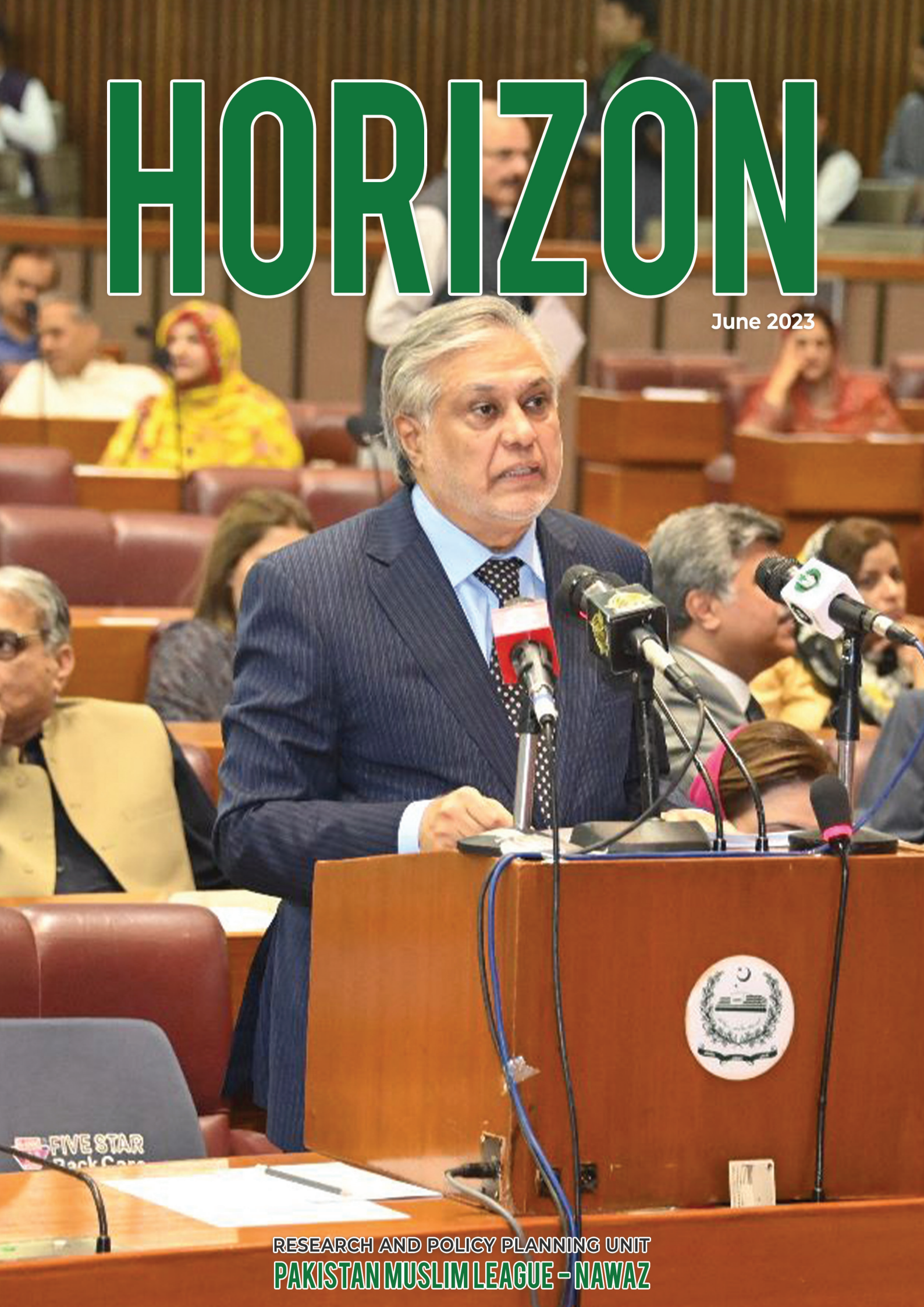


# HORIZON

June 2023



RESEARCH AND POLICY PLANNING UNIT  
PAKISTAN MUSLIM LEAGUE - NAWAZ

# FROM THE EDITOR'S DESK

Dear Readers,

The June issue of Horizon is in your hands, bringing you insightful articles and thought-provoking analyses. We are proud to present a detailed Budget 2023-24 overview, recently presented in parliament by Federal Finance Minister Ishaq Dar. This people-friendly budget is a testament to the government's commitment to the welfare of its citizens. Notably, no new taxes were imposed this year, demonstrating a conscious effort to avoid burdening the underprivileged.

Within these pages, we also revisit a significant moment in Pakistan's history — the events leading up to 28 May 1998, when the country conducted nuclear tests in response to India's nuclear tests and aggressive stance. During this critical period Prime Minister Mian Muhammad Nawaz Sharif displayed remarkable composure and steered the nation through severe economic sanctions. However, it is disheartening that while commemorating Youm-e-Takbeer this year, we must also condemn the 9 May rioting, where political party supporters attacked military installations and desecrated martyrs' memorials. Nevertheless, the article highlights the unwavering leadership qualities of Nawaz Sharif, who remained dignified even in the face of adversity.

In a poignant tribute, Senator Dr Afnan Ullah Khan reminisces about his father, the late Mushahid Ullah Khan, and his invaluable contributions to democracy. This heartfelt account serves as a reminder that Mushahid Ullah Khan was a man of principles, towering above his contemporaries in his commitment to the democratic process.

Additionally, Rana Asadullah Khan's article delves into the Supreme Court Practice and Procedure Act, 2023. By empowering a committee of senior judges to decide which cases to pursue in suo motu matters and granting the aggrieved party the right to appeal decisions in front of a larger bench, this law streamlines the court's functioning. Previously, such cases were arbitrated by the same bench, leaving no room for further redress.

Lastly, we report on an important online meeting of PML-N leaders with its overseas chapters. It was an opportunity for the party's leadership, including Prime Minister Shahbaz Sharif and other prominent members, to directly engage with representatives from 31 chapters of the party across the globe. The meeting allowed the exchange of ideas, coordination of efforts, and reinforcement of the party's stance among overseas Pakistanis. It served as a platform to address economic challenges, discuss strategies to counter opposition propaganda and garner support from overseas Pakistanis to defend the party's interests and promote its narrative in Western countries.

As we conclude, we invite you to reflect upon the diverse perspectives and insightful content presented herein. Horizon remains dedicated to providing you with accurate, thought-provoking articles, and we eagerly anticipate bringing you more compelling stories in our upcoming editions.

Sincerely,

Saira Bano  
Editor-in-Chief

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Rana Mashhood Ahmad Khan, Saira Bano, Attaullah Tarar, Badar Shahbaz





# PAKISTAN'S NUCLEAR TESTS: NAWAZ SHARIF'S MOMENT OF COURAGE

RANA MASHHOOD AHMAD KHAN

In the hushed corridors of power, amidst a climate of escalating tensions, a fateful decision was made that would forever shape Pakistan's destiny. It was the late 1990s, a time of simmering rivalry with neighbouring India. In the heart of this intense geopolitical struggle, Prime Minister Nawaz Sharif found himself facing a momentous choice — one that would test his mettle, challenge his nation's resilience, and redefine Pakistan's strategic position and military capabilities.

It was a time when the world held its breath, fearing the outbreak of a nuclear arms race on the subcontinent. India's nuclear tests on 13 May 1998 sent shockwaves throughout the region, rattling Pakistan to its core. Following the tests, India's arrogance and aggressive posture forced Pakistan to take measures to create a balance of military power in the region. However, there was intense pressure on Pakistan to not declare

its nuclear capabilities, an action that would surely bring severe economic and military sanctions.

As international pressure mounted, Nawaz Sharif faced a formidable challenge. The weight of responsibility bore down upon him as he grappled with the potential consequences of either choice. On one hand, the prospect of nuclear tests held the promise of safeguarding Pakistan's sovereignty and deterring aggression. On the other hand, there loomed the spectre of economic isolation, sanctions, and dire consequences for the nation's struggling economy.

In a defining moment of courage and conviction, Nawaz Sharif made the audacious decision to proceed with Pakistan's nuclear tests. It was a calculated risk, a leap of faith in the face of daunting odds. The tests were a resounding assertion of Pakistan's

“ IN A DEFINING MOMENT OF COURAGE AND CONVICTION, NAWAZ SHARIF MADE THE AUDACIOUS DECISION TO PROCEED WITH PAKISTAN'S NUCLEAR TESTS. IT WAS A CALCULATED RISK, A LEAP OF FAITH IN THE FACE OF DAUNTING ODDS. ”



determination to protect its national interests and maintain regional stability. The world watched as the ground trembled beneath the Chagai Hills on 28 May 1998 as Pakistan detonated five nuclear devices in response to India's five, marking a new chapter in Pakistan's history.

The aftermath of the nuclear tests brought forth a torrent of economic challenges. International sanctions imposed by the global community cast a dark cloud over Pakistan's financial prospects. The nation found itself grappling with restricted access to international markets, reduced foreign investment, and strained trade relationships. Despite these hardships, the Pakistani people rallied together, displaying

remarkable resilience in the face of adversity.

Amidst the economic turmoil, Pakistan's nuclear tests proved to be a game-changer. The tests were not merely a display of military might, but a strategic move that solidified Pakistan's position on the world stage. The possession of nuclear weapons served as a deterrent, reinforcing the nation's ability to defend its sovereignty and ensuring regional stability. Pakistan's newfound status garnered international recognition and elevated its voice in global forums.

One of the primary objectives of Pakistan's nuclear program was to ensure national security through deterrence. The nuclear tests provided Pakistan with





a credible deterrent capability, strengthening its position against potential aggression. The possession of nuclear weapons acted as a safeguard, dissuading adversaries from launching large-scale military operations. From this perspective, the tests enhanced Pakistan's national security and reinforced its sovereignty.

The tests paved the way for significant advancements in Pakistan's military capabilities. Recognising the importance of a balanced defence strategy, Pakistan embarked on a path of military modernisation. Investments were made in cutting-edge technology, research, and development of advanced delivery systems. This comprehensive approach fortified Pakistan's deterrent posture, instilling a sense of national pride and confidence.

The story of Pakistan's nuclear tests is one of courage, resilience, and the pursuit of national security. In the face of immense challenges, Nawaz Sharif's decision to proceed with the tests showcased the nation's determination to safeguard its sovereignty. While the economic difficulties endured, the tests strengthened Pakistan's strategic position and military capabilities, ensuring regional stability and empowering the nation on the global stage.

On 28 May this year, Pakistanis came out in droves to commemorate the 25th anniversary of a significant event in their nation's history. The celebrations held greater fervour this time, as they took place in the aftermath of attacks on military and civilian buildings by supporters of Pakistan Tehreek-e-Insaf (PTI) and a malicious social media campaign against specific military generals, serving and retired.

The unrest reached its peak when Imran Khan, the PTI



leader, was arrested in Islamabad on charges related to money laundering concerning Al Qadir Trust. PTI followers unleashed chaos by entering Army GHQ in Rawalpindi, invading military cantonments in various cities, attacking and burning the corps commander's residence in Lahore, and defacing or destroying martyr's monuments in various cities. Amidst this chaotic environment, Nawaz Sharif's conduct of politics stood in stark contrast, characterised by poise and grace despite significant differences with the military leadership.

As the nation commemorated the 25th anniversary of this historic event, Nawaz Sharif's steadfast leadership and statesmanship shone brightly, standing as a symbol of resilience amidst the chaos that unfolded in the political landscape ■

*The writer is a former member of the Punjab Assembly and former provincial minister for school education.*





# A BUDGET FOR THE PEOPLE

ATTAULLAH TARAR

Pakistan's Finance Minister, Ishaq Dar, presented the country's federal budget for the fiscal year 2023-24 on 9 June 2023. The budget, valued at Rs14.46 trillion, focuses on avoiding new taxes and projected a 3.5 per cent economic growth rate. To secure additional bailout funds from the International Monetary Fund (IMF), Pakistan has shared its budget numbers with the lender, stating its compliance with the program's requirements. Pakistan is facing enormous economic challenges as a result of the dismal governance of the previous ruling party, the Pakistan Tehreek-e-Insaf (PTI). Despite these challenges, the current coalition government has taken measures to rescue the economy from default, leading to improved fiscal conditions.

In his budget speech, the finance minister emphasised that the budget should be viewed as a responsible budget rather than an election-oriented one. This indicates the government's commitment to addressing economic issues and making sustainable policy decisions.

Several tax exemptions and incentives have been introduced to promote specific sectors, including agro-based industries, IT exports, and the printing of the Holy Quran. These measures are designed to encourage investment, job creation, and economic growth.

The budget ensures that there will be no rise in duties on the import of essential items, aiming to provide relief to the masses.

This article examines the key highlights of the budget and its implications for Pakistan's economy.

**Economic growth target:** The government aims to achieve a growth rate of 3.5 per cent in the coming fiscal year. This target reflects the government's focus on revitalising the economy and fostering economic expansion.

**Inflation target:** The inflation target has been set



at 21 per cent, indicating the government's awareness of the prevailing inflationary pressures and its intention to control them.

**Pension increase:** Retired federal government employees will receive a flat increase of 17.5 per cent in their pensions. This adjustment aims to address the impact of inflation on the living standards of retired individuals.

**Ad-hoc relief allowance:** Federal government employees in grades 1-16 will receive a significant 35 per cent increase in the ad-hoc relief allowance, while those in grades 17-22 will see a 30 per cent increase. This measure aims to improve the financial well-being of government employees.

**Tax on bonus shares:** A flat 10 per cent tax has been imposed on the issuance of bonus shares of listed companies. This measure is intended to generate revenue for the government through the taxation of corporate profits.

**Cash withdrawal tax:** The government has reintroduced withholding tax on cash withdrawals by non-filers of income tax returns. This measure aims to

broaden the tax base and encourage individuals to file their tax returns.

**Health insurance card:** The government plans to issue health insurance cards to working journalists and artists, providing them with access to healthcare services. This initiative would support these professionals and promote their well-being.

**Public Sector Development Programme (PSDP) allocation:** The PSDP has been set at Rs1,150 billion, including Rs200 billion for public-private partnerships. The PSDP allocation focuses on completing partially finished projects, attracting foreign direct investment, and promoting balanced growth among cities. Special attention will be given to projects in Balochistan.

**Exports and remittances targets:** The government aims to achieve exports of \$30 billion and remittances of \$33 billion in the coming fiscal year. These targets indicate the government's focus on boosting the country's foreign exchange reserves. The budget proposes steps to promote remittances through formal channels, such as abolishing the 2 per cent final tax on the purchase of immovable property.



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**THE BUDGET ENSURES THAT THERE WILL BE NO RISE IN DUTIES ON THE IMPORT OF ESSENTIAL ITEMS, AIMING TO PROVIDE RELIEF TO THE MASSES.**

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A “diamond card” is also introduced for individuals sending over \$50,000, offering various privileges and incentives.

**Duty exemption on solar panel and battery raw materials:** Customs duty on the import of raw materials used for solar panels and batteries has been removed. This measure will promote the use of renewable energy and support the growth of the solar industry.

**Tax exemption for real estate investment trusts (REITs):** The tax exemption for REITs has been extended, which is expected to encourage investment in the real estate sector and facilitate its growth.

**Education and youth:** Despite education falling under provincial jurisdiction, the federal government has allocated significant funds for the Higher Education Commission (HEC), aiming to enhance access to quality education. An allocation of Rs10 billion has been made for providing 100,000 laptops to deserving youth. This initiative would enhance access to education and empower young individuals.

**IT services:** The income tax rate for IT services and freelancer IT exporters remains at 0.25 per cent until 2026. Additionally, professionals from this sector can import equipment at zero duty up to 1 per cent of their exports, fostering the growth of the IT industry.

**Agriculture sector:** The budget includes measures to promote the adoption of solar power in agriculture, such as allocating Rs30 billion for the conversion of 50,000 tube wells to solar power. Import taxes and duties on hybrid seeds are proposed to be removed, encouraging the use of advanced agricultural practices.

**No new taxes on industries:** To support the industrial sector, the government has decided not to impose any new taxes on industries. It is hoped that this initiative will promote investment and growth in the industrial sector.

**Current account and trade deficits:** The projected current account deficit for the outgoing fiscal year is \$4 billion, while the trade deficit is expected to be \$26 billion. These figures indicate the government’s efforts to manage the deficits and stabilize the external sector.

Overall, the budget aims to address key economic issues, promote growth in various sectors, support social welfare, and stabilise the economy. This is a step in the direction of economic and political stability and a new dawn of progress for the country ■

*The writer is a special assistant to the prime minister on interior and legal affairs.*







# NOOSING OR STREAMLINING THE SUPREME COURT?

**RANA ASADULLAH KHAN**

The Supreme Court Practice and Procedure Act, 2023 was passed by the Parliament, despite the President of Pakistan refusing to give assent to the bill on the grounds that it was being challenged before the Supreme Court. In response, the Chief Justice promptly formed an eight-member bench under Article 184(3) of the Constitution to address the legal issues raised in three constitutional petitions.

The petitioners argued that when the president returned the bill, the Parliament failed to address his reasons and instead focused on limiting the Chief Justice's powers, which are exclusively held under Article 184(3), by unconstitutionally establishing a Committee of Judges under Article 191 or entry 55 of the Federal Legislative List. The petitioners further contended that the bill was passed and sent to the President for assent without following the mandatory provisions of Article 75. Therefore, they requested

that the bill not be implemented, and if passed by the Parliament, be declared void and unconstitutional.

On 13th April, a bench of 'likeminded judges' unanimously decided to suspend the bill, which was in the process of being passed in Parliament, stating that even if the bill became an Act, it would not be applicable until the final decision of the Court, as it was seen as encroaching on the jurisdiction of the Supreme Court. The Court based its decision on two cases, one from Pakistan and the other from an American court.

Relying on the McCulloch case from American Jurisdiction, the Court expressed concerns that the power to regulate includes the power to destroy. Additionally, citing the Dr Mobashir Hassan case, the Court suspended the operation of the Act, disregarding the fact that the cited case was against the National

## ANALYSIS

Reconciliation Ordinance, 2007, which had already taken effect. In addition, the Sindh High Court Bar Association case decision had already declared all actions, acts, ordinances, and orders issued by General Musharraf after the imposition of a state of emergency unconstitutional and subject to approval from Parliament and respective provincial assemblies to maintain the constitutional trichotomy of powers. In Dr Mobashir Hassan's case, the Court emphasised judicial independence and stressed the suspension of illegal actions or orders, rather than provisions of law. The Supreme Court stretched this judgment to justify the suspension of the Act, disregarding the fact that Parliament had resolved a controversy within the judicial system through this law.

This controversy had arisen due to the liberal use of Article 184(3) by Chief Justice Iftikhar Mohammad Chaudhry after his restoration to office following the lawyers' movement in 2009. Chief Justice Chaudhry used this article as a weapon against the Pakistan People's Party government for not fulfilling their promise of reinstating him after Musharraf's exit. The extensive use of Article 184(3) faced opposition, particularly from Justice Saqib Nisar, who strongly disagreed with initiating proceedings under Article 184(3) and criticised the 'judicial activism' of the Iftikhar court, advocating for 'judicial restraint.' However, when Justice Nisar became the chief justice, he went far beyond his predecessor's actions

and used Article 184(3) extensively, contradicting his earlier stance. The unnecessary use of this provision by both Justice Iftikhar and Justice Nisar undoubtedly tarnished the image of the Supreme Court, resulting in a loss of public confidence in the country's judicial system.

The initiation of proceedings by the court is often perceived as self-promotion by the chief justices, as the statements and observations made by the judges during the proceedings receive significant coverage in the media. For example, Justice Khosa's remarks in the Panama Case, quoting the novel "The Godfather," were widely publicised and used as election rhetoric against Nawaz Sharif by his political opponents. Chief Justice Bandial's remarks in most constitutional matters are also considered inappropriate, raising questions about the impartiality and neutrality of the Supreme Court. He consistently disregarded the views of his fellow judges, particularly in the decision made in the Punjab election case. It appeared that he was following Justice Saqib Nisar's statement that 'law is what he says.'

Chief Justice Bandial, using the protection of Article 184(3), has exceeded his jurisdiction by forming benches while ignoring senior judges, solely to obtain a decision of his preference. He not only forms the benches but also selectively picks the petitions, as seen in the case of a constitutional petition filed in the Punjab election matter by the Christian community requesting an increase in their representation through a fresh census. However, their petition was refused and they were told to approach the appropriate forum. Interestingly, the Supreme Court took notice of the Punjab election during the proceedings of the transfer of the Capital City Police Officer (CCPO) Lahore case, a matter unrelated to the election, but denied the fundamental rights of the Christian community, fearing it might hinder the predetermined decision on the Punjab election matter.

The impartiality and neutrality of some judges on the eight-member 'likeminded bench' are already in question following the federal law minister's public apology for bringing two junior judges to the Supreme Court at the behest of Chief Justice Bandial. This

“**THE SUPREME COURT'S DECISION TO SUSPEND THE SUPREME COURT PRACTICE AND PROCEDURE ACT, 2023, UNDER THE ASSUMPTION THAT IT INTRUDES UPON JUDICIAL INDEPENDENCE, IS BASED ON A WRONG PRESUMPTION. THE ACT ACTUALLY HELPS RESOLVE EXISTING CONFLICTS AND DIFFERENCES OF OPINION AMONG THE JUDGES REGARDING THE INVOCATION OF ARTICLE 184(3).**”



apology itself highlights the sorry state of affairs in the Supreme Court, where junior judges bypass senior judges merely based on the chief justice's preference. The Supreme Court is an organ that should function as a balance between the executive and the rights of individuals, protecting them against any infringement. However, when the Supreme Court fails to follow the principle of seniority within its own institution, how can it deliver justice to the common citizens of society? The unchecked and unlimited power exercised by the chief justice under Article 184(3) is not only disapproved by political parties but has also received strong criticism from lawyers' bodies. The Pakistan Bar Council passed a resolution against Justice Mazahar Ali Akbar Naqvi, calling for proceedings against him on serious corruption charges and requesting that he not be included in any bench. Despite this, he continues to be part of every bench hearing important constitutional matters, contradicting his own stance on the moral standing of judges in the Justice Faez Isa case.

In addition to assuming jurisdiction under Article 184(3), the Supreme Court bypasses the jurisdiction of regular courts, violating Article 10A of the Constitution, which guarantees the right to a free trial and due process. The Act allows aggrieved individuals to directly approach the Supreme Court, bypassing regular courts. While numerous petitions concerning long delays in deciding cases, inefficiency and incompetence of judicial officers, and executive overreach are pending before the Human Rights Cell of the Supreme Court, only those cases that attract public attention are selected, further enhancing the image of the chief justice as a messiah-like figure. Furthermore, under the jurisdiction of Article 184(3), the Supreme Court acts as the first and the final arbiter, with no right to appeal or challenge its decisions. The only recourse for the aggrieved party is to file a review, which has very limited jurisdiction.

The Parliament has not acted wrongly by passing the Act; instead, it has supported the judges of the Supreme Court who have consistently sought to define the powers of the chief justice under Article 184(3) of the Constitution and develop guidelines for invoking the court's jurisdiction. However, the chief

justice, considering it an attempt to undermine his powers, formed another bench of 'likeminded judges' to overturn the judgment passed by the previous bench. Disputes between the chief justice and his fellow judges regarding the invocation of original jurisdiction are not new. Recently, two members of the bench embarrassed former Chief Justice Saqib Nisar in Peshawar when they deemed a matter unworthy of suo moto proceedings.

The Supreme Court's decision to suspend the Supreme Court Practice and Procedure Act, 2023, under the assumption that it intrudes upon judicial independence, is based on a wrong presumption. The Act actually helps resolve existing conflicts and differences of opinion among the judges regarding the invocation of Article 184(3). The Supreme Court has emphasised in numerous judgments that any authority vested with discretionary powers should use them judiciously, reasonably, and without arbitrariness, acting fairly, impartially, and justly. The Act's preamble explicitly states the need for its enforcement to ensure citizens are treated according to the law, as guaranteed by their fundamental right to a free and fair trial and due process under Article 10A of the Constitution, and it also upholds the right to appeal as enunciated by Islam.

The Supreme Court must recognise that the Parliament has addressed the issue that has caused conflicts among judges by streamlining the law in accordance with the Constitution of the country. The Act will improve the judiciary's image by providing a formula for invoking jurisdiction under Article 184(3), requiring matters to be referred to a committee formed under Section 3 of the Act to determine their public importance. If the committee agrees that an important question is involved, it will refer the matter to a bench consisting of no less than five members for a hearing. Importantly, the Act also provides the right to appeal for the aggrieved party, which was not available before. By protecting, defending, and preserving the rights of individuals against the high-handedness and injustice of state institutions, the Act will help restore public confidence in the Supreme Court ■

*The writer is the additional attorney general VI, Islamabad Rawalpindi.*



# MUSHAHID ULLAH KHAN: A FOND REMEMBRANCE

DR AFNAN ULLAH KHAN

When PML-N stalwart Senator Mushahid Ullah Khan passed away in Islamabad at the age of 68 in February 2021, his fellow senators from both the opposition and treasury benches lauded his significant contributions to democracy. He was known for his impassioned speeches, often adorned with fitting verses. However, to me, he was my beloved Abbu Jaan.

When Pakistan was created in 1947, my grandfather, a Yousafzai Pashtun, migrated from the Indian state of Uttar Pradesh to the newly established country and settled in Rawalpindi. My father, Mushahid Ullah Khan, was born in 1953. He had four brothers and two sisters. He received his early education at Islamia High School and completed his graduation at Gordon College in Rawalpindi. My grandfather worked in Military Accounts. Our family was devoutly religious and adhered to conservative Islamic practices.

Mushahid Ullah Khan was introduced to politics at

a young age, as both his parents were members of Jamaat-e-Islami (JI). Their home located at College Road on Street 4 in Rawalpindi, served as a centre of political activities. His mother later assumed the role of nazima in JI Rawalpindi. He started participating in student politics under the banner of JI's student wing called Islami Jamiat Talaba, where he received his initial political training.

He was actively engaged in student politics and won several elections of Jamiat. Due to his political activism, he garnered attention from local leaders. In 1968, when Zulfikar Ali Bhutto was organising the Pakistan People's Party (PPP), Mushahid Ullah Khan at the young age of 15, had the opportunity to meet him as part of a delegation led by Chaudhry Zahoor Elahi. It was during this time that he started handling public relations and media responsibilities for Chaudhry Zahoor Elahi. He staunchly believed that General Ayub Khan's dictatorship had significantly harmed



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**ABBU JAAN WAS PASSIONATE ABOUT CRICKET AND EVEN PLAYED FIRST-CLASS CRICKET FOR RAWALPINDI IN HIS YOUTH. HE LOVED TO TRAVEL AND EXPLORE AND HAD VISITED ABOUT 50-60 COUNTRIES. HOWEVER, WHAT TRULY STOOD OUT WAS HIS AVID READING HABIT.**

”

democracy and the country, and its consequences became evident after the secession of East Pakistan. He remained engaged in politics in various capacities and was groomed in grassroots politics.

In 1972, UN Secretary-General (UNSG) Kurt Josef Waldheim visited Pakistan. When he emerged from the old Rawalpindi airport, Mushahid Ullah Khan and his friend Afzal Mirza jumped in front of his car. These youngsters handed over a memorandum to the UNSG, demanding the release of Pakistani prisoners of war held by India, until the UNSG's security arrived.

In 1973-74, Mushahid Ullah Khan started working in Pakistan International Airlines (PIA) Ground Handling Services and soon became active in the workers' union at PIA. When the Soviet Union invaded Afghanistan in 1979, Mushahid Ullah Khan, through his political activism, found himself at the forefront of what was perceived as the Soviets' war against Islam.

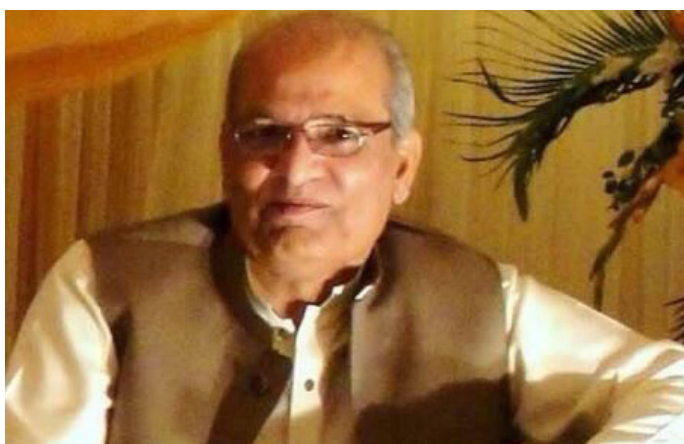
In 1982, he relocated with his family from Rawalpindi to Karachi because PIA had a larger presence at Pakistan's largest airport in Karachi, and a majority of ground services staff was based there. Leveraging his political experience, Mushahid Ullah Khan organised workers under the banner of PIASI. Unfortunately, he

soon lost his job due to his activism against General Zia-ul-Haq's dictatorial rule in the country. However, he seized this opportunity to pursue further education and obtained a law degree from the University of Karachi.

In 1986-87, although the Pakistan Muslim League-Nawaz had not yet been formally launched, Mian Nawaz Sharif was already a rising political star. When Mushahid Ullah Khan met Mian *sahib*, who was then serving as Punjab's chief minister, he believed that he was the man who could shape Pakistan's future. From that point forward, he remained loyal to Mian *sahib* for the rest of his life.

Mushahid Ullah Khan was reinstated to his position in PIA after Zia-ul-Haq's military rule ended in 1988. He continued his efforts to organise PIA workers and eventually became the president of PIASI-Mushahid Ullah. In 1993, when Pakistan Muslim League-Nawaz was established, Mushahid Ullah Khan renamed PIASI as Air League to signify its affiliation with PML-N. It went on to become the main workers' union of PIA.

When PML-N came to power in 1997, Mushahid Ullah Khan was among the first members to be appointed to the cabinet by then Prime Minister Mian Nawaz Sharif, who inducted him as an advisor with a rank of





MUSHAHID ULLAH KHAN IN MID-1970s.

grade 22 officer. Consequently, he moved back from Karachi to Islamabad. In 1999, Mian *sahib* appointed him as the mayor of Karachi. However, this tenure was cut short as General Pervez Musharraf toppled the government in October of that year through a military coup.

Mushahid Ullah Khan was the only PML-N leader who demonstrated the courage to openly challenge a military dictator. Following the 1999 coup, some PML-N leaders switched sides, while others went into hiding to avoid arrest. However, Mushahid Ullah Khan evaded arrest for two days and then held a press conference against General Musharraf’s coup at Karachi Press Club on 14 October 1999. After the press conference, he managed to sneak out to Regal Chowk without getting arrested and chanted the slogan, “Death to Dictatorship.” As soon as the police guarding the chowk heard his cry, they pounced on him and subjected him to brutal beatings. His picture in police custody, wearing a tattered shirt, became an icon of resistance.

“ MUSHAHID ULLAH KHAN WAS THE ONLY PML-N LEADER WHO DEMONSTRATED THE COURAGE TO OPENLY CHALLENGE A MILITARY DICTATOR FOLLOWING THE 1999 MILITARY COUP. ON 14 OCTOBER 1999, HE MANAGED TO SNEAK OUT TO REGAL CHOWK AND CHANTED THE SLOGAN, “DEATH TO DICTATORSHIP.” AS SOON AS THE POLICE GUARDING THE CHOWK HEARD HIS CRY, THEY POUNCED ON HIM AND SUBJECTED HIM TO BRUTAL BEATINGS. HIS PICTURE IN POLICE CUSTODY, WEARING A TATTERED SHIRT, BECAME AN ICON OF RESISTANCE. ”



GETTING ARRESTED FOR CHALLENGING GENERAL MUSHARRAF’S COUP IN KARACHI IN OCTOBER 1999.

Throughout his political career, Mushahid Ullah Khan held significant positions within the PML-N party and the government. In 2009, he was elected as a senator for six years, during which he served on several standing committees. He was again elected to the Senate of Pakistan in 2015 and was appointed as the federal minister for environment and climate change in Prime Minister Mian Nawaz Sharif’s cabinet in January 2015, remaining in this position until August of that year. He was appointed as the federal minister for climate change in August 2017 in Prime Minister Shahid Khaqan Abbasi’s cabinet and served until the term of the government ended.





THE AUTHOR WITH HIS FATHER AT KEY WEST, FLORIDA, USA, ON THEIR LAST FAMILY TRIP ABROAD IN JANUARY 2019.



MUSHAHID ULLAH KHAN IN PARIS IN 2017.

Abbu Jaan greatly enjoyed the food and took great delight in desi dishes, such as *nihari*, *paye*, *tikka*, *daal* and *sabzi*. He preferred pure organic foods over other types of food. One of his favourite hobbies was fishing, and he would often take me and my brother to Rawal Dam, Tarbela Dam, and Simli Dam for fishing trips. Eel, which has a snake-like body and is called “baam” in Urdu, was Abbu Jaan’s favourite. Catching this fish was a challenge as it wouldn’t get caught in the net; instead, one had to rely on fishing hooks or catch it by hand.

Abbu Jaan was passionate about cricket and even played first-class cricket for Rawalpindi in his youth. He loved to travel and explore and had visited about 50-60 countries. However, what truly stood out was his avid reading habit. He read all the newspapers of the day, including columns, to stay informed about current events. Moreover, he regularly read books. He passed on his love for reading to me as well.

Abbu Jaan was carefree by nature and didn’t worry



WITH HIS LONG-TIME FISHING BUDDY MUHAMMAD SUHAIL AKA GUDDU BHAI FISHING AT RAWAL LAKE.

much about money. Unlike many of his colleagues, he hailed from a middle-class family and rose to the highest echelons of political power through sheer hard work and grassroots politics ■

*The writer is a member of the Senate.*





# PM URGES OVERSEAS PAKISTANIS TO DEFEND PAKISTAN

DR RANA KHALID MEHMOOD

On June 11, 2023, a significant Zoom meeting was organised that brought together presidents, general secretaries, and chairpersons from 31 chapters of Pakistan Muslim League-Nawaz (PML-N) in various countries worldwide.

The meeting was attended by Prime Minister Mian Muhammad Shahbaz Sharif, International Affairs President and Finance Minister Ishaq Dar, Planning Minister and General Secretary Ahsan Iqbal, Information Minister Maryam Aurangzeb, Senator Dr Afnan Ullah Khan

The meeting started with a warm welcome from PML-N's Chief Coordinator of International Affairs and Overseas Pakistanis Barrister Amjad Malik. Prime Minister Shahbaz Sharif then addressed the participants, expressing gratitude for their presence

and acknowledging the current economic challenges faced by Pakistan. He emphasised the efforts of Finance Minister Ishaq Dar in negotiating an agreement with the International Monetary Fund (IMF).

Regarding the events of 9 May, the prime minister clarified that no political party in Pakistan's history has resorted to terrorism under the guise of protest or caused harm to military installations and properties. He noted that certain elements are spreading false accusations and propaganda in Western countries to defame Pakistani institutions and the state. The prime minister urged overseas Pakistanis to counter these lies and share the truth with Western nations.

Finance Minister Ishaq Dar conveyed a message from PML-N leader Mian Muhammad Nawaz Sharif to the overseas members, appreciating their support



to Pakistan with their hard-earned money and their effective management of the party. He highlighted the successful integration of various factions in a united platform of PML-N overseas and praised its performance. However, he urged chapters in the UK and USA to accelerate their efforts in facing the challenges and responding candidly to the propaganda of Pakistan Tehreek-e-Insaf (PTI).

Ahsan Iqbal stressed the need for a strong response to PTI's malicious attack and suggested highlighting that the removal of the Imran Khan-led government was carried out constitutionally. Iqbal emphasised Pakistan's right, like any other country, to employ constitutional procedures to deal with threats to the state.

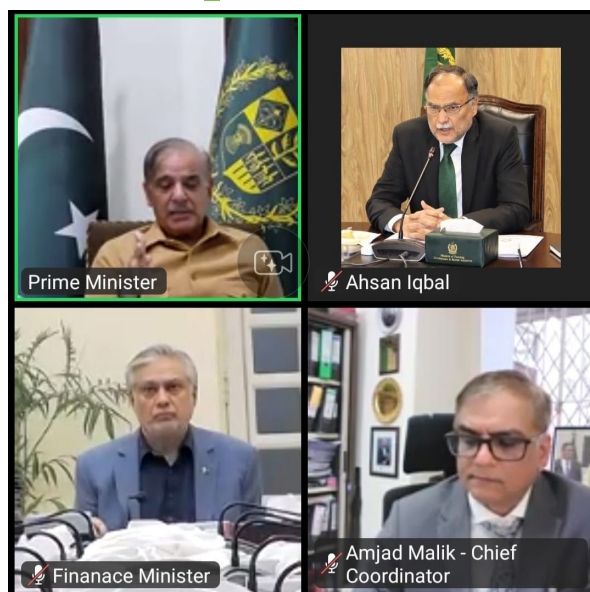
Following these discussions, the prime minister provided an opportunity for the presidents of each country to present their reports and suggestions. The presidents and representatives expressed their gratitude to Prime Minister Shahbaz Sharif, Ishaq Dar, and Barrister Amjad Malik for organising the Zoom meeting. They affirmed their commitment to resisting PTI's divisive policies and hatred, utilising all available resources within the boundaries of legal frameworks, even in countries such as Saudi Arabia and the Gulf countries where political activities face restrictions. Representatives from Western countries, including the UK, USA, and Canada, mentioned the PTI sympathisers in Pakistani missions abroad.

The meeting was attended by Rohail Dar from the USA, Zubair Gul from Great Britain, Dr Abul Fazl from Australia, Ali Sharaft from Austria, Shama Butt from Portugal, Sohail Waraich from Canada, Raja Amir Iqbal and Dr Sabir Hussain from South Korea, Mian Hanif from France, Mian Arshad and Irfan Nagra from Kuwait, Muhammad Ali Fasal from Oman, Ghulam Mustafa Mughal, Abu Bakr Effendi, and Farzana Kausar from the United Arab Emirates, Shahid Tanveer from Norway, Rahmatullah Baig from Denmark, Saeed Sheikh, Kashif Bhutta, and Asad Ayaz from Sweden, Rana Liaqat Ali, Hafiz Abdul Rehman, Arman and General Secretary Ansar Butt from Germany, Chaudhry Ijaz Ahmed from Greece, Atif Butt, Mir Abrar, and Secretary General

Tausif Tahir Bhatti from Turkey, Chaudhry Raffaqat and Nadeem Hafeez from Bahrain, Maher Nisar from Malaysia, Mohammad Asif Majeed from Thailand, Hafiz Maher Shams and Ms Iram from Japan, Nawaz Wahla and Alam Zeb from Switzerland, and President Saeed Sheikh, General Secretary Manzoor Malik, Chairman Chaudhry Akram, Mehmood Dogar, Dr Kanwal Anees, and Saira Shams from Saudi Arabia.

During the meeting, several suggestions were put forward. In response, the prime minister directed the participants to prepare recommendations within seven days to counter the artificial anxiety created in Western countries. The objective is to ensure host countries are aware of the factual situation and combat the misinformation campaign effectively.

The meeting concluded with Prime Minister Shahbaz Sharif expressing his gratitude to all the attendees for their active participation and support in defending Pakistan's interests ■



“ PML-N REPRESENTATIVES FROM VARIOUS COUNTRIES, INCLUDING THE USA, GREAT BRITAIN, AUSTRALIA, AUSTRIA, PORTUGAL, CANADA, SOUTH KOREA, FRANCE, KUWAIT, OMAN, UAE, NORWAY, DENMARK, SWEDEN, GERMANY, GREECE, TURKEY, BAHRAIN, MALAYSIA, THAILAND, JAPAN, SWITZERLAND AND SAUDI ARABIA ATTENDED THE MEETING. ”



PICTURE GALLERY



PRIME MINISTER SHEHBAZ SHARIF MEETS SCOTLAND'S FIRST MINISTER HAMZA YOUSAF IN LONDON. 7 MAY 2023



TO PAY TRIBUTE TO MARTYRS OF PAKISTAN ARMED FORCES ON THE OCCASION OF YOM E TAKREEM E SHUHADA, PRIME MINISTER MUHAMMAD SHEHBAZ SHARIF LAID A FLORAL WREATH AND OFFERED FATEHA AT SHUHADA GRAVEYARD IN RAWALPINDI. 25TH MAY 2023



SAIRA IFTIKHAR LED A RALLY OF 170 PROFESSIONALS ON THE OCCASION OF YOM E TAKREEM E SHUHADA AT MARTYRS' GRAVEYARD IN LAHORE. 25 MAY 2023



PRIME MINISTER MUHAMMAD SHEHBAZ SHARIF VISITS THE BUILDING OF RADIO PAKISTAN (RP) IN PESHAWAR, WHICH WAS BURNT DURING THE 9 MAY INCIDENTS. HE ALSO DISTRIBUTED CHEQUES AMONG RP EMPLOYEES WHO WERE INJURED. 25 MAY 2023



PRIME MINISTER MUHAMMAD SHEHBAZ SHARIF GREETS TURKISH PRESIDENT RECEP TAYYIP ERDOGAN AT THE INAUGURATION CEREMONY OF HIS THIRD TERM AS PRESIDENT IN ANKARA, TURKIYE. 3 JUNE 2023



PML-N SENIOR VICE PRESIDENT AND CHIEF ORGANISER MARYAM NAWAZ ADDRESSING A PUBLIC GATHERING ON THE OCCASION OF YOM-E-TAKBEER AT LIBERTY ROUNDABOUT, LAHORE. 28 MAY 2023





**PRIME MINISTER MUHAMMAD SHEHBAZ SHARIF WITNESSED IN ISLAMABAD THE SIGNING CEREMONY OF THE MEMORANDUM OF UNDERSTANDING ON THE "ROAD TO MAKKAH PROJECT" BETWEEN SAUDI ARABIA AND PAKISTAN AIMED AT FACILITATING PAKISTANI HAJJAJ. 17 MAY 2023**



**PAKISTAN'S PRIME MINISTER SHEHBAZ SHARIF AND IRAN'S PRESIDENT EBRAHIM RAISI SPEAK DURING A JOINT INAUGURATION OF THE POLAN-GABD ELECTRICITY TRANSMISSION LINE AT MAND-PISHIN BORDER CROSSING POINT, IN PISHIN, PAKISTAN. 18 MAY 2023**



**PRIME MINISTER MUHAMMAD SHEHBAZ SHARIF IN A GROUP PHOTO WITH FEDERAL MINISTERS, GOVERNOR AND CHIEF MINISTER SINDH, AND ORGANISERS OF TEXTILE EXPO (TEXPO) 2023 IN KARACHI. 26 MAY 2023**



**PRIME MINISTER MUHAMMAD SHEHBAZ SHARIF IN A GROUP PHOTO WITH SCHOOL STUDENTS AT THE OPENING CEREMONY OF THE 34TH NATIONAL GAMES IN QUETTA. 22 MAY 2023**



**FINANCE MINISTER ISHAQ DAR AND THE ECONOMIC TEAM PRESENTING THE ECONOMIC SURVEY OF PAKISTAN FOR FY-2022-23 TO PRIME MINISTER MUHAMMAD SHEHBAZ SHARIF IN ISLAMABAD. 08 JUNE 2023**



**PRIME MINISTER MUHAMMAD SHEHBAZ SHARIF SIGNED BUDGET 2023-24 DOCUMENTS IN ISLAMABAD AFTER ITS APPROVAL BY THE CABINET TO BE LAID BEFORE THE NATIONAL ASSEMBLY. 9 JUNE 2023**



**HAMZA SHAHBAZ OFFERED HIS CONDOLENCES TO SARDAR AYAZ SADIQ AT THE SAD DEMISE OF HIS BROTHER OF SARDAR MEHMOOD SADIQ IN ISLAMABAD. 3 JUNE 2023**




**PRIME MINISTER MUHAMMAD SHEHBAZ SHARIF UNVEILS A PLAQUE AT THE GROUNDBREAKING CEREMONY OF THE GREATER KARACHI BULK WATER SUPPLY SCHEME (K-IV PROJECT) IN KARACHI. 26 MAY 2023**







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