.

"We are not involved in politics. We have never been involved in politics. We are not going to get involved in politics," he said before the swearing-in ceremony commenced.

The relationship between Ms Bhutto and the army — which has ruled Pakistan for 25 years of its 43-year history — has never been smooth. But it went into a nosedive in late May.

From prison and then from exile in England, Ms Bhutto spent a decade fighting General Mohammad Zia-ul-Haq, who overthrew her father in a 1977 coup and ordered him hanged two years later. But she was forced to call out the army when ethnic violence flared anew in Sind, her home and political power base, and claimed more than 400 lives.

The army blamed members of Ms Bhutto's Pakistan People's Party for being involved in the violence. The military commanders demanded sweeping powers to maintain order and to arrest, try and convict troublemakers. She refused.

Ms Bhutto, young and western-educated, was the first woman to lead a modern Muslim nation. She led her party to victory in the first democratic elections in Pakistan in a decade that were held after Zia died in a mysterious plane crash on August 17, 1988.

# ARAB AMERICAN LOBBIES IN WASHINGTON THE SAD BATTLE

**T**HE need is greater than ever for a tough, lean, sophisticated organisation to counter the power and influence of the infamous "Jewish lobby" here in Washington.

Public opinion against Israeli policies is considerably aroused in this country as never before. Yet there is no effective leadership for this upset and growing constituency; and no thought-through strategy for mobilising it and transforming it into serious political power.

The actual political reality in Washington today is that Jewish/Israeli lobby is actually stronger than ever—even though the Intifada has been raging for over two years, even though Israel's policies continue to grow ever harsher, even though there is a clear erosion in important segments of American public opinion, and even though Israel now has a far-right totally intransigent government.

And the further reality is that there really is no effective Arab-American lobby; only the illusion of one.

Israel's political clout in Washington today far supercedes anything the Arabs have been able to counter with. And American Jewish organisations are still in a league far superior to that of Arab American groups.

Actually, the situation is even worse than this general summary. The Arab Amer-

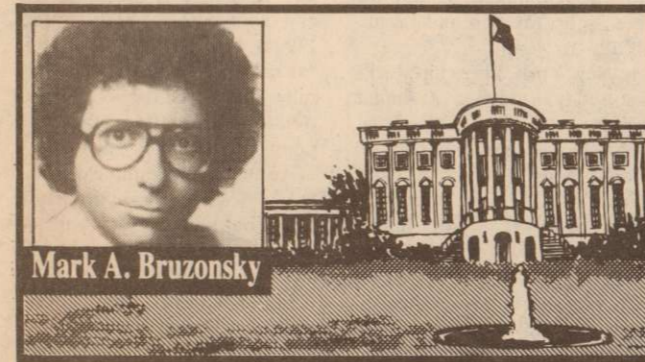
Americans at the top who have overseen the collapse rather than the rebuilding they promised.

About a year ago I wrote in this column that "NAAA has allowed itself to drift into political lethargy at the very time a real Arab American lobby is most needed." NAAA's annual conference "was a small, almost pathetically weak gathering" I continued, further noting that "past years saw excessively lucrative salaries and bonuses (in the six figures) to senior NAAA officials and a facade of self-importance unjustified by the realities of political life in Washington. Images were 'sold' overseas that were never translated into actuality back at home. NAAA became like an overblown balloon—big in image but largely empty inside—and large amounts of external money couldn't forever substitute for organisational reality and political sophistication."

In reaction to that column NAAA sent out letters and held meetings lambasting the messenger, insisting things were not so bad, and claiming that the two new Palestinian Americans who had taken over—Jawad George and Khalil Jahshan—were going to rebuilt NAAA into a more serious organisation.

But today the situation at NAAA is actually worse than last year and the two Palestinian Americans seem

## From



Mark A. Bruzonsky

## Washington

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easy way out.

For years ADC has focused on a very safe and easy issue—upholding the right of Arab Americans not to be discriminated against, vilified, laughed at, and slandered. Serious political work to counter the Jewish lobby has hardly been attempted and surely not accomplished. Only in recent weeks in

ADC did grow during the years of this decade, establishing chapters in key cities around the country and bringing Arab American activists together for cultural and anti-discrimination work.

But ADC did this by specifically avoiding the real tough political work that needs to be done and instead

Throughout its short existence ADC has suffered tremendously from a lack of continuity. Everytime someone began to grow into the job of Executive Director and attempted to take the organisation somewhere, Abourezk stepped in and jettisoned him fearing he might otherwise lose control of the organisation.

It has been exactly the opposite pattern of the situation on Capitol Hill with the Jewish/Israeli lobby, the American Israel Public Affairs Committee (AIPAC). AIPAC was

never would have been but for her loyalty to Abourezk, was told to move on by ADC's Board of Directors. Then, with the Board having sacked his person, Abourezk took the opportunity to get rid of press spokesman Faris Bouhafa who after a few years on the job had finally learned enough to try to be his own man. Apparently Bouhafa was no longer enough of a "yes" man and wasn't so eager anymore to spend ADC time doing P.R. work for Abourezk.

The current ADC crisis has its roots in past similar staff massacres. Some years back Abourezk shocked many here by simply firing Jim Zogby who now heads the Arab-American Institute. And this led to the bitter feud between the two Jims which is still raging today.

At that time some years ago Zogby proceeded to Abourezk's political enemies at NAAA who gave him some initial help in launching his own organisation which has evolved into AAI. But unfortunately Zogby too took the safe way out, providing himself with a very lucrative salary with benefits and organising around the safe and never-ending theme of Arab-American participation in American electoral politics.

Then, a few years ago, Abourezk did the same thing he had done with Zogby with

But she had to make certain concessions to the military, including hands-off on foreign policy, particularly in Afghanistan, and defence spending. She agreed.

"Benazir Bhutto was created from the rib of Aslam Beg and she fell from the rib of Aslam Beg," said one diplomat, speaking on condition of anonymity.

Senior cabinet members repeatedly accused the army of trying to destabilise a democratically elected government.

Army officers, for their part, did not hide their contempt for Ms Bhutto's party, accusing members of blatant corruption and involvement in criminal activity.

A meeting last month between Ms Bhutto and Beg failed to resolve their differences. The conflict was exacerbated by the General's unhappiness with Ms Bhutto's attempts to extend the tenure and promotions of senior army officials.

Against Beg's advise, Ms Bhutto extended the tenure of a lieutenant general. The military high command saw it as a blatant attempt to divide the army and to win the political support of some officers by patronising them. Ms Bhutto suffered a serious setback when Beg forced the officer to retire.

While Ms Bhutto's government was caught off guard, political opponents had said privately for weeks that Ishaq Khan planned to dissolve the national assembly and call new elections, possibly as early as October.

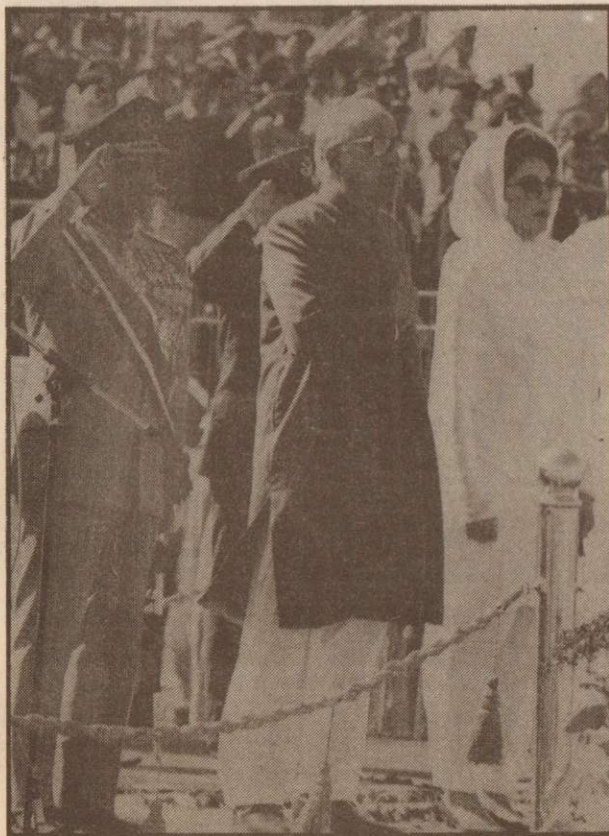
Ishaq Khan did, setting an election from October 24.

Ms Bhutto got few favourable marks from Pakistanis. Her government passed no legislation except for a federal budget. It spent most of its energy fending off a hostile opposition and charges of corruption.

The 37-year-old former Prime Minister told a news conference afterwards that she didn't blame the President for bringing down her government, saying there were "other elements who wanted me out."

She urged party members to peacefully accept the decision and refrain from doing anything that would prompt another phase of martial law.

"I don't want to say anything about the army for the time being," she said. — AP



Happier times: a thing of the past

summary. The Arab-American organisations that have sprung up here in Washington over the past two decades are today in a terrible turmoil at the very moment they are badly needed.

Though the organisations are trying to cover up their current weakness and disarray, the mess they are in is generally known to their enemies and protagonists, if not to their supporters and funders. Of course, they are attempting to present as best a public face as they can, the actual true state of the "Arab lobby" is simply tragic.

The one organisation that has purported for some years now to actually be a serious lobby countering the Jewish lobby—the National Association of Arab Americans, the N triple A, NAAA—has all but collapsed.

Limping along with greatly reduced staff and hardly any worthwhile activities—but still paying its senior staff far more than is justified. What seems more at issue than anything else at NAAA these days is jobs and salaries for the two Palestinian

Palestinian Americans seem to be more concerned with their own financial welfare than anything else. Jawad George has in fact been seriously ill ever since taking the job of Executive Director and has been out from the office a good deal of the time because of his medical problems. Furthermore George is using NAAA to pay his heavy medical bills and his fiancée is on the NAAA payroll at a considerable salary for a job she is not really qualified to do.

Especially with the Palestinian Intifada raging, it's a terrible shame to see personal concerns taking priority at the one lobbying organisation that is supposed to be working on behalf of the Palestinians here in Washington.

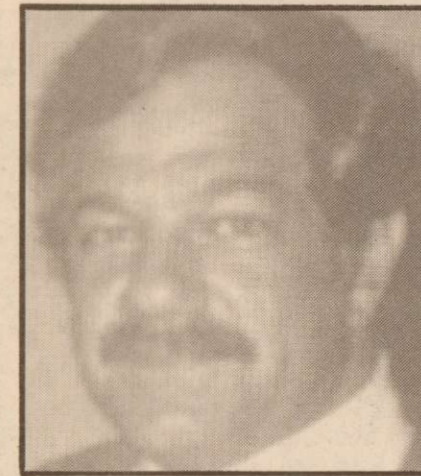
The other primary Arab-American organisation, the Arab-American Anti-Discrimination Committee, ADC, is also in severe crisis.

Long controlled by its founder, former Senator James Abourezk, ADC has always been kept on a short leash and always taken the

Only in recent weeks in fact has ADC taken the step of registering for political lobbying. And this was done more because of Jim Abourezk's ongoing battle with Jim Zogby than because of any new political strategies. Indeed NAAA and Zogby's Arab-American Institute (AAI) are in the midst of building an alliance partially designed to outflank ADC; and it is this situation that has propelled ADC to finally move towards lobbying as well as to attempt to clean its house.



James Abourezk



Abdeen Jabara



Omar Kader

needs to be done and instead concentrating on "soft" easy issues like opposition to cartoons that caricatured Arabs in unflattering ways and posters on the Metro underground.

All along the way, though, ADC has falsely portrayed an illusion of power and influence that was never justified. And in recent weeks ADC has found itself again in the midst of another recurrent crisis, something made pretty much inevitable by the style and desires of its founder Senator Abourezk.

plementary roles. Amitay, for instance, today heads one of the largest pro-Israeli Public Action Committees (PACs) working in coordination with AIPAC.

In the case of ADC all of the senior staff have in recent weeks departed or been fired. President Abdeen Jabara finally resigned, as he has threatened to do just about ever since he came to the job a few years ago. The most recent Executive Director, Barbara Shaheen, who never should have been in that job in the first place and

he had done with Zogby with the new ADC Executive Director Omar Kader; and Kader also left ADC extremely bitter and hostile towards Abourezk.

And now Kader's replacement, Jabara has been forced out. And the ADC Board, finally decided something serious had to be done, has finally stood up to ADC's founder and fired his long-time loyal but quite ineffective protege Barbara Shaheen who only recently had been made Executive Director by Abourezk.

## America now plans to export justice

By Anne Harrison

WHILE democratic changes spread through Eastern Europe, San Francisco lawyer Steven Mayo is helping countries to reform their justice systems.

"The world seems to be involved in legal reform. People are demanding a greater role in justice systems," Mayo said during a recent visit to Buenos Aires.

"My feeling from my readings is that governments believe they cannot stay in power without giving a little," said Mayo.

In the past five years, Mayo, 31, has organised delegations of US lawyers and judges to give demonstrations of US-style trials and to hold seminars in 22 South American and Asian countries. In the autumn he plans to go to Eastern Europe.

"I think the best export we have got in the states is our democratic institutions, and the basis of those institutions is our

justice system," said Mayo, whose trips are funded in part by the US State Department.

"Despite our faults, we have a system that works," Mayo said.

Mayo recently brought a delegation to Argentina at the invitation of the government. "In Argentina, we cannot see trials. We cannot participate, in trials. The witnesses don't even participate — all this adds up to a system that does not function," said Argentine chief prosecutor Luis Moreno Ocampo.

Six and a half years after the military handed over rule to an elected civilian president, the Argentine Congress is considering opening courts to the public.

At present, virtually all legal proceedings take place behind closed doors, and are written rather than oral proceedings.

"I believe there is a very strict tie between how a justice system functions and how a democracy functions," said Ocampo.

"In Argentina, we have a

tradition of not respecting the law, and that carries over to a lack of respect for political systems," Ocampo said.

Mayo's visiting delegations include men like California chief justice Malcolm Lucas and Los Angeles district judge Matt Byrnes.

"If Argentina had a new kind of contract surgery, we would want them to come to the United States and tell us about it. That is why we are here. We feel we have something that works and we want to share it," Lucas said.

"The big advantage of the oral trial in the United States is that it is a transparent process. The public can see everything that is going on," Lucas said.

Mayo said he tries to reach the people watching and participating in the re-enactments of oral or jury trials.

"This is education through participation," Mayo said.

Juan Carlos Boscoscuro, 25, an Argentine law student watch-

ing the mock trial of California bank robber John Johnson, said the demonstration showed him how the system should work.

"This trial is about something extremely important," he said. "It means deciding whether we can participate in justice. It means trying to stop corruption."

Boscoscuro explained that under the current system, cases drag on for years and judges, protected by closed doors, are easily bribed.

"If you have the money, you go free. If not, you spend years waiting for your trial," Boscoscuro said.

But Argentine reform efforts have met with criticism, especially, in this economically strapped country, over the cost.

In addition, most lawyers in Argentina have never cross-examined a witness or made an appeal and must learn arguing skills from scratch. Mayo says he expects to return to Argentina in

a year to give a seminar on how to argue cases.

Other critics note the government will be forced to build new courtrooms to house public trials, added expenditures that come when funds are so tight justice workers bicker over paper and pencils.

Mayo said judicial reform is gaining ground in countries like the Philippines, South Korea, Thailand, China and Japan.

Japan, which Mayo said now has a system of government-appointed judges with a near 98 percent conviction rate, is considering switching to jury trials.

"The people in Japan are saying 'we want a little larger slice of the pie'" Mayo said.

Mayo also said he gave five oral trial demonstrations in 1985 and 1987 in China, a country that has a system of popular tribunals and about 40,000 lawyers for over a billion people.

An administrative law programme Mayo designed for China

with the help of the Stanford University faculty was suspended after troops put down pro-democracy demonstrations in Tiananmen Square in June 1989.

"I am confident we'll still do the project, Mayo said. "Everyone we saw in China, every judge, wanted reform. Eventually that feeling will take over."

This autumn, Mayo and his group of jurists are scheduled to visit Hungary and other Eastern European countries to encourage legal reform there.

Mayo said Hungary is writing a new constitution and that several US advisers "have been working on it."

He and his associates plan to use the demonstration of a jury trial to teach Hungarians about the US constitution.

"You can teach a lot of our amendments with a jury trial: understanding the right to a jury trial, the right to confront witnesses, the presumption of innocence," he said — (UPI)