

**“ I have kept my pledge  
with GOD and man”**

**Z. A. Bhutto**



**- COLLECTION OF PRESIDENT BHUTTO'S SPEECHES -**

**Reproduced By:  
Sani Hussain Panhwar  
Member Sindh Council, PPP**

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## PREFACE

During his 14-year political career President Zulfikar Ali Bhutto has made speeches that could fill volumes. They are of a wide and varied nature. He spoke as Minister during the last decade. He spoke during his agitation against the oppressive rule. He spoke during his election campaign. He spoke during his negotiations with the last regime. He spoke after he has taken over the President's Office.

There is, however, consistency in his speeches; compatibility in the fundamentals. He believes in action, in dynamism, and in progress. He has been with the people, worked for the people and stood by the people. The people understand him and he understands the people. His speeches are clear in vision, direct in communication and realistic in approach. His thoughts lead to action; his actions pave the way to progress. And it is his progressiveness that appeals to the people, particularly to the younger generation.

The following pages contain a collection of speeches made by President Zulfikar Ali Bhutto beginning from December 20, 1971 to April 14, 1972, the day he addressed the National Assembly. These speeches are important—very important. They pertain to drastic and revolutionary reforms in industry, labour, agriculture, education, public health and government services. They have a direct bearing on the life of the people, on the economy of the country and on the welfare of the nation. They will mould the shape of things to come; they will open new vistas; they will give new dimensions; they will lead to prosperity.

These speeches are so different from the usually drab, routine and formal pronouncements of President Bhutto's immediate predecessors. The difference is more marked in regard to approach, mode of communication, appeal and substance. He has spoken with conviction, resolution and determination. The speeches convey his mind; indicate his plans; reveal his line of action. The action that is in keeping with the people's requirements. The requirements that will help the nation redeem its honour. The honour that will raise the head of the common man.

The speeches of President Zulfikar Ali Bhutto are different because the time is different; the occasion is different; the situation is different.

Exhaling utmost sincerity and devotion, exhibiting great confidence and determination, displaying marked firmness and pragmatism in his very first

broadcast to the nation, he said; “We have to pick up the pieces, very small pieces but we will make a new Pakistan, a prosperous and progressive Pakistan, a Pakistan free of exploitation, a Pakistan envisaged by the Quaid-i-Azam, a Pakistan for which the Muslims of the sub-continent sacrificed their lives and their honour.”

It is in this context that President Bhutto’s speeches, collected in this volume, have to be read, understood and appreciated. To supplement his speeches we have included the speech he delivered on the eve of general elections on TV and Radio on November 18, 1970, along with the full texts of communiqués issued jointly by the countries visited by the President during this period to complete the overall picture.

Before concluding, a word about the publisher, National Forum, will not be out of place. National Forum has been founded to provide food for thought, to conduct surveys, to filter public opinion and to motivate action in the right direction.

As the fate of our dear motherland stands exposed to the onslaught of centrifugal forces we in our humble way intend to create, through National Forum, unity of thought and action so that the broken mosaic be picked and patched.

This volume is the first of a series of publications that will, in the course of time, see the light of the day. It is hoped that this compilation of important documents, in a compact, handy and presentable form, will receive due recognition and appreciation.

April 15, 1972 – *National Forum*

## PLEDGE TO THE NATION

*Speech of Mr. Zulfikar Ali Bhutto, Chairman PPP, broadcast and Telecast on  
November 18, 1970*

Ladies and gentlemen and my young friends:

Tonight I am addressing you as a citizen of the poorest nation in the world. The economic conditions of Pakistan are miserable in the extreme. Such abject poverty exists nowhere except perhaps in India, a country from which we separated in 1947 because we rejected its iniquitous system, its exploitation and domination. Our people braved the hazards of partition to carve out Pakistan, the pure land of promise and fulfillment. In millions Indian Muslims made the great pilgrimage to integrate with the Baloch and the Bengali, the Sindhi, the Pathan and the Punjabi to build the largest Muslim state on the foundations of Islamic justice and brotherhood.

But now today after 23 years of tumultuous existence the country is being ripped apart by controversies based on regional prejudices and still in search of its moorings. In this span of time Pakistan has had two constitutions and is in the process of moving towards the third. There have been riots and tensions, a continuing economic crisis marked by general instability. East-West relations remain unsettled, the population has grown from 80 to 130 million and in the wake of chaotic conditions two Martial Laws have been imposed in the country.

We have gone up and down, sideward and backwards but neither parliamentary democracy nor military dictatorships have been able to find a lasting solution to the problems that afflict Pakistan. Frustration and despair is writ large on the face of the people. We stand on the edge of catastrophe. A new class, small in number, of capitalist barons is unabashedly plundering national wealth while the overwhelming majority of the people are with-out food, shelter and clothing.

Unemployment and underemployment, both in the countryside and among the educated classes mounts menacingly. Our people have been cheated and humiliated, their feelings have been ignored. They have suffered from a massive deception. Shall we call this the lost generation or the generation that was betrayed? I leave it to you to choose the epitaph. But what about the future? Are the children of this tormented generation also destined to remain in the same squalor and shame?

## **INVIGORING DREAM**

The youth of today is losing faith in the future. The dream of Pakistan was not to end in the agony of its people. It was an invigorating dream. This dream was to mature in a great new society for the benefit of the common weal.

For you, my dear listeners, and for all those who have been the victim of the most inhuman exploitation known to contemporary times, this intolerable state of affairs has to be brought to an end. It is our moral duty to lift the people of Pakistan from the quagmire of poverty.

There was a time in the history of Islam when the great Omar declared that if along the banks of the Euphrates should a dog die of starvation the Khalifa of Islam would be answerable to the Almighty Allah. Here in Pakistan—in the largest Islamic state—men and women die of starvation by the thousands. Our children sleep on the streets without shelter.

Our toiling masses live an appalling life. This has to be changed.

So, ladies and gentlemen, and my young friends, the foremost duty of the Pakistani people is to wipe out poverty from the face of Pakistan. The problems we face are gigantic but I am not overwhelmed. I have an unshakable faith in the people of my country. Pakistan possesses the potential of being one of the most important countries of Asia. It has inherited the strategic frontiers of the subcontinent.

In two wars against India, a much larger neighbor, the people showed their mettle magnificently. Our people, both men and women, are hardworking. They have made tremendous sacrifices in the past and shall not found wanting in the future. Our soil is rich and we have sufficient resources to meet the test. Our ideology is inspiring and Islam our religion is the final message of Allah to man. In other words, we certainly possess the where-withal to overcome the lingering crisis.

## **CONFRONTATION**

Let me make it quite clear that in truth there is no dispute over religion. Islam is not in danger. Islam can never be in danger. In the history of Muslim countries the decisive attacks against Islam have come from outside. In Spain the Muslims were conquered step by step by their Christian opponents. In Palestine, a foreign colony has been implanted and holy city of Jerusalem wrested from Muslim possession. Here again the attack against Islam has been external; men alien to the faith, that is Jews, have fought against Muslims. In India, there has been a long history of confrontation between the Hindus and the Muslims. In recent



years, however, there has been a new and alarming development. Islam is being attacked from within. Muslims are being pitted against Muslims, in the name of religion.

There are Muslims who are proclaiming that other Muslims who do not accept their political views are kafirs and should be killed. One million Muslims in Indonesia were killed by Muslims because foreign powers wanted it so. The campaign that is being carried out in Pakistan is also quite systematic. Along with the propaganda in the false guise of religious zeal there is a phenomenon which is clearly linked with it. People who have been notorious for their hostility to Pakistan, some of whom villified Pakistan and its Quaid-i-Azam when it was formed, are today posing as the upholders of the Pakistan ideology. There are persons in Pakistan who are loudly proclaiming themselves as the sole interpreters of the Muslim faith. Dear friends, if you are Muslims, please reflect what this implies because the claim that there are self-appointed and final living interpreters of Islam concerns you closely. The Islamic world is divided into a large number of sects; classically there are seventy two. Each sect bases its authority upon its own inter-pretation of passages in the Holy Quran.

### **TOLLERANCE**

In the course of Muslim history there have been many tragic periods of sectarian persecutions but since many years, fortunately, most sects have learnt to keep the peace due mainly to the doctrine of tolerance established by the major orthodox sects to which the majority of the Muslims of Pakistan belong. This peace is now being broken deliberately by persons who are proclaiming that the touchstone of belief lies not in faith but in politics. This is a most dangerous development and it can lead to fratricidal carnage: but I can assure you, my countrymen, that we are determined never to allow another Karbala to take place, on the soil of Pakistan. This country was not made to become the Granada of Asia.

### **EXPLORATION**

The struggle in Pakistan is not between Muslim and Muslim but between the exploiters and the exploited, between the oppressors and the oppressed. If the citizens of Pakistan are provided with employment, with food and shelter, with schools and hospitals, indeed with normal facilities, we would be acting in conformity with the injunctions of the Holy Quran and the Sunnah. I repeat with all the emphasis at my command that Islam is not in danger in Pakistan.

The awakening of the people and their increasing determination to resist exploitation has endangered vested interests. That is why the vested interests are exploiting religion to divert the people's attention from the main point in dispute. And that is why, in contrast, we are making it plain that there can be no progress, no end to our miseries unless exploitation is wiped out. We require fundamental

changes in our economic structure to be able to stem the tide. None of the problems are as serious as this one. For this reason my party has placed its central emphasis on the economic and social problems of Pakistan. This question must end the monstrous economic and social inequalities. The discontent we see around us will lead us to reform if we are wise or to chaos if we ignore the lessons of history. Which shall it be? This is the burning question, and it must have an answer soon for we are now in a dangerous state of mental and physical agony. We stand face to face with the necessity of making a quick decision which may in all probability involve the fate of our nation. One thing is clear enough.

### **DEPRESSION**

The preservation of the *status quo* will not be tolerated for long. Whether the answer to be made shall be for reform or for annihilation, that answer will be given by those who are dissatisfied with existing conditions. We are passing through a phase similar to the one that Europe witnessed during the Great Depression. Like the institutions of Europe the institutions of Asia are crumbling under the strain of an economic crisis. The same kind of polarization is taking place here that took place in Europe about forty years ago. That is why it is so necessary that we grapple courageously with the existing realities.

The country is divided into two parts and there is much loose talk about separation, but basically the logic of common existence remains the same. This logic is rooted in self-interest and it transcends the weaknesses of geographical division. Perhaps, with the exception of this limitation the problems of neighbouring India are more serious than those of Pakistan. So, despite the depressing disparities around us and the mighty task ahead of Pakistan's leadership, I look to the future with confidence. I believe that we can effect a grand reconciliation of different interests. We are convinced that with the massive participation of the people we are in a position to find a comprehensive answer to the problems that have haunted us for more than two decades. This epoch, exciting and full of challenge, requires a fresh approach for building society anew on the finest aspirations of the entire population.

### **CLEAN ADMINISTRATION**

We have a long trail to cover. The unresolved problems are legion. The cancerous growth of corruption has to be arrested. We promise that we shall tackle the problem of corruption vigorously and with determination. We promise to the people of Pakistan that we will give them a clean administration. We pledge to you that our Government will consist of men of integrity. We solemnly promise you that we will strain every nerve to put an end to the host of social evils that have degenerated our society. We will do everything in our power to lift the curtain of ignorance. We will respect the cultures and languages of all our people. The autonomy of the provinces will be safeguarded; regional rights will come in

great measure in the blossoming of our plura-listic society. We will come down with a heavy hand on crime and violence.

We will make every endeavor to control rising prices .We will provide fair wages; we will bring bureaucracy under the command of the people. We will remove the ghettos and clear the specter of slums. We will restore the freedom of the press; we will make the conditions of the peasants and labouring classes the criterion of our success or failure. We will ensure that the judiciary remains independent. We will electrify villages and we will recognize student power, the fountainhead of our future.

## **REFORMS**

We will fight inflation. We will fortify our defenses and increase the wages of Government servants at the lower echelons. We will enhance pen-sions. We will protect the rights of the minorities. We will abolish black laws like FCR and carry the jurisdiction of the High Court to the people of Gilgit and Hunza, we will give equal rights to the people of the states that have not yet been integrated. We will mobilize our manpower; we will remove disparities and ensure employment. We will seek to give free medical aid to the poor. We will take flood control measures. Heavy industries will be owned by the people.

There are various methods of running nationalized industries. They can be run directly by the slate agencies, they can be run by autonomous state organs, they can be run by local organs, they can be run entirely autonomously. How each industry and enterprise is managed will depend on the actual circumstances. We shall bring into the public sector all basic and key industries. We shall take positive steps for creating essential indus-tries that are needed to produce industries. Oil and gas and other natural resources will be nationalized. I need not emphasize the necessity of bringing the infrastructure under the control of the state. The transport will come into the hands of the people. At the same time we do not propose to nationalize industries that are functioning competitively and whose control in private hands is not detrimental to the security of the slate. Thus we propose to bring about a harmonious equation between the public and the private sectors to ensure that the people of the country stand to gain.

## **RURAL PROBLEM**

The rural problem is a complicated one and it requires energetic atten-tion. Positive ways of dealing with the rural problem will be in the forefront of our programme. We cannot leave the fate of our peasantry entirely to the anarchy of private possession. There must be a bold and an imaginative agrarian programme aimed at reformation. The remaining vestiges of feudalism require to be removed. State lands will be given to landless peasants; cooperative farms will be introduced on a voluntary basis. The small land-owners will be exempted

from the payment of land revenue and self-cultivation will be laid down as a principle of land policy.

It is necessary for the growth of agricultural productivity that surplus labour should be taken away from the land. Under-employment works as a deadweight on the growth of an efficient agriculture. We propose the founding of new cities, say about 200, which will be closely linked to the agricultural countryside as centers for processing agricultural products, as market places as well as localities for establishment of small industries needed for agricultural economy.

These small towns are called "agro-villes." Their establishment is also a necessity in order to prevent the influx of surplus rural population into large cities which are growing out of hand into huge slums. Pakistan's "agro-villes" will be planned to offer their inhabitants the amenities of urban life and full participation in civic affairs. Each such township will have its public square, its civic center, its recreation grounds, its mosque and schools and hospitals.

### **FOREIGN POLICY**

In the field of external affairs, we will put an end to foreign interference. We will reactivate foreign policy to give effective support to the people of Jammu and Kashmir. We will seek to resolve the Farakka dispute. We will not be dictated by any foreign power. We will not succumb to external pressures. We will not barter away our sovereignty.

These and so many other Gargantuan activities have to be undertaken with vision and vitality. We will bring our entire population into the service of Pakistan. We will change the pace of our economy; we will bring freshness and sunshine in place of darkness and dispossession. These are not empty boasts. I am not making tall promises to capture votes. Such radical changes have taken place in other countries and, *Insha Allah*, they can take place in Pakistan as well.

I am convinced that most of these profound changes can be made but I am equally convinced that none of them can come about under the present economic and social structure. That is why it is imperative to reject the present system of capitalism and to replace it by Islamic socialism. Only by this indigenous system of our own will we be able to banish poverty.

I am not the innovator of the concept of Islamic Socialism. I am merely following the doctrines of the Quaid-i-Azam, and of my conscience, by preaching Islamic Socialism with all the strength and power that I am capable of mustering.

### **ISLAMIC SOCIALISM**

On the 26th of March, 1948 the Quaid-i-Azam said:

“You are only voicing my sentiments and the sentiments of millions of Musalmans when you say that Pakistan should be based on sure foundations of social justice and Islamic socialism which emphasizes equality and brotherhood of man. Similarly, you are voicing my thoughts in asking and in aspiring for equal opportunity for all.”

The principal lieutenant of the Quaid and the first Prime Minister of Pakistan, Mr. Liaquat Ali Khan, said on 25th August 1949:

“There are a number of ‘isms’ being talked about now-a-days, but we are convinced that for us there is only one ‘ism’, namely ‘Islamic Socialism, which in a nutshell, means that every person in this land has equal rights to be provided with food, shelter, clothing, education and medical facilities. Countries which cannot ensure these for their people can never progress. The economic programme drawn up some 1,350 years back is still the best economic programme for us. In fact, whatever systems people may try out they all ultimately return to ‘Islamic Socialism’ by whatever name they may choose to call it.”

These are not the only utterances of our two great leaders on this question. For want of time I am unable to quote their other speeches on the subject. Nor do I have the lime to quote Mr. Hussein Shaheed Suhrawardy, our popularly elected Prime Minister, who is also on record as endorsing Islamic Socialism.

## **HERITAGE**

Islamic Socialism is not alien to Islam. It is not in conflict with our beliefs. If British parliamentary democracy is not in conflict with Islam, I fail to understand how the values of equality and brotherhood which Islam gave to the world can be opposed to Islam.

Islamic Socialism means that we will have a socialist economy according to our conditions, covered by our own heritage, flowering from our own traditions and in conformity with our values and ideology. Only this kind of economic structure can provide equal opportunities for all protect the citizens from exploitation and remove the barriers between the privileged classes and the exploited classes. Socialism is of direct interest to Pakistan, an underdeveloped country marred by internal and external exploitation.

The roots of socialism lie deep in a profoundly ethical view of life. We of the Pakistan People’s Party earnestly maintain that the high ideals of Islam in relation to society can be attained only through a socialist system abolishing the exploitation of man by man. We believe that the nature of justice in the world

demanded by our religion is inherent in the conception of a classless society. In this Islam differs fundamentally from other religions. Islam recognizes no castes. Capitalist society has a class structure which is opposed to the equality and brotherhood enjoined upon Muslims by Islam.

### **ECONOMIC PROGRAMME**

When we call our economic programme Islamic Socialism we are perfectly within our rights and also within the moral traditions of Islam. In the name of justice the Pakistan People's Party spells out Islam in concrete terms of fraternity and friendship but our opponents, the self-appointed monopolists' of Islam, condemn it in the name of socialism. Their manifestos, however, use the same language and the same words without calling it socialism. This only shows how they are desperately seeking to double-cross the people. Such people stand condemned by their own contradictions.

### **SPIRITUAL TREPIDATION**

The real reason for the spiritual trepidation of big business and its hirelings is the prospect of nationalization of industries and banks. Although at present we envisage only the nationalization of heavy industries and other connected industries and not those that can work efficiently under competitive conditions, nevertheless because we start from the premises that the possession of the means of production in private hands is the cause of exploitation of the workers and the masses, a powerful conspiracy of vested interests has been hatched against the Pakistan People's Party. We are not afraid of this conspiracy. We are confident that with the support of the people we will destroy it.

### **KASHMIR**

Once far-reaching internal changes are brought into being and the economy of Pakistan harnessed on an egalitarian pattern, we will be able to establish internal tranquility.

The acquisition of this new strength will enable us to complete our mission. Pakistan without Kashmir is like a body without a head. The ideology of Pakistan that is being now insidiously exploited by all and sundry, including those who opposed Pakistan, will find its logical articulation from our party in its drive for the liberation of Jammu and Kashmir. The people of Kashmir cannot be held in bondage forever.

It is my firm belief that a strong and vigorous Pakistan will be able to gather sufficient internal and external strength to redeem its pledge to the people of Jammu and Kashmir. The foreign policy of Pakistan will find new dimensions by the change in internal conditions. Once this nation of a hundred and thirty million people is freed from the burden of exploitation, it will be able to defend a

genuinely independent foreign policy. We often talk of an independent foreign policy as if that were possible to implement isolated from its requisite condition, an internal policy free from foreign interference.

### **NATIONAL INTERESTS**

You must remember that I have been for years the uncompromising champion of an independent foreign policy, its exponent and practitioner when I was in Government and its persistent advocate after leaving office. There is no political party so committed as the Pakistan People's Party to pursuing a foreign policy fashioned to serve our vital national interest.

I have said repeatedly in public, giving all the cogent reasons that we should break away from the entanglements of greater power politics. Know-ing my own altitude, and that I speak on behalf of my party in this matter, you should accept my assurance that when my party comes to power, it will fulfill without delay the foreign policy objectives of our nation: never letting Pakistan to get inveigled into imperialist clutches, never permitting Pakistan to forsake its commitments to the people of Jammu and Kashmir, never allowing Pakistan to deviate from the path of Asia, never making it possible for the voice of our people to get silenced on questions of colonialism and external domination.

### **FUNDAMENTAL CHANGE**

Such fundamental internal and external changes will release Pakistan from the strain of a perpetual crisis. It will enable the two parts of the country to remain united. I warn you fellow citizens, that if we do not turn quickly in this direction, which means that if we do not undertake revolutionary economic changes, we will soon reach a point when it will not be possible to combat foreign intrigues aimed at Pakistan's disintegration:

Ladies and gentlemen and my young friends, in my youth I spent the better part of my life in the service of my people. This has been so in the making of our foreign policy, in the great confrontation against India and in the people's struggle against dictatorship. Now after passing through many vicissitudes I see ahead of me another colossal challenge. We stand at the crossroads. We have to rekindle a sense of purpose. We have to embark on the task of reconstruction and reconciliation. I believe that I have a part to play in the fulfillment of Pakistan's purpose. In playing this part, please believe me that I shall always remain with the people, and never for a moment will I compromise their cause.

Countrymen, my friends, my brothers and sisters, I make this pledge to you solemnly as a Muslim and as a Pakistani.

*Pakistan Zindabad !*

## **“WE HAVE TO PICK UP THE PIECES”**

*President Bhutto's first broadcast to the nation on the night of  
December 20, 1971.*

My dear countrymen, my dear friends, my dear students, labourers, peasants, the younger generation, those who fought for Pakistan, the working classes, the labouring classes, those who work with their hands:

I want to tell you that I have come in at a very late hour, at a decisive moment in the history of Pakistan. We are facing the worst crisis in our country's life a deadly crisis. We have to pick up the pieces, very small pieces but we will make a new Pakistan, a prosperous and progressive Pakistan, a Pakistan free of exploitation, a Pakistan envisaged by the Quaid-i-Azam, a Pakistan for which the Muslims of the Sub-continent sacrificed their lives and their honour in order to build this new land. That Pakistan will come, it is bound to come. This is my faith, and I am confident that with your cooperation, understanding and patience we will emerge as a stronger and a greater state. I have no doubt about it.

### **COOPERATION**

Now tonight, I could have spoken from text. I could have said what was written. I want to speak from my heart. I need your cooperation. I am no magician. I am a fallible individual and without your cooperation, I simply cannot succeed. But with your cooperation, and with your support, I am taller than the Himalayas. But I must have that cooperation, your cooperation and understanding. You must give me time, my dear countrymen, and I will do my best. Ever since my return I have been working round the clock and that is why I have not been able to prepare a text for this important statement.

Nevertheless, I think, I must reach you straightaway and, therefore, I will speak on various matters and I might go from one matter to another and come back to it. But I have some points, some important points, and more will follow. I will not trouble you unnecessarily. I will not like to come on the air or before the television every now and then. I do not want to make frequent appearances but important appearances suddenly. They might interrupt permanent programmes, but I am sure, I will trouble you only, when I want your approval for an important decision because I want to take no decision without your consent. Under no circumstances, I will bypass the people. Under no circumstances, I will move one step in any direction without your approval.

I am not going to waste any time. Every minute is important and time has so far moved against us.



## **ENGLISH LANGUAGE**

I would have preferred to speak to you in Urdu but I hope an Urdu translation of my speech will follow immediately. I do make speeches in Urdu in my public meetings and now also I might interject in the middle with something in Urdu if necessary. But since this is my first speech and the world is listening, I would like to speak in English for the moment. English is not our language but we have taken no real step to see that it is replaced properly. But these are matters which can follow later. So I speak to you in English, a foreign language, and I am sorry, I am speaking in a foreign language. The world is listening, the world is watching Pakistan. However, that is not the only reason. I am not very proficient in Urdu. I speak the peoples' language. Sometime they understand me, sometime they laugh at my mistakes, sometime they joke about it and I am not fluent in it. I wish I will in due course, if I am still there, make efforts to establish direct contact with you even in these meetings in one of our national languages. But tonight, if you forgive me, I will speak in English.

In the first instance, let me tell you, I wish I were not alive today. Believe me I mean that when I say that. I mean it. Not because the task is difficult but because of certain developments and certain results. I never knew that I will live to see the day when Mr. Jagjivan Ram, the Defence Minister of India, would be saying what he is saying. But Mr. Jagjivan Ram should know that this is not the end of the world. This is the beginning and he should not gloat over temporary military victory.

## **REVERSES**

In the whole history of the subcontinent from the beginning of the time when Muslims set foot on the sub-continent, from the beginning of the time of Mohammad Bin Qasim, Muslims have faced such difficult situations as we are facing today. But Muslims have a proud heritage in the sub-continent and this is only the beginning. It is not the end. We might have received reverses, we have received certain reverses, certain important reverses, but this will make us learn, this will make us understand and we will begin anew with confidence with the cooperation of the people. I would speak to you frankly, my dear brothers, my dear friends, and sisters. I am going to speak to you from my heart and I am speaking without any rancor, without any ill-will, without any bitterness. The past belongs to God, the future belongs to God but let me tell you I am speaking in a broad spirit as a Pakistani believing in a great ideal, in a great concept and I am not going to indulge in cliché.

## **VESTED INTERESTS**

I have been summoned by the nation at this critical hour, when we are at the edge of the precipice, to lead the nation as President and CMLA. But there is a

difference in the arrangement in the sense that I have been elected by the people. I have not been capriciously thrust upon them. I am speaking to you today as the authentic voice of the people of Pakistan, not by virtue of the office that I hold, but by virtue of the verdict that you gave in the national elections. So there is a difference. My opponents have said that I have been power-hungry. I am not power-hungry. If I was power-hungry, I would have compromised at Tashkent. I have been five and a half years in a struggle for democracy and it has not been an ordinary struggle. I have been sent to jail. I still have on my back the marks of *lathi* charges. I was tear-gassed. Five assassination attempts were made on my life. I stood by the people. I was isolated from the ruling Junta, from the bureaucracy, from those who matter in the land. The Press gave all sorts of wrong impressions, they distorted my statements. They went on a great rampage against me and my party only because we were struggling for democracy and social justice. The vested interests pointed all their guns and bayonets at me. They called us *Kafirs*, the biggest insult that can ever be leveled against a Muslim. I speak as a Muslim and as a Pakistani. Merely because we wanted to destroy the unmaintainable, abominable *status quo*. A coterie of individuals tried to prevent the people of Pakistan from achieving their ends. See the situation today and look at the results. But we have to fight and face this calumny for the truth which was bound to come, in any case if not today then tomorrow.

## DEMOCRACY

So my dear friends, my dear countrymen, I speak to you today as the people's representative and I can assure solemnly, this is my pledge to you, that I will restore democracy. I would not like to see Martial Law to remain one day longer than necessary, one minute more than necessary, one second more than necessary. I want the flowering of our society. I want initiative in the hands of our people. To breathe, I want suffocation to end. I know what it means under dictatorship that decides fundamental matters in its own manner. This is not the way civilized countries are run. Civilization means Civil Rule. Civilization means institutions, civilization means democracy. Every institution of Pakistan has either been destroyed or threatened and that is why we face this state today. We have to rebuild democratic institutions, we have to rebuild confidence. We have to rebuild hope in the future. We have to rebuild a situation in which the common man, the poor man in the street, can tell me to go to hell. "I do not believe you and I do not like you." We have to make our Government accountable. Why we faced this situation? Because there has been no accountability, without accountability, you can achieve no results. So believe me that I have every intention to restore democracy, to give a constitution to the people of Pakistan, to give the rule of law to the people. I intend to do it. I will not like to see the nation under clouds of capricious will of any individual. We have suffered too much for it and we cannot suffer any longer for it. But because we are in such a terrible situation, you will have to give some time to me in order

to move towards that direction. I have made certain promises. These promises will be fulfilled. And one of these promises is the restoration of democracy. So democracy will be restored and a constitution will be given to the people. I am not giving the schemes. I am not going to address you every four months, to give you one scheme after another. I will address you whenever necessary and whenever we move forward in the direction of democracy which is going to be soon.

### **EAST PAKISTAN**

Now my heart and the hearts of my friends are with our brethren in East Pakistan and our people in East Pakistan. East Pakistan is an inseparable and indissoluble part of Pakistan. The heroic people of East Pakistan had a great role to play in the creation of Pakistan. Without their contribution, there would have been no Pakistan. They are the majority of our land and I am fully convinced that they want to remain with us. I appeal to them not to forget us but forgive us if they are angry with us.

I want to tell our gallant armed forces that have fought in East Pakistan that our hearts are with you. Please remain brave as you have remained brave in the past. Please endure the momentary difficulties. We will have sleepless nights. We will not rest for a moment till you have redeemed your honour. You have relations here. You have relations in places where my party has secured overwhelming majority of the votes. You are closer to us. Be courageous. Our hearts and souls are with you and these are not empty words. You are brave people. You are valiant people. We stand by you. Please do not think that we have abandoned you. We will stand by you. We are with you. If you will go down, we all will go down together. There is no question of your going down without us. Please hold on. Please remember my words and have this message carried in your hearts that we are doing everything in our power. I have just taken over, but I will see that there is an honorable return to normal conditions and that you are not humiliated. Your humiliation is our humiliation and we will bend backwards to see to it that not a moment is wasted for the correct results. I do not want to spell them out because that may give indication to other people.

To those who have stood by the Pakistan Ideology, I say stand by it, fight heroically because Pakistan Ideology is bound to prevail with the passage of each day. Indian presence is being felt every moment. You will see that Pakistan Ideology is truthful and a faithful reflection of the Muslim Bengal. Muslim Bengal will always be a part of Pakistan. Muslim Bengal suffered more than any other part of the sub-continent under Hindu domination. Muslim Bengal's character will always remain and we will see to it that Muslim Bengal will remain a part of Pakistan.

## **SETTLEMENT**

Coming to the question of our relations between East and West Pakistan, and here I say, mistakes have been made. We have made those mistakes. Where and when they were made, I cannot go into that matter at this moment. But if mistakes have been made that does not mean that the country should be dismembered, that the country should be destroyed by another country by physical force and physical power. This is unprecedented in the annals of history. To rectify and make amends for our mistakes, I seek an opportunity to meet the leaders of Bengal and the people of Bengal to arrive at a settlement between East and West Pakistan without foreign interference and certainly without foreign occupation. We must be given that opportunity so that we may arrive at a settlement between two brothers who have always lived together for the last twenty-four years and under certain conditions will continue to live together for all times. But we must be given an opportunity to negotiate a settlement between ourselves within the concept of one united Pakistan. Having said that I say we are prepared to discuss the modalities for future arrangements without conditions. The only condition is this should be within the framework of one Pakistan. It can be very loose arrangement but it must be within the concept of Pakistan and we must be given an opportunity that the settlement between East and West Pakistan must come between leaders and the people of East and West Pakistan without any foreign interference and certainly without Indian occupation. As long as Indian forces occupy my motherland, I cannot go forward. India must vacate my motherland. Indian forces must vacate East Pakistan before we can pick up the threads. This is a condition. India claims that she has not occupied but is a liberator. So the Indian occupation of East Pakistan must end before we can pick up the pieces.

## **WORLD SUPPORT**

One hundred and four countries of the world supported Pakistan's position. My dear countrymen, do not think that we have lost. We have won because a political victory is much greater than military victory. Military victories come and go. Germans were outside the gates of Moscow. The Japanese had taken Manchuria. I can go on and on to talk about foreign occupation. Foreign occupation is not a lasting phenomenon. A political decision based on justice is a lasting decision. One hundred and four countries of the world supported Pakistan and this is an international plebiscite. This is an international election. India talks about elections of December 1970 in the country. I am not ashamed of the elections of December 1970 because my party emerged as a victorious party of this wing of the country. So we have a stake in the elections of December 1970. But if India wants to invade Pakistan to interpret the will of the people of East Pakistan as a result of the elections of December 1970, why does not India pay heed to an international election.

## INDIAN GUNS

India has used the election of East Pakistan as a pretext. She talked about refugee problem and as a result of it she invaded my country. We had never said that we do not want to take back refugees. We had said that whatever the number we want our own citizens back in our country. But India has brought them on their guns, on their bayonets and on their tanks. And let me tell you, my brethren of East Pakistan. India will bring many more and you will see the developments with the passage of each day. India did want to talk to a military regime. India did not want a military solution of the settlement. What has India imposed today on East Pakistan? Is it a political solution? India said that there can only be a political solution but she has a military conclusion. If we have failed to impose a military solution internally India will equally fail to impose a military solution externally. India's days in East Pakistan are doomed to fail. India simply cannot succeed. India knows the spirit of the people of Pakistan. The spirit of the Musalmans of the sub-continent cannot in any way be compromised or in any way be dejected by temporary military victory. India should not get intoxicated by the fact that she has taken over by a preponderance of military force the Eastern part of Pakistan. We will fight and we will continue to fight for our honour and for our self-respect for the integrity of Pakistan. This is not the first fight that we have had. India has a choice. The choice before India is to either accept the norms of justice and equity or face an impeccable enemy for all times, because the people of Pakistan, their spirit, their determination, their courage, can never be compromised, no matter what happens in temporary affairs or over the exigencies of time.

So we fought for one Pakistan. We are prepared to vote to a *modus vivendi*, an honorable arrangement, a just arrangement, based on the aspirations and the wishes of both wings of the country, provided we are allowed and we come to our arrangement by ourselves.

## CONSTITUTION

We will move on to the constitution. We have to give the country a rule of law. And this constitution will not be my constitution because I am an elected representative of the people. I am a servant of the people of Pakistan. I know the people of Pakistan. I lived with them in villages, in towns, in cities. I know all of their feelings. I know what is in their hearts. I know what they want. So I am not making an empty promise. My dear brothers, friends and sisters, I will give you a constitution according to your needs and according to your requirements and actually what you want. This will happen soon, very soon, but please give me time in order to settle some of the preliminary internal problems and also to deal with the external situation. The lack of accountability has left us in a very bad plight. We have not lost a war. We have not failed. We have been failed. Our soldiers have nothing to be ashamed of. Our people have nothing to be ashamed

of. Our soldiers fought valiantly. We are the victims of our system. We have not been the victims of any lack of valour or any lack of courage. Dunkirk was nothing compared to that what our people and our soldiers had to face in East Pakistan.

### **BEST FIGHTERS**

The western Press has been against us. The Press is writing against us. But we have nothing to fear. The truth will prevail. The truth is that Pakistanis are one of the best fighters in the world and, when I say that, these are not the words of Zulfikar Ali Bhutto. These are the words of a distinguished foreign General, a great British General, who said that the world has not seen a better infantry soldier than the Pakistani. So please do not lose heart. I appeal to my young friends in the armed forces. I appeal to the *jawans* that we will redeem this day. We will take revenge and we will see to it that this temporary humiliation is put right, if, of course. India wants to go on the path of revenge, if India does not want cooperation and understanding based on justice and equity, based on the rights of Pakistan and the rights of the sub-continent, because we live in the same sub-continent.

### **MISSION**

I am afraid the nation has been fed on lies. Deception has been the order of the day. We have been misled. I am not going into that matter. Now I do not want to touch upon this question. I would like to avoid it if necessary. But I assure you, I promise you, that will speak the truth to you whatever the realities, I will present them before you either through these media here or through public contact. I will never lose my public contact. I will bring all these issues to you for your consent and for your approval. Some of the decisions you might not like but I will try to explain them to you. I will want you to understand them. So I intend to embark on this mission very shortly because there has been political void in the land and we have suffered as a result of this political void and that is why a major part of our country today is under foreign occupation and we had to face ignominious surrender in East Pakistan. Now, if the internal situation in East Pakistan was directed on the right lines I do not think that we would have seen this day. And in this connection I can assure that as long as I hold these responsibilities I will move very fast.

For economic and social justice I will move as fast as is necessary to see the burden of the common man lifted. I will move as fast as necessary to see that the disparities are removed. I will move as fast as necessary to see to it that corruption and nepotism and maladministration are handled and when I say that I mean it. I know we have been using these words loosely in the past. But I will come down with a very heavy hand on corruption.

## **BUREAUCRACY WARNED**

I warn the bureaucracy to do its job, to do its duty. Like I work night and day, I expect the bureaucracy to work night and day. I am a man who works 24 hours a day. For me there is no question of sleep or rest and I expect the bureaucracy to do the same. The tea parties must come to an end. The bluff and bravado must stop. The bureaucracy must be re-orientated and it must be at the service of the people. I am not an opponent of the bureaucracy. We need the bureaucracy but we need a liberal dynamic bureaucracy at the service of the people. We do not need a bureaucracy which is working on the traditions and concepts of the British. The Britishers were foreigners. The bureaucracy of Pakistan is not composed of foreigners. And when I talk of the bureaucracy I do not mean only the Secretariat at Islamabad. I mean each and every bureaucrat wherever he is. And will travel unexpectedly without announcing my schedule of travel. Suddenly I might land at Rahimyar Khan. Suddenly might land in Chitral. Suddenly I might land in Mirpurkhas. Suddenly I might land at Lyallpur. So they must expect me at any time. And I will see to it that bureaucracy is at the service of the people.

I will see to it that corruption and maladministration are finished and as long as I am holding the office on behalf of the people of Pakistan, and this is said generally not out of any vindictiveness. Any bureaucrat who has misbehaved with me in the past or has done things which are contrary to law I forget that. We are opening a new page—a new chapter. I expect the bureaucracy to behave and to cooperate only in so far as it is in the interest of the country.

## **POLICE**

In this connection I want to say something about the police. The police have been abused. The police have a bad name. Partly it is justified. Partly it is not justified. When it is not justified we will do everything to see that the facilities for the police, their children's education, housing and other matters are put right, because you cannot have an honest policeman with vast powers at a salary of Rs. 100/- or so. We will take care of that in due course. We will take care of bureaucracy. We will respect and honour intelligent honest bureaucrats motivated with an ideal to serve Pakistan. They will be honored citizens of Pakistan. But we do not want opportunists and we do not want persons destroying the very fabric of this nation. So to the police I say the part which has corrupted you, we will try to put that right but you must put an end to your "Zulm", you must put an end to your tyranny. You must see to it that the security of every individual, no matter how poor he is, is respected.

## **NO 'SIFARISH'**

First thing is that I want to ensure the security of the common man, the respect of the common man. The common man, the poor man, the peasant and the labourer

have been subjected to too much humiliation. The whole nation has been humiliated today because the common man has been humiliated for 24 years. If the common man had not been humiliated for 24 years, Pakistan as a nation would not have been humiliated today. I want an end to this humiliation. I want each and every individual to be regarded as important. I do not want him to get his justice through '*sifarish*', I am not going to accept any "*sifarish*" at all. I am not going to permit my relations to say that we are related to Mr. Bhutto. I have no relations. I have no family. My family is the people of Pakistan. My children are the people of Pakistan. I do not have any family. I do not have any relations. Nobody will do "*sifarish*" through my relations or through people known to me or through my party. I will never brook that because the people of Pakistan are my family. Of course I have a talented cousin who is outstanding in his own right. He will have a right to serve the people because he has gone to jails. He is intelligent. He has gone to Oxford, that is a different matter. But you can rest assure that I have got children and I have got wife. They will not come into picture. They will be nowhere in the picture and if my children and my family or my wife think that they can exploit my position, they are sadly mistaken because I will make them accountable as any one else. So it must be known clearly to everyone that no '*sifarish*' from anyone, no nepotism, no corruption and no maladministration. It has been said these things are impossible. They are not impossible. Nothing is impossible. I expect that people and the party to cooperate with me to see that we come down heavily on these matters.

### **NO LOCK-OUTS**

But fundamentally it is the economic system, the social and economic system that requires change and adjustment. We intend to put social economic system right. It will take sometime. Rome was not built in a day but nobody should be unnecessarily frightened either, because we want to serve the people. Those who are enterprising they must continue to render the contribution to the nation and we want production to go on. I will ensure that there are no lockouts. I will ensure that the labourers are not maltreated. I will ensure that unemployment does not unnecessarily take place. I would now appeal to the industrialist class. I will tell the industrialist class "Do not have lock-outs, do not throw out labourers because labourers are our masters." I will tell the labour community "Please be a little patient, we will do everything in our power to put resources of the nation at your disposal because you are producers of wealth and have nothing to fear." To all those who work with their hands, all those who toil, "Please do not fear because your Pakistan has come into being today. Those who sweat, those who toil have nothing to fear. That applies to every segment of society. Also tell the farmers, "you are the backbone of the nation. You will not be ejected by 'Waderas,' you will not be ejected by Zamindars. You will have your rights".

### **LAND REFORMS**



I intend to have land reforms. I intend to have land reforms in the first instance and I intend to have land reforms in the second instance. The second instance is when democracy is restored, because the people's representatives must determine the extent of land reforms. But in the first instance I would have the land reforms which are absolutely necessary for which we need no debate. And these land reforms will also be significant. Anyone who tries to circumvent these land reforms will be punished severely. I want no circumvention of land reforms in the first instance.

### **LABOUR REFORMS**

I want labour reforms in the first instance. These labour reforms and land reforms will come. They will come very soon. Give me a little time. But at the same time I tell the Zamindars and the industrialists that they should not think that the heavens have come down. The heavens never come down. There should be no slackening in production, either in the agriculture sector or in the industrial sector.

If there is any slackening of industrial production or agricultural production to frustrate my reforms then I will nationalize and I will acquire the property in the name of the people straightaway. I expect cooperation straightaway from those who might try to frustrate my reforms. These reforms cannot be frustrated. These reforms if they are frustrated then those who try to frustrate them have to pay a very heavy price.

### **FLIGHT OF CAPITAL**

Secondly, I want no flight of capital out of Pakistan. Pakistan's money that has gone out of the country is the blood and the sweat of the people of Pakistan and must be brought back into Pakistan. Within a few days I am going to issue certain orders in relation to the flight of capital. But if the capital is not brought back by voluntary means then you should not blame me for the action that I take. I appeal to all those people who have taken Pakistan's blood out of this poor country to bring back that blood because that blood is needed by my people. It is needed by the armed forces of Pakistan. Return the money to Pakistan. You must bring it back otherwise I know the means.

We will seal the frontiers of Pakistan. I shall not allow any individual to leave Pakistan. I shall take measures against the families of those people who have taken money out of this country. If people, have taken money out of Pakistan that money must come back to Pakistan. But I give you time to voluntarily do it and I am not going to set up committees and commissions for six months and three months. I know the people who have money abroad. I know them and know they can bring it back. Bring it back honorably, bring it back in the interest of the people, bring it back for the armed forces. My armed forces need weapons,

my armed forces need tanks, my armed forces have to be rehabilitated, my armed forces have given their lives for Pakistan's sovereignty and integrity and, therefore, this money must come back.

## **STUDENTS**

To my students, to the students who brought me back into a position of responsibility. The people of Pakistan have brought me back into a position of responsibility but in the first instance it has been the students. There is no leader of Asia and Africa, if I can recall, brought back into a position of responsibility, who has not been a victim of a conspiracy of a Great Power. I was a victim of conspiracy of two great powers but have been brought back into office by the people of Pakistan and I am grateful to you. I am thankful to you. My student are my children, I tell the student community that we will not interfere in your internal politics. I have no party in the student community. Whichever party wins election, whichever party gains in the student community that is their look out. We will not inject politics into the student community. We will allow the student community to flourish, to come to its own decision. They are the elite. They are the masters of tomorrow. I am going to every university in Pakistan. But please give me some time. I have a lot of misunderstandings to remove because the Press and the other forces have tried to create misunderstandings. To the students I say, "I am going to bring about many reforms in educational fields. Many reforms and I will make you the masters of your destiny but that destiny is the destiny of Pakistan. So I know you will reciprocate in the same sense of responsibility."

## **TEMPORARY ARRANGEMENTS**

Please do not misunderstand as far as the provinces are concerned. In this temporary phase will not allow a void to remain in the provinces. This I will say but again give me some time. Give me a little time and I will do that. In the meantime I will form a Cabinet. I will take people who, I think, are best suited to discharge their responsibilities. This would be a temporary Cabinet. Everything is temporary for the moment. Nothing is permanent. Permanency will come after the constitution is approved by the people. Permanent arrangements will come through the voice of the people and I am a part of that voice. Till then everything is temporary. My own position is temporary.

Whatever arrangements, make are temporary and secondly nobody should misunderstand if a certain person is given a certain job to do. This will be done in the administration, in the bureaucracy and other places. But this is the national crisis. This is a crisis of our survival. There should be no question of injured feelings if a man is transferred from one position to another. There should be no question of feeling hurt if someone comes to replace someone else, because we have all been replaced. Have I not been replaced? And did we not all go out? We

all have to go out. Everything is temporary. Only God and the Universe of God are permanent. Please do not misunderstand. I will never take a single action out of vindictiveness. I will take every action based on the objective of the necessities of Pakistan. So adjustments and necessities are made. They have to be made for the time being and I am sure they will be accepted in a spirit of responsibility. But if a responsibility is offered to an individual, he should take it. He should not argue because I am now in search of people who may not even like me, who have spoken against me, or who have said things against me. I am going by national considerations, consideration of talent.

### **TALENT**

I want the talent of Pakistan internally. I want the talent of Pakistan that is outside Pakistan. I want to draw in the talent of Pakistan to responsible positions. Not on the basis of '*sifarish*' or favoritism but on the basis of talent. I appeal to the talent of Pakistan to come and help me. I am an individual. I cannot do this all by myself. I want you all to come and help me. If the talent responds we can move mountains and we can face the aggressor. We can overwhelm all odds.

### **ARMED FORCES**

I would like to say something now about the armed forces. The armed forces should know that have always admired them. I have always stood by them as a minister in the past always contributed towards the strengthening of armed forces. The armed forces of Pakistan have always heroically, defended their motherland. Please my dear *jawans* and my dear officers and my dear brothers, you have fought bravely, you have nothing to worry about you have nothing to be ashamed of.

You have been victims of a system. We will put this right. I will establish direct contact with you cannot look after everything, because of the present sensitive situation I intend as President and Chief Martial Law Administrator to at least retain the portfolios for Defence and Foreign Affairs. I will distribute other portfolios whenever they are necessary so that others can help me. We will get together and whatever your grievances are we will redress them. You have today, you feel today, a sense of being hurt. Today our minds are agitated. Today you are seeking vengeance. Please wait a little; we will work out together a scheme that will vindicate national honour. The scheme that will vindicate your honour, our honour; there is no difference between us. People and the armed forces are one. The trouble has arisen because efforts were made to divide the people and the armed forces. The armed forces come from the people. It is the people who create the armed forces. So we will bring back harmony and integration between the people and armed forces of Pakistan. But I need your cooperation. I need your sympathy. I need your understanding.

## **GENERALS RETIRED**

But in this connection since certain measures are necessary. I do not say light-heartedly. I say with a heavy heart. I have already taken certain measures which will come into force immediately. And that is that immediately the following Generals would have retired. The former President has already retired. He told me today that he has retired. So the former President General Agha Mohammad Yahya Khan, is no longer in the armed forces. He has retired. And so are Gen. Abdul Hamid Khan, Gen. S.G.M. Pirzada, Gen. Omer, Gen. Khudadad Khan, Gen. Kayani and Gen. Mitha. These are the Generals who have been retired on the wishes of the people, on the wishes of the armed forces of Pakistan. This is not my personal decision. I do not know most of them. I have not seen most of them.

But I have held discussions, consultations and this appears to be the will of the armed forces and of the people of Pakistan. And I am the servant of the people of Pakistan and I must salute their decision and the sentiments of the armed forces. These Generals stand retired and they cannot perform any further duties. They will retire honorably, gracefully and arrangements have already been made for their replacement.

## **NEW C-IN-C**

This is my first decision and I think it is in accord with the sentiments of the armed forces, the younger officers and the general thinking. In the meantime as I said everything is temporary. My own position is temporary. All arrangements are temporary. I have asked General Gul Hassan to be the Acting C-in-C of the Pakistan Army and he will take this position immediately. Straightaway he will go to work and he will have to work night and day. He is a soldier, a professional soldier. I do not think he has dabbled in politics and I think he has respect and support of the armed forces, so have taken this decision. Nobody should misunderstand it. I know the general sentiments. These are temporary arrangements and permanent arrangements will be made later on when I have an opportunity to discuss and contemplate over these matters in greater depth. But these decisions are nevertheless necessary so I have to take them. But he will retain the rank of Lt. General. We are not going to make any unnecessary promotions. We are a poor country. We are not going to unnecessarily fatten people. One of the reasons why we have had to see this day is because luxury has overtaken us. So I am afraid General Gul Hassan will have to retain the rank of Lt. General. He should not expect that he will be promoted to the rank of a General merely because of this temporary arrangement. I expect Lt. General Gul Hassan new C-in-C of the Pakistan Army will get the confidence and the service of the people of Pakistan and the Government of Pakistan and I repose confidence in him. But we must also expect that he will achieve great things; he

will remodel, re-set and re-orientate the army on new lines, dynamic lines, on the lines of a free people's army.

### **NAP**

I will also like to say that I am withdrawing the ban on National Awami Party. Now I know that there are misgivings, many controversies but I have done it in good faith. I am doing it in good faith. I will start with a clean slate. I am assuming that we all are patriots and that we all want to serve Pakistan. So I am withdrawing the ban on the NAP and I am going to summon or request, I am sorry to use the word summon, to request the leaders of the NAP to meet me very soon. In this connection I am also going to ask the other leaders of other political parties to meet me. I have nothing against them; believe me on the national level I will never take up partisan decisions. That is all behind us. That was a part of politics when we did not have this responsibility. No political leader and political party should fear that we are going to take a partisan decision. I would consult all of them and I hope that these consultations will be helpful. But if unnecessary mischief is caused, then I am afraid that they know me too well and we will have to react sharply. But before that I would have a meeting with them and have discussions.

Foreign policy has to be recast and redone. It will be naturally an independent foreign policy, motivated towards the higher interest of Pakistan. We want good relations with all the great powers. We want to have a foreign policy which is positive and which is constructive. I do not want to say much more on this sensitive subject. But this much I like to say that we want a constructive and a positive foreign policy.

### **BYE-ELECTIONS**

The bye-elections that have been held in East Pakistan, they were impracticable and were an insult to the people. I liquidate the results of the bye-elections held in East Pakistan. I would have talked to the two elected leaders of East Pakistan, Mr. Nurul Amin as well as Chakma Chief, who is out of country. I want him to come back immediately to Pakistan so that we can hold consultations. These are the two elected leaders of East Pakistan returned on a free vote in the December 1970 elections.

### **PLEDGE**

Finally, I make a pledge, I make a solemn pledge that I will serve you with all my heart and will. I will serve even if it kills me. I know what the people of Pakistan want. I have lived with them. I have been with them, through thick and thin. Please have faith in me because I have infinite faith in you. I know that with your cooperation, we can look over the Himalayas but without your cooperation I am simply nobody. I cannot be carried on a gun or a bayonet. I can only be carried in

your heart. I will never deceive you. I will never betray you. I will stay by the people. We will march to a great and more glorious Pakistan. This we will do because we have faith in Islam which is the last message of God, Islam that gave brotherhood, equality and fraternity to the world. Islam with social progress based on what we consider to be Islamic Socialism, based on brotherhood, equality and feeling of tolerance and association. *Inshallah Tala* we will triumph. I have no doubt in my mind.

My brothers and sisters, in this moment of anguish and sorrow, please do not have any doubt in your mind. Please stand up and face the world. It is a bitter world but we have to face the bitter truth. I can assure you that we will succeed. There can be no doubt that we will succeed. Pakistan was made for a great cause, for a great ideal; that ideal is imperishable, that ideal is living. So let us pledge together. Not only my pledge but your pledge. We shall see to it that this stigma is wiped out even if it has to be done by our children's children.

*Pakistan Paindabad*

## **“TEN CATEGORIES OF INDUSTRIES NATIONALIZED”**

*President Bhutto's address to the people of Pakistan on January 2, 1972.*

I had made a pledge to the people of Pakistan to implement important industrial reforms in the country. I am now beginning to redeem this pledge. As from today, the control and command of the people over the following categories of industries have been asserted:

1. Iron and Steel Industries
2. Basic Metal Industries
3. Heavy Engineering Industries
4. Heavy Electrical Industries
5. Assembly and Manufacture of Motor Vehicles
6. Tractor Plants, Assembly and Manufacture
7. Heavy and Basic Chemicals
8. Petro-chemical Industries
9. Cement Industry
10. Public Utilities, that is to say
  - a) Electricity, Generation, Transmission and Distribution
  - b) Gas; and
  - c) Oil Refineries.

I am determined to see that the common man enjoys the true benefits of industrialization. The system of permits and licenses has so far benefited only a few families. Not even the small investor been spared the exploitation the ruling tycoons. The wealth of the nation must be for benefit of all the people and cannot continue to be concentrated in the hands of a few individuals.

### **HARD WORK**

The industries that have been taken over bear upon the life of every citizen and form the base without which no industrial development in the real sense can take place. The control of these industries now rests with the State of Pakistan for the benefit of the people of Pakistan. The people are now in charge of the course of their own industrial development. Now that these undertakings are to be utilized for the sole benefit of the State and the common man, the workers must make every effort to ensure increased production and the success of these enterprises. We must dedicate all our energies to ensure maximum production and highest quality. The workers will now have a real stake in the success of these undertaking. In their own interest they must now work harder than ever before. There is no substitute for hard work—no nation can hope to succeed

without hard work. All the workers in these undertakings must pledge themselves to achieve this national aim.

There is now a people's Government, and the people are the ultimate masters of the country's destiny. They must be ever vigilant against all those who attempt force or fraud to misguide the workers who produce the wealth of Pakistan. Such attempts must not succeed – we will not permit them to succeed.

### **FOREIGN INVESTMENT**

As I have earlier declared, only limited reforms in the industrial field are possible in the present circumstances. It is not the intention of the Government to extend control over other categories of industries. It is also necessary to make it clear that the new arrangements will not affect the foreign investment and foreign credit. We expect that after these clear assurances industries in other categories will maintain the norms of production and performance that Government will prescribe.

It is our firm intention to have a happy blend of the public and private sectors. In this, I am confident; the private sector will cooperate fully. It must also produce to maximum capacity and improve quality. It must treat its workers with dignity. It must not only increase the wealth of the nation at home but bring back from abroad the hidden wealth of the nation. It must realize that everything in the country must be harnessed for the welfare and well-being of all the people of Pakistan. If it fails to cooperate of its own free volition, it will be compelled to do so.

In the end, I repeat my exhortation to the working people of Pakistan to work hard and make our new enterprise of State-controlled industry a grand success.



## PEOPLE'S CONSENT ON MUJIB'S RELEASE

*The transcribed English version of President Bhutto's speech at Nishtar Park, Karachi, on January 3, 1972 as reported in the Press.*

President Bhutto said that there were two opinions on the question of Sheikh Mujibur Rahman's release. One point of view was that the detained leader should be used as a "trump card" for bargaining.

The other view, President Bhutto said, was that he should be released unconditionally. He himself subscribed to this view, the President said.

At this stage, he directly asked the audience for their opinion. The people responded with a spectacular show of hands, interspersed with shouts of "*Mujib ko ba-izzat riha karo*".

President Bhutto thanked the people for backing him and said: "You have relieved me of a heavy burden."

He said that Sheikh Mujib was a citizen of Pakistan and the best judge of his sense of loyalty and patriotism.

### MEETING WITH MUJIB

He recalled his meeting with Sheikh Mujib on December 27 and said that the first question Mujib asked whether he (Mujib) was free.

"I told him that as far as I am concerned you are free and can go anywhere." President Bhutto added that he asked Sheikh Mujib to give him some time to enable him to go to the people and get their approval for his release.

The President was confident that the opinion of Karachi which was a metropolitan city reflected the opinion of the entire country. Therefore, he had sought the approval of the people of Karachi in this historic decision. He was certain that the people of Lahore, Rawalpindi, Gujrat or Hyderabad, if asked, would express the same opinion.

He said that he had sought the opinion of the people on this important question as he had promised that he would not take any policy decision or would not proceed with any presidential act without the full consensus and backing of the people.

He said that the decision to release Sheikh Mujibur Rahman was also the desire of the three Super Powers and in this connection he had held talks with the Ambassadors of the United States, U.S.S.R. and People's China.

### **YAHYA'S TREACHERY**

Recapitulating past events, President Bhutto charged ex-President Yahya Khan with playing the role of a "traitor". He asserted that the former President had no intention at any stage to transfer power to the elected representatives of the people.

Amidst angry shouts of "Hang him, hang him", the President recalled it was Mr. Yahya Khan who had said unabashedly: "Over my dead body I (Yahya) will transfer power to Bhutto".

He described as a "fraud" the ex-President's Legal Framework Order (LFO) which, in his opinion, was nothing but an instrument of treason against the will of the people.

President Bhutto observed that history would determine who was at fault—whether it was Yahya Khan, Sheikh Mujibur Rahman or he himself, or all three of them.

However, he could say without any fear of contradiction that Mr. Yahya Khan had deliberately prevented him (Bhutto) and Sheikh Mujib to come to an understanding and this was solely because Mr. Yahya Khan was afraid that the duly elected political leaders would dethrone him.

### **VESTED INTERESTS**

Besides, the President said, the country's vested interests were arrayed against him right from the start because of the revolutionary and socialistic character of the People's Party and, were in league with the Yahya regime to thwart all efforts for the peaceful transfer of power.

Explaining his party's stand on the question of postponement of the National Assembly session, President Bhutto said that he had only wanted a short postponement or the rescinding of 120 days' limit given by the former President to the framing of the constitution, to facilitate an understanding on fundamental issues with Sheikh Mujibur Rahman, outside the Assembly's precincts.

Was that plea something uncalled for or out of place to the extent that it was not even worth considering, he asked?

After all the heavens would not have fallen if his negotiations with the Sheikh had continued a little longer, more so because during the 13 years of military dictatorship there had been no meeting of minds between East and West Pakistan.

### **POWs**

President Bhutto assured the people that he was fully seized of the urgency of repatriation of the prisoners of war as well as the civilians from occupied East Pakistan.

He had in the meantime, asked the Punjab Governor, Mr. Ghulam Mustafa Khar, to tour the upcountry areas of Jhelum, Gujrat, Rawalpindi, etc. from where majority of the soldiers came, and to assure the families of the POWs and others now in East Pakistan that every possible effort was being made for their repatriation.

He himself was as much concerned about their welfare and safety as their kith and kin.

President Bhutto said that he would restore democracy in the country. "I have no intention of imposing a dictatorship on the country, he told the meeting.

The President said that he would not make false promises to the people. He had been elected by the people and had not grabbed power by force. "I am accountable to the people and I will not fail them."

He, however, said that at the moment he was busy in implementing certain reforms which were necessary and which could not be objected to in the Assembly.

He said that he had divided his reforms into two categories – the one which need to be implemented immediately and the other that could wait for the Assemblies.

### **IMMEDIATE TASK**

The immediate task, in his considered view, was to salvage the ship of the State and put it back on an even keel.

Besides, he noted, the situation in East Pakistan had to be looked into, and a solution found to rehabilitate the lost national dignity.

President Bhutto assured his political adversaries that no vengeance would be wreaked against anyone. On the contrary, he was keen on having their support and cooperation in the nation-building task.

The fight would be on the floor of the Assembly, he told the cheering crowd.

The President said that he would soon make an announcement about the convening of the Provincial Assemblies. He said he would try to make this announcement within this month.

He said those elements who were demanding the restoration of democracy immediately were in fact the “agents of capitalists” and they want to create confusion and mistrust in the minds of the people.

### **LAND REFORMS**

President Bhutto disclosed that, following the reforms undertaken in the industrial sector, he will shortly come out with land reforms for the good of the Kisans. He said he had no shame in acknowledging that he was a Zamindar (landlord). Part of his land had been surrendered voluntarily during the Ayubian regime and he was glad of it. Now, when the land reforms would be introduced, he would be happier still to part with his landed property. He declared amidst slogans that even if his entire land was to be surrendered it would not matter much. After all, it would be distributed among the landless. What to speak of land. President Bhutto declared, he was prepared to lay down his life for “my dear people – the poor, downtrodden”.

### **20 INDUSTRIAL UNITS**

Referring to the take-over of the 20 industrial units, President Bhutto said that this step had been taken in the larger interests of the people of Pakistan. He said this take-over had affected even one of his dear friends who helped him and his party during the elections.

President Bhutto asked the people to give some time to his Government, as they had waited for twenty-four years for their betterment.

The President said that he had imposed a ban on the travel abroad of members of Pakistan’s 32 families and sealed the borders for them to ensure the return of Pakistan’s wealth hidden in foreign banks.

He said he was confident that the country’s wealth would be brought back by these families otherwise he would take stern action against them.

### **THE CLIQUE**

He said power was transferred to him by ex-President Yahya Khan at a time when he had already damaged the country’s honour and territorial integrity.

In normal times he would have refused to shoulder such a herculean responsibility, but he did so simply for the love of the people.

It was the military clique which had caused the military debacle and not the people who were still capable of building Pakistan anew – a Pakistan of the Quaid-i-Azam's dream, a Pakistan wherein all exploitation and victimization would cease, a Pakistan where there would be real democracy.

He recalled the speech he had made in Karachi at the Quaid-i-Azam's mazar on September 11 that in case people's representatives were denied power, conditions in the country would become chaotic.

Referring to the outcome of the recent war, he thought it was not the defeat of Pakistan nor of the masses.

It was the defeat of those corrupt and dishonest elements who ruled over the country by force and coercion", he added.

He said, "I am not happy. How can I be happy in the wake of the great tragedy that has befallen our country?"

### **MUSLIM BENGAL**

He wished, he would not have been alive to witness the fall of Muslim Bengal which is also the majority province of Pakistan.

He said, "we used to hear about Sindhis, Baluchis, Pathans and Punjabis. With the loss of East Pakistan, we are now all Muhajirs as the majority province is under the domination of our enemies".

He recalled that before he was hurriedly summoned back to the country, he was presented a rosy picture of the situation vis-à-vis the India-Pakistan conflict.

He said a special plane was sent to bring him here while he was in Rome. The President said he was told that the situation in the country was quite satisfactory. President Bhutto said there was a big contrast in what was broadcast by Radio Pakistan and the world radios on the war. Ultimately it transpired that the events broadcast by the foreign radios were true, he added.

President Bhutto said before he had returned here after representing Pakistan at the Security Council he did not know that the situation in the country was "so tense and disturbing."

He said "as you were told false stories, about the war, so was I."

President Bhutto drew thunderous applause when he declared that he did not want to see anyone imprisoned, more so now as he had set everyone free.

### **FREEDOM OF PRESS**

He said he and his party stood for full and unadulterated freedom of the Press and, therefore, had lifted all control on the Press.

He asked the Press to write whatever it wanted to; there was full freedom of writing and expression, he declared.

Mr. Bhutto said that his Government was the first which had created new departments of Hajj and Auqaf and allowed 7,000 pilgrims to perform Hajj, who had been disallowed by the previous regime. He said, "We will not grudge any sacrifice for the honour of Islam."

He said he did not want to impose any alien system on the country. He did not want to impose the system of China, USSR or the United States. "We want to have our own system."

### **LIAISON WITH PEOPLE**

President Bhutto declared that he would always maintain the close contacts he had developed with the masses and address similar public meetings in other parts of the country.

He said the major drawback of the dictatorial rule was that under that system, public contact was not established.

The President said that he would make known the decision and policies of his Government to the people and would never keep them in the dark.

### **TALKS WITH INDIA**

President Bhutto said that he was willing to meet the Indian Prime Minister, Mrs. Indira Gandhi, for talks on the outstanding Indo-Pakistan disputes on the basis of justice and fairplay.

If the offer was acceptable to India, the President and his colleagues would be willing to go to Delhi "even tomorrow." He said that the offer had been extended by him as the representative of the people. "It is not the offer of a General", he added.

At the same time, he made it clear that the offer of talks should not be taken as a sign of weakness on the part of Pakistan.

Pakistan, he said wanted to live with honour and peace and would not be cowed down by threats of use of force by Indian leaders and Generals.

### **BATTLE FOR SURVIVAL**

He warned that if India wanted to “finish’ Pakistan -we as a self-respecting nation will fight the battle for survival to the finish.” “We will prefer death to slavery and if it comes to that the fight will continue for generations,” he told the cheering crowd.

President Bhutto regretted that in her New Year’s Day message to the Indian forces, the Indian Prime Minister had asked them to remain on the alert as according to her, the war had not ended. Mrs. Gandhi also wanted readjustment of the frontiers of Kashmir, President Bhutto said.

This, he said, was not the way to peace. He said that the recent military victory of India over Pakistan may have made the Indian leaders proud. But he reminded them that military victories and defeats were always temporary.

What was important, he said, was moral victory. And that is what Pakistan had achieved in the United Nations where 104 nations had given the verdict that India had committed aggression in Pakistan.

He asked Mrs. Gandhi to honour the resolution of the General Assembly and withdraw Indian troops from East Pakistan and other Pakistan territories which India had occupied during the recent war.

President Bhutto said that he was honoring world opinion by releasing Sheikh Mujibur Rahman and India should likewise pay heed to world opinion by vacating Pakistani territories.

The President said that Pakistan had no aggressive designs on India. “If the Indian Government and its people want to live a peaceful and honorable life, we also want to do the same,” he said. “Let us work towards the betterment of the lot of the common people in both the countries,” he added.

President Bhutto said that if he visited Delhi and if the Indian Government allowed him to address the Indian people “like I am addressing you, he would tell them how the peoples of both India and Pakistan had been exploited by the ruling cliques and vested interests.

## NUCLEAR SCIENCE IS VITAL

### *President Bhutto's address to Scientists at Multan on January 20, 1972,*

Addressing a meeting of eminent scientists of the country at Multan on 20th January, 1972, President Bhutto said the scientists had a vital role to play in this direction and added they would be provided the resources needed by them.

The meeting was convened by the President to review the programme and policy of atomic energy in Pakistan.

The President had a frank discussion with the scientists on the present state of affairs of the Pakistan Atomic Energy Commission and its future plans.

### NUCLEAR ENERGY

The President said development of nuclear science in Pakistan was vital for our progress and defence. We want nuclear energy not for war or destruction but because it was essential for our progress. If we lag behind in this field it would mean remaining backward.

Referring to some speeches at the meeting that Pakistan had reached a take-off stage in nuclear and other scientific fields, the President said there was nothing as the take-off stage "either we take-off or we are left behind."

The President said that his Government would see to it that the scientists got their due place in the society and hoped that the scientists would also work with the highest sense of patriotism.

The President said in spite of all its professions of peace India got a plutonium plant in early fifties from Canada and no safeguards were demanded against its misuse. On the other hand Pakistan initiated moves in the United Nations to keep Pakistan and other non-nuclear members of the United Nations permanently non-nuclear which in other words means remaining backward.

### INCENTIVES

The President said that the services of nuclear and other scientists were needed for promotion of industry, agriculture, medicine and other fields. The Government would do everything possible so that our scientists got sufficient incentives to serve within the country.



## **STANDARD OF EDUCATION**

President Bhutto lamented that the standard of education had deteriorated in the country. “Unless we educate our younger generation properly we cannot fulfill the task to rebuild Pakistan,” he added.

The President said at present it seemed that our younger generation was moving towards planned anarchy. Here were students who would like to pass without taking the examinations. These students were simply trying to deceive themselves.

He said he could not be party to this downward slide in educational standards nor such preposterous demands could be accepted.

He related the incident of a Hyderabad college where the students had demanded from him that they should be passed without even the examinations. He told them that they could have their way if they wanted to destroy the country but I cannot be party to it. The people should themselves take initiative to stop all this nonsense he added.

## **COLOSSAL TASK**

The President said he assumed the present responsibilities at a time when the country had been left in a miserable mess. There was colossal task. Every step must be taken in due course. Reforms had to be introduced in educational system, economy, agriculture, industry and other fields. The people should have patience and confidence in the present Government which they have elected, he observed.

## **WASTAGE**

The President referred to criticism made by certain scientists on wastage of funds in the construction of buildings for Atomic Energy Commission and other scientific bodies. He said there has been wastage in the country in every field. There has been waste and plunder in industry, defence, oil and gas. When the time comes people responsible for this would be accounted for, he added.

He said in industrial field we have not developed. We have been left behind miserably in our thought and action in other fields as well.

This process must be stopped. There should be a crash programme to develop science and banish ignorance. In this scientific age some people in our country challenged the authenticity of man having reached the moon. We cannot have this kind of ignorance in our country.

## **BASIC REFORMS**

He said that Martial Law was being continued for the time being because of extraordinary conditions prevailing in the country. One wing of the country was under Indian occupation besides some territory in Sindh, Punjab and Kashmir. Similarly basic reforms were urgently needed which required the protection of Martial Law, the President observed.

He said there never would be any effort on his part to perpetuate in power: perpetuation was in fact a misnomer. Nobody could perpetuate and this fact was amply proved by the downfall of those dictators in Pakistan who wanted to perpetuate their rule.

He told the scientists that he fully realized the importance of free and democratic atmosphere for intellectual growth and for development of scientific inquiry.

The suffocation which the people have lived in all these years must end and a freer atmosphere created for fuller development of the personality of every individual.

## **ACCOUNTABILITY**

President Bhutto said his Government would never allow any credibility gap. There would be accountability and participation at each level and people would be taken into confidence. In the past this credibility gap had made people suspicious of every pledge made by the Government.

He said others had never matched their words by deeds. But he would make every endeavor to see to it that people believed in what was told to them and had trust and confidence in the Government.

He said the previous Martial Laws were used against the people and yet these so-called champions of democracy kept silent over the miseries of the poor masses. But now they wanted lifting of Martial Law in order to protect vested interests which would be the only sufferers under it.

The President said he had removed all ban on speeches and statements. The Press has been freed to write whatever it likes.

## **MISUSE OF FREEDOM**

This did not mean that the limits of national interests should be transgressed. The present freedom of expression was being used to indulge in statements and writings which might compromise our position internationally.

“Yet I have not checked them. I have left it for the people to see through this dangerous exercise and misuse of freedom.”

The President said he would never use force against the people. If ever force was used it would be in the national interests alone. The people have grown very conscious. They could not be deceived now.

He said no movement could be launched without the support of the people. But there were elements who wanted to start a movement against the people. These elements stood exposed before the people, he added.

### **MINISTRY OF SCIENCE**

President Zulfikar Ali Bhutto created a new Ministry of Science, Technology and Production.

He made this announcement while inaugurating the National Science Conference at Multan on 20th January 1972.

The President said that the new ministry would be headed by a non-technocrat and a non-party man.

The President named Dr. I. H. Usmani, Chairman of the Pakistan Atomic Energy Commission, as the Secretary of the new ministry. He directed Dr. Usmani to get started on his new assignment with immediate effect.

The President also named Dr. Munir Khan a distinguished Pakistani scientist, as the new Chairman of the Pakistan Atomic Energy Commission.

Dr Munir has been associated with National and International Nuclear Programmes all these years. Professor Abdus Salam will continue to be the Adviser to the President on Scientific Affairs.

## **NEW LABOUR POLICY-WORKERS' FUNDAMENTAL RIGHTS GUARANTEED**

*President Bhutto's broadcast and telecast from Karachi on February 10, 1972.*

I am happy to announce today within 7 weeks of assuming office, a New Labour Policy which will guarantee to workers their fundamental rights consistent with the requirements of industrial development of the State. I want to emphasize that this is only a first step towards the fulfillment of our pledge to the workers.

We are not so naive as to think that a mere new set of laws will transform overnight the national economic life of our society. We have tried to introduce certain basic reforms—reforms, I may add, which were long overdue but which no previous government dared to introduce. The iniquitous economic system that has prevailed for so long cannot be changed in a day. But we are making a determined beginning in the highest interests of the workers.

I will outline briefly some of the main features of the legislation we are introducing; the Labour Minister will elucidate the salient features of this Policy tomorrow in a Press Conference.

### **WORKERS PARTICIPATION**

(1) Workers will be given effective participation in the management of industry. This will be progressively increased. As soon as the legislation and connected formalities are completed, workers' representatives will be associated with management to the extent of 20% at factory level. This will be done soon. At a prescribed level of industrial unit, and under certain spelt out stipulation they will also have the authority to appoint an auditor with powers to inspect any accounts, records, premises or stores of a factory. This auditor will be paid by the management of the concerned prescribed unit.

Further, we have decided to raise to 4%, from 2%, the share of the workers in the annual profits under the existing Companies Profits (Workers Participation) Act. 1968. If the workers increase productivity, they may receive an additional 10% of the increased profits.

### **SHOP STEWARDS**

(2) In order to make the Trade Union movement truly effective, we have decided to introduce a system of Shop Stewards at the lowest production level of prescribed industrial unit. Each shop or department in such a factory will have a

shop steward who will be elected by secret ballot by the workers of the shop from among themselves. He will represent their interest and point of view in the management of that shop, and will act as a link between the workers and management of prescribed units.

### **INDIVIDUAL GRIEVANCE**

(3) To ensure that workers' grievances receive full and efficacious justice, we have decided to introduce a new streamlined procedure, which provides for a worker, himself or through his shop steward, to bring his grievance to the notice of management; and, if no redress is given within the period prescribed, the matter may be taken to the Labour Union or the Labour Court. In such cases the Labour Court will give its decision within 20 days and not 60 days as is done at present.

### **COLLECTIVE DISPUTES**

(4) The law relating to settlement of collective disputes has also been reformed to provide expeditious settlement. Works Councils will be strengthened and the scope of their functions widened to include all matters which can go before Labour Courts. Formerly, collective disputes had first to be referred only to management; but now workers will have the option to refer, for a bilateral settlement, collective disputes to the Works Councils in which both they and management will be represented. A further revision in the law will provide that, instead of waiting for 21 days for serving a strike notice a notice may be served within 3 days if the management does not respond favorably or there is failure of bilateral negotiations in the Works Council.

Under the new law, a matter may be taken to Labour Court by either party. Formerly, this could be done only if both workers and management agreed jointly. Thus the workers, while retaining their right to strike, will have the option to get immediate adjudication by Court. This revision is designed to save the workers from being forced to go on strike, which they had to do in the past, merely because management did not agree to move the Court. The Court's award will now be given within 30 days and not 60 days as previously.

I would add that the right of clerical staff of banks to collective bargaining is now being restored, and, in this connection, lower supervisory levels will be included in the definition of workmen.

In order to ensure that strikes do not take place without the consent or against the interest of the general body of workers, it has been made obligatory for unions to hold a. secret ballot before resorting to strikes.

## **SECURITY OF SERVICE**

(5) We intend to give full protection to workers against arbitrary retrenchment and termination of services by making it necessary for every order of retrenchment and termination of service to state reasons explicitly in writing. This will not only reduce substantially injustice to the workers but will also facilitate scrutiny by courts of the merits of each case.

## **BONUS**

(6) We have decided to make compulsory the payment of bonus to employees either in cash, or NIT shares, at the option of workers. The amount of bonus will be linked with profits so that increase in production and the prosperity of workers go hand in hand.

## **LABOUR UNDER CONTRACTORS**

(7) We have also decided to extend the application of Payment of Wages Act, 1936, and Industrial Employment (Standing Orders) Ordinance, 1968, to labour under contractors. This will ensure regular payments, over-time pay and proper rates of payments.

## **HOUSING**

(8) We naturally attach great importance to housing and will do everything possible to have it provided to the maximum extent possible. The Workers' Welfare Fund for housing and other major facilities was created sometimes back. This has remained a paper Fund only. We have, therefore, decided that representative committees will be set up, comprising nominees of workers and management and including representatives of the Provincial Governments, to go into the financial and other circumstances of each undertaking in the area and decide what further contribution, over and above the minimum one laid down by law, should be made by employers for these facilities.

## **CHILDREN'S EDUCATION**

(9) Even more important is education and we have decided that employers shall provide free education up to metric to one child of each worker; the others will be progressively looked after by the State. This will naturally not apply to industrial units already providing better facilities to the children of workers.

## **SOCIAL SECURITY**

(10) We have carefully reviewed the Social Security Scheme and introduced major reforms in it. First the levy of 2% of a worker's wages for providing him medical facilities has been abolished, and the existing 4% contribution made by the employer will be raised to 6%. In due course additional steps will be taken for the provision of further medical facilities to workers.

Secondly, provision for old age pension will be made for all workers at a certain age. Compulsory group insurance for workers against death and injury when off duty will also be introduced.

Thirdly, the Social Security Scheme will be appropriately extended to cover domestic servants.

The existing laws regarding safety measures and workmen's compensation in the event of death or injury are being revised. Increased rates of compensation will be provided.

### **GROUP BENEFITS**

(11) Group benefit schemes will be introduced as incentive to workers to compete in increasing efficiency and production in each plant. Measures will, at the same time, be taken to see, as far as possible, equitable distribution of employers' contribution between workers in capital intensive and labour intensive undertakings.

### **COGNIZABLE OFFENCES**

(12) One major shortcoming has existed all along in labour legislation. Infringement of certain provisions such as payment of compensation in case of death or injury, payment of overtime wages, provision of canteens on premises and other such facilities have not been treated as cognizable offences. Violations of all such provisions are being made cognizable, though bail able.

### **TRADE UNIONISM**

(13) We have also decided upon a large number of measures to promote the growth of workers' movement along progressive lines. I will mention only the more important of these measures here. To strengthen the growth of the trade union movement, we have decided to set up a quasi-judicial authority with three main aims:

a) To promote genuine trade unionism at the trade level and ensure representative character of unions.

b) To help in the setting up of federations of unions, industry-wise.

c) To help in the formation of federations at the national level.

It will also deal with cases of victimization of office-bearers of trade unions, and unfair labour practices on the part of employers as well as trade unions.

## MINIMUM WAGE

(14) We have given serious consideration to the question of the minimum wage. We do not think it advisable to take any hurried measures. Only two years ago the minimum wage was increased but a corresponding benefit has not accrued to the wage earner nor has it increased his purchasing power. It only resulted in a serious price spiral which is not yet checked. Before increasing minimum wages, it is essential to stabilize the prices so that the benefit of the increased wage becomes substantial in its practical sense instead of getting eaten away by galloping inflation.

## ECONOMIC SALVATION

After careful consideration it has been decided that at this initial stage when we are about to be in the task of salvaging the national economy an increase in money wages will further aggravate the inflationary situation. We have instead, at this moment introduced measures relating to participation in profit housing, education and tie abolition of 2% levy under the Social Security Scheme which are designed to increase the workers' real income. At the same time we are making every effort to stabilize the prices of essential items of daily use such as atta, sugar, vegetable, ghee, kerosene oil and cloth. We believe that these measures we are taking will result in true and meaningful benefits to the workers. It is our intention to peg wages to prices as is the practice in the Scandinavian and some other advanced countries. This will be done when the economic situation normalizes and when production increases. To bear this and other reforms including increase in minimum wages there must be a rapid increase in production. We are facing a crisis in production. This crisis must be surmounted to increase national wealth and national welfare of the labouring classes and of our society as a whole. I would like to emphasize that our economic salvation lies in making a determined effort to increase production.

## 'GHERAOS' & JALAO'S'

Since the 20th of December, Martial Law notwithstanding, *Gheraos* and *Jalaos*, seem to have become the order of the day. This unruly and rowdy practice, negative in its purpose, anarchistic in its approach, nihilist in its results has been endured regrettably by the Government and the people for over seven weeks. The object of this excuse in patience was to show the people and indeed even the participants that this simply is not the proper form of protests or of ventilation of grievances. It is a self-destructive procedure. The majority of the people have shown their disgust over these demonstrations of hooliganism. They want an end to it. They want a return to sensible and civilized methods of protest even the participants expecting the ring leaders are getting disillusioned with the practice. National leaders have spoken against it. Public opinion is clear on this matter.



Taking all these factors into account now- I want to make it clear that the strength of the street will be met by the strength of the State. For long the people have tolerated this intolerable form of threat and thunder. It must stop. I say this as a friend and associate of those who have been innocently misled to indulge in one *Gherao* after another. It is in their interest and in the interest of the rest of the people to put an end to this lawlessness. Scores have been settled. Pent up energies have been released. So let everyone return to the path of normality. Let nobody take these remarks light-heartedly. In future the full weight of law will be instituted on such forms of illegal demonstration.

The Government is not only aware of the workers' problems, but is fully receptive and sympathetic. We have provided the workers every legal means for redress of grievances. Let them now try these methods which are in their true interest.

### **COLLECTIVE EFFORT**

I am speaking to you candidly to prepare you for the strenuous times lying ahead. But I am confident that if all of us try hard, and work hard, we will all benefit. Of necessity, it will have to be a collective effort. This is the only way to serve Pakistan, to ensure that the children of our toiling masses, who have seen nothing but misery and hardship for centuries, will live in a better Pakistan, a more secure and happy Pakistan. Our sacrifices will not go in vain. We are making basic adjustments, not without a purpose. All our yesterdays have seen failure. Let us strive for a better tomorrow, a morrow at the service of the common man.

## **ENERGIES CAN BUILD AN AESTHETIC PAKISTAN**

*President Bhutto's address to Engineers at Lahore on February 13, 1972.*

I am happy to be here this morning 'to meet you. I would like to tell you that I intend to maintain a dialogue with you, if not directly, through the Governors Ministers and the Advisers who are in close touch with me. You can rest assured that your problems will be known to us. Your problems are already known to us. We have lived with the people. We know the people. We know the conditions of the country and some of us come from the rural areas. We know the problems of irrigation and of shortage of water, salinity and water logging. We have lived with all those problems. And we still continue to live with them. So, we are not unmindful of the problems that we are called upon to tackle.

### **COMMON TASK**

I think in the future we can develop a harmonious understanding between ourselves. I want to achieve an understanding not only with the engineers but with all talented persons with a view to strengthening Pakistan—to creating a new and great Pakistan, which our people have yearned for and for which our people made sacrifices before partition and after partition, and whosoever wants to contribute to achieving this objective is welcome as a friend and collaborator in the common task.

Here, I repeat that engineers, doctors, architects and scientists shall be in the vanguard of the struggle for creating a Pakistan for which our people have laid down their lives right up to the present, and I believe that they can continue to make sacrifices in the future because the days ahead of us are not going to be easy.

As educated, sensible, respectable and responsible citizens of the country you are aware of these problems which have only just begun.

### **BUREAUCRACY**

I do not have any particular attachment for bureaucracy. Throughout election campaign, before that and after that, I have openly criticized the bureaucracy. I have criticized the mentality of the bureaucracy. On taking over this office, among the first directives I issued was one that called upon the bureaucracy to change its outlook, to go to the people, to get integrated with the people and not sit tight in the offices or get buried in files, nor to get glued to the Secretariat because from the Secretariat windows they could not hear heart-beat of the people. The pity is that we still have the colonial legacy. Unfortunately, we have forgotten the good things of the past and only retained the bad ones. The British

bureaucracy attained a very high standard. In the old days, the pioneer days, the bureaucrats travelled to remote and far-flung areas – to the desert of Tharparker, and to the mountains, where they did research work and produced gazetteers which are very valuable even to this day. But that standard we have lost. In the condemnation of the British colonial system, we have thrown away its virtues and retained its defects.

So, the question is not merely of the deterioration in the standards of bureaucracy but also of accretion in its privileges and powers, with the result that there has been a terrible mess. Also, like other institutions, the bureaucracy has not been accountable.

I admit that the bureaucrats played politics, and, unfortunately, they played bad politics. They were not good politicians. If they had indulged in politics, they should have been at least good politicians. But how can a bureaucrat be a good politician? This is a contradiction in terms.

I cannot answer here, in a minute, the discussion that has gone on for years about the respective roles of the generalist and the specialist. I am quite prepared for a full-scale, constructive debate on this matter. Also, I am quite prepared to set up a committee to go into the question of WAPDA's problems.

### **WAPDA**

WAPDA has many problems. When I was Minister for Natural Resources I was intimately connected with the problems of WAPDA, problems of natural resources, and water. And these questions are not new to me. So the problem is that we cannot do anything immediately. All problems cannot be resolved within a day. The future of WAPDA is not in my hands because I tell you frankly that this problem is associated with the sensitive question of Provincial autonomy and I am not touching on such issues at all. I am touching the issues of bread and butter, agriculture, in short, welfare of the masses which are not repugnant to Provincial autonomy. The sensitive question of Provincial autonomy is not affected if, for instance, a child is educated, a person gets employment, the wages of workers are increased and prices of commodities stabilized. But WAPDA certainly affects the sensitive question of Provincial autonomy, which will be determined by the National Assembly, – whether WAPDA should stay or what shape should it take in the future. WAPDA's fate is in the balance and the National Assembly will determine it.

### **NATIONAL ASSEMBLY**

Those who think the Assembly is not coming into being have already seen signs that we are moving in that direction. We would like to see the Assembly in session. We would also like to see the participation in it of the representatives of

the people: I will be happier on the floor of the Assembly than anywhere else. We have to settle some preliminaries, some basic prerequisites before that is done.

When, I say, as I stated yesterday, that the Assembly will meet this year, it does not mean it would meet on the 31st of December or the 1st of December or the 15th of November. Do not ask me any more questions because I cannot give you dates. In any case, it will meet before the year is out" much before the year is out. Be patient and have confidence. I want settlement of this question for all time to come. I do not want any more ad hoc arrangements. I want Pakistan to be on firm and secure foundations. I am aware of the importance of the institution. I am aware of the importance of public participation. I said yesterday that I would be the happiest man in Pakistan when democracy is restored, because I have struggled for democracy more than any other individual in Pakistan.

### **ENGINEERS**

Coming back to WAPDA, have no fear on that score. All we want to do is to do justice to every one. After all, the question of generalists and specialists affects all fields. If we set a principle in WAPDA, we might have to follow it in other fields. Now, we have seen how disastrous it was for a General to be incharge of the last war. As Supreme Commander and Commander-in-Chief, he could not give clear orders as to what should be done. Clemenceau said, "war is too serious a business for Generals". So, the question is one of a happy blending and conciliation of two opposing view points according to our own requirements and environment. On that question I have an open mind because I am holding no brief for one party or the other. My plea to you is that for engineers and for other educated people there is a method of ventilation of grievances. If as educated and responsible people, devoted to creative work, you also start resorting to 'gheraos', and 'jalaos', where would it lead to? I understand, to some extent, the labour doing it has been threatened badly. So, as a matter of deliberate policy I wanted the labour community to ventilate its grievances. But, there comes a time when one has to be sensible. Two days ago a person was brutally killed. We cannot allow this kind of murder. This is not according to our traditions. This is not according to our methods. For six to eight weeks, I deliberately allowed people to ventilate their grievances to let off steam because they all had reasons to let off steam, especially the working class, which is the most exploited class. It is understandable in their case because their vision is limited and they have had no education. However, there comes a time when people themselves get fed up with it, because it is counter productive, and because it is negative. Time has now come when we cannot allow this kind of thing to continue. This does not mean that the Government will be tyrannical or that we will resort to whip-lashing, like the previous regimes. In all such cases, a minimum effective control is necessary. Now, if the engineers also indulge in this kind of thing, then let us all wind up shop.

## **NO 'GHERAO' & 'JALAO'**

I have never advocated 'gherao' and 'jalao'. Even when I was in opposition, I stood against it. Only once, in Karachi, did I say that Yahya's President's House will be 'gheraoed'. You can *gherao* me and, not the people. No sensible person can believe in that method. It was deprecated even in China during the great Cultural Revolution. When the British legation in Peking was burnt, the Chinese leaders were furious. Chairman Mao and Premier Chou En Lai told me that some people had got out of control and that they simply could not permit this. When a great country like China, with all its resources and infrastructure, could not permit 'gherao' and 'jalao', how could Pakistan, with foreign debts, with a crisis in every sphere of life, allow this kind of activity? I am not threatening. I am only pleading. But, I also know how to run an administration. I am not new to this art. I understand it perfectly well. Do not think that we cannot control these matters. The methods of 'gherao' and 'jalao' will not work.

## **FIRST BIG STEP**

The other day some people came to Rawalpindi saying that there was a crisis in WAPDA and that I must immediately hear them. That is not the way. There are ministers and other functionaries. If you want to see me, do not threaten me that there is crisis in WAPDA. Say we want to discuss some WAPDA problems. We will discuss WAPDA problems. These problems are not discussed merely because you threaten me with the word crisis because I am a man of crisis, and crisis is a normality to me. Do not unnecessarily think that because of this fact they will put our back to the wall. Our back is not to the wall, because the people are with us. We would resolve these problems. Give us some time. We do not want 10 years of Ayub Khan, or three years of Yahya Khan. Give us a very limited period of time and after that you will see that all we can do is to set things in the right direction. Let us take the first big step and others will come through the process of evolution, revolution and explosion, whatever the future has in store for the sub-continent and Asia.

I have the greatest respect for you. I know you have to build this country. You have to do the creative work. In the Second Five-Year Plan 61 percent and in the Third Five-Year Plan 63 percent of the work was supposed to be done by the engineers. As the work connected with the Plan keeps increasing progressively you will have to play a greater role.

## **MASSIVE PROGRAMME**

I am ashamed of the fact that 2,000 engineers are without job. I am soon going to launch a massive public works programme in the country and in this way, *Inshallah*, we will bring engineers into full play and into full operation and thus give you a sense of full participation. Let us resolve these problems in sobriety

because I expect sobriety and sense from people like you. Until the problems are resolved, have a little patience. If there are some interim changes, do not think that they are by way of acceptance of or commitment to a principle. That might be only because there is need for some interim changes and not that we are accepting or following certain principles. I want you to feel satisfied and content. For, if you are satisfied and content you can build a real Pakistan—an aesthetic Pakistan.

## LAND FOR THE LANDLESS

*President Bhutto's broadcast and telecast on March 1, 1972.*

Citizens, mazaraeen and haris :

Tonight is your night, as I am speaking to you on land reforms, to inform you of the vital decisions we have taken to change the oppressive and iniquitous agrarian system under which our people have suffered in silence for centuries.

From its inception, and throughout its struggle against injustice, the Pakistan People's Party has been committed to the eradication of the curse of feudalism and man's unjust over lordship of the good earth.

The reforms, I am introducing, are basic, affecting the life and fortunes of the common man more than any other measure that we may introduce in the future. They will bring dignity and salvation to our rural masses who from today will be able to lift their heads from the dust and regain their pride and manhood, their self-respect and honour.

### REMEDIAL MEASURES

The ramifications of the system we have changed are massive, but there are no perfect solutions. Every society has to evolve its own remedial measures within the framework of its heritage, conditions and limitations.

There is a wide and shameful dichotomy in our socio-economic structure, and nowhere else are its manifestations more glaring than in the countryside. The overwhelming majority of our peasantry have since time immemorial been suspended in the vicious web of abject poverty and servitude. Perhaps nowhere else has- the innate dignity of the working man been abused so blatantly as here. We shall not allow this abominable *status quo* to continue.

The problems of the land are complex. Land reforms no doubt involve distribution of landholding—a task that is both difficult and intricate. But the problems are much deeper and we have to strike at their roots. Superficial remedies will be injurious as they do not touch the heart of the problem, and it is to the heart that we must get. Unless land reforms bring about profound improvements in the economic and social status of the farmer, it will have been no more than a sanctimonious exercise.

## **WIDE SPECTRUM**

The land reforms plan envisaged by your Government covers a wide spectrum. It will effectively break up the iniquitous concentrations of landed wealth, reduce unemployment, streamline the administration of land revenue and agricultural taxation, and truly lay down the foundations of a relationship of honour and mutual benefit between the landowner and tenant.

To begin with, we are drastically reducing the ceiling on individual holdings. Nobody can deny that concentrations of landed wealth have stunted the growth of a just and harmonious social order. We will not allow a few individuals to hold sway over enormous tracts of land while, side by side, millions of those who produce the wealth of the nation struggle helplessly at a miserable level of existence.

Several objective factors have been considered while fixing the new ceiling. The prime one being that agriculture should continue to be an attractive and profitable vocation. The size of the holding should permit maximum benefit of investment to enable productivity to increase. Enterprising and enlightened farmers should continue to live on the land and give agriculture the sense of purpose it deserves. For these compelling reasons, we are following exactly the same principle for the enlightened entrepreneur. We are as much against the ignorant and tyrannical landlord as we are against the robber barons of industry. We are as much for the creative and humane landowner as we are for a productive and conscientious owner of industry.

## **NEW CEILING**

After deep and careful thought, I am reducing the present ceiling of land held by an individual owner from 500 irrigated acres to 150 irrigated acres, and of un-irrigated acres from 1,000 to 300, or an area equivalent to 15,000 produce index units, whichever is greater. In specific terms, the present ceiling is being slashed in one stroke by 70% without even taking into account the major concessions and exemptions granted by the 1959 reforms.

The question of fixing the limit of holdings on the basis of the family instead of the individual was minutely examined. As it involves Islamic jurisprudence, we sought the advice and guidance of renowned Muslim scholars and jurists. The universal conclusion drawn was that Islam sanctifies the rights of the individual and does not recognize the system of family holdings. As Muslims we simply cannot conceive of a scheme repugnant to the tenets of Islam, and so, in keeping with the injunctions of Islam, the holdings are fixed on the basis of the individual and not family.



## **NATURAL VARIATIONS**

In a large country like ours the productivity and income from land differs from area to area on account of natural variations in soil quality, climate, availability of water and a host of connected factors. It will be unrealistic and a folly to put alluvial soils on par with barren land, and fix the same ceiling for both. It will create an indefensible and discriminatory situation, and do gross injustice to those regions less blessed by Nature. Even in Europe, where contrasts are less striking, agricultural productivity varies from region to region—a factor which has been recognised by the European Economic Community. It would, therefore, meet the ends of justice to follow a system which takes cognizance of these natural and inescapable factors, and to fix the upper limit on the basis of produce index units which represent diversified and varying land productivity. Indeed, this is why produce index units were evolved in the first place and made the yardstick of allotment and distribution of land since 1947. That is why our manifesto also recognizes this self-evident reality.

## **REFORMS OF 1959**

The land reforms of 1959 were a subterfuge. They were reforms in name only, to fool the people in the name of reform. Apart from providing a high upper limit of 36,000 units, all manners of concessions were made available to buttress and pamper the landed aristocracy and fatten the favored few. In fact, the units thus made available ranged from 72,000 to as much as 80,000 units. Let me explain how? Over and above the upper limit of 36,000 units individual owners were allowed to retain an additional 150 acres of orchards. Furthermore, an existing owner was entitled to gift to his heirs an area equivalent to 18,000 units. Even more than that, each of his family's female dependents was allowed, without restriction, 6,000 units. The runaway scheme did not stop here. "Shikargahs" and studs and livestock farms, irrespective of their size, were kept entirely outside the pale of land reforms. To give an example, one of the exempted "Shikargahs" stretched over more than 100,000 acres. Similarly, there were studs and livestock farms each of thousands and thousands of acres. So also were many trusts indiscriminately exempted? As a result of these fraudulent exemptions, peasants were deprived of valuable lands running into over one million acres.

We are not permitting such exemptions or concessions. First, the concerned owners will not be permitted to transfer any of the affected areas by way of gift to their heirs or female dependents as was permitted by the 1959 reforms.

## **"SHIKARGAHS"**

All "Shikargahs" will be resumed and the land distributed to the peasants, except for those historical "Shikargahs" which will be run by the State. Orchards, studs and livestock farms, and defined trusts, in excess of the prescribed ceiling, will not be exempt. The Provincial Government will determine the manner in

which these resumed lands are to be utilized. If possible, they will be state-run, but if public interest so requires, they will be leased out, in which case the former owner will have the first right of refusal.

In fairness, however, we cannot ignore investments made by existing owners in installing tube-wells, purchasing tractors, breaking new lands and adopting costly modern techniques of agricultural production. For this reason we are compelled to allow an existing owner to have an additional area equivalent to 3,000 units if he either owned a tractor or had installed a tube well on or before the 20th December 1971.

The only exemption we are permitting relates to recognized educational institutions like Universities, which will be allowed to hold areas beyond the prescribed ceiling. Unlike the 1959 reforms, this exemption has not been extended to any other institution.

### **PAT FEEDER AREA**

It is common knowledge that lands belonging to Government in Pat Feeder area in Baluchistan have been encroached upon by several influential persons and there has been a protracted controversy over entitlement to these lands. This has caused poor peasants and landless cultivators endless hardships. In order to end confusion and provide lands to the tillers, Government has decided to resume all lands in the Pat Feeder area, free from any encumbrance or charge and without any compensation. The resumed lands will be granted to poor farmers of the region.

Now I must say something about one of the most sordid and shameful chapters in the story of land-grabbing in Pakistan. The official class has indulged in the disgraceful abuse of power by acquiring vast lands in various barrages both in Sindh and in the Punjab. This has created a new class of absentee landlords. Apart from the exploitation that this entails, it has created a further burden on the local bureaucracy who are required to arrange fixed income to these absentee-landlords, who in many cases also happen to be their superior officers. Government has, therefore, decided that any Government servant having acquired more than 100 acres of land during the tenure of his office or in the course of retirement such land in excess of 100 acres shall stand confiscated to the State. This will not apply to armed forces as in their case land was given to the defenders of the soil.

### **BORDER AREAS**

Certain high-ranking military officers had, however, also acquired lands in the border areas. The lands allotted in the border areas were with the specific object of creating a defence reserve line of retired military personnel. In many cases,

however, these lands were subsequently changed by these allottees for better lands in the interior, thus defeating the very purpose of the original allotments in the border areas. We have, therefore, decided to cancel the title to all such lands acquired by exchange from the border areas of the defence belt to the safe interior.

All state lands will be reserved exclusively for landless tenants or owners of a below-subsistence holding, preferably in the same dehat or village in which the land is located. Substantial areas will, however, have to be reserved for the defence forces.

Auction of state agricultural lands shall be banned. The price of state land will be realized in easy installments. The policy of giving these lands on yearly leases stands abandoned.

### **LANDOWNERS &- TENANTS**

The relations between landowners and tenants have caused grave anxiety to the country and our people. There has been strife and bitterness causing serious problems affecting agricultural production and social harmony. Let me state clearly the measures I am taking to correct this situation.

Arbitrary and capricious ejections shall stop forthwith. In future, ejections will only be possible if tenants fail to pay the 'batai' share or rent, or meet the requirements of cultivation.

The liability for payment of water rate shall be shifted from the tenant to landowners throughout the country. Moreover, all agricultural taxes shall hereafter be paid exclusively by the landowner.

Similarly, the present practice of the tenant meeting the cost of seed shall cease, and in future the landowners will be responsible for providing and paying for seed. The cost of remaining inputs shall be shared equally between the landowners and tenants.

### **CESS**

Levy of cess and service without remuneration extracted by landlords from tenants shall be unlawful throughout the country.

And, finally, in the event of sale of land, the tenant of the land shall have the right of pre-emption.

These revolutionary concessions given to the tillers of the soil will open new vistas of economic betterment for them. I am positive that security of tenure,

elimination of the burden of taxation on tenants and the grant of the right of preemption will satisfy the yearnings and long-standing desires of tenants.

### **FREE OF COST**

My friends and compatriots, now please mark the contrast, please be a fair judge, between land reforms of 1959 and the reforms I am now putting forward. Not only have I drastically reduced the ceiling to break the back of feudalism, but I have gone a step further to start a new order and life for the peasants. I am not only doing a rot away with frivolous exemptions and high ceilings but I am taking over all the lands under the new law without compensation. And most important, I am transferring all the resumed land to the tiller of the soil. The tiller of soil will not be required to pay a paisa for the lands given to him under these reforms. They will be the new owners free of cost. They will be the owners without any encumbrances or liabilities. Only they are to be compensated under these reforms by free transfer for their sweat and toil through the past centuries. Furthermore, any balance of installments due from farmers under the 1959 land reforms will not be recovered.

Landowners have been feverishly transferring land on extensive scale and in a manner designed to defeat land reforms. Let me say, we will never permit such conspiracies to succeed. Let me reiterate with all the emphasis at my command that such parasites and enemies of the people will not be spared.

### **SCRUTINY**

In order to defeat these fraudulent transactions any transfer of land or creation of a right or interest in land from 20th December 1971, made by a person owning or possessing more than an area equivalent to 15,000 units on December 20, 1971, shall be void without question. These areas will be deemed to be owned by the transferor when determining his holding. Also any transfers which have brought land back to a family, even through a third person, shall be void, and revert to the owner. All transfers made during the last five years by a person owning or possessing more than an equivalent area of 15,000 units on March 1 1967, shall have to be declared by him and be scrutinized in order to determine the genuineness of the transaction. If the transfers are in favour of heirs, prima facie they will be considered valid. Transfer made in favour of other persons will not be valid until the transferor is able to establish beyond all shadow of doubt that the transaction was bonafide. And, finally, let me warn you that any false declarations shall entail immediate confiscation of all property, landed or otherwise, of the declarant and his dependents.

### **CONSOLIDATION**

Consistent with the urgent need to encourage mechanization and consolidation, and to prevent fragmentation, the Government will allow liberal consolidation of

holding to a family as long as these holdings are inside provincial limits and do not conflict with the prescribed ceiling of 15,000 units. Thus, existing owners will have the right of choice of the area they desire to retain within the ceilings and to interchange their holdings with other affected holders or unaffected landowners of the same family.

To demonstrate further our intention to prevent the evils of fragmentation, the existing restrictions on actual partitioning of joint holding and on alienation of holdings shall continue. This will eliminate fragmentation of holdings and parceling of economic units into non-economic holdings.

### **AGRICULTURAL TAXES**

Our system of revenue administration and agricultural taxation is outmoded. Everything in the world is changing rapidly but our revenue system has remained wedded to the past. The mystery of revenue records, the difficulties in obtaining simple copies of title documents, the enormous powers of good and evil exercised by small revenue officials, the fluctuating rates of agricultural taxes, and the protracted nature of revenue proceedings, and, above all, the unwholesome manner in which local functionaries perform or, rather, fail to perform their duties, can no longer be tolerated. This decadent system has only provided opportunities for corruption, mischief and vendettas. It must go. It must be subjected to critical appraisal, if not a surgical operation.

It is my view that land revenue and water should be assessed on a flat-rate basis to prevent over taxation, leakage of revenue, corruption and harassment. It should be made a clear obligation of the revenue officers and subordinate staff to help rather than harm and hamper the peasantry. Simple, commonsense revenue procedures should be established, procedures which everyone can fully understand and whose interpretation is not within the exclusive wisdom of a coterie of officials.

These problems, however, required to be resolved through detailed examination by committee of experts and public representatives. I am, therefore, ordering the immediate setting up such of a commission.

### **MORE PRODUCTION**

The main task for us is how to increase the productivity of small farms. An integrated programme must be initiated to increase the knowledge of small farmers through an effective education and training programme, and every effort should be made to ensure the supply of agricultural inputs. Incentives in the shape of price support, input subsidies, and credit and marketing facilities will be provided to these small farmers.

In fact, we will have to develop rural cooperatives by giving every facility for cooperative farming. It is my conviction that this will establish true rural democracy, prevent exploitation, raise farm productivity through pooling of resources, promote mutual understanding through representative cooperative unions and eliminate unnecessary profits by middlemen.

Agriculture has become an overcrowded profession and the prevalent traditional cropping patterns are not equipped to fully absorb our large labour force. Several measures will be adopted to fight the menace of unemployment and under-employment. We are, therefore, pushing through a gigantic rural works programme involving location of agro-based industries in rural areas and the setting up of agro-villes and cottage industries.

### **FUNDS**

Lack of funds has always been used as an excuse to block the growth of agriculture and rural development. The working and living conditions in rural areas are shocking and sub-human. I have, therefore, directed that an allocation of Rs. 1,000 crores should be made for the remaining period of the Fourth Five-Year Plan for agricultural development and the supporting programmes I have outlined earlier. Implementation will proceed with full speed and vigour.

These land reform measures will come into force at once. They will apply to both surveyed and unsurveyed areas except the tribal areas of the NWFP.

I will be issuing a Martial Law Regulation which will ensure the full and speedy implementation of my plan. In each province, a Land Commission will be set up to put into effect the reforms and to remove any anomalies and contradictions that may arise.

A strict time table will be put into force. Declarations of land holdings will be submitted by 30th April, 1972, decisions on the declarations will be made by 15th June, 1972 and these decisions will be implemented by 1st July, 1972.

And lastly, a word about the crop under cultivation, the present *Rabi* crop will belong to the existing owners since it represents their investment and labour. No pilferage will be permitted. The next *Kharif* crop will fall within the ambit of the new legislation.

### **OTHER COUNTRIES**

In a country with a long-entrenched feudal system, and where the agricultural land falls under a vast and complicated irrigation system, what we have done is monumental. We have undertaken much more than most countries with similar conditions. For example, Iraq has fixed the ceiling at 625 irrigated acres, 1,250

acres of rain-fed land. Turkey at 1,250 acres, Iran, at 1,000 irrigated acres and 2,000 acres of unirrigated land. Syria, at 200 irrigated and 750 rain-fed acres, Philippines, at 750 acres and Cuba, at 167 acres. For that matter, after the Russian Revolution, the Kulaks were permitted by Lenin to hold an area of land similar to what we are allowing on the basis of produce index units.

## **JUSTICE**

I know the power of the landed aristocracy, the overriding authority of the Tribal Sardars, the Waderas and Maliks. They will stop at nothing to frustrate and circumvent these land reforms. Let me declare that this will not be permitted. The full weight of Martial Law will visit all enemies of the people. The writ of your Government, in defence of the peasant and in pursuit of the justice of these reforms will run as much in the rolling plains of the Punjab and Sindh as in the rugged mountains and hills of Baluchistan and NWFP.

Citizens, I have unfolded to you the salient features of your Government's land reforms plan. The task is colossal but it is a task which we can neither avoid nor delay. On this will depend the stability of our economy and the welfare of our people. It requires enormous resources, total dedication and full support of the people. I am determined to guarantee social and economic justice and wipe out the primitive and oppressive system of feudalism and over lordship that has all these long years denied our people their place in the sun.

## **NEW WORLD**

But to succeed, I need your help, I need your support. I need your strength. I need your courage and resolution. It is a momentous day because with one stroke we have exorcised the evil that had blighted this fair and beautiful land of ours for ages past. We have opened a brave new world for our children and their children. We have secured the future of generations to come.

*I have kept my pledge with God and man.* This day marks the beginning of a new saga in the annals of Pakistan. This is no prank of history. It adds a golden chapter to its volume on liberty. The hour has struck and we must rejoice on hearing the shackles break. Not tomorrow because it is too late, but Friday the 3rd of March shall be a public holiday to commemorate the infinite blessings of this day, the beauty and splendour of its promise.

## BONAPARTIC INFLUENCES

*President Bhutto's broadcast and telecast on March 3, 1972.*

My dear brothers and sisters, my dear friends, compatriots, labourers, peasants and students, *Assalam-o-Alaikum* !

On the 20th December when I assumed the office of President after a shattering war with India, when half of our country came under the occupation of the Indian forces, I addressed you that night in all sincerity. I told you that you have given me a colossal responsibility. I told you that it would not be easy to overcome the total crisis that the nation was facing—believe me it was a total crisis and it is a total crisis in all spheres from one end of the spectrum to the other—political, military, economic, social, and international crisis. Actually, we were in a cess pool. And the nation had to be picked up.

### **NIGHTMARE WILL END**

It is a great nation. Our people are hardworking, dedicated, sincere, and our strength lies in their vitality, in their simplicity in their greatness. And since the people of West Pakistan have given me and my party a massive mandate in the elections of December 1970, in the midst of all the gloom and the harrowing future I was confident and I remained confident that we will overcome the present difficulties and that soon, *Inshallah-tahllah*, the nightmare will end.

Since the 20th of December we have moved fast in all directions. And this is necessary. We have no time to lose. Time is our biggest factor. I told you then that I will undertake a task of reconstruction and reconciliations. But when there is dislocation of this magnitude, it takes some time for things to settle down.

### **INFLATIONARY TENDENCIES**

I know there have been scarcities of essential commodities. The prices of atta have risen and in some places they are still high. Price of sugar is increasing. I am aware of all these developments. They hurt me very much and we are taking measures to rectify the position. What could I do if the granary was not be found, if the food stocks were not available, if the wheat crop had been completely depleted by its faulty distribution ? What could I do if crores and crores and crores of rupees from East Pakistan were being smuggled into West Pakistan as a result of which there were inflationary tendencies and the prices of commodities were rising? We could do nothing immediately. It was not like putting on an electric switch. We had to print new notes to replace the notes that were coming in from East Pakistan via other countries. And now we are replacing these notes.



As a result of it some of the economic measures that we have taken are having their effects. But it takes a little time. Even when a person takes an aspirin, his headache does not disappear with the taking of the pill. Even in that case it takes a little time. But here in Pakistan we have had to undergo a major surgical operation and put fundamental pieces together.

### **HARMONY**

So it cannot be done in a day. It cannot be done in the span of a month or so. It would take time and I beg of you to give us a little time because we want to retain your confidence. We do not want to do things which are opposed to your interest, because if we do that we would be doing things which are opposed to all of us. For too long the people and the Government have been estranged and in conflict. I want to see the end of that day. I want to see the Government and the people harmoniously synonymous, speaking with the same voice and feeling the same way.

### **PROMISED LAND**

So all these matters are being attended to. We have had industrial reforms. We have had labour reforms and on the 1st of March I had the honour of introducing fundamental land reforms in Pakistan. No critic of the country can say that these are not genuine reforms going to the heart of the problems. We have broken the back of feudalism and, *Inshallah tahlla*, you will see that the effects of these reforms will bring dignity and honour to the people of Pakistan. As I have repeatedly said the strength of Pakistan lies in the strength of its people and we are determined to make our people strong, to make our people happy to make our people content : to make them feel that this is their Pakistan, the Pakistan of their dreams. To make them feel that their children will have a secure and happy future and that they really were born in their promised land.

### **REPLACEMENTS**

Dear friends and citizens, the interests of the country are supreme and it is in the interest of the country and in the interest of the Armed Forces of Pakistan that today we have taken the decision to replace the Commander-in-Chief of the Pakistan Army and the Commander-in-Chief of the Pakistan Air Force. Both of them have been replaced by officers who are familiar with the Armed Forces and who have worked with them with devotion and with splendid record. The replacements have been made on merit and in the highest consideration of the country and the Armed Forces.

### **OBSOLETE POSTS**

By now you must have heard that Lt.-General Gul Hassan, who resigned this afternoon, has been replaced by Lt.-General Tikka Khan and that Air Marshal Rahim Khan has been replaced by Air Marshal Zafar Chaudhry. From today we

will no longer have the anachronistic and obsolete posts of Commanders-in-Chief. Every wing of the Armed Forces that is Army, Navy and the Air Force will be headed by a Chief of Staff. This is the practice in many countries and this practice has worked successfully in those countries. And I believe that it will work with success in our Armed Forces as well. So, we have changed the colonial structure of the Armed Forces of Pakistan and injected a truly independent pattern into this vital service.

### **VALIANT ARMY**

We are determined to have a new vigorous institution of the Armed Forces. We are absolutely determined to have it. We are determined to have an invincible Armed Forces. I know that Pakistan possesses the material to have a strong and a valiant army. We have had in the past a strong and valiant army and we are determined to restore that position. It must again become the finest fighting machine in Asia. This we must do. This is a sacred task. It is a sacred undertaking and you will see that with the passage of time this will be done. And so it is in this spirit of supreme national interest that these reforms, these changes were necessary. As I have said the structure has been changed and the Heads of the three Services are dedicated individuals, who will now direct all their energies to the promotion of their services, of bringing them to the highest contemporary standards. This task shall become their ceaseless endeavor and night and day they will have to direct their talent and energies to build this great machine. And you must remember, my friends and compatriots, that the people of Pakistan and the Armed Forces themselves are equally determined to wipe out bonapartic influences from the Armed Forces. This is essential for the promotion of high standards of the Armed Forces. It is essential so that these tendencies never again pollute the political life of this country.

### **BONAPARTIC INFLUENCES**

Bonapartism is an expression which means that professional soldiers turn into professional politicians. So, I do not use the word bonapartism. I use the word bonapartic because what has happened in Pakistan since 1954 and more openly since 1958 is that some professional Generals turned to politics not as a profession but as a plunder and as such, the influences that crept into Pakistan's socio-political life destroyed its fabric like the influences of bonapartism that had affected Europe in the 18th and 19th centuries. But come what may, these bonapartic influences must be rooted out, in the interest of the country, in the interest of Pakistan of tomorrow, in the interest of the Armed Forces and the people of Pakistan. So, that is why these hard decisions had to be taken and I am certain that the whole nation will rally round it and everyone in the Armed Forces from the ordinary *jawan* to the senior officer and right down the rank will understand it and take it in the spirit in which this decision has been taken.

I have recently had a long session with General Tikka Khan. I have given him my ideas and my thoughts on the subject of improving the morals and the standard of the Pakistan Army. Likewise, I am going to have a similar meeting this evening with the new Chief of Air Staff, Air Marshal Zafar Choudhry and I hope that we can have an equally constructive meeting. I had a similar meeting with the Chief of Staff of the Navy.

### **TENURE OF OFFICE**

You must also know these structural changes. We have decided that the tenure of the Chief of Staff will be a fixed tenure and under no circumstances will there be extensions of that tenure. It will remain a fixed tenure and at the conclusion of that there will have to be a new person replacing the present incumbent. Only in this way can new blood and fresh ideas and talents begin to flow and not be bottled up because it is necessary for new ideas and for new men to take charge over a period of time. This is also both in the interest of the Armed Forces and the nation.

### **MORE OFFICERS RETIRED**

As far as Air Force is concerned we have to have a few more changes because on taking over on the 20th December I announced changes in the Armed Forces. A number of Army Generals were retired on the 20th of December and thereafter some others were retired. In the Navy also we had retired the dead wood. And it is necessary to do the same for the Air Force. So not only is the Commander-in-Chief of the Air Force being relieved- of his duties, but in addition to that I have retired today Air Vice Marshal Yousuf, Air Vice Marshal Khyber Khan, Air Commodore Abdul Kader, Air Commodore Salahuddin, Air Commodore T.S. Jan and Group Captain Syed Mansur Ahmed Shah. These officers also stand retired from the Air Force.

Recently we have had a number of problems. Very important developments have taken place. We have faced one difficult position after another. We are still in a state of war. It is still a tenuous ceasefire. Augmentation of forces continues.. Nevertheless, in spite of the fact that the nation is still in a state of war, there have been certain unpleasant internal developments.

### **POLICE STRIKE**

The most unpleasant of them all was the recent police strike, the first of its kind in our country and if I am not wrong first of its kind in the sub-continent, as far as I can remember. It is being called a strike but in plain and simple language, it was a mutiny and the mutiny at a time when the Armed Forces are facing the enemy, a mutiny at a time when Pakistan is facing genuinely its gravest crisis. So it has been an unpleasant and a painful spectacle to witness. But we faced it and how did we face it. We did not run away but we faced it with the power of the

people with your power, my friends. We faced them with the strength of the people and I congratulate and salute the gallant and brave people of Lahore for having responded to the call of the Governor of Punjab, and the way in which they faced this problem was simply magnificent. So the strike is off and as far as we are concerned, we want to close this chapter 'for all times. We do' not want to remember it or recall it. It is finished.

### **POLICE REFORMS**

I want to assure the police that whatever their motives and I know the inspirations that were behind this mutiny, there were certain elements working for it for over a month. It did not happen suddenly. These things do not happen in a flash of a minute on such a large scale. However that is gone. We are prepared to turn a new leaf. We are prepared to forget it. The police are indispensable, they are essential. They have certain genuine grievances. I admitted this on the first day of taking over the office and we have been working on police reforms. You will hear these reforms soon. They will be in the interest of the police. Certain reforms we have already announced and others will follow very soon. And I appeal also to the public that now let us build a new relationship between the administration, the police, the civil servants and the public.

I believe that there is a mental change now and this mental change will be reflected in the dealing that the administration has with the public. So, I request the public as well to embark on this new spirit of cooperation and that with this cooperation security will return to the land and both the administration and people will work for a common deal and a common objective and that is the welfare and progress of Pakistan.

### **LAW AND ORDER**

This brings to me to the question of law and order, and when I speak of law and order, I can never speak only of colonial concept of law and order. Law and order is to be respected and people respect law and order only when the law is in the interest of the people. Not when the law is oppressive. We have no intention of having oppressive laws for the community, for the common man or for any one else, for that matter. We want laws which are the instruments of progress for the people. And law is an essential framework for all societies. It becomes necessary for individuals to discipline themselves within the concept of this framework provided the law is not oppressive and is directed for their welfare.

### **DISCIPLINE**

We are gradually implementing such legislation step by step. But now in the context of law, an order has to be maintained. I am sure all of you will agree with me that the time has come when we should exercise discipline. We should not

swing from one end of the pendulum to the other. We should not either become mute and silent spectators and in a changed situation go to the other end of the pendulum and revolt against everything and take every matter to the streets. So, I think in this matter people at large will agree with me that a balance has to be struck.

While the Government is ever ready and receptive to the people's grievances—it will always remain sympathetic to their legitimate demands—it cannot on the other hand allow itself to be coerced and permit individuals to take the law into their own hands and to indulge in violence and incite people to commit murders. This kind of planned anarchy cannot be tolerated and common man is truly getting fed up with it. Truly getting disgusted with it. So, now let me assure you that the changes that we have made, we have the machinery, and efficacious machinery, to deal with the law and order problems if people try to take things out of hand and to destroy the national fabric especially at a time like this.

### **NO THREAT**

I am not threatening anyone. I am the last person to threaten our people. I am one of you. I have repeatedly appealed to you. I have repeatedly said for heavens sake prevent these demonstrations. Put an end to them. Come to the Government and air your grievances to us. We will do what we can, what is in our power. But instead of that still in some places, "gheraos" and concept of 'jalaos' is unnecessarily continuing. Please give us a little time for matters to settle down. Now I tell you in all earnestness to please put an end to it, because the State cannot stand and see the ordinary norms, the ordinary standards of decent living being brought to naught.

I know that you will heed my advice because I am making it in your interest and making it in the supreme interest of the State. I do not want to say anything more on it. I think you have got my message. You understand what I mean.

### **POWs**

I hope soon we will be able to embark upon negotiations with India and in the course also with Sheikh Mujibur Rahman. I am looking forward to these negotiations and I can assure you that we will be animated by the sincerest desire to live in peace, to bring an end to hostility, to turn from the path of conflict and conflagration to the path of cooperation with honour, of course, a kind of cooperation which can for both the countries, and for all of us in the sub-continent, bring about tranquility and a measure of contentment and satisfaction. On our part we will make every effort to arrive at such a *modus vivendi* and in this connection the plight of our prisoners of war in India is a matter of supreme interest to all of us.

I have not publicly spoken on this matter for certain self-evident reasons and I have explained these reasons to the affected families whenever they have met me. But we have made relentless diplomatic efforts. The Indians also know because of the demonstrations here and various connected factors that this is an important issue, an extremely important issue. Now, the Indians can look at this matter in two ways. That this is the issue that really hurts Pakistan, so let us use it as a lever to extract the last drop of blood out of Pakistan. On the other hand if they have vision, and if they also look to the sub-continent, of peace and tranquility, then I think it will be in the fitness of things if the Government of India were to show this vision by detaching this problem and by taking an initiative of goodwill like we took a number of initiatives of goodwill without, bargaining and without conditions.

### **INITIATIVES**

India is the bigger country and India today is in a happier position. So I think they can take more initiatives than we can. But we have taken important initiatives, I do not want to mention them, you know them. So we hope that animated by the same consideration, India too seeks cooperation and prepares the climate conducive for negotiations by releasing our POWs and detaching them from the main burden of negotiations. Perhaps this is asking for too much, but perhaps it is not. Times have changed, the situation has changed and I think that this submission or this thesis of mine will not fall on deaf ears. I am confident that it will be considered with all its implications.

### **NAP & JUI**

And at home also, we have to have serious and earnest negotiations among ourselves. Tomorrow, *Inshallah*, I hope to have negotiations with the leaders of NAP and JUI. We meet tomorrow at 1030 and I am prepared to have protracted negotiations. We can listen to them. We have an open mind. We are prepared to consider their point of view. It is a legitimate point of view, but we hope that in the same spirit they will consider our difficulties also with an open mind and in the spirit of give and take which is the essence of democracy. I hope that we can come to a settlement. I do not see why we cannot come to a settlement. They want a constitution. We want a constitution. They want genuine autonomy for the provinces. We want genuine autonomy for the provinces. They want economic salvation of the people; we are striving to have economic salvation. There is only one beastly problem that unfortunately comes in the way, and that is the curse of Martial Law. We want to lift it. Believe me my dear friends; we want to lift it as soon as possible. We want to lift this stigma, this curse of Martial Law.

But I want to tell the people, I want to tell our friends, who meet us tomorrow, that there are certain cogent reasons that for a short period of time, for a brief

period of time, it is needed in the country's interest, not in our interest. And we hope that we can convince them that they should give us this brief period of time, so that we can lift it with satisfaction that we will never have to return to it and that Pakistan will not face a greater crisis if it is not lifted or if it is lifted. It is only a question of timing and it is not a question of timing for a millennium.

### **MARTIAL LAW**

It is a question of short period of time needed in the country's interest, not in my interest. I do not need Martial Law. My party does not need Martial Law. We have majority in the Assembly. I know all that. But at the same time I do not want to take a decision that afterwards history will say that I took a wrong decision under pressure and it brought about the end of the national edifice. I don't want that stigma on my name. So I want to talk to them and I will talk to you also. I will talk on the 19th of March in Lahore to the citizens of Lahore and I will speak on these matters. But there is nothing that really divides us.

I am wedded to democracy. I have fought for democracy. I know the values of democracy. Democracy brings about the flowering of the people. I admit all these things. *I have never broken my pledge with the people of Pakistan.* I am determined to keep this promise as well, because this is a fundamental promise. There is no quarrel between us. I remember that I struggled for it and wanted the lifting of Martial Law. But at that time half the country was not in the hands of India and the other half was not in the mess in which we find it today. And as I have said, it will be lifted soon. It is only a question of time, a time factor is involved. Should Pakistan face a grave crisis? Should we have threats of movements only on a procedural question of the time factor? I think you should judge this matter. I don't think that you will think that I am lying to you. Why should I lie to you? I have never lied to you. I don't want to lie to you. I am telling you the truth. For a brief period of time, I hope my friends will accommodate us on this small matter.

### **NATIONAL ASSEMBLY**

President Yahya Khan was going to give a constitution to the country in which Martial Law was going to give him veto power over everything else. He was going to retain the powers of President, Martial Law Administrator and Commander-in-Chief in the constitution. And at that time nobody threatened with a movement. They all called him a 'Mujahid.' Nobody was on the war path. Only we, our party, were on the war path. So, please be fair. You have to be fair. We must be fair and objective.

I have the greatest respect for the leaders who are demanding the withdrawal of Martial Law. This is my demand too. They say Martial Law murdabad, I say Martial Law murdabad. When have I said Martial Law zindabad? But the

question is that listen to me as well. I am your leader, you have reposed confidence and trust in me. Therefore, trust my judgment for this brief period of time. That is all. When have I said I want to frame the Constitution of Pakistan? Under no circumstances I want to frame the Constitution of Pakistan. That is the responsibility of the National Assembly of Pakistan. The National Assembly of Pakistan will frame the Constitution of Pakistan. Who says that I want a one-party rule in Pakistan? If I wanted a one-party rule would I have lifted the ban on the National Awami Party on the 20th of December? A person who wants a one-party rule would not have unilaterally lifted the ban on the NAP on 20th of December. These are calumnies.

## **PROVINCES**

Let us be fair to one another. Let us be fair to Pakistan. The whole world is watching us. So many nations are saying, has this country not learnt a lesson yet? So let us learn our lesson. We are going to work together. Under no circumstances I want a confrontation with the political forces of this country. Under no circumstances I want to do injustice to the two provinces where we are not in a majority. We have an absolute majority in the other two provinces. The other parties do not have an absolute majority in those provinces, but then we do not want to do any injustice to these provinces. These Provinces are part of Pakistan. The majority will form the Governments there. I have said that umpteen times. There should be some trust, some belief, and that is why this afternoon, in spite of all the other work I had, I went in and called on the leader of the National Awami Party in the Intercontinental Hotel and I assured him that tomorrow we will meet. We will meet with an open mind. This is my promise to you. This is my promise to them. With an open mind we can arrive at an agreement.

## **MISSION**

It takes two parties to come to a settlement, and, *Inshallah*, I am determined to come to a settlement because, I do not want to rock this boat. This boat is sufficiently rocked already, and it is so sufficiently rocked that many people who are now threatening to do all sorts of things never in the past threatened any one. I am not referring to the National leaders when I say this. Because, everyone knows that the situation in Pakistan is too delicate, so every one has become a "Tees Markhan". But when situations are normal it is at that time when one should become a gallant "Tees Markhan". But today, I tell you that we can come to a settlement in the interest of Pakistan, to save Pakistan, to save the people of Pakistan. That is my only mission. That is my only devotion. I have no other mission, I have no other devotion and I know that the people of Pakistan will trust me in this undertaking.

*Assalaam-o-Aliakum*



## **“NEW ECONOMIC ORDER”**

*President Bhutto's address to Industrialists and Businessmen at Rawalpindi on March 5, 1972.*

Pakistan is confronted with an acute crisis. The enemy stares us in the face on our soil. Internal dissensions and rivalries continue to sap our energies. A sense of defeat and demoralization has gained ground. We need to regain our national pride and a new focus of patriotic objectives. We have to restore a basic sense of harmony through the equitable distribution of income and wealth, and effect a general reconciliation by consensus and consultation instead of provocation and confrontation.

### **VIABLE ECONOMY**

These tasks have to be pursued at various levels and in diverse ways. But the foundation of this national effort would have to be renewed dedication to build a strong and viable economy which lends strength to and has the support of the masses. We need a strong economy as the fountainhead of national strength which alone can win for us a respectable role in world affairs. We also need this strong economic base for building new economic order which the People's Party promised in its election manifesto.

It is imperative, therefore, that while we are still occupied with questions of immediate import in the political field and while we are carrying out urgent reforms, we must simultaneously harness our large resources in men and material towards building our economic strength. The emphasis on economic development is not to divert our attention from other tasks but to strengthen our efforts to find an honorable solution of our problems.

While East Pakistan remains under enemy occupation our efforts would' have to be confined to West Pakistan.

### **MORE EXPORTS**

An immediately difficult situation exists because the economy has yet to absorb the shock of break in the traditional economic links with East Pakistan. Imports that used to come from East Pakistan have to be replaced. New markets have to be found for goods that used to be shipped to East Pakistan. This makes it more difficult to cover the gap in our balance of payments. An all out effort must be made to increase our exports by Rs. 150 to Rs. 200 crores over the next two or three years in order to lay the foundation of a self-reliant economy.

Over the last couple of years the level of investment has been stagnant in Pakistan. Public investment had to be curtailed as more was needed for East Pakistan. Private investment was discouraged by a climate of prolonged economic and political uncertainties. We have got to move the economy out of this rut and restore its growth and buoyancy. Both the public and private sectors have a role to play in this challenge for survival.

### **MIXED ECONOMY**

We visualize a mixed economy for Pakistan. Private initiative and enterprise has a distinct part to play in this national rebuilding. The Government would lay down conditions for the specific role which private sector can play. This role and this objective have been spelt out earlier. We would never again tolerate cartels and monopolies. We expect, and demand, come what may, a cooperative attitude towards implementing the labour policy of the Government. We would never allow in the future the wealth of this country to leave its shores.

Those patriots who are willing to abide by these national conditions are welcome to invest in the broad categories of industries which have been left to private enterprise. Such persons would be liberally assisted by Government. Government managed sector of industry is relatively small. It embraces mainly heavy and basic industries and public utilities. These are areas which must be controlled and managed by Government in the larger interest of Pakistan. The remaining field of industrial enterprise has been left wide open for the private entrepreneurs. This includes Textiles, Sugar, Newsprint, Matches, Pharmaceuticals, Vegetable Ghee and a host of other lucrative industries. In particular, Government would welcome private effort in respect of export oriented industries based on local raw materials. A devoted and determined endeavor will be made to offer facilities and incentives to foster a rapid export-led growth of the economy. This is the indisputable infrastructure.

### **COMMON ENDEAVOUR**

I hope this clear declaration of policy puts to rest all uncertainties and misgivings. We are resolutely dedicated to the sacred objective of achieving a great and expanding economy. This is a national mission and it must succeed. In this context it is essential to move into the less developed ramparts and break new ground to bring to our land new bounties of our times. Do not over-crowd big cities. This is the warning of tomorrow, of air pollutions and of congestion injurious to the mind and the body. If as pioneers and patriots you open up to build on new ground the industrial power of the country, the people will admire your initiative and zeal and surely lend you their own strength in the achievement of this common endeavor.

The supreme objectives of Government during the coming years would be to do its utmost for less developed regions. Our progress of the past was distributed wrongly not only in terms of social classes but also geographically. Provinces of NWFP and Baluchistan have remained considerably neglected. There are also large tracts in Sindh and Punjab that have not benefited from the economic policies of the past governments.

### **REGIONAL DEVELOPMENT**

We simply cannot afford this lop-sided development. We have paid a dear price for our past mistakes in regional development. We have to develop a bold and visionary approach for a more balanced growth of society.

Baluchistan is our least developed province. In the past, development budget for the province was made with a view to giving the province a slightly higher percentage of the share in total development than would be justified on the population basis. This is hardly an adequate approach. We should not let the progress of this province suffer because of financial constraint. I have ordered that next year's development programme should be formulated for Baluchistan taking into account all the available schemes which are found feasible and which are ready for implementation. To make this possible, the provincial planning authorities should work on the assumption that their allocation for development would be double as compared to what was available this year.

I hope this would bring about an immediate change in the development outlook of Baluchistan. But, more important, I have asked experts to formulate a grand blueprint of longer term development of Baluchistan.

### **BALUCHISTAN**

First priority for the large tracts of Baluchistan is to open these up. For this purpose it is vital that a comprehensive scheme for development of an integrated transport system is formulated. The rail and road system should cover the remotest part of Baluchistan linking them with other provinces. This transport network should also have an independent outlet to the sea. In this connection, I have given directions that steps may be initiated immediately to prepare the project for the construction of a new port at a suitable site on the Baluchistan coast.

Though Baluchistan is known to be rich in minerals of all kind, there has been little exploitation of the mineral resources of the province. The geological survey of this province must be accelerated. The Geological Survey of Pakistan should also investigate the location of underground water resources which are specially valuable for this arid zone. Immediate action is necessary for exploitation of known mineral deposits in the province including the iron ore at Chil Ghazi.

This will provide much needed employment opportunities for the people of this great province.

### **SUI GAS**

Baluchistan is the home of Sui Gas. The most important source of power in Pakistan comes from Sui.

It is shameful to admit that despite this factor Baluchistan is woefully deficient in power generation. There is a moral and an economic need for making sui gas available to the people of Baluchistan. The power house at Quetta will have to be expanded without delay. A number of small power houses will have to be established in far flung areas to meet local needs and to promote both agriculture and industry.

I have already initiated action on the formulation of a detailed plan for deep sea fishing along Makran Coast. Exploitation of this important resource has considerable potential for augmenting our export earnings. It is intended to develop fishing terminals along the coast and acquire a large fleet of fishing trawlers. Coastal processing installations would be developed for canning and freezing of fish.

### **PROJECTS**

These long-term projects would take some time in getting on the ground. In the meantime, the larger allocation being made for next year should be used for meeting urgent social and economic needs, particularly for quickly completing work on water supply and irrigation schemes.

The Government has decided to provide special assistance to Baluchistan for education. The implementation of the proposal to set up a University at Quetta would be taken in hand next year.

### **N.W.F.P.**

In NWFP, though the economic progress has been better than in Baluchistan, there is need to accelerate the process. It has been decided that the NWFP Government would be provided 50 per cent larger amount for its development programme compared to this year.

A major new thrust of development effort has to be made in the tribal area. The tribal people have long been denied many of the benefits which are easily available to settled districts. This Government cannot tolerate such invidious distinctions. Both the Tribal Development Corporation and the NWFP Government have been instructed to intensify the programme for tribal development. A comprehensive plan is being undertaken to open up the tribal

areas by a large road construction programme with the willing cooperation of the people of the tribal area. As these areas open up, services like school-education, medical facilities, water supply and electricity would be extended to the tribal belt. Sui gas would have reached Peshawar by next year.

### **PRIORITY**

NWFP has been comparatively backward in industrial development. The province has a reasonably developed infrastructure of power and communications and has a sturdy and hardworking labour force. There are no strong reasons why it should not attract industrial investment. This province will be given priority in location of public sector industrial units. Every incentive will be provided to private entrepreneurs' to make industrial investment in this province.

The water availability in the province of NWF for agriculture and other uses poses a serious problem. The Government will seek to provide increased irrigation facilities through pump irrigation and tube wells with suitable support in the form of subsidy from the Government.

### **DERA ISMAIL KHAN**

Dera Ismail Khan is a less-developed part of the Frontier Province. The Gomal Dam Project which is designed to benefit the people of this region has been delayed too long. The Government is endeavoring to expedite the completion of this project and generally improve the conditions of the people but it will take a little time. Whereas twenty-four years have rolled by in friction and in fear, when so much precious time has been lost to see another generation pass by in rags and discomfort, a sufficient period of time should be allowed to this Government for the poor to inherit the bounties and benefits of egalitarian planning.

There are vast tracts in the provinces of Sindh and Punjab which have not received benefit of development in the past. This is generally true of the right bank of the Indus. The Government's new development priorities will be reflected in road construction programme, provision of electricity and a comprehensive programme to fight the menace of water logging and salinity in these and other affected regions of Punjab and Sindh.

### **TANGIBLE RESULTS**

These are by no means exhaustive lists of development ideas on which work would be carried out. I merely wish to convey to you the sense of urgency with which the problem of less developed regions is to be pursued by my Government. We would give the development process a mighty new push. The people will judge us not by these words but by the results. We are determined to give the nation tangible results. We are determined to wipe out every tear from

every eye. We are determined to see a clean new breed of young children studying studiously in schools, and with a modern mind in the universities with a sense of national purpose. We are determined to see the common man come out of degradation. It is his world and it has been denied to him for too long. In these miserable conditions, can we leave our motherland in pain and anguish? We are answerable to God. What answers will be given on the Day of Judgment, if our children weep in hunger, if our manhood is denied employment, when the mother and sister of the poor have never envisioned the ray of hope, when they have no idea of what it means to have shelter and have not broken bread either in the morning or at night, when the penniless have no idea of how warm a blanket can be in the winter, or what it means to sleep on a bed with a pillow. How can we tolerate such a state of affairs? Now you should know that I am not against you, I am against the system. Let us join hands, your powerful ones and my meek ones, to enter the battle against the system. The picture is now clear to you. The inevitable uncertainty has ended. Take a great leap forward, you pioneers of industry. Give shape to our future development in such a way that every province and every people will prosper in such a way that the nameless ones will tell you "God bless you." Is there any wealth greater than this blessing?

## PPP-NAP/JUI TRIPARTITE ACCORD

*President Bhutto's address to the nation on Radio and TV regarding the settlement between Pakistan People's Party, the National Awami Party and the Jamiat-ul-Ulemai Islam on March 6, 1972.*

Although I am against frequent appearances by Head of State on Radio and Television networks, nevertheless, it falls within my responsibility to inform the nation about important developments. It so happens that a number of such developments have taken place in the past few days, necessitating my troubling you again tonight. I hope you will bear with me.

In order to overcome the political tensions generated by the misdeeds of the past decade or more, you know that, among other initiatives, on the 4th of this month we opened negotiations with the National Awami Party and the Jamiat-ul-Ulemai-Islam, the majority parties in the North West Frontier Province and in the Province of Baluchistan, with a view to reaching a settlement. These negotiations have been watched with concern by the nation. It is for this reason that I must inform you of the settlement that has been reached today.

### TERMS

The terms of the settlement are clear, without ambiguity and do not require any interpretation or elaboration. The terms, spelling out the positions of both sides and the final accord, are:

1. (a) The Pakistan People's Party (PPP) proposed that a short session of the National Assembly should be convened on April 21, 1972, for a period not exceeding three days.

(b) The NAP/JUI proposed that the National Assembly Session be convened on March 23, 1972.

(c) It was settled that the summons to the members should be issued on March 23, 1972, and the National Assembly Session should be convened on April 14, 1972, for a period not exceeding three days during which time the matters specified at paras 2, 3 and 4 below will be voted upon.

### INTERIM CONSTITUTION

2. (a) The PPP proposed that the National Assembly should meet for the purpose of endorsing an interim Constitution on the basis of the Government of India Act, 1935, read with the Independence Act, 1947, with consequential amendments, or on the basis of the 1962 Constitution with consequential amendments.

(b) The NAP/JUI proposed that the Interim Constitution should be passed on the basis of the Government of India Act 1935, read with the Independence Act, 1947, with consequential amendments.

(c) It was settled that an Interim Constitution would be prepared on the basis of the 1935 Act read with Independence Act, 1947, with consequential amendments, and that there should be a debate not exceeding 3 days at which only party leaders or their nominees would speak. The parties for this purpose would be: Pakistan People's Party, Pakistan Muslim League (Qayum Group), Jamiat-ul-Ulemai-Islam, National Awami Party, Jamiat-ul-Ulemai-Pakistan, Pakistan Muslim League (Council), Jamaat-e-Islami, Pakistan Muslim League (Convention), one representative from the independent MNAs of tribal areas, and one representative of the remaining independent MNAs.

### **VOTE OF CONFIDENCE**

3. (a) The PPP secondly proposed that the National Assembly on being convened on the 21st April, 1972, pass a vote of confidence in the Government and approve and confirm the continuation of Martial Law till August 14, 1972.

(b) The NAP/J U I proposed that Martial Law should be continued till June 7, 1972.

(c) It was settled that there could be a vote of confidence in the Government and approval of continuation of Martial Law till August 14, 1972.

### **DRAFT**

4. (a) The PPP thirdly proposed that the National Assembly on being convened for the short session should appoint a committee of the House to draft a constitution to be presented on August 1, 1972.

(b) The NAP/JUI proposed that the Draft Constitution should be presented by July 1, 1972, and that the National Assembly should be reconvened on July 7, 1972.

(c) It was settled that the report of the committee on the constitution should be submitted by August 1, 1972.

### **NATIONAL ASSEMBLY**

5. (a) The PPP proposed that when the National Assembly was reconvened on August 14, 1972, it should act only as a constitution-making body to ensure the early framing of the constitution.



(b) The NAP/JUI proposed that when the National Assembly meets on August 14, 1972, it should also act as a legislative body after August 14, 1972.

(c) It was settled that after August 14, 1972, the National Assembly should act both as a constitution-making body and as a legislative body till the permanent constitution comes into force. It was reiterated that the powers of the President in pursuance of the declaration of emergency will continue till the emergency is lifted.

### **PROVINCIAL ASSEMBLIES**

6. (a) The PPP proposed that the Provincial Assemblies should be convened after the passing of the Interim Constitution i.e., on May 1, 1972.

(b) The NAP/J U I proposed that the Provincial Assemblies should be convened on April 10. 1972.

(c) It was settled that the Provincial Assemblies would be convened on April 21, 1972.

7. It was accepted that the Government both at the Centre and in the Provinces would be formed on the basis of parliamentary majority.

8. It was accepted that till the new constitution comes into force, a person elected as a member of more than one Assembly would be permitted to retain his seat in both the Houses till the constitution is finally passed. Similarly, the President, the Vice-President, Governors, Ministers and Advisers both at the Centre and the Provinces will retain their seats in their respective Assemblies.

### **GOVERNORS**

9. (a) The PPP proposed that the present Governors should continue till the new constitution is passed, but after the Interim Constitution is passed they would cease to be Martial Law Administrators.

(b) The NAP/JUI proposed that after the Provincial Assemblies are convened, the Governors may be appointed in consultation with the Chief Minister. Meantime, from today till the convening of the Provincial Assemblies the Governments in NWFP and Baluchistan should be given to the NAP/JUI.

(c) It was settled that until the permanent constitution is framed by the National Assembly, the Central Government should continue to have the right, as in the past, to appoint Governors in the provinces but by way of compromise the Central Government would, during the interim period, also appoint the Governors in consultation with the majority in the two aforesaid provinces.

10. It was accepted that in the North West Frontier Province and the Province of Baluchistan, the majority parties are NAP and JUI and they will be entitled to form the Governments in these two Provinces.

11. The PPP proposed that the date for local bodies elections should be fixed as early as possible after the Provincial Assemblies are convened and that the elections in all the provinces should be on the same date. This was agreed to and the elections would be held on an agreed date soon after the convening of the Provincial Assemblies.

### **LIFTING OF ML**

12. The President would announce today that Martial Law would be lifted on August 14, 1972.

I am happy to state that in our discussions, when I explained to these leaders some of the imperatives for the retention of Martial Law, they appreciated our genuine difficulties and agreed that Martial Law should continue till 14th August 1972. I want categorically to inform the nation that the curse of Martial Law which has haunted us for so long will be buried forever, Insha-Allah, on 14th August 1972.

As a political being, I have always subscribed to the fundamental principle that political problems need political solutions. I have strained to the ultimate to ensure the success of these negotiations. We have acted in a spirit of adjustment which is the essence of democracy.

As the leader of the majority party both in the National Assembly and in the two provinces of Punjab and Sindh, I have considered it my duty to keep in touch with other political leaders as well.

We will continue to maintain a positive dialogue with all relevant political forces, giving to each the importance and respect due to them. The settlement reached today demonstrates that we are not dogmatic either in attitude or approach.

### **ACCORD**

Since the word alliance- has been used before, not without causing unnecessary misunderstandings, I would like to make it clear that today the majority parties of the four Provinces have arrived at a political settlement on the crucial issues concerning the nation. The accord achieved at this critical hour does not by itself forge an alliance. One good step taken in the mood to reach agreement might however lead to other steps and with added momentum possibly to greater strides in the future. This will depend on the spirit of cooperation shown by all

sides in the framing of the Constitution of Pakistan and other related matters of national purport.

In this moment of satisfaction, looking back nostalgically, let me recall to you, citizens and friends, that in October 1967 in Larkana I wrote on the subject "Why A New Party which document later became one of our foundation papers on 1st December 1967. This is what I wrote nearly four years ago.

"It may be asked why in the circumstances is it necessary to form a new party when the main objective is to unite the existing opposition parties. A slightly deeper analysis would reveal that precisely for this reason, a new party is necessary to cement the unity of all the existing opposition parties. It will form a bridge between the existing conflicting interests and give a lead in reconciling the historical dichotomies."

I envisaged that we would be the golden bridge. With this purpose, a vigorous force was released in the form of a new revolutionary Party born in the destiny to serve the people of Pakistan. Today we have passed through the dark tunnel and I see the golden bridge.

## EDUCATION TO UNITE THE NATION ON THE BASIS OF MIND

*President Bhutto's address to the nation on Radio and Television regarding new Education Policy on March 15, 1972.*

Tonight, it is my privilege to address you on a subject which is the quintessence of all civilized existence. This is the subject of education.

This is indeed a subject which concerns every individual in our country. As parents, students and teachers, as professionals and workers we all have a deep and direct interest in it. A good deal of man's outlook on education is autobiographical. The role and the responsibility of the State in this field of education is colossal. The State has to provide the structural framework, the philosophy and the motivation. The State inspires its spirit and content to national needs and international standards.

By its very nature, an educational policy cannot be final or static. Constant reflection, experimentation and reform in the thought and practice of education is an important requirement.

### PREVIOUS REFORMS

In the past, whenever any educational reforms were conceived, they were treated as highly sacrosanct and were imposed with so much rigidity as if they were the last writ of human wisdom. The result was not unexpected. The fate of all previous educational reforms was sealed by their unwarranted inflexibility. I have no intention of pursuing such a counter-productive course of action. On the contrary, I would like to assure you that the policy which I am presenting to you today will remain under continuous review and evaluation and shall go on developing further and further in the light of experience gained in its implementation. What I am giving you today is the barest minimum which, in our judgment, is long overdue in the sector of education. Matters which can be of a debatable nature such as the language policy have been left for determination by the peoples' representatives in the Assemblies.

### NEGLECTED SECTOR

Ever since we gained independence, education has remained about the most neglected sector in the body politic of our country. For a long time, the obsolete idea of producing an educated class from amongst the privileged few to constitute the elite in the country remained the corner-stone of our educational system. This was a heritage of colonialism. It was further nursed and nurtured

by the dark forces of exploitation even after independence. Even when the inevitable pressure of demands created by the growth of population and economic development necessitated a broadening of our educational system, the resources allocated to it were extremely meager. Throughout the sixties, a disproportionately high percentage of expenditure on education was incurred on bricks and mortar as compared to that on teachers, equipment and books. It is for this reason, that, in several cases, we find ourselves landed with buildings without students, laboratories without equipment, and class-rooms without teachers. The cause for this ludicrous mis-planning was the total apathy with which the subject of education was treated in the dispensation of power and patronage.

### **EQUAL OPPORTUNITIES**

In the aftermath of some unsalutary traditions we have been called upon to reshape the educational policy. We have to clear the jungles. We have to weed out the complexes sown by the past order. We have to pull ourselves out of the sloth without losing the spirit of our religion and the finer traditions of our culture. We have to look at the future in the face by building national cohesion and social harmony. We have got to change education from an elite privilege to an equal expectation. This opportunity belongs to every citizen regardless of race, religion or sex; regardless of origin or birth. On the one hand, we have to democratize education and usher in an era of universal literacy as soon as possible; on the other we have to compete in the race of higher science and technology in a world which is moving very fast towards material perfection.

### **MEANINGFUL**

We have to ensure that there is a massive shift from aimless general educational to a more meaningful agro-technical education. It is essential that a boy who drops out after Class VIII should carry with him enough skill to return to his local or ancestral vocation as a better farmer or craftsman; that a boy who leaves the school after Matric is ready to get absorbed in our socio-economic framework as a good middle-class technician or worker; and on this basis we should cater for all those who leave school to enter social responsibility. While expanding education, we must relate it, in its form and content, to the nature and scope of our economic development. Education should not be an abstract endeavor. On the contrary, it must be closely related to employment opportunities. More students mean more teachers. More teachers mean more amenities to attract them to this profession. A multiple of requirements are essential to induct a process of education which may mobilize the entire nation to lead Pakistan to a pristine place.

The new Education Policy is designed to meet this challenge. Given the necessary understanding and cooperation I am confident that this policy will, *Inshallah*, fulfill the promise it holds.

### **SALIENT FEATURES**

Here are the salient features of the new Education Policy:

1. Education will be made universal and free upto Class X throughout the country. However, due to limited resources, this will be achieved in two phases. The first phase will begin from the 1st of October, 1972 when education will be made free upto Class VIII. In the second phase, starting from 1st October, 1974, education will become free in Classes IX and X.

This will apply to all schools irrespective of whether they are run by Government or private managements.

Depending on the response and reciprocity it is anticipated that education upto Class V will become universal for boys by 1979 and for girls by 1984. Another 3 years will make education universal upto Class VIII. Under the existing resources and conditions, we have stretched out to the limit.

Whether education should be made compulsory, and, if so, upto what stage and in what manner are questions of a serious nature. Compulsion places a direct responsibility on parents to send their children to school on pain of punishment. Simultaneously, it entails an immediate obligation on the part of the Government to provide facilities for their schooling. On account of the far reaching implications in the socio-economic structure as constituted today, these issues needed to be debated and decided by the Assemblies.

### **PRIVATE SCHOOLS**

2. Privately-managed schools will be nationalized in a phased manner within a period of two years commencing from 1st October, 1972.

The scales of salary and service conditions of teachers in all privately-managed schools will, however, be brought at par with those of Government schools from the same date.

3. Privately-managed colleges will be nationalized from the 1st of September, 1972.

4. Compensation will not be paid for privately-managed schools and colleges which are nationalized. Any alienation of the property of these

institutions or any attempt to close them down after this announcement will be an offence under Martial Law.

No appointments will be made in these institutions without Government's approval after this announcement and the appointments made after 20th December, 1971 will be reviewed.

5. Government may exempt from nationalization any privately-managed school or college which, to its satisfaction, is run on a genuinely benevolent, philanthropic and noncommercial basis.

6. In addition to privately-managed schools and colleges, there is also another special class of exclusive institutions in our country. They are generally called Public Schools and include such institutions as the Aitchison College, Lahore. Most of them are wholly or substantially financed by Government. They offer a superior standard of education, but are inaccessible to the poorer section of students—however intelligent. No doubt these institutions have played their part well in the social order which had created them. But now their days are over. Today, it is unthinkable to permit an institution where access to knowledge and culture should depend on any consideration other than merit. We have, therefore decided to nationalize all Public Schools falling within this category from a date to be worked out individually with each one of them.

### **GIFTED CHILDREN**

In future, these schools will be open to gifted children from all over the country—without any reference to their financial status or social background. Students selected on merit alone will be provided entirely free education in such renowned institutions. Each school will admit gifted students from all regions of the country, and thus, these institutions which, in the past, divided society on the basis of wealth will now unite the nation on the basis of mind.

7. The existing number of Boards of Intermediate and Secondary Education is too small for the number of candidates for which they have to conduct examinations. In order to improve their working and also to provide more convenience to candidates coming from far-flung areas, five new Boards will be established at Saidu, Rawalpindi, Gujranwala, Bahawalpur and Khairpur.

8. New Universities will be opened at Saidu, Multan and Sukkur. The Agricultural College at Tandojam, the N.E.D. Engineering College, Karachi and the Sindh University Engineering College, Jamshoro will be raised to the university status. A faculty of architecture will be added to

the N.E.D. Engineering College on its conversion into an Engineering University. The Provincial Government of N.W.F.P. may, if it deems necessary, raise the status of the Peshawar University Engineering College to that of an Engineering University. Jamia Islamia, Bahawalpur will be broadened by the addition of new faculties of science and arts and converted into a University. A constituent Medical College will be added to the University of Baluchistan and faculties of Science and Rural Home Economics will be added to the Agricultural University, Lyallpur. The number of Universities would thus be doubled by 1980.

### **SPECIALIZATION**

Undergraduate faculties will be added to the University of Islamabad. A collaborative programme will be developed between the PINSTECH and the University of Islamabad so as to fully utilize the physical facilities of PINSTECH for students of Islamabad University. It will also provide an opportunity to the scientists working at the PINSTECH to give some time for teaching and guidance of post-graduate students.

9. The ill-famed University Ordinance which has caused so much avoidable unrest amongst the students and teachers will be replaced by an enlightened and progressive legislation which will democratize the working of the universities and ensure full participation of the representatives of teachers, students and parents in their affairs.

10. A University Grants Commission will be established to coordinate the programmes of the existing as well as the new universities so as to avoid unnecessary duplication and waste. The Commission will also determine the disciplines for which each University will develop centers of specialization and excellence. Such centers will include discipline like: (i) soil science, fertilizers, salinity, water-logging, irrigation and drainage, (ii) physical chemistry, analytical chemistry and macro-molecular chemistry, (iii) theoretical 'physics and solid state physics, (iv) pure and applied mathematics, (v) fisheries and marine biology, (vi) tropical architecture and construction materials, (vii) chemical engineering, petro-chemicals, synthetic fibers, oil and gas development, and other disciplines.

11. Education does not end with the passing of a school or university examination. Facilities will be created for this lifelong process through a net-work of training, retraining and adult literacy centers all over the country. These centers will be established in schools, factories, farms, union councils and other community places. In view of the fact that there are over 40 million illiterate adults in the country, the number of such centers to be established upto 1980 will be about ten thousand. The



gigantic magnitude of the problem of adult literacy and continuing life-long education will in fact necessitate the launching of a gigantic public motivational campaign.

### **OPEN UNIVERSITY**

A People's Open University will also be established to supplement these efforts by providing educational facilities through correspondence courses, tutorials, television, films, radio broadcasts and other media of mass communication.

12. A National Foundation for Book Production will be established to promote the writing, translating, printing and publishing of text books and other reading materials for students and the general public.

13. Fifty thousand People's Public Libraries will be established in villages and city wards.

14. A national Sports Trust will be created for the promotion of sports.

15 A National Service Corps will be established in which all youth between the ages of 17 to 23 will be encouraged to serve for a total period of one year after passing the Intermediate Examination. This will also constitute the base for the formation of an Adult Literacy Corps and suitable incentives will be provided to encourage participation in it.

16. In addition a number of other measures are also being taken to promote the welfare of the student community. They include a four-fold increase in the allocation for scholarships, the establishment of banking facilities for the grant of interest free loans to deserving students, establishment of Book Banks, substantial enhancement of transport facilities at low cost, and arrangements for special education for the handicapped.

17. Similarly, a number of steps are being taken to improve the status and amenities of teachers. One of the most exploited class of teachers in our society has been those serving in privately-managed schools and colleges. As I have stated, they will soon get out of their misery and will be able to enjoy the same status in terms of salaries and service conditions as those of their counterparts in Government institutions. One of the genuine and long-standing complaints of the teaching community has been the non-availability of residential accommodation to them on reasonable rent. We are planning to undertake the construction of rent-free houses for teachers on quite a large scale in the future. This should go a long way in mitigating their present sufferings.

18. These are a few of the highlights of the comprehensive educational plan we are launching. It will be explained to you in greater detail by the Minister for Education tomorrow. The operation of this gigantic magnitude can hardly be conducted through normal administrative machinery. In order to help the Central and Provincial Governments in the implementation and evaluation of their educational policies we have decided to constitute broad-based education councils at the national, provincial, district and institution levels. They will comprise of a cross-section of people representing various walks of life including students, teachers and parents. Let us hope they will gradually develop into a positive brain-trust in our nation-building endeavors.

19. Of course a new educational programme of this dimension cannot be executed without additional finance. In the very first year of this programme, the expenditure on education will almost be doubled. In future years, overall increase will be about 15% per annum. Besides normal budgetary provision, this enormous expenditure will be met by a scheme under which payment may be made in kind wherever feasible. I am sure nobody would grudge education receiving its long overdue share of national resources at this critical stage of our socio-economic development. We, on our part will make every possible effort to mobilize the resources required. On the part of students, teachers and parents, I ask for no return except an assurance that the large investment which a nation as poor as ours is making in their future must be treated as a debt of honour to the nation. Let to-morrow be enabled to enjoy the fruits of the labour, sufferings and sacrifices of today.

## **EXPECTATIONS**

From the students, the nation expects discipline and hard work. From the teachers, the nation expects devotion and dedication to their honored profession. From the parents, the nation expects their co-operation and a full share of responsibility to join hands with the Government and the people to make our educational plans a common endeavor and a common success. Education is by no means confined to the four walls of schools, and universities alone. A large—and, indeed, effective—part of it begins and ends at home. It is here, at home, that the parents can play a decisive part in the advancement of the cause of education. We are taking important steps to ensure that religious education which is compulsory upto Class X does not merely remain an isolated subject in our schools. We want to go much further and weave the values and the spirit of our Faith into the entire warp and woof of our educational fabric. It is in this respect that the parents and home-environments can play their effective part. We have the visions of an educated Pakistan. We are inspired by the thought of an

enlightened manhood in the defence of the motherland. Education holds the key to their door of progress.

Education will make the desert bloom. Let us all join hands in the battle for knowledge, in the quest for success.

***Pakistan Paindabad !***

## **“THIS IS THE PEOPLE’S ERA- WILL YOU WORK HARD?”**

*The transcribed English version of President Bhutto’s speech at Gaddafi Stadium, Lahore, on March 19, 1972.*

I have a special purpose in speaking to you today. I am addressing the people of Lahore after a long time. I made a speech at Mochi Gate on March 8, 1970. I spoke for three hours and you heard me patiently. I must take important decisions. I want your consent. Never have I acted or made decisions without consulting you. I have come to seek your advice. We must progress and advance. We have passed through a critical period. We have to overcome our problems. The world is keenly watching us. The ambassadors of other countries are here. Let them witness that we are an orderly and disciplined people. Recently the Prime Minister of a foreign country spoke and was listened to in silence by the citizens of Dacca. You must also listen to your President quietly. If a few of you cannot hear me for some reason, please restrain yourselves and allow me to proceed with the speech. Please sit quietly and hear me, and prove to the world that you are a disciplined nation. Lahore is my city. Lahore has given me honour. Lahore has supported me. I am proud of you. When I make an important announcement I come to you. I cannot forget you. With your support I have triumphed.

### **BOND WITH THE PEOPLE**

I have come here to seek your consent. I promised to maintain my contact with you. My bond with you must remain. It cannot be broken. I belong to the people and love them. They have created me. As a fish cannot live out of water, I cannot do without my people. None can break my bond with the people.

Brave citizens of Lahore, I have deep affection for you as you have love for me. I cannot forget what the people of Lahore have done for me and the sacrifices they have made for my sake. In my struggle for democracy, in my fight against tyranny and oppression, they have stood by me.

Whether I remain President or not, I shall always be close to you. We shall remain together as allies and friends.

I have spoken to you at Mochi Gate. This time I wished to address you there. But my friends advised me that Mochi Darwaza would not be able to accommodate all of you. This afternoon we have important guests with us. There are members of assembly. There are ambassadors among us.

## **GREAT UPHEAVAL**

One year ago, I spoke to you at Minto Park at the Pakistan Memorial. I had said that Pakistan would remain one. I had predicted that there would be a great upheaval in Pakistan if the talks and negotiations were not allowed to go on. We had asked for time to sort out our matters and to think over the six points. We wished to negotiate and come to some understanding. You will recall that I had two proposals. The first was that we should be given time to talk things and negotiate a political settlement. The second point I made was that the period for framing the constitution should be extended. One hundred and twenty days did not give us enough time. We asked for a little more time. It was not given. We were not consulted. The Assembly was postponed.

## **DISASTER**

We have been accused and held responsible for boycotting the Assembly. This charge is baseless. If a constitution could not be made in 25 years, it was not possible to frame it in 120 days. Later, when the ship of state began to sink, power was handed over to people's representatives. Why was not democracy ushered in after the elections? Why was power not entrusted to the people's representatives then? But, then I was accused of being power-hungry.

I did not seek power. It is God's truth that I did not seek power. But I could foresee disaster ahead of us. Yahya's coterie had no vision. They were politically blind.

I know they could not face the situation. They did not represent the people. They were bound to fail. As for power, all political parties aspire for it. I wanted power from the people and for the people, power for the worker and the peasant and the students and intellectuals.

## **DISTRESS SIGNALS**

The people of Pakistan are not weaklings. They are a brave people. Pakistan has a brave army. India must know that Pakistan has not been defeated. Army has not been defeated. It is only a system that has been defeated. A selfish, corrupt and dishonest coterie has been defeated. That coterie clung to power. The world saw what they were doing. They witnessed their cruelty. And when all seemed lost they turned to me. I had hardly arrived in New York when they started flashing distress signals saying "come back, come back, and take over. Accept responsibility."

On September 11, 1971 at the Quaid's Mazar, I had asked "when shall the eternal night disappear. When will the sun rise?" If transfer of power was delayed, the country would be destroyed. It would not be the State of Quaid's conception.

## **NOT READY FOR WAR**

On October 14, 1971, I said, "We 'do not want war". Yahya Khan wanted to know why I had said so. I said that wars could only be fought when people were ready for it. We were ready for war in 1962. We were ready again in 1965. But now the army was weakened, because democracy had been weakened. The people were flogged. Political institutions were destroyed. I had warned Yahya against war. I said Pakistan was not prepared. Then Yahya said that no one could run Pakistan. Pakistan was destroyed. It was finished. Foreign exchange was exhausted. There was no money. The Indian army was on our borders. We had no supplies. Our soldiers were badly equipped and badly clad. Then I declared, "we will run Pakistan, we will save it."

I said the ship of the State must be saved. No personal consideration or price was too high if Pakistan was to live. So we jumped into the burning ship to save it.

## **RADICAL REFORMS**

In three months we have managed to salvage it. By the grace of Allah the ship of State has now touched the shore. It is with the people's strength that we have saved it. It is with your assistance that we have saved it. We did not lose heart. What we have done in three months is unparalleled. In the last three months, we have introduced radical and significant reforms. We aim to do still more. This is not the end. Give me some time. Nothing can happen overnight. It will take time. It is not like switching on a light or taking an Aspro for a quick cure. This cure will take some time. "Gheraos" and "Jalaos" are not the answers. I appeal to the peasants to wait and watch and see. Five thousand years of exploitation cannot be remedied in a day. No possession is dearer to me than Pakistan. I have given up lands but this is a small sacrifice for the State and the people. For us Muslims the final reward will be on the Day of Judgment.

## **ERA OF JUSTICE**

We have adopted the right course and now we must proceed on the straight path. And this I pledge before the people of Lahore. I assure you more will be done. You must toil and work hard. This is the people's era. This is the age of the workers and the students. This is the era of justice. The imperialist and capitalist chapter is closed. I ask you, who waged the people's struggle? We wish to put an end to Martial Law. I always opposed Martial Law. I have often explained why it could not be abolished as quickly as I had wished. I discussed this with my friends for three days and in the end the people won and we came to an agreement. It has been good and beneficial for the country. I will always fight to defend the rights of the people. For this, I am prepared to sacrifice my flesh and blood. I will change the face of the country. In a year's time, *Inshallah*, I shall be able to feed and clothe my people.

## **CORRUPT OFFICIALS**

People say that 2,000 Government servants have been retired. But they were sucking the people's blood. They were parasites. There was a clamor for a purge. But when it took place, there have been complaints. We are in the midst of a revolution. There have been radical reforms. We want to finish corrupt and dishonest officials. We shall deal sternly with corrupt officials. We must root out corruption. There have been reforms in the field of education, law, labour and agriculture. The pay and working conditions of police have improved.

The prices of certain commodities have gone up. There has been smuggling of sugar and atta. We will put an end to all this. Poor people will get justice. We shall succeed with your help and support. We shall build a new Pakistan. We shall build Pakistan as Quaid-i-Azam had conceived it.

India has always regarded Pakistan as her enemy. They have denied freedom to the people of Kashmir. Why does not Mrs. Indira Gandhi release our POWs. Mrs. Indira professes to be our friend. Why does she not prove her friendship? Why does she not release our soldiers and civilians?

## **BIHARIS**

Mrs. Indira should free our POWs. Sheikh Mujibur Rahman has asked Indira to intervene on his behalf for the release of Bengalis in West Pakistan. Why should not Sheikh Mujibur Rahman ask us direct? Mujibur Rahman is our brother. Mujib should talk to us. We are Muslims. We have lived in the same sub-continent. Not one Bengali in West Pakistan has lost his life. The Biharis in Sh. Mujibur Rahman's Bengal are being massacred. Sh. Mujib claims to have full control in East Pakistan. The world acknowledges Mujibur Rahman as the leader of East Pakistan. If Sh. Mujibur Rahman is the true leader of East Pakistan, why are the non-Bengalis being murdered? Are Biharis worse than the Marwaris of West Bengal who are exploiting East Pakistan? Sh. Mujib must not avenge himself against the Biharis. If the massacre of Biharis is not stopped, I will not guarantee the lives of Bengalis in Pakistan. I say to Mrs. Indira that we want peace. We have fought three wars on Kashmir. We cannot forget the Kashmir dispute. Even if we forget the Kashmir dispute, the people of Kashmir will not forget it. Mrs. Indira Gandhi should talk to us. We wish to have peace in the sub-continent. Mrs. Indira Gandhi boasts that one province of India is larger than Pakistan. Let Pakistan live in peace. Let us both build up our countries. We want to live in peace and in honour.

We seek a life of peace and justice. We wish good relations with Russia. Russia is our neighbor. It is a big country. We shall cooperate if they do not interfere in our internal affairs.

## CHINA

China is our friend. China has stood by us. Our relations with China are not based on hypocrisy.

America was suspicious of our friendship with China. It does not mean we are not friendly with the United States. Now there is friendship between China and the United States. Our friendship and bond with China will stay and grow stronger. Our friendship with China is not directed against Russia. If India wishes to improve her relations with us, we are willing too. I want to assure China that there will be no conspiracy against her.

We shall never give up friendship with China. We wish good relations with Russia and good relations with America. We wish good relations with all other countries but I want your approval.

As for Great Britain, their Foreign Minister will be here this evening. He will be well received and welcomed. Let Britain not feel that we are not true friends because we have quit the Commonwealth. We shall be friendly with them but we will not go back to the Commonwealth.

We respect France and Germany. But they recognised “Bangle Desh” in a hurry. “Bangla Desh” was created by Indian guns, by Indian aggression.

## TRIBUTES

Mujib and Bhashani used to say “*Assalam-o-Ailaikum*” to our people. But the time may come when we may also say “*Walaikum Assalam*”. The time has not come as yet to say “*Walaikum Assalam*”. We shall have talks with East Pakistan. Many powers of the Middle East have supported us. Egypt and Jordan have supported us. Algeria has supported us. I salute Egypt, Syria, Algeria, Somalia, Saudi Arabia, Sudan and Iraq, Jordan, Abu Dhabi and Morocco. Our greatest tribute is to Libya. Our biggest Salams are for Libya. I change the name of this stadium after Col. Gaddafi. Henceforth it will be known as the Gaddafi Stadium.

Mao Tse Tung said that sometime wind comes from the West sometimes from the East. In Pakistan the wind blows from all sides. This is the wind of freedom. It comes from all directions. This wind of freedom will destroy the enemies of Pakistan. A strong Pakistan will emerge. A new Pakistan will come into existence. I may have to face death. I shall not forget the word of Tipu Sultan, i.e., one day of a lion’s existence is worth a hundred of a jackal. Our nation has not been defeated. This nation will prosper. This nation will progress. This will be a great nation. We shall prove our mettle. Will you work hard? Will you fight? Will you die? Do I have your vow on it?



## **“WE HAVE TURNED THE CORNER”**

*President Bhutto's message to the nation on the occasion of Pakistan Day;  
March 23, 1972.*

Pakistan Day which we are observing today is a sacred reminder of the pledge we made more than three decades ago to establish for ourselves a just and sovereign State where we would live in freedom, peace and dignity. The ideal to which we dedicated ourselves then, is just as bright today, despite the traumatic experience of the recent past : because more than a piece of land, Pakistan is an ideal and a concept which can never die.

Set-backs like the one we have experienced have occurred before in the history of nations. The measure of a people's greatness is determined by their capacity to rise and rebuild from the ashes. We have passed through a great crisis but though the crisis continues, we have turned the corner.

We have picked up the pieces and we have started to rebuild. There is a great deal to be built because of the shambles in which the military regime left the country. But I have no doubt that we shall succeed. And to succeed we will have to close our ranks and together march with determination towards the ideal which we set before ourselves under the leadership of Quaid-i-Azam.

## PEACE WITH HONOUR

*The transcribed version of President Bhutto's Press Conference at Rawalpindi on March 25, 1972.*

I cannot tell you how much we would try, how hard we tried, to mend our fences with India. We have been active on the diplomatic field; our diplomatic communications have been working at full speed.

I have toured a number of countries. Recently I have been to the Soviet Union and we have held long discussions on our relations with India and about the general situation in the subcontinent. I have not thought it appropriate to bring some of these matters out in the public, to hold a public meeting on the various issues because I don't want to further complicate the problems. Emotions are high, extremely high, and on occasions some of our people have misunderstood as to why we were not taking the public into confidence. Of course, we would take the public into confidence. At every step we will take the people into confidence but we have been working for the people's interest and for that reason at this given point of time we thought it better to approach the matter at diplomatic level and not take things out to the streets and bazars and then say something and after that the Indians say something else and then Mr. Mujibur Rahman might say something. This complicates the issues.

### DEMONSTRATIONS

Sometime whenever I travelled to Lahore and other places, the delegations of prisoners of wars' wives have met me. They feel impatient. They think that we have not been doing enough and they show their concern. Naturally, they are concerned. We have also the question of minorities in East Pakistan. We have their relations in our country; we have ethnic affinities like the Biharis from East Pakistan here in West Pakistan. And the day before I left Karachi for the Soviet Union, they came and demonstrated. I understand their feelings. The demonstrations were not arranged by us. Some time Government arranges such demonstrations. We did not arrange such demonstrations. We would not like such demonstrations, specially on the eve of my visit to the Soviet Union. It does not strengthen our hands to have such demonstrations and does not make sense. But then spontaneously people do feel affected. They get news. Views come home. They get news from the foreign Press. They get news here from the Radio. And they were tense, they were excited, they were agitated and understandably

so and I did not have the answer and told them quite bluntly that Biharis in East Pakistan are not in my control. They are not in my jurisdiction. They are in the jurisdiction of Mr. Mujibur Rahman.

### **WAR CRIMINALS**

Mr. Mujibur Rahman wants a secular, democratic State. He wants a secular, democratic State to the extent that the people who left 25 years ago are going back to East Pakistan and also businessmen and traders. If you want a secular, democratic state, certainly it is a duty to protect the lives and properties of people who have lived in East Pakistan, who have made East Pakistan their home. Twenty-five years have passed. People have grown up there. They are 25 years old now. Some of them who were born at the time of Partition, they know no other country, they know no other place. For East Pakistan, those people have come up in this generation, that is their home, that is their motherland. They do not know any other place. They do not know even West Pakistan. Some of them have never left their villages and they have grown up there and they have contributed to the development of East Pakistan, to the economy of East Pakistan. Now they have been singled out and they are being told that they collaborated with the Pakistan Army as if it were a crime to collaborate with the Pakistan Army. How is it a crime to collaborate with the Pakistan Army? As citizens of Pakistan, they had to assist one another. The point is that not only have they been accused of collaborating with Pakistan Army but now Mr. Mujibur Rahman has made a demand to try 1,500 personnel of the Pakistan Army as war criminals.

### **EYE WASH**

In the first place as prisoners of war they are now in the custody of the Indian Government. They are in India, they have been taken to India and it is the responsibility of the Government of India to maintain them and to look after them according to the Geneva Conventions. It is the responsibility of the Government of India and I am afraid that Pakistan can--not accept the position that the prisoners of war are under the joint custody of Mr. Mujibur Rahman and the Indian Government. Neither the Pakistan Government can accept this position nor can the world subscribe to such a fiction that the Eastern Command of the Pakistan Army surrendered to the joint command of Mukti Bahini and the Indian Army. That is an eye wash ; that simply would not sell ; that is a proposition which is so elementary that I think it cannot be accepted ; simply not acceptable to us ; it is untenable. And East Pakistan was dismembered from Pakistan not by the activities of these people but by the invasion of India. And the prisoners of war are a responsibility of the Government of India.

### **INDIA'S RESPONSIBILITY**

Now the Government of India takes up the stand that the prisoners of war are the joint responsibility of Mr. Mujibur Rahman's administration and the

Government of India. I am afraid we cannot take that position; we cannot accept that position. That is exclusively the responsibility of the Government of India. They have laid down their arms to the Indian forces. Dacca fell to the Indian invasion and not to the Mukti Bahini. So we did not accept this position. We cannot accept the position. So, if the Indian Government accedes to Mr. Mujibur Rahman's request to have the Prisoners of War, whatever their number, it is a matter of principle and not a question of numbers, and send them to East Pakistan for a so-called war criminal trial, I am afraid we would be reaching the point of no return. As such the trial is not going to assist the promotion of peace in the sub-continent. Positively it is going to vitiate the climate and make our difficult tasks all the more difficult, if not impossible. And in this situation please ponder a while; there is no parallel between the Nuremburg Trials, so to speak, and this situation.

### **JURISDICTION**

The Pakistan Army was discharging its primary responsibility, that is to say, to defend the unity of Pakistan. Some excesses might have been committed. We don't condone those excesses. I think on the 9th January, if I am not mistaken, in Peshawar, I said that if Mr. Mujibur Rahman feels that certain people and certain individuals have committed excesses, he could give us their names. We would make the necessary investigation and we are quite prepared to take them to task; quite prepared to court-martial them; quite prepared to punish them under our jurisdiction. But to say that the Pakistan Army, the Armed Forces Of Pakistan are war criminals is a calumny. it violates all the norms of international law and municipal law.

Pakistan Armed Forces were defending the unity and integrity of the State of Pakistan which came into being as a result of the struggle of both the people of East and West Pakistan and it was Mr. Mujibur Rahman who was being tried for secession. I cannot simply accept the position. The Government of Pakistan cannot simply accept it that anyone in the Pakistan Army was a war criminal.

### **INTERNATIONAL LAW**

When you were defending your own homeland, you cannot by any stretch of imagination draw parallel between the Nazi invasion of Europe and the defence of Pakistan by the soldiers of Pakistan. It was their territory, it was their homeland, and they were defending their motherland. So the question, the analogy, simply does not hold good, and we all know a little bit of international law and jurisprudence and we know that there is no parallel. But apart from the fact that there is no parallel even the Nuremburg Trials have not been exonerated by the whole world, by the jurists. There are two points of view and that was a clear case of war and aggression by the Nazi Germany against France, Holland, Belgium, Norway and these are sovereign States, separate altogether. And so

there was a question of trial. I am afraid that the line has to be drawn somewhere. I have gone to the edge of the precipice for the sake of a settlement.

### **GESTURES**

I have unconditionally released Sheikh Mujibur Rahman. I do not keep on harping on that but it is an important consideration in the matter. There was a vacuum, a complete vacuum in East Pakistan. There was a vacuum of leadership. East Pakistan is already in chaos which we do not like; it has been in such total chaos that the definition of chaos had been defied by the situation in East Pakistan if Mr. Mujibur Rahman had not been released. And after that we have made so many gestures and tried to promote so many gestures of goodwill. We have said we are prepared to consider the cases of people who have committed excesses. We have offered to send back Bengalis to East Pakistan; we have offered to send back the members of the armed forces; we have offered to send back civilian administrators. We are taking every measure to protect the lives and properties of our Bengali brethren in West Pakistan. We were prepared to send 28,000 tons of American rice to East Pakistan which was here. We were prepared to send 1,00,000 tons of our own indigenous rice to East Pakistan as a gift and a grant.

### **DIRECT NEGOTIATIONS**

We are the last in the world at this stage who can make gifts or grants – gifts and grants of 11 million dollars. It is not easy to have made this gesture and then on top of that to have no response from the other side, no reciprocity. Now we feel that it is not the responsibility of Pakistan alone to promote peace; it is not a one sided affair. India must also respond. Mr. Mujibur Rahman must also respond. Mrs. Gandhi said that she wanted to have direct negotiations; we welcomed it. We want to have direct negotiations; we want to bring peace to the sub-continent. I have said that repeatedly. I said that in my speech in Lahore the other day that we want to close the chapter of the past and begin a new chapter in our relations and we would like to start negotiations of these problems created by the aftermath of war, created before the war, step by step, come to a settlement, bring peace to our sub-continent. We have fought three wars but the real war we have yet to fight, that is, we are to banish poverty, and we are to fight misery and exploitation after centuries to bring progress and happiness to our people. And in this respect we were prepared to proceed forward in a spirit of accommodation, reconciliation and open up new vistas for our people. And we have told that to many friends and we have told that to our friends in Asia. We have told that to our neighbours and told that to the great powers.

### **ATTITUDE OF INDIA**

And now again the Indian Prime Minister says that there should be meeting at the official level, although at one stage she said that the meeting should be held

at the level of the Heads of the Governments. I will not be presumptuous to use the word "summit conference" because India is a great power; Pakistan is not a great power. So I cannot use the word summit conference. So I say the meeting of the Heads of the Governments level and we wanted to move fast and our progress, our bold experiments internally are also connected with the external situation. So we wanted to move very fast, bring about external tranquility and peace, concentrate on our economic development, on our reforms to make a real go of things. But not only there is a change of attitude on the part of the Government of India, but also that other things have happened. Foreign Secretary has mentioned to you the incident at Ranchi, that Pakistan Armed Forces; Pakistani prisoners of war were killed, injured. Apart from Ranchi, only yesterday, one person was shot dead. We don't know who it is. Everyone would think it is their own kith and kin and so many homes are involved. People would not know who it is, there will be wailing and there will be mourning in every home. And then the reports which have not come in the Press about the maltreatment of prisoners of war in Ambala. The Red Cross officials have not been permitted to go to these places. India promised to return our wounded and sick. We have sent their wounded and sick on the dot according to the commitment. We sent one batch but after that they refused to send the others. They say now they have to consult the Bangla Desh Government. They never told that before and various other things have happened.

### **PAK ARMED FORCES**

So I don't feel encouraged by these developments and I feel that time has come when I have to tell my people as to what is to be the future. I told you long ago that if the prisoners of war problems is to be used as a lever to extract the last drop of Pakistan's blood, I am afraid, I cannot be a party to that, because my whole struggle and my whole career is for the vindication of Pakistan's position, to have its right place, place of dignity and self respect. I have great faith in Pakistan and I believe that whatever is left of us, if that is going to be our final position, still we have a positive role to play in the affairs of Asia. And I said the other day not in the bellicose mood that I want to make the Pakistan Armed Forces one of the finest fighting machines in the world and I believe we can do it. I know some foreign journalists and some foreign papers who have laughed at it—"It cannot be done", "Pakistan has been reduced in Asia." But I believe we can do it not for any aggressive purpose but for our defence, for the need and requirement of our State.

Now the question of the 90,000 prisoners of war, India says if these prisoners of war were sent back to Pakistan, it means accretion to the strength of Pakistan Army. We are not short of manpower. We can have four more divisions, ten divisions and twenty more divisions depending upon our resources. This is not the reason either. Now there comes a time ; and I have inherited a terrible legacy;

almost an impossible legacy; I will try my best as much as a human being can try in the circumstances, but there comes a point when one cannot go beyond it. As such with all the hopes and expectations I had tried for a peaceful settlement.

### **ADJUSTMENTS**

The recent developments have not encouraged that hope and expectation. And there comes a time when you have to make a choice and I have made my choice. Either we now proceed forward in an atmosphere of cordiality, try to make adjustments, try to show the new generation that the present generation can succeed where all the previous generations failed, try to show to the world that Pakistan and India are not going to be a problem child for the international community and without any fundamental surrender or compromise because that is not acceptable. That cannot happen. We can make adjustments within their point of view and our point of view to come to a settlement to bring peace. And this has been my effort on the day I took over on the 20th and I have tried day and night to pursue that effort.

So the question is either we have an opportunity to proceed on that basis or else, I am afraid the situation will have to be re-examined with all its implications. But two things I am not going to accept. One is the humiliation of the Pakistan Armed Forces any more. I am simply not going to accept the Armed Forces of Pakistan being made guinea pigs and this is my decision and not the decision of General Tikka Khan, or General Umrao Khan or General Khudadad Khan and God knows how many Generals. This is my decision as the President of Pakistan. Do not think that I am under any pressure from any side because this man does not come under pressure.

### **NO WAR TRIAL**

It is repugnant to my sense of national self-respect and I cannot any more tolerate the humiliation and insult of Pakistan Armed Forces. I simply would not take it any more. I told that to Mujibur Rahman and told that to the Indian Government that there is a limit to my patience. I would not have the Armed Forces of Pakistan humiliated and browbeaten in this manner. I will not allow that war trial to take place on the soil of Dacca. It is simply inconceivable. I will not allow that Pakistan Army be humiliated in this way. It will be my humiliation and the humiliation of the people of Pakistan. And I tell you also quite frankly and plainly that I am not going to allow the prisoners of war issue to be made an issue for blackmail.

### **DISCIPLINE**

If India thinks that she can keep these prisoners of war indefinitely she is sadly mistaken. I know that they have been indoctrinated. I know that they have been put in different categories—Pathans in one camp. Punjabis in another camp,

other ethnic communities in other camps, but India cannot convert them into Hindus even if she tries for hundred years more.

They will return to Pakistan whenever they return as the sons of this country and I want to make it clear to the people of Pakistan that they either stand by me or I quit. I am not going to remain in office in disgrace and now they will have to accept this position with discipline. I want no more demonstrations, no more women with tears because I am full of tears myself but these demonstrations and these tears have only given a wrong impression to India and India is drawing the wrong conclusion.

### **PEACE WITH HONOUR**

If India wants to keep them for twenty years and blackmail us, India can keep them for twenty years. And if I am not acceptable I will step aside. Nobody is indispensable in this country. I will step aside but I will not accept such a position. So let us come down to realities. Accept peace with honour and stop the humiliation of my Armed Forces and my people and stop the brutal killing of my people and our prisoners of war. If our people in Pakistan can stomach that I tell them good-bye. Let them find some one else to take up the responsibility. I am not going to be the President of Pakistan in disgrace. I am not going to be the President of this country and the leader of this country to be blackmailed and brow-beaten like this. The choice is quite clear. I have left office before also which was a lesser office, but this time it was an ultimate office. I can leave this office as well. Office is not important at all. What is important is what goes down in history and that is more important. If India wants to take that attitude, she will have to either deal with another civilian President or with the military regime. And I am not going to be a party to the ignominy of Pakistan. Not possible. Simply impossible.

### **MUJIBUR RAHMAN**

So let us now re-evaluate the situation that India wants this to happen and chaos will come in the wake. There will be many explosions. There will be many thunders. So this position must proceed forward, ahead and Mr. Mujibur Rahman also must take a very sensible attitude. And it is necessary for him to take a very sensible attitude because Mr. Mujibur Rahman knows that I have not spoken at all on what discussions we had. I don't want to talk at all. And I do not want to talk on that at all because I do not want to complicate his problems. I do not want to embarrass his position. I wish him well. I want him to succeed. But at one stage in Calcutta, he said that if any one thinks of East and West Pakistan ever re-asserting the unity, they must be sent to the lunatic asylum. I do not answer that but I could have said quite a few things on that matter. I won't say that. I won't take that attitude at all with Mr. Mujibur Rahman and he knows it. In all that I won't embarrass him with all our differences. He is dealing with 77



million people of our country and we want him to succeed. But Mr. Mujibur Rahman should also know that if he pursues that matter, I will be duty-bound also to say a few things and I do not think that will contribute to the solution of the problems and also I am not talking in terms of threat. I am the last person to threaten him. I have no weapons to threaten him with. But at the same time, the record will have to be put right if it comes to that.

## **PEACE**

How can we permit the war criminals and war trials so called; simply not possible. I have suggested a way out that is they can be taken to account by us and if there is to be war trials and war crimes which is absolutely unjustified, then I am afraid we cannot move forward neither with Mr. Mujibur Rahman nor we can move forward with the Government of India. And I think you all understand our position because how much can you be banded around ; there is a limit to being banded around. Unfortunately India has never grasped the real opportunity to come to peace. If Indian leadership had grasped the real opportunity to come to peace there would have been peace in the sub-continent long ago, much earlier. But they always missed the opportunity to come to peace, perhaps they are going to miss this final one which might have brought peace to the sub-continent. That is all. I do not have anything more.

## PEOPLE'S HEALTH SCHEME

*President Bhutto's address to the members of medical profession on  
March 26, 1972.*

Ladies and gentlemen of the medical profession:

I have announced some important reforms which we have carried out in the recent past in our country. Today I am addressing you on the all-important subject of health. We are enforcing a "People's Health Scheme" the focus being on health and health facilities for the common man. I would like to emphasise that today's subject is a matter of paramount importance to us all—physical fitness of the nation, of everybody, of the peasants, and the workers, of students and other citizens, of the poor resource less men, women and children whether in cities or in villages, of particularly those in the rural areas who have suffered chronic neglect so far.

### PHYSICAL FITNESS

I would like to say that the phenomenon of poor or bad health is not merely a question of bodily infirmity which has social and humanitarian implications. It also affects in a vital manner production and productivity by either knocking a man out of work or enfeebling him due to which both quality and quantity of production suffer. I would say that all our plans of economic growth and all measures for achieving the objectives of such plans will remain doomed to failure unless the man behind the plough and machine in the factory is in a reasonable state of physical fitness. A satisfactory health plan for the nation, is, therefore, of the utmost importance not only for promoting general health but as a part of the strategy for economic development. I firmly believe that the expenditure involved shall be a big and true "Investment in Man" in this country. We hope that the People's Health Scheme will bring medical treatment within easy reach of every single man, both in terms of distance and cost.

### RADICAL CHANGE

What is more the philosophy of health facilities has been radically changed. We have evolved the concept of integrated approach to the problem of health of a community. There will be no waiting for a disease to develop and break out affecting an individual or an area. The new pattern of provision of health facilities shall begin where disease itself begins. It will tackle not only bacteria and viruses but all those factors which end up with disease—lack of health education, lack of environmental sanitation, impure water supply, inadequate and unhygienic system, to be more frank in many places total lack of any system whatsoever, for disposal of sewage and wastes, lack of attention to nutrition and

balanced diet, want of well conceived school health programmes and other related matters. In one word all the preventive and curative services shall radiate from the same Health Units or Centers with the same staff and officers having responsibility for the total health situation in the areas of their jurisdiction. This is the comprehensive integrated approach. In future all services connected with the health of a community including programmes for family planning, malaria eradication, smallpox and tuberculosis control and the like shall be provided by the same Health Units in an integrated manner. This is in consonance with current world thinking on the best manner of providing these various services and has been repeatedly emphasised for adoption by World Health Organization.

### **HEALTH UNITS**

Under this approach a net-work of Health Units shall be established all over the country at the rate of one each for every Union Council area in villages and Union Committee area in towns, not a single one of which shall be without a Health Unit after the first 4 years of the Scheme, which incidentally has been spread over a total period of 7 years for complete implementation. This will cover a population of about 10,000. These units to be called Basic Health Units will not be of the type we have known so far. Each one shall be headed by a graduate doctor, a lady health visitor and other health technicians. In Baluchistan where population is very sparse, a more liberal scale is being adopted. There will be a Basic Health Unit for every 5,000 population. All manner of people in all areas including remotest rural areas will, therefore, be covered in future by reasonably adequate arrangements for ensuring to the common man health services both preventive and curative.

Out of every 5 such Units, the 5th one in rural areas will not only provide basic health facilities like other Basic Health Units but shall be much larger with more and better staff and 10 beds. It will actually be a small rural hospital. The smaller towns also shall have such Centers which shall be called Town Health Centers.

### **SPECIALITIES**

These two types of health units will serve as tiers in the chain of the various facilities. There will be two further tiers namely hospitals located at tehsil/taluka headquarters and district headquarters. All the four tiers shall form an interlinked system of hospitals, the higher ones acting as the referral institutions. In the case of tehsil/taluka and district headquarters hospitals, the existing ones shall be treated as nucleus for expanding and improving them according to the high standards prescribed under the people's health scheme. The change in these tiers -which I have described as "Improvement" will virtually mean creating new types of institutions. The tehsil level hospitals, for example, shall provide coverage in all major specialties and the district headquarter hospitals shall provide cover in all specialties of every type including such fields as mental and

psychiatric diseases and occupational therapy, which hitherto have never been provided at district level.

### **STANDARDS**

Our plan in the health sector shall encompass all types of dispensaries and hospitals whether belonging to central or provincial Governments or to local bodies. Except for defence establishments and those inside jails, all other medical institutions shall come under the purview of the plan for overhaul and improvement. However, private hospitals and nursing homes etc. shall be allowed to continue but standards shall be prescribed for them. Provision will be made in law to require them to bring their work upto these standards within specified time failing which they may be either wound up or taken over by Government.

It shall be left to provincial governments to provincialise local body hospitals if they find it necessary. It has, however, been provided that services of doctors serving in local bodies shall be provincialised so that they are transferable and made eligible for higher training and promotions as part of provincial cadres.

### **EXPANSION**

One direct result of the plan is going to be that every qualified doctor, pharmacist and para-medical staff shall be absorbed. In fact to implement the scheme, the requirements is for a much larger number than available in the country. The other difficulty is common to all walks of our national life, namely, resources to finance projects. To overcome shortage of doctors and other staff we are providing for expansion of the facilities in medical institutions. A new medical college for Baluchistan has also been provided. The expansion will comfortably cover total requirements. In this connection some important measures are being taken to increase numbers and elevate the quality of all types of staff. The curricula of medical education shall be rationalized and reoriented to national needs with greater emphasizes on preventive and community health.

In order to ensure continuous evaluation of a student's academic performance the semester system of teaching and examination shall be adopted. A final comprehensive examination before graduation has however been retained.

We are thinking of reducing the total period of education and training of graduate doctors by one year, without lowering the standard of education in the field of medicine.

### **GOVERNING BOARDS**

Governing boards consisting of non-official and official members shall be constituted to administer medical colleges and higher medical teaching

institutions and a greater measure of autonomy in administrative and financial matters shall be given to them.

Admissions to all medical colleges shall be on merit.

The training curricula of paramedical staff have also been rationalized and the arrangements for their training shall be decentralized to district and tehsil hospitals.

### **INCENTIVES**

The second prong of attack on availability of doctors we have adopted is improvement of the pays of doctors. Special incentives have been provided in the form of increased pay and free residential accommodation for service in rural areas which are notorious for their unattractiveness for doctors. Service in rural areas shall in future also get special weight-age for higher training and promotions.

A number of incentives are also being provided to low paid staff in medical institutions. Firstly, residential accommodation shall be provided by Government to 100% of such staff. Secondly, medical facilities not given to their families at present shall be extended to the families as well. All contingent and work-charged staff in hospitals shall be made permanent forthwith if their posts are of a continuing nature.

### **NATIONAL FORMULARY**

The cost of treatment is highly inflated in this country due largely to the high prices of medicines. We intend to deal most effectively with this element. A multi-pronged attack shall be mounted on the problem. Firstly the present bewildering varieties of drugs running into thousands have been reduced to about 250 single ingredient drugs and a national formulary is being prepared on their basis of compounds whose total number will not be more than a few hundreds. The list of single ingredients and the formulary for compounds shall not be final. Arrangements are being prescribed for a Standing Committee of Experts to keep them under constant review, in accordance with advancing knowledge about ingredients and their quantification.

To make the concept of national formulary a success drug testing laboratories shall be set up in provinces and the Central Drug Testing Laboratory shall be strengthened to work as a proper appellate institution.

## **BRAND NAMES**

In future we believe that the manufacture and sale shall take place only under generic names and the present proprietary and brand names should go, eliminating thereby enormous profits at which brand names are sold.

Import of only such finished drugs and medicines and raw materials shall be allowed as are not available locally and shall be through the Trading Corporation of Pakistan.

To bring the cost of treatment down still further, the scheme lays down that Government shall take all necessary steps over a period of time to secure the manufacture of all types of medical instruments, equipment and consumable stores, such as X-Ray films within the country.

One matter which has come under repeated and widespread criticism is the evil of reimbursement to Government servants for purchase of medicines prescribed for them. We have decided to cut out the very sources of the malpractices resulting from this by abolishing the institution of reimbursement itself. In future medicines necessary for restoration of health of a Government servant shall be given to him from the hospitals themselves. There will be no private purchases by them and, therefore, no question of reimbursement.

## **PRIVATE PRACTICE**

Another matter which has been the subject of severe criticism is the abuse of permission of private practice given to some and non-practicing allowances given to others. We are going to abolish private practice by Government doctors altogether. Instead every graduate doctor from the time of entry into service shall be given an adequate non-practicing allowance.

## **FEES**

We are however, conscious of the need to keep the services of eminent specialists in various fields available to patients suffering from complicated and chronic diseases. This can be done only by allowing private practice to doctors of great maturity who are highly specialized in their respective fields and are also teachers of their subjects. To those of the specialists who fulfill prescribed requirements of age etc., institutional private practice shall be allowed i.e., they will be allowed to see private patients in Government hospitals after normal working hours. Those who opt for private practice of this type shall not be allowed to draw the non-practicing allowance. The fees to be charged from the private patients in such cases shall be prescribed and the total amount shall be so prescribed that it contains Government share with whose facilities the work has been possible as well as share of the subordinate staff who assist the specialists.

In the case of these specialists, it has been felt that permission to see the private patients at home will also be necessary. Home visits by the specialists of the prescribed category have also, therefore, been permitted but the maximum fees therefore have similarly been laid down.

Reforms are also being introduced in the field of practice by private practitioners, to whom a large majority of our people have to resort at one time or the other.

### **DISPENSING**

Firstly, a lot of members of the medical profession are at present combining consultation which is their own field with dispensing in the same premises. This shall be banned. In future private practitioners shall not be allowed to dispense medicines in their premises. They shall provide only consultation and emergency treatment in case of danger to life or grievous injury. At present many of them do not charge consultation fees which are covered by the charges for medicines dispensed. When dispensing becomes illegal, it shall be necessary to lay down the scale of consultation fees. We are going to prescribe the fees in such a manner that they are within the easy reach of the common man but are commensurate with the dignity and work involved in this noble profession. Enhanced fees shall be prescribed for home visits by private practitioners.

So much for general practitioners. Maximum fees for specialists in the private sector shall also be regulated in such a manner that they do not in any case exceed those prescribed for their counterparts in Government service.

At the same time all medicines except the ethical drugs shall in future be dispensed only on prescriptions by registered medical practitioners.

### **FAIR PRICE SHOPS**

We are also going to set up state owned drug stores at the rate of one for every 50,000 of population or more or less similar other feasible units. The intention is to keep even the reduced prices resulting from the national formulary in check through these state-owned fair price shops.

Besides allopathic system, we also have indigenous systems and their practitioners in this country. I mean the Hakims and Homeopaths. Boards for the regulation of these systems of medicine and their practice already exist. We intend to re-constitute these Boards with a view to bringing about improvement in the systems and their practice. We have not ruled out employment of practitioners of these systems even in Government service if there is appreciable demand in any particular place for the type of treatment offered by them. It will, however, be ensured that in such cases they prescribe treatment which is particularly of their system and do not have recourse to medicines and treatment prescribed under the Allopathic system. In any case we have provided that in

Government hospitals and dispensaries the man in overall charge shall always be a graduate doctor with higher qualifications in some cases.

## **PHARMACY**

One important reform which I am sure was very much needed and will be appreciated is to separate the medical service from pharmacy work for which a new service shall be created. As is well known pharmacy work in hospitals has suffered because there are no whole-time persons with requisite qualifications for doing it. In future only members of the pharmacy service shall be in charge of pharmacy work. To this service only graduates in pharmacy shall be recruited. I may point out that due to the cost involved, hospitals down to tehsil/taluka level only shall employ them as lower units cannot be burdened with the expenditure involved in having these specialized men.

## **IMPLEMENTATION**

The People's Health Scheme shall commence from the current year and its implementation shall be phased over seven years. I would like to mention very briefly the priorities in implementation. In the first year all existing dispensaries, rural and urban, Government and Local Body, which are counterparts of the new basic health units and rural/towns health centers conceived under the scheme shall be brought upto the standards laid down for their respective type of units. Secondly from the first year, higher hospitals shall have their provision for medicines increased to three times the existing provisions which are notoriously inadequate and on account of which "Aqua Pura" has very often to be added to the mixtures dispensed.

## **TRAINING**

The first year will also include commencement of the expansion work of training facilities in medical colleges and para-medical institutions. Incidentally the training of para-medical and auxiliary staff has hitherto remained restricted to small numbers because training is imparted in large cities only. It is our intention to add simultaneously training arrangements for these categories of staff at district headquarters and even tehsil hospitals, where local people shall be encouraged to avail of the opportunity to get training and join service of the nation.

The first year will see the foundation of the new medical college in Baluchistan laid.

The new and higher pays for doctors and the non-practicing allowances prescribed under the scheme shall also come into force from the beginning.



## **INTEGRATED APPROACH**

Having brought the existing hospitals and dispensaries upto the mark to serve as proper basic health units and rural/town health centers, in the next three years efforts shall be concentrated on creating all the new basic health units/rural/town health centers. At the end of four years of the scheme, the entire country shall have been covered by suitable health units providing both preventive and curative services under an integrated approach to the entire population, with a basic health unit available to every 10,000 population and 10 bed rural/town health centre for every 50,000 population.

## **INTENSIVE IMPROVEMENT**

In the remaining three years of the scheme tehsil and district hospitals shall be taken up for intensive improvement of work. Simultaneously 9 national institutes, one of each type in the country shall be established in 9 major fields such as cardiovascular diseases, communicable diseases, tuberculosis, leprosy, cancer and the like. These institutes will be medical institutions par excellence catering for advanced treatment as well as research and training of senior staff.

The total expenditure in the seven-year span is anticipated at something like 380 crores. Some 20 crores will be needed in the first year. It is our intention to introduce a special but small medical cess, the burden of which shall be placed equitably on the community.

## **COOPERATION**

Finally I would like to emphasize that our plans in the health field shall bear fruit only with understanding and cooperation on the part of the distinguished members of the medical profession. I would, to that end, like misunderstandings and misgivings, if any, to be dissipated before the People's Health Scheme is launched. That is why I had asked the Health Minister to consult all manner and shades of opinion in the medical profession as well as allied profession. I have been informed by him that country-wide consultations were held and besides a large number of eminent doctors, a variety of leaders of public opinion were also given full opportunity to express their views. All such views were duly taken into account in formulating the scheme. In fact all good suggestions coming from any quarter whatever were given due consideration and adopted wherever found feasible. Let me add that while we have spared no efforts to formulate our plans so that they are consistent with the dignity of doctors and protect their legitimate interests, the main objective of the plans cannot but be the welfare of the common man. The People's Health Scheme is in the true sense for the people. Doctors are no doubt members of a most respected profession and are the working intelligentsia of the country. But they are expected to share a little tightening of belts and a little austerity for a change just as a number of other

citizens enjoying higher income brackets are being called upon to do. Doctors whether under Government or in the private sector have to understand the benefits of these plans in their true perspective and work together to achieve the objectives envisaged in them.

## **THE FIGHT SHOULD BE DIRECTED AGAINST EXPLOITATION**

*The transcribed English version of President Bhutto's speech at Sanghar on  
March 31, 1972.*

I have come to Sanghar after a long time in fulfillment of the promise I made to the people of Sanghar two years ago. It was on this day two years ago that I came here to address the people but was prevented from doing so by a handful of nefarious people. The People's Party had launched its election campaign after restrictions on political activities were withdrawn by the then Government. We had undertaken a campaign to meet the people so that they knew fully well the political conditions obtaining in the country with the sole aim to create better political understanding of various problems of the people. In those days there was no ban on political activity, and like other Parties we were free to propagate our point of view before the people. We went to all parts of the country. I took my colleagues to Punjab, NWFP and Sindh, East Pakistan and Baluchistan. All Parties had the right to tell their view point to the people. With that end in view, I addressed the public meetings.

### **THREE PRINCIPLES**

I and my colleagues in Pakistan People's Party addressed public meetings and went to various places. On the 4th of January, I addressed a public meeting at Karachi. I said then that we will struggle afresh for building up Pakistan. I had enunciated three cardinal principles of our Party. Firstly, I said Islam is our religion ; we will sacrifice all for Islam and its glory. We want to uphold and follow the noble principles of our religion. The second principle of our party was that democracy is our objective and the third is Islamic social justice to be made available to every citizen of this country.

### **CONTACT WITH PEOPLE**

The people are the sole masters of their future. They are the sole arbitors of their destiny. These are our Party's principles and these are enshrined in our Manifesto. We charted these principles in our Manifesto from the very beginning and we continue to stick to them. This has given a power to the Party, which has endeared itself among the people. These are the principles of equality, good human behavior and humanitarianism where there is no place for injustice. We accepted these principles for the good of the poor people. Our political struggle was started with this message and went to all corners of the country. I and my colleagues went to NWFP and Punjab, East Pakistan, Baluchistan and Sindh; we went to all parts of Sindh Province. I went to every district, taluka, every village and every tapa. We have to keep contact with our people who are our friends, who are our masters. We cannot shut our eyes to them. If fragrance cannot be

detached from a flower, a fish cannot remain out of water, and then I must say: Bhutto cannot be detached from the people. I started our political campaign in Sindh from Thatta.

### **DISGRUNTLED ELEMENTS**

People listened to us intently, and considered us their real friends. From Thatta to Kotri and then to Hyderabad, Badin, Math, Tandobago, Mirpurkhas, Tandoadam and Shandadpur. You all know what I said in Shandadpur, I said we were friends of all poor people, we are against all kinds of exploitation. I have no antagonism with any person or Party. I stand for the people and that I have said repeatedly. Those who are against the poor people and common man are our enemies. With that message I proceeded to Sanghar from Shandadpur two years ago this day. Just outside this city near a petrol pump on the roadside we were stopped by the Deputy Commissioner and the S.P. who told us that people are hidden in the bushes with lethal weapons and there was risk of my life. But, I told the officers that I am from the people and people are with us. I will not be frightened by threats from the handful of disgruntled elements. I said that we are people's friends and people cannot be against us.

### **BULLETS**

Nevertheless when I was about to enter the town of Sanghar there was a rain of bullets from a bus. I got out of my car and shouted at the people who were firing the bullets not to kill the innocent people but to shoot me instead. My supporters surrounded me and in that unfortunate incident my friend and ardent supporter, Mohd. Ibrahim was killed. Our poor friend went all out to protect me. Mohd. Ibrahim gave his life to save me. I salute that brave man. I have asked the Governor of Sindh to give Rs. 10,000/- to the family of Mohd. Ibrahim. He stood for principles.

It is sad people have been neglected for centuries and time has now come when the chains of slavery have to be broken; injustice in any form will be undone. Our Party has stood by the poor people, and it will continue to do so. You know for certain that we want to serve the people and want their betterment. There should not be any fight between Punjabis and Sindhis, Sindhis and Pathans and Sindhis and Muhajirs. The fight should be directed against exploitation. We will fight against capitalists. How have I reached this office? It is the people who have brought me to this position.

### **OPPOSITION**

We will build Pakistan into a strong country, so that the world envies us. This sweet land will be rebuilt. There will be greenery all round. Injustice will be wiped out from Pakistan which Quaid-i-Azam cherished and will be made to blossom. There was a lot of opposition to our party in the past but we are not

narrow-minded. We will not take revenge. All the provinces will get their legitimate rights. Sindh will get its due share and there should be no apprehension in this regard. Education is being made free upto Matric. We want to see that the meritorious students get due recognition. We would not distinguish between an influential person's son and a poor man's son

Workers' betterment is our aim. Haris should be aware we are taking revolutionary steps to bring about a happy change in their lives. Land Reforms will bring about prosperity to the Hans. I have formulated a principle for the tillers of the soil. You should fully value the land which will be given to you and try to make maximum use of the land. The Land Reforms of Ayub Regime brought negligible benefits to the Hans. In those reforms the land price was to be charged. Many Hans could not buy land, and the waderas got back the land for themselves. The Land Reforms brought about by the People's Government envisage free distribution of land to the Haris. The poor Haris will be given land gratis and no compensation will be given to the land owners. You should duly consider this, and take full advantage of this opportunity to maximize production.

### **SACRIFICE**

The land is a trust from God, and it is the trust of the people you should put both hands in the land. The whole nation is looking upto you in this. It is not only your good alone. It will benefit the whole country. Put in hard work. Plough your fields four times and you will get enough return to buy good clothes for your children. You should respect your mothers and bow before your mothers. Thereby you can earn their gratitude and also earn blessing from God and help build your country. I am speaking on the soil of Sindh and I am a son of a landlord of Sindh rather the biggest landlord of Sindh. Nevertheless, we must all sacrifice for the country.

Sindh is inhabited by many people; there are Sindhis, Punjabis, Muhajirs, Baluchis and others. You must look into your history. I cannot understand why young people of Sindh are feeling perturbed. Sindh's history is 5,000 years old. Sindh is not a new province. There is no danger to Sindhi language. The culture of Sindh and noble traditions of this province will not be harmed or allowed to be jeopardised by any means. I promise and solemnly pledge to the people of Punjab, Baluchistan, Frontier and others that full justice will be done to them, and their rights and culture will be fully protected.

### **LANGUAGE ISSUE**

There is no harm in having all the languages to grow on healthy lines. People of Sindh know Sindhi and also Urdu. They are large-hearted people. I often speak in English. When I speak in English or Urdu, does it mean that Sindhi culture

comes in danger? Never! The many languages we know the better it is. Sindhis speak many languages. Theirs is a rich language. There is no danger to their language. It has lived through centuries. Urdu papers burning will not solve any problem. Urdu papers should not be burnt. I will never speak lies to the people. This is my solemn pledge to the people living in all provinces, to the people of Pakistan. If you have any grievances, my young friends, you can come to us. Have I ever betrayed you? Never shall I betray you.

Some people say that law and order situation has gone out of hand. We can take severe action. We can take care of this. I do not want to take baton into my hand against my people. They shout slogans of '*Jiay Sindh*'. I am not against it. Does that mean that along with shouting this slogan we should try to burn newspapers or destroy valuable things? I would also ask our Muhajir brethren to accept Sindh as their own province. They can continue to talk in Urdu but they should merge with locals and become one with them. They can rest assured that we are not against Muhajirs but they should also be reasonable and live like brothers. You must unite. I will do justice to Sindhis. Punjabis and others and treat them equally. After all India has many provinces United States of America has fifty provinces. We have only four provinces. Why can we not live happily and unitedly?

#### **"BANG LA DESH"**

They talk of "Bangla" Desh. What are the conditions there? Rice is being sold at Rs. 90/- per maund. "Bangla Desh" rice is going to India; jute is going to India; tea is going to India. Have patience you will see what happens there. If you get away from Pakistan and break off ties with us I am sure you will not go in for a paradise or create conditions like Paradise for you in "Bangla Desh." After all why did you become an independent country? Was it not all a farce? Why did you accept the Quaid-i-Azam as your leader in 1947? All the resources of "Bangla Desh" are now going to Calcutta. All motors, air-conditioning machines, etc., have gone to Calcutta! Whatever defects are in us, we were prepared to accept them. You do not obtain any good in separation. It is always unfortunate. Faraka Barrage is in India and will India not give water to "Bangla Desh." What will you get?

I am with you young men of Sindh. You can come to us and talk to us about your problems and I will solve them. Sindhis and Muhajirs should sit together and forget about all differences. This whole issue has been raised by some self-seeking politicians who want to become big men. I have talked to Sindhi leaders and Muhajir leaders. We should all try to learn a lesson from the past, and give up narrow-mindedness. You should have large heart. The language issue I have already said will be decided by the elected representatives of the people in the National Assembly. I cannot decide it.

If the National Assembly wants one language, it is alright for me. If it wants 10 languages I have absolutely no objection. Do not be parochial. Nothing can be achieved by fighting and being petty-minded. Everybody has become '*Sheikh-chilli*'.

### **UNRULY DEMONSTRATION**

What happened in Hyderabad a few days ago is deplorable. Why should some people take out knives? How can Urdu get respect through knives? The world is laughing at us. If our Government is anti-people then you can have grievance. But this is our own Government and we guarantee your protection. There is no need of fight or unruly demonstration. On 15th March there was demonstration at my house in Karachi. It is not my responsibility alone to build the country. You must lend your support to me to rebuild this country and create peaceful conditions. My friends from Punjab, Sarhad and Baluchistan have come to attend this meeting and I ask them to join hands in building this country into a big Islamic State. The National Assembly is to meet on the 14th of the next month. We have reached an accord with the NAP and JUL I stand by it fully. I hope that the other two Parties will also abide by it. It is for the good of every body. If, God forbid, some Party flouts the accord, then we should not be held responsible. We pledge to abide by the accord word by word. If they flout the gentlemen's agreement then blame will lie on them. The political struggle will be won by the just and reasonable Party devoted to the good of the people. This is our conviction.

## **“POLICE ACCOUNTABLE TO THE PEOPLE”**

President Bhutto s address to the nation from Radio and Television on April 12, 1972 announcing sweeping Police Reforms.

Citizens, custodians of Law and Order:

We attach the highest importance to the welfare and contentment of the police. This is for self-evident reasons. A dissatisfied police force seeks to give vent to its fury on the people. This in turn leads to a vicious circle of conflict and tension between the people and the police. We have been the victims of this vicious circle for far too long. We are determined gradually to break it by taking measures to create a better equation and a better relationship between the people and the police.

### **RESPONSIBILITIES**

This police reform is as much a reform for the people as it is for the police. I am determined to make our police force a modern, exemplary force. We do not look on the responsibilities of the police only in the limited context of law and order. Nevertheless, a modern state does deal with the problems of crime, delinquency and lawbreaking. The primary responsibility of the police is to deal with this vital problem. All conceptions of law and order, safety of the individuals, protection of the weak and the helpless from the strong and powerful, are in the ultimate analysis dependent on the efficient and proper working of the police. If the police force in a country is given its due place in society, is well trained, disciplined and well equipped, if it acts in an honest manner without fear or favour, if it is accountable to the people, then without doubt the State structure has been laid on correct foundations.

### **WORKABLE PROGRAMME**

On the 20th of December 1971 in my first address to the nation I mentioned the need to provide the policemen with a living wage, to put an end to the image of ‘zulm’ and corruption and to replace it with that of a friend and a protector of the law-abiding citizens and the poor. Mr. G. Ahmed, an experienced Police Officer, was immediately entrusted with the task of translating these objectives into a workable programme. On receipt of his report, for the purpose of providing immediate relief, the decisions of the Government relating to pay and allowances of subordinate staff of the police force were announced by the Finance Minister on the 27th of February.

### **CARDINAL PRINCIPLE**



A police force can be responsible and responsive only if it is accountable to the people. I have taken this as a cardinal principle. I have decided that the public and the police should meet each other periodically in District Consultative Committees to review the police-public relations. At the provincial level a Standing Committee of the Provincial Legislature would be constituted for this purpose. In this way it is hoped the accountability and cooperation will go hand in hand.

The public will also have new institutions. The ombudsman and the administrative courts for the redress of its grievances against the administration will be formed. The ombudsman may investigate or cause to be investigated by any agency public complaints regarding excesses, abuse of authority, or failures of the administration. The administrative courts would examine public complaints against erroneous actions of the administration. These courts will have power to adjudicate cases brought before them by members of the public who may have suffered injustices at the hands of Government authorities.

### **TRIBUNALS**

Provision is being made for summarily dealing with cases of corruption which cannot be dealt with under the ordinary procedures. The corrupt will find no mercy. Special tribunals will be appointed for this purpose with power to retire corrupt officials. While we will do everything to ensure that the honest are not victimized or subjected to the pressure of influential and interested individuals, it is to be ensured that the corrupt are weeded out. Efficiency and discipline rules will also be modified so as to enable action to be taken under the police rules in order to meet the requirements of a uniformed efficient police force.

### **REORGANIZATION**

The police force, as it now stands, is being reorganized. In future in order to promote the acquisition of skills and specialization, the crime police will be separately organised in urban areas on an experimental basis.

A Federal Police Organization will be set up and this organization will deal with such offences as inter-provincial smuggling, illicit traffic in drugs, currency offences, enforcement of laws relating to foreigners, immigration and passport, child-lifting from one province to another and other heinous interprovincial crimes.

### **TRAINING**

Training and discipline are the sine qua non of an effective force. The Police Training School at Sihala is being organised into a Police Training Academy so that proper training can be imparted to senior police officers as well. Quality of training for both officers and men will be improved. Along with academic

grounding, attention will be devoted to impress upon the trainees the duties of the police towards society.

It has been decided to improve the police force and more vehicles will be provided to them for this purpose. The network in provincial, range and district headquarters will be improved and all police stations connected by telephone or wireless. The force shall be equipped with better weapons on modern lines.

### **ALLOWANCES**

I have always held the view that it is not possible to have an honest policeman with enormous powers at a salary of Rs. 70/- a month which was the case before. We have already changed this position. Now the minimum salary that a policeman will draw will be Rs. 110/-. In addition to this we will continue the ration subsidy of Rs. 11.75/-. We have also increased the existing allowances and have introduced new ones. Policemen will now be paid per mensem a crime allowance of Rs. 10/-, a traffic allowance of Rs. 50/-, a conveyance allowance of Rs. 5/-, a washing allowance of Rs. 3/-, house rent allowance at 15% of the initial salary (as against Rs. 1/- to 3/- for a constable and Rs. 2.50 to Rs. 5/- for a Head-Constable before) and a house allowance of Rs. 60/- (as against the previous allowance of Rs. 40/- p.m.). Inspectors, Sub-Inspectors and A.S.I's will continue to draw the motor cycle allowance admissible to them.

Police personnel will get a disability pension according to the formula applicable to armed forces. The widow of a police officer killed in the discharge of his duty, will receive pension according to her husband's entitlement.

### **ACCOMMODATION**

In addition to sanctioning these allowances I have decided that in the Province of Punjab, NWFP and Baluchistan, every year additional residential accommodation will be provided at the rate of 5% till it meets the requirements of 50% of the total strength of the police force. This is not being done in the Province of Sindh as these facilities already exist there.

### **MORE FACILITIES**

It will also be ensured that special ration depots are opened in all Police Lines so that essential food articles are available to the policemen at controlled rates. Police hospitals will be improved, adequately staffed and kept well stocked with medicines. Medical treatment will be free for policemen and their families. Adequate funds are being provided by the Provincial Governments for this purpose. My Government has already declared that education up to Matric shall be free for the children of all Government employees drawing a salary of up to Rs 500/- a month. This benefit will extend to policemen as well.

We have also decided to increase the issue of summer uniforms from one to two per year.

While the increase in pay and an allowance was a must. I confess that I would have felt happier if more could have been done. However, this is all that can be done at present within the available resources of the country. A Press conference will be held soon after the session of the National Assembly to elaborate on the measures of reforms.

### **DUTY**

My dear custodians of law and order, you have a very important role to perform. Your nation looks upon you to do this honestly and efficiently. Your nation is poor. It is beset with immense problems. I repeat it is giving you all that it can afford at present. Pakistan expects you to do your duty diligently and faithfully. And when you do your duty to the people - they will give you their support and respect. I sincerely hope you will now improve your image and will serve the nation with a spirit of dedication, with smartness and with patriotic fervour.

## **“JUSTICE DELAYED IS JUSTICE DENIED”**

*President Bhutto's address to the nation from Radio and Television on April 13, 1972 announcing Government's decision to separate Judiciary from Executive.*

Citizens and friends

There are two fundamental functions of Government in every State that hopes to survive. The first of these functions is the preservation of the State and its citizens from external dangers. The second fundamental function of every State is to preserve itself and its citizens from internal dangers. The State must protect itself from internal breaches of peace ranging from simple assault and other private wrongs to treason. It must also prevent any undermining of the social order and at the same time it must keep open the avenues of social progress including the adjudication of disputes between the citizens.

### **QURAN AND JUSTICE**

In the process of preserving the State internally, the courts play a vital part. They provide the instrumentality for the trial of disputes between individuals for the protection of human beings living in organized society. This makes the administration of justice an inescapable concomitant of a civilized society. This is part of the basic creed of a Muslim. It is repeatedly emphasised in the Holy Quran as one of the highest attributes of Man. So it is said in Al-Nisa: “Ye who believe? Stand out firmly for justice, as witnesses to God, even as against yourself”. The Holy Prophet (Peace be upon him) is reported to have once equated an hour of justice with forty years of prayers.

Nevertheless, for a variety of reasons no attention worth the name had been paid to it so far in Pakistan. A Family Law Commission was set up in 1955 and a Law Reforms Commission in 1958. Some half-hearted action was taken on the reports of these two Commissions but it was found to be inadequate. Some of the changes in the law made after the report of the Law Commission were not in consonance with its report. Later on they had to be retracted.

### **LAW REFORMS**

‘Justice delayed is justice denied’ is an ancient adage. In truth a provision which may well be decisive for or against a party may dwell in the intricacies of procedure. With a view to these factors we have now proclaimed law reforms which in the main follow the recommendations of the Law Commission set up in 1967. The details of the Law Ordinance will be explained by the Law Minister at

a press conference shortly to be convened by him. I may briefly recapitulate some of the salient features of this reform.

In the field of criminal procedure, the commitment proceedings have been abolished, the summons-case trial procedure is made the rule in the Magisterial Courts, while the warrant-case trial procedure will continue in the High Courts and the Courts of Session. Categories of offences which may be compounded have been enlarged; the jurisdiction of the Courts of Session widened and courts in general empowered to punish a person who swears false testimony.

### **SPEEDIER DISPOSAL**

In the field of Civil Procedure, a sharp departure from old practice is the conferment of revisional jurisdiction on District Judges and the limiting of right of second appeal in certain cases. The Letters in the Patent appeals in the High Courts have been abolished: so also the appeals in suits in which the value of the property is less than Rs. 2,000/- they merely added one more tier to Courts of Appeal. Provisions have also been made for speedy service of the parties and their witnesses which more than anything else was the prime cause of delay. It is hoped all these measures will lead to speedier disposal of cases than hitherto.

### **JIRGA SYSTEM**

A recurrent demand of the people since the days of the British in the Indo-Pak sub-continent has been the separation of judiciary from the executive. This was introduced by administrative order at one time in the Province of West Pakistan. Soon enough it was found that a half-way house has no benefits, and the status quo was resumed. Things were not allowed to rest at that. So there came a time when a previous regime not only took administrative steps to tighten the executive power over subordinate criminal judiciary but actually pushed the clock of progress back by the endorsement of the West Pakistan Criminal Law (Amendment) Act which introduced the *jirga* system which was the very travesty of justice. The dispensation of justice became the handmaiden of the rulers. Before the Law Reforms Commission, 1967 an argument was sought to be made for retention of special tribunals. The Commission, after full consideration, rejected this view, and accepted the popular demand that judiciary be separated from the executive. During the last two years, however, no action was taken on this report and the matter, as it often happens, lay in cold storage.

### **SEPARATION OF POWERS**

The Law Reforms Ordinance, 1972 which is being promulgated to-day fulfils a long cherished desire of the people, Justice henceforth will be completely independent of the executive, and independence is a basic requirement for impartiality. However, as the separation would involve a huge dislocation of machinery, the Provincial Governments have been empowered to enforce this

part at any time upto the 1st January next year. If a Provincial Government is able to do so earlier, it is permissible to enforce this provision for with. There would be no hurdle in its way towards the acceptance of the demand. Once accepted and written into law, it would be impossible for any subsequent Government to go back upon it. It will become a part of our way of life. The golden principle that justice is not only to be done but also must be seen to be done has now been implemented. There will be a separation of powers in as much as the prosecutors and the judges will henceforth be completely separate. We trust that the stories of police high-handedness and of the perversion of justice will become tales of the past.

### **PERMANENT LAW COMMISSION**

We are setting up a Permanent Law Commission with a jurist who is or has been a judge of the Supreme Court to be its Chairman. The members will be experts in different branches of law, civil, criminal, commercial etc. Modern concept of welfare state has led to enormous legislation on variety of subjects to deal with situations and contingencies that had never arisen before. It also requires scrutiny of the existing laws, which under modern conditions is as necessary as repairs are necessary to a railway, if it has to continue as a going concern. All this requires expert advice and therefore the necessity of a Permanent Law Commission.

In certain respects the Ordinance goes beyond the recommendations of the Law Reforms Commission. The law of evidence in relation to the trial of civil and criminal cases arising out of statements which are defamatory is being amended so that complaint of the plaintiff is not subjected to scandalous question in cross examination at the initial stage of the proceedings when the question before the court will be whether the defamatory statement was made and if so whether it was true.

### **BAR COUNCIL ACT**

The Legal Practitioners and Bar Council Act, 1965 is also being amended to require the counsel appearing in a case whether civil, criminal or otherwise to fill up a power of attorney, signifying his acceptance of brief by him with a certificate separately signed by him indicating fees settled and paid with balance, if any, remaining payable.

Provisions with regard to grant of bail of under trials and convicts whose appeals are pending have been liberalized in more than one respect. For example, every accused person must be brought to trial within 6 months of his arrest failing which he shall be entitled to be released on bail, however serious the charge against him may be.

## **INTEGRITY**

We have played our part. It is now for the judges to fulfill their function. However perfect the law, however high the ideals it will come to nothing if those who administer it do not perform their best. Integrity of character in judges is a paramount requirement. But integrity ought not to degenerate into license, impartiality cannot be allowed to mean perverseness. I attach the highest importance to the selection of judges. It goes without saying that judges must be well qualified. But that is never enough.

It has been said that there is a difficulty in measuring judicial attributes objectively and that in our search for selection of the best judges we are driven inevitably to the best method of selection. More than that we cannot do.

## **GLORIOUS FUTURE**

Good law administered by good judges and judicial powers available to the rich and the poor alike, these are the dreams of everyone. The vista is pleasant and I have no doubt that judges will rise to the occasion. We Muslims have a glorious heritage. The people of Pakistan are equally determined to have a glorious future.

## **“DEMOCRACY IS IN OUR BLOOD”**

*President Bhutto's address to the National Assembly of Pakistan as its President on April 14, 1972.*

You have bestowed upon me a signal honour, the Presidency of the first ever truly elected representative Assembly of Pakistan. It is an honour that I will always remember and cherish. For no honour can be greater than the Presidency of this House, charged as it is with the task of giving to the people of Pakistan a Constitution. I see before me others who may perhaps be more wise or deserving, but you have kindly given me this pride of place. I am grateful to you. Even more, I thank the people of Pakistan who elected you and me and conferred on us this great honour. We are assembled here as a symbol of the victory of the people; the voice of the people has indeed prevailed. And, above all, I am grateful to Almighty Allah who in His infinite mercy and grace has seen fit to have me preside over this august body and the destiny of the nation at this critical juncture. I thank you again for giving me this honour to serve you. I once again, here and now, rededicate myself before this distinguished House, before the people of Pakistan and before Almighty Allah to serve Pakistan and our people to the final limits of my ability.

### **CRUCIAL TIME**

Honourable members of this distinguished House, we are assembled today at a time which in every respect is the most crucial in the brief and blighted history of our State. Our people, our friends and, most of all, our enemies are keenly watching the proceedings of this House. This is so because our terribly bruised and sundered nation is facing its severest test of survival.

### **JOINT ENDEAVOURS**

The people who have reposed their confidence in us expect that through our deliberations and joint endeavors we will now replace their worries and anxieties with deliverance and hope. Our friends, who view us with genuine sympathy and concern, pray that we shall overcome our difficulties and realize the true potential of Pakistan. Our enemies, who have already done us grievous injury, are waiting for the chance to bury us. If we keep before ourselves all these grim realities, a full measure of the challenge facing this House becomes self-evident.

### **REAL SOVEREIGNS**

In appreciating our grave responsibilities, it would be proper to remember also the signal honour bestowed upon us. Pakistan has had several National Assemblies, including two that, like this House were also charged with the



framing of a Constitution. It is, however, for the first time that we celebrate today the true majesty of the people who are the real sovereigns of the State of Pakistan. This Assembly, and I cannot emphasize it too much, is the first whose members have been directly elected on the basis of adult franchise.

### **EMPTY SEATS**

So our meeting is an historic event. It is also a sad one. Half the seats in this House are empty and those elected representatives who should have been with us here today, are a thousand miles away in another capital. This need not have been so. It would not have been so if our self-appointed masters had heeded our pleas for a political settlement and allowed the elected representatives to negotiate its terms in freedom.

### **TRAGEDY OF 1971**

I am sure we would have found a way out, and why not? After all, we had come together of our own free will and lived together as one nation for 24 years. This came about because of the shared compulsions of history, religion, economic well-being and survival. Then why did we suffer the great tragedy of 1971? Why from the heights of independence in 1947 did we plunge to the depths of defeat, disintegration and despair in 1971? Let us go back and examine why 1947 came about, and why 1971. To do so we must first examine the seeds of inspiration that fructified into Pakistan.

### **Hon'ble members:**

Many views have been expressed about the genesis of Pakistan many inter-related factors did indeed inspire the quest for a Muslim homeland. But in essence we separated from India because we rejected its iniquitous system, its exploitation and domination. This struggle against tyranny culminated in our people braving the enormous hazards of partition to carve out Pakistan, the pure land of promise and fulfillment. Millions of Indian Muslims made the great pilgrimage to integrate with the Baluch, the Bengali, the Pathan, the Punjabi and the Sindhi to build the largest Muslim State on the foundations of Islamic justice and brotherhood.

Our ambition was to create a country where we could shape everything according to our beliefs, our traditions and our aspirations.

### **EXPLOITATION**

The exploitation and domination of the Muslims began long before the middle of the nineteenth century, the date that is commonly accepted long before 1843 when Sindh was taken over by the British or when a few years later the Punjab was annexed. It really commenced with the eclipse of the Mughul Empire in 1707 and became visible fifty years later after the defeat of Siraj-udDaula by Clive at

Plassey in 1757. It was the support of the powerful Hindu merchants of the area as much as the treachery of Mir Jafar that gave the British their victory.

Clive's administration looted Bengal so freely that it was denounced as a robber state. It was Muslim Bengal that bore the main brunt of British occupation. The systematic plundering and maladministration brought in their wake a famine in 1770 that destroyed a third of the population. Who were these unfortunate people? Mostly the poor Muslims of Bengal. Although it led to the passage of an Act in the British Parliament to regulate the administration of Bengal, the old British-Bania combination continued in power. Their victims were the Muslims, whether they were landowners, tenants or weavers. Muslims were not given employment in the army or the civil service. Their educational and religious funds were misapplied and misappropriated. their lands extensively taken over.

### **BRITISH HOSTILITY**

Muslim areas in the West of the sub-continent did not suffer this prolonged ruthless exploitation as they did not fall to the British till some 90 years after the battle of Plassey. But subsequently they too did not escape the material effects of British hostility or the Bania's suffocating hold.

It was only natural for the Muslims to react to this dual tyranny of the British and the Hindus. The first manifestation of this discontent occurred with Haji Shariatullah's Faraizi Movement. It began as a religious revival, aimed at the elimination of Hindu customs, but soon became a broader socio-economic movement. Although tormented by Hindu zamindars and the British planters, the defiant peasants struggled against the imposition of 23 unauthorized taxes and such indignities as the "beard tax". Illiterate Muslim peasants gave large-scale support to Mujahid colonies, and travelled hundreds of miles to Sitana to take part in the Jihad against the British.

### **WAR OF LIBERATION**

These were the first small stirrings of discontent and revolt. The Muslims of the sub-continent were in the forefront of the War of Liberation in 1857. The failure of that great struggle and the exile of the last Mughal Emperor marked the total decline of Muslim influence. At the same time it made way for the Hindu community to monopolize all spheres of activity.

Every crisis throws up new leaders of thought and action. Here, Syed Ahmed Khan came to the forefront. Realizing that an important factor in the decline of Muslims was their total neglect of education, he established the Muhammadan Anglo-Oriental College at Aligarh. In his thirty years devotion to modern education and social reforms, Syed Ahmed also planted the seeds of Muslim nationalism. He gave expression to the separate character of the Muslims. He

advised the Muslims to maintain this separate identity by not participating in the Indian National Congress. Some of his observations on the Hindu-Muslim question foreshadowed the statements of the Muslims who later called for and created Pakistan.

### **MUSLIM LEAGUE**

Syed Ahmed, however, concentrated his efforts on education. He went so far as to advise Muslims against active politics. But this policy was inherently inadequate and had to be abandoned soon after his death and this primarily for two reasons. The majority Hindu community through its monopoly of economic enterprise was tightening its strangle hold, reinforcing their position through their newly formed political machine. And so, in December 1906, the All-India Muslim League was formed to represent and project the political interest of the Muslims.

This symbolized the distinctiveness of the two major communities—they were clearly moving apart. It was evident that between the grasping Hindu and the deprived Muslims lay a world of difference—in needs beliefs and aspirations. This separateness was given expression in the Lahore Resolution which formulated the demand for Pakistan in 1940.

### **Hon'ble members:**

The Lahore Resolution was the logical culmination of Allama Mohammad Iqbal's call in 1930, when he said that "the formation of a consolidated North-West Indian Muslim state appears to me to be the final destiny of the Muslims, at least, of North-West India". This declaration was made at the All-India Muslim League's conference at Allahabad in 1930. Allama Iqbal may not have been the first to put forward the idea of a Muslim state, but he made the first concrete proposal to which Chaudhry Rahmat Ali gave a name which is sacred to us today. Allama Iqbal's proposal found an echo in Bengal where Abdul Rahim and Hussain Shaheed Suhrawardy organised the Bengal Muslim Conference.

### **PAKISTAN RESOLUTION**

The political goal of the Muslims was finally spelt out at Lahore on March 23, 1940 with the adoption of the Pakistan Resolution. Its crucial clause asserted that the only constitutional arrangement acceptable to the Muslims of the sub-continent would be the one that would ensure that geographically contiguous units are demarcated into regions which should be so constituted that the areas in which Muslims are numerically in majority, as in the north western and eastern zones of India, should be grouped to constitute independent states.

At the time of the Lahore Resolution and subsequently there was some controversy as to whether one or two sovereign Muslim states were envisaged.

However, at the 1946 Convention of Muslim League legislators, a resolution was passed calling for a single sovereign state. It was the demand for one Pakistan for which the Muslims of the whole sub-continent struggled. But there remained a hard core mainly in East Pakistan who continued to maintain that the Lahore Resolution had envisaged two separate sovereign states. Despite the resolve of this hard core they could never have succeeded in realising their dream but for the failure of Pakistan's leadership to fulfil the promise of Pakistan. It was not until February 1966 that Sheikh Mujibur Rahman specifically revived this issue and brought it to the forefront of public attention when he introduced his six points formula. The story of his success is the story of our failure. But now we must return to the 1940s.

### **QUAID-I-AZAM**

The evolution of Pakistan was a gradual process to which many Muslims contributed. But there can be no doubt that one man alone can truly bear the title of architect of Pakistan – Quaid-i-Azam Muhammad Ali Jinnah.

It is significant that the Quaid had initially not only worked with the Indian National Congress but had been one of its principal leaders. But he came to the inescapable conclusion that the ineradicable difference between the two communities and the intransigence of the Hindu leaders would not allow the Muslims of the subcontinent to find their salvation in anything short of a separate homeland – Pakistan.

The Quaid organised and revitalized the Muslims. His demand for Pakistan immediately evoked great enthusiasm amongst the Muslim masses. There was a spontaneous reaction from our downtrodden and subject people. The demand for Pakistan held the enchanting promise of a homeland where economic and social justice would prevail and where all men and women would be equal. Under the Quaid's leadership the movement went from strength to strength, and gained its first significant victory in the formulation of the Cripps proposals of March 1942.

Throughout these years, the Hindu majority bitterly resisted the concept of Pakistan. Its leaders resorted to every device to ensure the defeat of a scheme that would have made the Muslims the masters of their own fate. The reason was the same old one, the desire to continue the economic, political and cultural enslavement of the Muslims.

### **HINDU DOMINATION**

The Hindu community dominated banks, insurance, trade, industry, land resources, education, virtually everything of real significance or consequence. Sindh and Punjab grew large quantities of excellent cotton, but for the Hindu-

owned textile mills of Ahmadabad and Bombay. East Bengal grew the finest jute. but the jute mills were in Calcutta and were owned by Hindus. It was clearly a case of the “haves- wanting to crush the “have-nots” under their heel. It was only the Quaid’s single-minded determination and the sacrifice of countless millions of Muslims in the sub-continent that defeated the Hindu leadership’s threats and machinations and finally forced the British to concede Pakistan. But Imperial Britain, in collusion with the Hindu Congress, gave us cruel parting kicks.

With the announcement of the 3rd June, 1947 Plan for the partition of the sub-continent into the states of India and Pakistan, collusion between the Indian National Congress and the British authority in India as represented by Lord Mountbatten strengthened and grew pace. They had come to the mutual conclusion that if the Muslims persisted in wanting Pakistan, they would let them have their Pakistan, but not as they wished, and certainly not in a manner that would allow the fledgling state a firm start. It was, therefore, decided to rush through the transfer of power.

### **TRANSFER OF POWER**

The haste with which the transfer of power was to be effected was calculated to produce immense difficulties for Pakistan. In the practical working of the Partition Plan, the Indian Union was to become virtually the successor State to British India, and Pakistan was placed in the position of a territory seceding from the parent country. Thus Pakistan was made to begin life facing innumerable difficulties, without a well-ordered administration, without Armed Forces, and without even rudimentary equipment necessary for Government establishments. Nothing could be more patently designed to handicap the new state of Pakistan from the very beginning, place obstacles in the path of its development and progress, and endanger its very survival.

There is now sufficient historical evidence available to draw the conclusion that the British Government’s decision to transfer power precipitately within such a limited period of time was the price paid to the Congress for agreeing to stay within the Commonwealth. What incalculable loss it would cause Pakistan in terms of human life and suffering, as well as material goods, pricked the conscience neither of the last Viceroy nor the Congress.

### **PARTITION**

From the very beginning, acceptance of partition by the Indian National Congress was merely a tactical move to cover its real aim of ruling over the entire subcontinent. Mr. Gandhi never tired of alluding to the partition of the sub-continent as a “moral evil”, accepted under the compulsion of circumstances. The resolution on the partition of the sub-continent passed by the All-India Congress Committee on 14th June, 1947 contained a revealing proviso: “The All-

India Congress Committee earnestly trusts that when the present passions have subsided India's problems will be viewed in their proper perspective and the false doctrine of two nations in India will be discredited and discarded by all."

Dr. Shyama Prasad Mukerji also declared soon afterwards: "Our aim must be to re-annex Pakistan to India. I have no doubt this is bound to come, whether by pressure of economic or political or other reasons." On the eve of independence, almost every prominent Indian leader of that period openly lamented the partition of the sub-continent and made no secret of the hope that sooner or later Pakistan would be reintegrated with India by force or fraud.

### **CALLOUSNESS**

It was against this background of antagonism in India that the new state of Pakistan came into being. The attitude of the Indian leaders was fully supported by the British authorities, whose callousness was exemplified in the remark of Lord Mountbatten: "Administratively it is the difference between putting up a permanent building, and a Nissen but or a tent. As far as Pakistan is concerned we are putting up a tent. We can do no more." This was to be Pakistan's lot also in the division of the former employees of the Government of India, in the division of financial assets and responsibilities, and in the division of the armed forces and stores which was settled between the 3rd of June and the 14th of August, 1947. Pakistan was very much the victim of the iniquitous apportionment that took place.

The details of the intrigues and squabbles characterizing the entire process of the division of assets are too sordid and time-consuming to bear repeating here. When, in fact, on the 14th of August, 1947, Pakistan entered its first day of existence as an independent and sovereign State, it did so in the tattered tent of Lord Mountbatten's imagination which was furnished with nothing but the idealism of our people and their determination to survive against all odds.

### **REFUGEES**

As Pakistan came into being, the railway trains carrying its administrative personnel and equipment were consistently blown up and destroyed on their journey from India. Millions of refugees were pouring across our borders in a state of appalling destitution and misery. Muslims who were still in certain parts of India, preparing to migrate to Pakistan, were massacred and their belongings looted.

### **KASHMIR**

Although the Maharaja of Jammu and Kashmir had entered into a stand-still agreement with Pakistan on the 15th of August, 1947, a conspiracy was started to bring this predominantly Muslim State into the talons of India. It was this which

led to open revolt by the people of Jammu and Kashmir against the collusion of the Maharaja with India a few weeks later.

The Indian Government refused to accept accession of Junagadh State to Pakistan and rejected our claims in regard to Mongrol. The Indian Army took over the State of Manavadar one month after it had acceded to Pakistan, and soon thereafter, on the 27th of October, 1947, landed by air in Srinagar, the capital of Jammu and Kashmir.

With our administrative machinery ineffective our Armed Forces disrupted our office equipment and military stores destroyed or misappropriated our population overwhelmed with the influx of countless refugees in a state of destitution and indescribable suffering our economy throttled by the machinations of India our territorial integrity infringed by the invasion of Manavadar, Mongrol and Junagadh and our very existence threatened by India's naked military aggression in Jammu and Kashmir. It was in this inauspicious situation of confusion and uncertainty that the history of Pakistan began. It was only the will and the determination of the people of Pakistan, under the inspiration and leadership of Quaid-i-Azam that enabled the country to survive its first tempestuous year.

#### **QUAID-I-AZAM'S DEATH**

Then on 11th September, 1948 the light which had lit our path to freedom disappeared. Quaid-i-Azam Mohammad Ali Jinnah breathed his last, and the largest Muslim State mourned the loss of its incomparable leader. The annals of mankind will enshrine his name amongst those who leave immortal legacies behind them.

Enormous though our difficulties were during the life-time of the Quaid-i-Azam, the presence of his towering personality at the helm of affairs gave an incalculable sense of security and confidence to the entire nation. But with his death, the stage was set for another scene.

#### **HYDERABAD DECCAN**

Within less than 30 hours of the Quaid-i-Azam's passing away, the Indian Army, invading the State of Hyderabad Deccan, annexed it by an act of naked military aggression. In a way, this set the tone of the era which we in Pakistan entered after the death of the founder of the State.

#### **QUAID-I-MILLAT**

Quaid-i-Azam's disappearance from the scene occurred at a time when conditions in Pakistan were still in a state of flux politically, administratively, economically and internationally. The mantle of leadership fell on his trusted

lieutenant, Quaid-i-Millat Liaquat Ali Khan. He discharged his duties admirably against overwhelming odds, but, with his assassination, the stream of our history began to flow, and flow inexorably faster, in muddy channels. Indeed the channels which were merely muddy in 1951 turned to rivers of blood in 1971.

What happened in this span of time to shatter our dreams and hopes? Why indeed should the very people who so bravely faced the ordeals and hardships of 1947 with determination, devotion and dedication of the highest order, fall prey so easily now to confusion of mind and purpose, to mistrust, hate and violence and plunge into civil war? Why should some of our best institutions so degenerate as to be scarcely recognizable? Why should all these troubles, humiliations and defeats have fallen on us ? Why should the horrors of the year 1971 have been enacted?

### **DISINTEGRATION**

We must try to understand the causes of our misfortunes, admitting to ourselves that they were not chance events like the fall of meteorites from the skies or an earthquake, over which our human wills have no control. The circumstances in which Pakistan was born were adverse enough, but the fact that the State could survive many years points to the conclusion that it could have survived in a better way than it did, growing strong internally and fostering a contented population. We must understand the causes of disintegration whose roots go back in the past. I shall now briefly touch upon some of them.

In the first place, soon after the death of Quaid-i-Azam, the pattern of our economic and social growth began to deviate drastically from the goals which the Father of the Nation had set before us. The Quaid-i-Azam said that Pakistan was being created, to use his words, “not for the capitalists, but for the poor people.” On an earlier occasion he said of the landlords and capitalists that:

“The exploitation of the masses has gone to their blood. They have forgotten the lesson of Islam. Greed and selfishness have made these people subordinate the interests of others in order to fatten themselves... I visited some villages. There are millions and millions of your people who hardly get one meal a day. Is this civilization? Is this the aim of Pakistan? Do you visualise that millions have been exploited and cannot get one meal a day? If that is the idea of Pakistan, I would not have it. If they are wise they will have to adjust themselves to the new modern conditions of life. If they don't, God help them, we shall not help them.” [*Quaid-i-Azam's presidential address at the All-India Muslim League Session at Delhi in August, 1943.*]

### **ORDINARY MEN**



The support of ordinary men and women, the farmers of the Punjab canal colonies, the indomitable villagers of the North-West Frontier Province, the rugged Baluchis, the toiling peasantry of Sindh, the marginally subsisting share croppers and fishermen of the East Wing had made Pakistan possible. The Quaid recognised that the future of the country depended on them rather than on the handful of administrators and politicians, landlords and industrialists who had thrown in their lot with him.

To the masses Pakistan meant not only freedom from exploitation by Hindus but also a land where oppression of the poor by the rich would cease and where social justice which Islam enjoins would guide their leaders. Pakistan meant a new social and economic order to the masses both in the East and the West wings. This explains the upsurge of national energy in the first years of Pakistan. This hope of a better future also explains the angry disillusionment during the later years when leadership faltered and finally failed.

The class which was to play the most important part in the new nation consisted of the big landowning families in West Pakistan. They exercised extensive local influence and lived in feudal splendour. Many entered politics and became pillars of the Muslim League. All of them maintained a strong vested interest in an agrarian system which conferred upon them privilege and power at the expense of their tenantry.

### **INDUSTRIAL OLIGARCHY**

Side by side with this traditional power group, Pakistan witnessed the rapid rise of an influential industrial and business oligarchy.

In the 1950s when the Government of Pakistan first started giving serious thought to industrial development, it chose a haphazard path. It was largely influenced by those who wanted to get rich quick in a protected market. It was the golden age for private investors setting up factories with the object of making quick profits in consumer goods. No heed whatsoever was paid to a rational programme of industrialization, which requires as its basis a capital goods industry. The foreign exchange that had been earned in the Korean war boom was thus frittered away. This only increased Pakistan's dependence on foreign loans in the years to come.

Political independence in 1947 did not result in economic independence. In economic terms, Pakistan for many years suffered from the after effects of having been a colony. Moreover, the boom that occurred in Europe in the late 1950s had a detrimental effect upon Pakistan. While the cost of capital goods and equipment, which Pakistan required, steadily rose, the price of the raw materials

we exported declined on the world market. And yet no heed was paid to developing any basic industries in Pakistan.

### **RICH BECAME RICHER**

Instead of sound planning, a system of patronage in licence-giving became the order of the day. The banking industry was abused : its prime object became the provision of public deposits for investment in industries for which the entrepreneur provided little or no capital. His contribution was mainly the license he obtained under a patronage—a license which only helped to increase the foreign exchange debt liability of the nation for generations. Some of the results of the excessive concessions, including tax holidays, which our entrepreneurs enjoyed in their protected market can be seen today in the inefficient running of most industries and the total absence of quality control. Nobody cared about the poor consumer, the ultimate victim of Pakistan's economic stagnation. Nobody cared for anything as long as the rich became richer.

With what result? What have we inherited? A narrow-based consumer industry which produces mainly non-essential items. A textile industry, which despite local raw material, produces poor quality goods at prices considerably above the international level. We have virtually no heavy or basic industries either for civilian or military production. Whereas India now makes four types of aircraft and two types of tanks, we in Pakistan do not even produce the components to manufacture a complete bicycle.

### **FOREIGN LOANS**

Without having enjoyed any real benefits from foreign loans, we have been landed with an immense debt liability. As of 30th June 1971, Pakistan's actual outstanding debt was US Dollar 3,350million, which is about Rs. 1,600 crores, and the annual debt servicing liability we inherited was US Dollar 251 million or Rs. 120 crores. For that matter the Government had borrowed internally to the tune of Rs. 747 crores on 30th March, 1971.

Pakistan increasingly became the property of the few. This was as true in politics as in economics and every other field. The landed aristocracy originally dominated politics. To their select number was soon added the magnates of commerce and industry. Politics became an easy and effective instrument for preserving and enhancing wealth and power. The vicious circle of wealth, power and politics, rotating amongst a limited circle, became the most impregnable vested interest in Pakistan.

Inevitably, the perpetuation of status quo became a prime objective. It was only thus that the ruling oligarchy could be confirmed in power. To this all energies

were directed. Even the most elementary reforms were denied to the people. The hope for a just and egalitarian Pakistan rapidly began to recede.

## **DEMOCRACY**

In a democratic society the people's will gains expression through their elected representatives.

Elections are the corner-stone of democracy. But the vested interests which consolidated their position soon after the creation of Pakistan feared the limitation that elections would bring on their freedom to exploit the country. The abominable status quo could best be preserved by denying the people the electoral process. Constitution-making was repeatedly deferred in order to delay general elections. The old guard continued to hold sway. No weeding out process, not even through elections, was allowed. Pakistan has since paid a heavy price for this failure.

In 1954 a compromise on the constitution could have been attained which would have reflected the realities of the situation between the East and West wings. The Basic Principles Committee of the Constituent Assembly prepared a Draft Constitution which proposed a federal structure for Pakistan. Although it was by no means an ideal arrangement, even this proposal was not accepted. The Governor-General illegally dissolved the Constituent Assembly shortly before the Draft was to be approved by the Constituent Assembly.

## **CONSTITUTION**

With the passage of time mutual suspicions deepened between the two wings and made even more difficult the task of finding a constitutional settlement. The imposition of One Unit in 1955 further increased inter-regional tension, accentuated polarization between the two wings, encouraging them to view each other virtually as two independent States. In 1956 the second Constituent Assembly, which was not really a representative body passed a new constitution. But it was short-lived and collapsed in two years. Four years later Ayub Khan gave the country yet another constitution which was in reality merely a cover for his personal rule. The struggle for a constitution made by the elected representatives of the people continued. So much for the past melancholy efforts at constitution-making. After a protracted struggle culminating in the victory of the people, now after 24 years, we as the genuine representatives of the people have assembled together on this auspicious day to give a firm and true beginning to the return of democratic constitutional order for the Islamic Republic of Pakistan.

**Hon'ble members:**

In the absence of a constitution, the bureaucratic machine rapidly enhanced its strength. In the first few years of Pakistan, the Civil Service established a good record. The small batch of administrators that fell to the share of Pakistan on partition gave admirable service in the first period of confusion, working under trying conditions in which there was often no office accommodation, not even furniture. It was to their credit that within a brief period essential services like railways, posts and telegraphs began to function.

### **CIVIL SERVICE**

The natural corollary to the absence of democratic institutions and responsible Governments was that the Civil Service became dominant. It soon began to formulate policy instead of merely implementing it. The Civil Service forgot the Quaid's words: "You are not rulers. You do not belong to the ruling class: you belong to the servants." They became part of the power structure of the old guard politicians and the industrialists. Their aim also centered on the preservation of the status quo. They shared the common ambition of self-aggrandizement and enrichment. As early as 1951-52, an official survey carried out by the Special Police (Establishment) revealed that of the 1,134 persons proceeded against under the Foreign Exchange Regulations Act and the Hoarding and Black-marketing Act, 737 were Government servants. Corruption began to spread its tentacles and soon had a malignant stranglehold on the body politic of our country.

### **BUREAUCRACY**

The bureaucracy increasingly strengthened its grip over the affairs of the State. The demarcation of duty between the policy-makers and the implementing officials began to blur and disappear. Ministers gradually became dependent not on public support—the public was indeed allowed minimal expression—but on officials to consolidate their position. They even encouraged civil servants to become Ministers, Prime Ministers and Governor-Generals.

The bureaucratic and military machine who took over the Government of Pakistan comprised a very small group. It was in no way a representative Government. Not only were the vast majority of West Pakistanis excluded from the governmental and administrative process, but, more detrimental in the long run, was the fact that the ruling elite included virtually no Bengalis. Khawaja Nazimuddin, Hussein Shaheed Suhrawardy and Fazlul Haque were a very limited exception.

### **EAST PAKISTAN**

Although Bengalis had been in the forefront of the political struggle for Pakistan—indeed I may go so far as to say that without dedication and sacrifices of Muslim Bengal, Pakistan would not have come into existence—once

the centre of power shifted from the political sphere to the military bureaucratic sphere, Bengalis found that they were excluded and deprived of influence.

East Pakistan was in fact governed by the neo-colonialist capitalists of West Pakistan who exploited the country with callous thoroughness. Fortunes were made in East Pakistan, but not by Bengalis. The same exploitation prevailed throughout Pakistan but its effects were felt more intensely in the East Wing. Hence a deep and lasting hatred was engendered, which finally exploded in violence and bloodshed.

### **HALLOW FARCE**

But this need not have been. On the road to 1971 there were halting places where the path could have been turned in less stony and pitted directions. The advent of General Ayub Khan was welcomed in East Pakistan as the beginning of a new era, because the armed forces enjoyed the confidence of the people. But the hopes of the Bengalis were cruelly shattered. Ayub Khan's claim to introduce democracy proved to be no more than a hallow farce. The 1962 constitution converted a population of nearly 70 million into an electoral college of 40,000 which was closely manipulated and directed from Islamabad. Far from representing the people, these so-called 'elected' representatives stood merely for their own aggrandizement and enrichment. They were completely discredited and regarded as tools of the neo-colonialists. The stage was indeed being set for Sheikh Mujibur Rahman.

The people of Pakistan gave Ayub Khan every opportunity and support to put the country on the road to progress. But he was not a man of the people. He built his power structure on three anti-people forces: basic democrats, bureaucracy and big business. He missed a golden opportunity. The price of his failure was an ever-widening rift between the two wings. It is here that militant Bengali nationalism began to show its face.

### **1965 WAR**

The Indo-Pakistan war in September, 1965 galvanized the people yet again. No sacrifice was too great to maintain the integrity of Pakistan. East Pakistanis in the armed forces and in the civil service gave their all in the service of Pakistan. The people of East Pakistan also stood by their brethren in the West wing who were under attack. But the enthusiasm of the people was soon dissipated. A nation that stood firmly united in September, 1965 began to disintegrate in January 1966 with the Tashkent Declaration. A pall of gloom fell over the people of West Pakistan and a sense of distance and insecurity spread fast in the East Wing.

## **6-POINTS**

In the depressing aftermath, in February 1966, Sheikh Mujibur Rahman entered with his 6-Points may he wrapped in mystery, but there can be no doubt about its impact on Pakistan. At first, Ayub Khan's regime gave wide publicity and coverage to 6-Points, thinking that this would divide the opposition and divert the attention of the people from his capitulation. But within a few months, fearing that he had created a Frankenstein's monster in in 6-Points, Ayub Khan clamped down on the Awami League and put Sheikh Mujibur Rahman in jail.

Although General Ayub Khan survived the crisis after Tashkent, conditions in the country continued to deteriorate and the people became increasingly alienated.

## **PPP**

On the 1st of December 1967 the Pakistan People's Party was founded at Lahore. In September 1968 it had won enough strength to lead a great revolt against the dictatorship of Ayub Khan. The masses throughout the length and breadth of the West Wing supported the Party's struggle. By the end of November the people of East Pakistan had also joined the revolt and by March 1969 Ayub Khan was toppled.

With the removal of General Ayub Khan the way was opened for a new approach to the problems of East Pakistan. At the time when Sheikh Mujibur Rahman first proposed his 6-Point programme, I was Foreign Minister and advocated that since East Pakistanis had genuine grievances there should be a political debate to arrive at an equitable settlement. Ayub Khan, however, rejected this proposal and turned from the weapon of language to the language of weapons. I repeated my views when Yahya Khan assumed power, but his regime was as myopic as its predecessor.

## **Hon'ble members:**

In 21 years of Pakistan's life our people had twice seen the proclamation of Martial Law and the abrogation of the Constitution. At the same time, our people had experienced a rapid deterioration in their economic conditions. By the time General Yahya Khan assumed power, a general breakdown became apparent.

No regime lacking a political base, dependent entirely on bureaucrats, could grapple with the grave socio-economic problems of the country. This was particularly true of a General's junta, without roots in the people, without the participation and support of the people.

## **TRANSFER OF POWER**

Yahya Khan tried to tackle the constitutional problems but not in good faith. He put forward a plan and time-table on the 28th November 1969 for the transfer of power to the elected representatives of the people. At the same time, he took two other important steps and salutary steps to break One Unit and abolished parity between the two wings, thereby introducing the concept of -one-man one-vote- which would thereby give the people of the East Wing their majority rights in the legislature.

His plan was to permit a yearlong election campaign at the end of which the National Assembly would be convened for the purpose of framing a constitution. On 30th of March 1970, he promulgated his Legal Framework Order under which elections would be held and the National Assembly summoned to frame a constitution.

## **GENERAL ELECTIONS**

The general elections for the National Assembly were held on the 7th of December 1970, and elections for the Provincial Assemblies on the 17th of December. The result was an overwhelming victory in East Pakistan for the Awami League led by Sheikh Mujibur Rahman, while in West Pakistan the Pakistan People's Party secured a massive mandate. The way appeared open for the convention of the National Assembly to draw up a constitution and subsequently to tackle the long-standing problems confronting both wings. What went wrong? Why are half the seats in this Assembly vacant?

The answer to a great event lies in the tragic history of Pakistan which I have briefly outlined. The mistakes of the politicians followed by the one-man rule of Ayub Khan and intensified by the follies of Yahya Khan, finally exploded in 1971. Just as Ayub Khan failed to understand the forces behind the demand for autonomy, so also did Yahya Khan. There is a very thin line indeed between maximum autonomy and secession. There is very little to distinguish between a loose federation, confederation and independence. This can be readily seen from the different interpretations given to Six-Points. And to Six-Points we must now turn.

## **PPP's STAND**

The Pakistan People's Party from its inception maintained that Six-Points did not allow for a genuine federation. This was put forward in the Party's foundation documents and consistently thereafter. During the election campaign, the Peoples Party rejected Six-Points without making it a vituperative question. After the elections, the overwhelming victory of the Awami League made Six-Points the critical issue. At the meetings between the Awami League and the People's Party in January, 1971, my Party explained that it was indeed a unique

constitutional proposal which envisaged a federation whose central Government exercised power only in the matters of Defence and Foreign Affairs, the latter in any case being limited by the exclusion of foreign trade and aid.

### **VIABLE CENTRE**

We pointed out that foreign policy in Pakistan, as with most Third World countries, was concerned to a large extent with economic development, and international trade and aid. If these were to be excluded from the field of foreign affairs, it would only leave war and confrontation within the competence of the Central Government, resulting in a deathblow to the foundations of Pakistan's foreign policy. So similarly, defence affairs were closely associated with foreign policy. Without proper control over foreign policy, there could be no means of determining and implementing an effective defence policy. Likewise, the provisions concerning currency were tantamount to establishing two regional rates of exchange particularly in view of the restrictions on inter-wing trade, which would necessitate payment either in foreign exchange or under a barter arrangement. In a nutshell, the National Assembly of 313 members would be virtually redundant, limited as it would have been to the two subjects of defence and foreign affairs, less foreign trade and aid. We pointed out that a Central Government divested of any real authority, would be totally helpless. We went on to explain that we too stood for maximum provincial autonomy, but at the same time desired a viable centre.

The Pakistan People's Party at no time challenged the rights of the Awami League majority. We merely sought a consensus between the two Wings on the constitutional arrangement that was to govern the whole country. And after all, that is what the constitution of any country is about. This desire motivated the Pakistan People's Party both up to the 1st of March and throughout the month of March 1971'.

### **ONE PAKISTAN**

The People's Party maintained that the rationale of Six-Points, based on the virtual independence of the two Wings from each other, was made all the more untenable by the Awami League's demand that they should have complete control of the Central Government, and, as a consequence, the destiny of the West Wing, at least in the field of defence and foreign affairs. The People's Party maintained that the Awami League could rely on their majority only if they accepted the concept of one-Pakistan ; they could not exclude the West Wing majority in a confederal, or a near confederal. Six-Point arrangement in which, of necessity, the two Wings would have to be equal partners, the principle of majority rule was applicable only in a federal arrangement. Under the Awami League's proposal the West Wing would remain a permanent minority in a joint defence arrangement, which would allow only for a rudimentary common



foreign policy; such a tenuous arrangement could not possibly last. If Awami League desired the exclusion of the majority party of the West Wing from the Central Government they would have to modify their Six-Points and accept a genuine federation for Pakistan.

### **HEAVY BURDEN**

Even apart from the imposition of such a constitutional arrangement, the Awami League placed a heavy burden on the West Wing, claiming that the West would be responsible for Rs. 3,800 crores of a total external debt liability of Rs. 4,000 crores, and also for the internal debt to the tune of Rs. 3,100 crores. What was more, according to the Awami League calculations? East Pakistan's contribution towards the running costs of the Central Government was to be only 24 percent, notwithstanding the fact that its population was 56 percent of the total. Even this contribution, according to the Awami League's claim, would be set off against "reparations" due from the West Wing for its past exploitation of the East Wing.

### **SETTLEMENT**

We must take note of the fact that neither before issuing the summons for the Assembly on 13th February, 1971, nor when the session was postponed on the 1st of March, nor at any time before 28th June, 1971 did General Yahya Khan disclose that Mujibur Rahman had earlier given him a positive assurance that there would be negotiations to arrive at a settlement outside the Assembly. Only four months later in his broadcast to the nation on the 28th of June did Yahya Khan disclose that Mujibur Rahman had "clearly indicated that all the major provisions of the constitution would be settled by the political parties in parleys outside the Assembly." The contradictory position taken by Sheikh Mujibur Rahman after the elections by refusing to arrive at any settlement should have been brought to the attention of the people of Pakistan. It could well have facilitated the preliminary negotiations for which the People's Party repeatedly called in those dark days.

### **NA POSTPONED**

We were only given the possibility of one round of discussions with the Awami League leaders. That was in Dacca in January 1971, we returned to the West wing and held meetings with our own party-men and other political parties. We pleaded for a little time—a few weeks but our request was ignored. On the 13th of February General Yahya Khan announced that the National Assembly would be convened on the 3rd March. Equally abruptly, and without consultation, General Yahya Khan on the 1st of March postponed the National Assembly session without fixing a further date.

This suited Sheikh Mujibur Rahman. He did not want to allow the West Wing majority party any time for arriving at a negotiated settlement. After the

elections, Sheikh Mujibur Rahman became completely rigid in his position. He had made up his mind and wanted to push his Six-Points through with the brute strength of his majority in the Assembly.

### **LEGAL FRAMEWORK ORDER**

Sheikh Mujibur Rahman was indeed encouraged by General Yahya Khan's failure to implement his own Legal Framework Order on the question of autonomy until it was too late. Right from the date the Legal Framework Order was promulgated on the 30th of March in 1970 upto the 6th of March, 1971, Yahya Khan made no pronouncement on Six-Points, in spite of the fact that the provisions of the Six-Point formula were clearly in conflict with his Legal Framework Order. By the 6th of March, Sheikh Mujib's position had become too strong, and it was too late. Six-Points which had been disregarded in 1966 and given scant attention even in February 1969 had become the creed of the people in East Pakistan. With the active support of big business and the East Pakistani administration, the Awami League's position had strengthened significantly towards the end of 1969, and soared in 1970, reaching an apogee when it was allowed to turn the tragic November cyclone to its advantage.

### **DILEMMA**

With the announcement of the National Assembly session for 3rd of March, 1971, the People's Party faced a dilemma. We believed that the best way to arrive at a settlement was for the two majority Parties to reach a broad understanding of the constitutional and political issues involved before the Assembly was convened. If this were not achieved, at least the Assembly itself would remain intact. But if, on the other hand, the crisis were to be met within the Assembly, the deadlock would result in the breakdown of the Assembly itself. Thus closing the final door on democracy.

### **PPP's PROPOSALS**

On the 15th of February at Peshawar I said that the Pakistan People's Party would participate in the session if given assurance, even private, that we would be heard and, if found reasonable, our proposals would be considered by the Awami League. No such assurance was given. Then on the 28th of February at Lahore, I put forward two alternatives: either the 120-day limitation imposed by the Legal Framework Order should be waived, or a brief postponement allowed. But the postponement of the Assembly sine die on the 1st of March and the violent reaction of the Awami League in East Pakistan set at naught the efforts of the People's Party to arrive at a preliminary settlement. Therefore, when General Yahya Khan announced on the 6th of March that the Assembly was to be reconvened on the 23rd of March, the People's Party agreed to attend the session. But this session was fated never to be.

## SECESSION

From the 21st to the 25th of March discussions were held at Dacca at which the Government, the Awami League and the People's Party participated. During these talks the People's Party maintained that any settlement should be put to vote of the National Assembly. However, Sheikh Mujibur Rahman was set on his path of secession and nothing could stop him. He insisted that the two Committees for the East and West Wings should sit separately *ab initio*. He refused to have a meeting of the National Assembly. Whereas three weeks earlier the announcement of the postponement had provoked the Awami League to go on a rampage, Sheikh Mujibur Rahman now did not want the Assembly to meet at all. Whereas previously he had insisted that all matters should be settled within the Assembly, on the 7th of March he raised a four-point demand which he insisted should be met outside the Assembly before he would, to use his own words, "consider" attending the Assembly. Whereas he had said that there was no necessity for talks between the majority Parties before the Assembly, he now insisted that his entire proposal should be settled by the Parties without the Assembly meeting, even briefly.

## MILITARY ACTION

The story of our endeavors made to arrive at an equitable constitutional settlement is well known and requires no repetition now. Sheikh Mujib's rigidity left only two alternatives to General Yahya Khan capitulation or military action. General Yahya Khan took the second course. He resorted to military action in the face of a movement which, let no one doubt, was secessionist. If any one doubts this then the first words of Sheikh Mujibur Rahman on returning to Dacca in January after ten months of incarceration should dispel doubt. He said that he had realized his dream of a sovereign independent -Bangle Desh."

General Yahya Khan decided to clamp down not only in the East Wing but throughout the country. Martial Law was tightened and strict censorship was introduced. Public meetings and political activities were banned. There was to be no check on the Generals' Junta; there was to be no limitation to its rule. They were the masters.

### **Hon'ble members :**

The final tragedy of December 1971 followed the great tragedy of March 1971. Little purpose is served in recounting here the sordid details of the bloody and ignominious chapter in our history.

## SUBJUGATION

Limited military action was necessary as a last resort to counter secession; but through its own grave mistakes the Generals' regime began to lose East Pakistan from the very day it sought to save it through military action. The regime

pursued a policy of military subjugation of the East Wing. No effort whatsoever was made to win the hearts of our Bengali brethren, and in particular progressive forces were singled out for liquidation. As early as the night of 26th March, immediately on my return from Dacca to Karachi, I told the regime that East Pakistan could not be saved unless a solution of a political nature is found. I pointed out that military measures would become meaningless unless they formed a part of an overall political policy. East Pakistan had to be satisfied if it was to be saved—there must be an end to domination and exploitation both political and economic. Long over-due economic reforms of a basic character had to be implemented without delay. If the correct course were not followed, why should East Pakistan want to stay as part of Pakistan—what stake would they have left in Pakistan with their inherent rights denied them? I emphasised strongly the need and importance of a political solution to the crisis. But my advice went unheeded. The junta went on their merry way, after all why they should not—they were the rulers.

### **TRANSFER OF POWER**

The regime continued its policy of attrition. It deliberately attempted to create a political vacuum. Realizing that the solution to the problems of East Pakistan would be made more difficult, if not impossible, if the situation were allowed to continue, I called for the transfer of power. This demand I voiced as early as 25th of April 1971 at Lahore. The political problems of the country could be solved only by political means and this would not be achieved except by transferring power.

Events were moving fast. On the 28th of June 1971 General Yahya Khan, departing from his Legal Framework Order, announced a new plan and timetable for the restoration of democracy. He had decided to impose a dictated constitution on the people of Pakistan. He tried to get pre-acceptance of all political parties. All the other political parties acquiesced, if not supported, General Yahya Khan's plan of 28th June. But the People's Party resisted. In my first communication with General Yahya Khan, after the announcement of 28th June, I pointed out that he had no mandate to frame the constitution. Against all odds the Pakistan People's Party pursued its struggle for the restoration of the people's rights.

### **INDO-SOVIET PACT**

After the Indo-Soviet Pact was signed on the 9th August, 1971, the danger to Pakistan's territorial integrity became imminent. To save East Pakistan immediate political and economic measures were imperative more than ever before. But these issues were beyond the comprehension of the junta.

On the 2nd of September I told Yahya Khan's regime that "if force and not reform is for a protracted period the main instrument of policy, then East Pakistan would be pushed beyond the pale": it was not a matter of years but of months before the limit was overstepped. Then again at the Quaid-i-Azam's mazar on the 11th of September I called for an immediate end to the rule of the Generals saying that the country was "virtually on the brink of collapse."

In a major policy statement on the 29th of September, 1971, I declared:

"It is our considered opinion that if democracy is not restored before the end of the year, it will be too late to salvage and save Pakistan... Let me now put everyone on notice that the present regime cannot cope with the mess."

I lamented:

"O my people! Let this long night of terror and uncertainty come to an end."

I also demanded that:

"The rule of the Generals must end and the people of Pakistan must take their destiny in their own hands."

### **VICTIMISATION**

But no heed was paid to our pleas. For our advice we suffered further victimization. Our appeal for a political settlement resulted in General Yahya Khan's attempts to foist a puppet Government on the people of Pakistan.

General Yahya planned to give a constitution to the people in a manner which, as I said on the 28th of November:

"casts aspersion on the patriotism of every elected representative and puts the whole nation under a cloud of suspicion. It arrogates to an individual the sole authority and wisdom to determine the loyalty and affection of the whole populace to the motherland.. It is clearly repugnant to the people's thinking and militates against the demands of the nation as a whole... The scheme is neither acceptable nor viable."

### **INDIAN AGGRESSION**

Meantime, the Indians had on the 22nd of November launched an attack on the Eastern half of Pakistan. Instead of concentrating on Indian aggression, the Junta continued in their efforts to entrench and perpetuate their rule. On the 3rd of December the war spread to the Western front. By the 10th of December the first

surrender message was conveyed to the United Nations from East Pakistan. On the 14th of December a formal surrender message was conveyed, and on the 17th of December cease-fire was accepted in the West Wing. These are recent events still raw in our minds and do not require to be dilated upon.

### **MANOEUVERING**

In spite of all the concerted efforts and last minute maneuvering to retain power General Yahya Khan was finally compelled on the 20th of December, 1971 to transfer power. The rule of the Generals was brought to an end – the voice of the people prevailed. But military rule had resulted in the loss of half the country, and the remaining half was also near disintegration on the 20th of December, 1971, when I assumed office.

### **Hon'ble members :**

Even on the 29th of September, 1971 I said:

“The call of the People’s Party for the transfer of power reflected only the aspirations and wishes of the people who voted for the party, and it was our unshakable conviction that this was the only way to preserve Pakistan. With the exchequer empty, the economy in chaos, with a directionless foreign policy, with a frustrated and angry population, transfer of power meant only the transfer of onerous responsibility. We know that no bed of roses lay ahead. But we had committed ourselves to the people of Pakistan to effect a grand reconciliation through socialism and democracy. We could not escape from this responsibility.”

When I look back today on what we inherited on the 20th of December, the position in September appears rosy in contrast.

### **TOTAL DISARRAY**

The circumstances under which I was called, on the demand of the people, to take over the ship of State on the 20th of December, 1971, are well known and I hope, by now, well understood. Desperate men who were blinded by their lust for power and seemed to have been possessed by a death wish, had first destroyed and then surrendered half the country to an aggressor. The other half was in imminent danger of destruction. The people of West Pakistan were lost and completely demoralized. Every institution worth the name, every field of human endeavor, was in total disarray. The air was thick with intrigue and conspiracy. An appalling defeat and disgrace had been inflicted on our unprepared people. Above all, the enemies of Pakistan were on top of us. Despite these catastrophic circumstances, I was duty-bound to the people to take over responsibility on that fateful day last December.

## **VIRTUAL SKELETON**

Let us all be quite clear about the reasons which led me to undertake a seemingly hopeless task. It certainly was not a hunger for power that influenced my decision. I was only inheriting death, destruction and humiliation, a virtual skeleton of a State. At such a time it is the basic obligation of every citizen to do his best for his motherland. But even more so I was compelled to accept this challenge because of my commitment to the people. My Party had been given a massive mandate in the elections, and in the hour of supreme crisis it was our bounden national duty to try and save the burning ship of State, even if we perished in the effort.

My first priority, as I said at the time, was to restore the shattered morale of the people. This was absolutely imperative. For without the collective response, without the active cooperation of the people, no leader and no government can hope to succeed even in normal times, let alone in the time of total crisis that faced us.

## **RAY OF LIGHT**

Thus, within a matter of hours of my accepting the awesome responsibility, several steps were initiated to come to grips with the situation, physically and psychologically. The Generals who had brought disgrace and destruction to the nation were removed and civilian authority established over the Armed Forces. A Commission of inquiry, headed by the Chief Justice of the Supreme Court, was appointed to inquire into the military debacle. These swift actions and the demonstration of my Government's unshakable resolve to preserve Pakistan in honour and dignity dispelled at least some of the gloom and restored a measure of confidence amongst the people. A ray of light penetrated the depths of darkness in which the people had been made to fall.

So we set out on the long march to healing and reconstruction. Everything was crying out loud for immediate attention. Without loss of time we started picking up the pieces, moving simultaneously on several fronts, both at home and abroad—for it was, and still is, a race against time. Many of the immense problems that assailed our nation would certainly have overwhelmed us had we failed to move fast.

## **IMMEDIATE RELIEF**

We had to contend with the consequences of Indian aggression and occupation, and the threat of further violations of our frontiers. Then again, the overwhelming majority of our people, groaning under a tyrannical system, needed immediate assistance and relief. On both these fronts, we have moved ahead notwithstanding the serious limitations imposed by the highly delicate national and international situation. We have proceeded within the framework of

policy and basic philosophy which were the electoral platform of the Pakistan People's Party. There has been no deviation. There cannot be any deviation by a leadership which is rooted in the people, which derives its entire political strength from the people. We have in the short span of four months introduced many reforms. They are recent events. I do not wish to take the House's time unnecessarily by mentioning them here. Let history and the people of Pakistan judge our reforms.

## **REFORMS**

The reforms that have been introduced by your Government are only a first step, but a vital one, in the process of restoring to the people their inherent rights. When fully implemented, the reforms will bring about a constructive change in the existing structure and complexion of our society and will revitalize the fields of education, health, agriculture, labour and finance. Let me assure you that these measures are not going to join the dust-heap of past reforms. They will be implemented, and implemented in full and with speed by your Government.

In the brief period of four months the people's Government has worked ceaselessly to deal with numerous other problems as well. We have endeavored to dismantle gradually the well-entrenched apparatus of the rulers, and, step by step, and frequently several steps at a time, tried to replace it with representative institutions and individuals at all levels.

## **NATIONAL UNITY**

Provincial Governments are being established which reflect the majority parties in the provinces. The Central Government includes representatives of other political parties to strengthen national unity.

While dealing with a multitude of problems in Pakistan and initiating actions to give a sense of purpose and direction to the nation, we had to salvage at the same time our position internationally. The folly and blunders of our predecessors had made us a target of abuse for the world. International public opinion, much of the world Press and many powerful governments had turned against us. Even some of the friendly countries were beginning to despair of us.

Foreign relations had reached their lowest ebb in the history of Pakistan, and it was against this background that I undertook several lightning visits abroad to reestablish our position. In the hour of need, one inevitably turns first to friends and neighbours. My first journey abroad was a brief visit to Kabul which shows the importance we attach to our closest neighbor, Afghanistan. I am happy to inform the House, that I had useful discussions in Kabul.



## **VISITS ABROAD**

On the subject of first visits, the first Head of State to visit Pakistan after the crisis was His Majesty the Shahinshah of Iran. We deeply appreciated this gesture of solidarity by the leader of a neighbouring nation. I would be failing in my duty if I did not here mention that, in every crisis, Turkey, the People's Republic of China and Iran have stood by our cause with unstinted and unhesitating support. My first major visit abroad took me to the Muslim world—to Iran, Turkey, Morocco, Algeria, Tunisia, Libya, Egypt and Syria. The main purpose of this mission was to reassure our friends at the highest level that we were taking a firm hold of our national affairs, to thank them for their past help and to seek their understanding for our grave predicament. Our Muslim brothers showed warm sympathy, understanding and support for our position. It was a mission of renaissance—the re-birth of our relations with the Muslim world.

## **CHINA**

My second mission outside the country was to the People's Republic of China. The Government and the great people of China have stood by Pakistan through all our trials and tribulations. As in the past, so they did again in 1971. We went to Peking to express our gratitude in person. We returned further inspired and strengthened in the knowledge of their friendship and increased support.

Another country which upheld the fundamental principle of international law and morality in our moment of crisis was the United States. At the time of my appearance before the Security Council in December last, I had already visited the United States and conferred with President Nixon. Before December and subsequently, the United States played an honorable and forthright role in the crisis confronting the sub-continent, and we appreciate the support and understanding they have shown us.

Since assuming office, I could not go everywhere abroad myself—but I have sent personal envoys to the United States again and to several countries of Asia, Africa, Europe and the Middle East. They have explained our position and sought support for Pakistan. Two of my Ministers have recently returned from missions covering Japan, Malaysia, Indonesia, the Democratic People's Republic of Korea and the Democratic Republic of North Vietnam.

On the 16th of March, I went to the Soviet Union, our great northern neighbor, to repair our mutual relations. I am happy to inform the House that without compromising our basic principles, we were able to convince the leaders of the Soviet Union that we desired peace in the sub-continent and good relations with all states in our propinquity. I am glad that we have been able to normalize our relations with this Great Power and neighbouring state.

**Hon'ble members:**

As a result of the reactivation of our foreign policy, I can safely say that there is today a much greater understanding of our position throughout the world. We are approached more in the spirit of constructive enquiry rather than as an object of derision and abuse.

**POWs**

The field of our immediate concern was, and continues to be, the consequences of Indian aggression. India has not only vivisected, to borrow a favorite Gandhian phrase, our motherland to create a new State by force, what is more, large tracts of what is left to us are also under Indian occupation. Then there are the 93,000 Pakistani prisoners of war being held by India in patent violation of the Geneva Convention and all norms of International conduct.

**Hon'ble members of the House:**

When I assumed the responsibility of Government and viewed the debris, I resolved in my mind that the only sane course to follow was to seek an accommodation with India on the basis of an honorable and just settlement. Similarly, I resolved that though it was perhaps too late to bring what in Dacca they now call "Bengla Desh" back to the fold in some form or the other, this had to be done and this required negotiations.

**MUJIB'S RELEASE**

It was in the light of this genuine desire for peace and amity in the South Asian sub-continent that I made several gestures, principally the unconditional release of Sheikh Mujibur Rahman. In addition, several approaches were \* made through third parties both to India and Sheikh Mujib for holding negotiations designed to bring lasting tranquility to our region.

There has been some limited progress but no spectacular breakthrough so far, but it is not for want of genuine efforts on our part. Instead of grasping our hand of friendship, both India and Sheikh Mujibur Rahman's "Sonar Bangla" have been doing many things that can only stoke the fires of hostility and hatred. Non-Bengalis are being massacred in East Bengal in the name of secularism. Our prisoners of war are being ill-treated and provoked by the Indians. There are threats of war crimes trials.

**Hon'ble members:**

We want to live in peace with India. We want Sheikh Mujibur Rahman to overcome his problems and his difficulties. For we ardently believe that the people of the whole sub-continent deserve a better future than the constant friction and conflict that has marred their past. Our people, both theirs and ours,

are too poor to live in a state of permanent hostility. We want to direct all our energies from wars of destruction to wars on poverty, illiteracy and hunger. We shall go on trying to resolve our differences and shall always remain ready to seize any reasonable opportunity to realize this supreme objective.

### **Dictated Peace**

But what we do not want, and what no true Pakistani will ever accept, is a dictated, imposed peace. Such a settlement, let us make no mistake about this, will mean subjugation and servitude, a living death. I shall never be a party to such an ignominious settlement.

We are prepared to resolve all our bilateral differences. But we cannot bargain State Principles for human flesh. The right of self-determination of the people of Jammu and Kashmir has not been bestowed on them either by India or Pakistan – it is their inherent right which no one can take away from them.

We made many overtures, took many initiatives, and now India has come back with her first positive response. Recently, I received a letter from the Prime Minister of India stating that India was prepared to discuss all outstanding issues unconditionally and that she seeks peaceful co-existence with Pakistan. My answer welcoming this approach has been communicated to her.

### **Good Beginning**

It is my earnest hope that the negotiations we are going to start will be conducted in a spirit of fairness. Given that kind of approach, there is no reason why we should not make a good beginning and resolve amicably at least the more pressing issues.

While dealing with our immediate problems with our neighbours, we have also to keep in view our long-term objectives in the changed circumstances. The severance of our Eastern limb by force has significantly altered our geographic focus. This will naturally affect our geo-political perspective. The geographical distance between us and the nations of South East Asia has grown. This does not mean that we have lost interest in the welfare of their peoples. Nevertheless, at the moment, as we stand, it is within the ambit of South and Western Asia. It is here that our primary concern must henceforth lie.

### **Giant Neighbours**

There is the whole uninterrupted belt of Muslim nations, beginning with Iran and Afghanistan and culminating on the shores of the Atlantic with Morocco. With the people of all these States we share a cultural heritage, religious beliefs and a good deal of history. There is, thus, a solid community of interest which is further buttressed by the similarity of our aspirations and our hopes. Clearly we

have to make a major effort in building upon the fraternal ties that already bind us to the Muslim world. However, I want to make it clear that our endeavors to strengthen further our relations with the Muslim States to the West of Pakistan does not mean that we in any way seek to reduce our own national identity and separateness.

Our position in Asia also inevitably makes our relations with our two giant northern neighbours, the People's Republic of China and the Soviet Union, of prime importance to us. Our ties with the People's Republic of China have always been close; their support in the recent crisis has forged an even deeper and more enduring friendship between us. As for the Soviet Union, I am glad to repeat that the discussions we held in Moscow pointed the way to a happier relationship and understanding.

### **UNITED STATES**

While the Great Powers who are our neighbours are naturally of most immediate concern to us. We must also look to the colossal industrial and military powers whose policies have an intimate effect upon affairs everywhere. The United States of America has helped us generously in the past. With our policy of friendship with China now vindicated, the strain between US has been removed. And in view of the helpful attitude of the United States over the past few months, there is every hope of continued and deepening friendship between our countries. Similarly, we shall try to develop friendly bilateral ties with the major industrial States in Europe.

### **Hon'ble members:**

The question may be asked whether it is possible to have good relations with all the Great Powers and yet maintain basic national interests. I say yes, as I maintained some years ago when I was Foreign Minister. Yes, it is possible, if an ethical foreign policy based on fundamental national principles is pursued without taking a partisan approach to the Great Power differences. It can be achieved by pursuing a bilateral foreign policy of which, I can say with some pride, I was author when I held office as Foreign Minister.

### **COMMONWEALTH**

Independence and self-respect must be the basis of our foreign policy. It was for this reason that we decided to leave the Commonwealth, though the abandonment of long-held ties is never easy. But we want nevertheless to maintain and strengthen bilateral relations with the countries of the Commonwealth. The recent visit of the British Foreign Secretary led us to hope for improved relations between our two countries.

**Distinguished members:**

When we speak of our foreign policy aims and objectives, we have, of course, to remember that it would be a futile exercise unless and until we are a strong and united nation. In the absence of this essential prerequisite, we cannot hope to play a part even remotely commensurate with our reduced size, let alone our ambitions. Therefore we have to shape our internal plans and policies in such a way that they held the people of Pakistan into a strong vibrant and lively nation.

**SWEAT & SACRIFICE**

If we look objectively at our history and the state of our nation today, we shall have to acknowledge that the primary cause of our troubles and our weaknesses lies in the neglect and betrayal of our people. They have been treated like sub-humans, insulted at every step, deprived not only of their basic rights and needs, but also of hope itself. What crime have our people committed that they should have been so denied and abused? Are they not Muslims who fought and shed their blood for the creation of our sacred homeland? Their deprivations and their humiliations are a blot on our nationhood, and unless we recognize this we cannot even begin to set our house in order. Only through the sweat and sacrifice of countless millions of poor people was Pakistan created—and only they can now preserve it.

Ironically enough, we now come full circle. At the outset of Pakistan, the rights of each individual Pakistani had been fully recognised. On the 26th of March 1948, Quaid-i-Azam said:

“You are only voicing my sentiments and the sentiments of millions of Mussalmans when you say that Pakistan should be based on the sure foundations of social justice and Islamic socialism which emphasizes equality and brotherhood of Man. Similarly you are voicing my thoughts in asking and in aspiring for equal opportunities for all...”

Quaid-i-Millat Liaquat All Khan reiterated this theme in August 1949 by declaring:

“There are a number of issues being talked about now-a-days. But we are convinced that for us there is only one issue, namely Islamic socialism which, in a nutshell, means that every person in this land has equal rights to be provided with food, shelter, clothing, education and medical facilities.”

**ISLAMIC SOCIALISM**

But it was not for over 20 years that the meaning of Islamic socialism was to be implemented. In the intervening time those who paid lip service to democracy

brazenly exploited the people and reduced them to an unparalleled level of humiliation and drudgery.

### **Hon'ble members of the House**

All this has to come to an end now and a tragic chapter brought to a close. The night of terror has given way to the dawn of a new era. In the new beginning that we have made, the long-suffering people of our land are our central concern and a sacrosanct responsibility. They are our real wealth and our most potent resource. I have made certain specific commitments to them, and, *Inshallah*, I shall redeem all the pledges I have made. We are going to lift the burden of our poor people everywhere. We are going to give them a vital stake in our national future and well-being. What is more, I am equally determined to remove in the shortest possible time all regional disparities. Certain decisions have already been taken doubling the allocation of development resources to Baluchistan and the Frontier Provinces. Others will follow.

### **JUST SOCIAL ORDER**

Apart from the obvious requirements of justice and equity between man and man and between regions, there is a fundamental philosophy governing this approach. Our economic muscle and national cohesion can grow only with a just economic and social order. It is only when every peasant and every worker and the entire population of all the regions are convinced in their own mind that each one of them is striving and struggling for the good of all that the creative energies of the entire nation will be fully harnessed. Otherwise we shall not overcome our national crisis.

This total national effort is also imperative for another reason. We are exposed to grave external dangers. The size and scope of the threat are such that it would be unfair to expect our gallant Armed Forces to meet it alone. Our brave people will have to share the burden with the valiant forces and stand shoulder to shoulder with them in the defence of our motherland.

### **COOPERATION**

In our egalitarian society, there is, of course, a place for everyone—the worker and the enlightened industrialist and businessman, the peasant and the fair-minded landowner. All can contribute to the challenging process of national reconstruction and national reconciliation. We must all pull together. I need and seek the constructive cooperation of every male and female citizen. I carry in my hand no magic wand. I alone can achieve no miracles. But with the cooperation of the people, we can move ahead rapidly on an exciting new course to finally create the Pakistan our Quaid-i-Azam set out to build, and for which millions have struggled and sacrificed.

## **FUTURE WELL-BEING**

The members of this House have a special responsibility. You, as the elected representatives of the people, must be the highest expression of their needs and aspirations. But as well as reflecting them, you have a duty to set an example and act as an inspiration to those whom you represent. The future wellbeing of our country lies in the success of this august House.

In the immediate term we have to fulfill the solemn responsibility of bestowing on Pakistan an Interim Constitution. Expectations in the country are high. In the selfish interests of a few, we should not be deprived for nearly a generation of a truly representative government. So often have the people been failed. Let not the people say that, when they are at last at the point of victory, their own representatives finally failed them.

## **INTERIM CONSTITUTION**

I want to emphasize that our immediate task in these three days is to adopt for our people an Interim Constitution. The making of the permanent Constitution will be the responsibility of the House when it re-convenes on the 14th of August, 1972, after a Committee of the House prepares and presents a Draft Constitution on the 1st of August.

There were two main options possible for us as the basis of the Interim Constitution—the Government of India Act, 1935, read in conjunction with the Indian Independence Act, 1947, with consequential amendments, or the 1962 Constitution with consequential amendments.

In these dark and difficult days it was decided to go back to the creation of Pakistan to recapture the idealism and fervor of the Father of the Nation. So we are adopting the Constitution with which they began the task of building Pakistan. We have consequently settled for an Interim Constitution based on the Government of India Act, 1935, read in conjunction with the Indian Independence Act, 1947, with consequential amendments.

## **PERMANENT CONSTITUTION**

In adopting the Interim Constitution the House does not abandon any position it may take in making the permanent Constitution for the country—neither in the precise form of government nor in the exact measure of autonomy for the provinces. These require detailed discussion and debate—and this the House will fully enjoy when it reconvenes on the 14th of August. The draft of the Interim Constitution which is before you provides for a parliamentary form of Government. It also provides for the measures of autonomy which the provinces enjoyed prior to the imposition of One Unit in the West Wing. Similar autonomy is enjoyed by the States of India. The House may in the exercise of its year-long

constitution-making powers, commencing from the 14th August, decide to supplement this measure of autonomy or make any other provisions. We have deliberately not made any major departure from the original enactments – this in order to allow the House a free hand in making the permanent Constitution. The draft of the Interim Constitution provides for its own amendment, during the same period, prior to the finalizing of the permanent Constitution. The Minister for Law and Parliamentary Affairs in moving the Bill for the Interim Constitution will explain its salient features in more detail.

For several good reasons it was decided to have a short session with limited debate. The purpose is to allow for an early return of constitutional Government based on the Interim Constitution. A long-drawn-out debate at this stage would merely postpone the adoption of the Interim Constitution and consequently delay the return to constitutional rule.

**Hon'ble members of the distinguished House:**

This great day, in fact, this very minute, I have a most decisive announcement to make. In my hand now I have the commitment and pledge of over one hundred members of this august Assembly to vote for the approval of continuation of Martial Law till 14th of August, 1972. I am thankful to these Honourable members. I am particularly grateful to those who although belong to other political parties, have reposed their confidence in my leadership and my judgment. They know full well that I will not retain Martial Law one day longer than is absolutely necessary. This was my commitment to the people of Pakistan. It was my commitment to those over 100 members comprising more than 70% of the present strength of this House. It is in deference to them and not to those who played with the safety and security of the State that when and only if this House adopts, on the 17th of April, 1972, the Interim Constitution now before it, Martial Law will stand lifted on the 21st of April 1972.

*(Cheers)*

....and not 14th of August 1972. Despite the inherent risks in the situation, I have decided that for the confidence reposed by over 100 members amongst you for the sake of the people of Pakistan who joined me in my struggle against Martial Law we should accept these risks.

**Hon'ble members:**

History beckons us, and our people are ready to march forward. Do we, the members of this distinguished Assembly, have the courage and wisdom to lead our people towards their cherished goal, democracy? As the Quaid said: "Democracy is in our blood, it is in our marrow." When the fruit of democracy is within our reach, shall we now fail to grasp it?



## **FAILURE IS UNKNOWN**

Let us indeed remember the Quaid-i-Azam's words: "Failure is a word unknown to me." Such resolve and determination brought Pakistan into being. The people of Pakistan have been failed too long, they have too long been denied their rights. We have failed to honour the Quaid's pledge of Islamic Socialism. We have failed even to safeguard the integrity of our country. We cannot afford more failures.

Let us together resolve to banish the word failure from the vocabulary of Pakistan. Let us build our own success, and *Inshallah* we shall realize the dream of Pakistan. I thank you.

Pakistan Zindabad

## HAMOOD-UR-RAHMAN COMMISSION

*The text of the Press Note issued by the Government on December 24, 1971.*

The President has decided to set up a Commission of Enquiry headed by Chief Justice of Pakistan, Mr. Justice Hamood-urRahman, to enquire into the circumstances leading to the military debacle in East Pakistan and the ceasefire in the West.

The enquiry is being held under the Commission of Enquiries Act, 1956.

The Chairman has been given full powers to enable the Enquiry Commission to conduct a thorough and comprehensive enquiry.

## PAKISTAN QUILTS COMMONWEALTH

*The text of the Press Note issued by the Government on January 30, 1972.*

The Government of Pakistan has issued the following statement on 30th January 1972:

The Government has been informed today that United Kingdom proposes to recognize the so-called Bangla Desh Government soon. Australia and New Zealand have conveyed that they will announce recognition tomorrow.

The President had stated categorically that in the event of Commonwealth countries taking such a step. Pakistan would have to leave the Commonwealth.

### **APPROVAL OF AGGRESSION**

It is a matter of regret that the very countries which had been in the vanguard of Commonwealth Association have decided to act in a manner which is contrary to the basic interests of a member State, and strikes at the very roots of principles of their association and respect for sovereignty of its members, on which the Commonwealth is founded. Their decision puts a seal of respectability and approval on an act of blatant aggression by some members of the Commonwealth against another member. It endorses the use of force to dismember an independent sovereign State. If such an action, which is contrary to the Charter of the United Nations, is in conflict with international law, besides being immoral, is encouraged by the Commonwealth, then many of its members, in Asia and Africa, can have little confidence in their future.

The British Crown which is the symbol of the Commonwealth and signified freedom and emancipation, is now being made into a symbol of military occupation and enslavement of part of a Commonwealth country by another member of the Commonwealth.

The people of Pakistan strongly resent and reject this action by the European members of the Commonwealth which is aimed against their dignity, self-respect and National integrity. Therefore, in response to the wishes of the people, the Government has decided that with immediate effect Pakistan's membership of the Commonwealth stands terminated.

## **NATIONALIZATION OF LIFE INSURANCE BUSINESS.**

*The text of the Press Note issued by the Government on March 19, 1972.*

1. The Government has decided to nationalize Life Insurance Business in Pakistan with immediate effect. Under a Presidential Order, promulgated today, the management of all life insurance business has been vested in the Central Government. Trustees have been appointed to take over the management. General Insurance Business will continue to be transacted by the existing companies, as hitherto.
2. Private ownership of Life Insurance Companies has led to the growth of monopolies and the concentration of wealth. The small savings of a large number of persons has been utilized to build up the wealth of a few industrial groups. Previous efforts at reform and regulation of the Life Insurance Business have not borne fruit.

### **SHORTCOMINGS**

3. The shortcomings of the Life Insurance Industry in Pakistan were identified by a committee of enquiry as long ago as 1963. Under private ownership, the rights of policy-holders have not been fully protected, in all cases. The return received by policy-holders on their savings is often inadequate. The working of the Insurance Companies leaves much to be desired. Administrative expenditures are excessive. The lapsation ratio of policies is high. There are numerous malpractices in the matter of investments, payment of commission etc. Complete nationalization was the only remedy available to Government.
4. The benefits accruing from nationalization of Life Insurance Business will be manifold. Nationalization will be a major step towards reducing the concentration of monopoly powers in the economy. The inter-locking of Life Insurance Companies with the interests of major industrial groups would be automatically broken. The nationalization of Life Insurance Industry would help to increase personal savings and augment the resources available for development. A more judicious investment of life insurance funds would also promote healthy economic growth.

### **MANY BENEFITS**

5. Policy-holders will benefit in many ways. Nationalization will ensure complete protection to policy-holders from defaults in payment of claims either due to malpractices or the unsound financial position of the weaker insurance companies. Secondly, there will be an increase in financial benefits. The

nationalization scheme provides for an increase in the allocation of the surplus to policyholders from 90% to 97%. Administrative expenditure will be cut down through greater economy. Better investments would yield a higher income, in major proportion of which will go to policy-holders. Nationalization will make it possible to ensure that high standards of efficiency and service are extended throughout the country.

### **HIGH STANDARDS**

6. To the persons working in the Insurance Industry, nationalization offers an opportunity to pursue their profession, free from the pressure of vested interests. It will be possible for the members of the insurance profession to modernize and improve techniques and to maintain high ethical standards of work and conduct. Nationalization will facilitate the introduction of long overdue reforms for the improvement and rationalization of the field organization.

7. The nationalization measure affects 43 Insurance Companies. Of these, 39 are Pakistani companies and 4 are foreign companies. The majority of these companies transact both Life and General Insurance Business and only 12 companies are exclusively engaged in Life Business.

8. The magnitude of the life insurance business, taken over by Government, is reflected in the following statistics relating to the latest year, for which complete figures are available.

Assets of life fund	Rs. 106 crores
Annual receipts	Rs. 33.71 crores
Annual out-go	Rs. 17.44 crores
Total number of policies	5,21,275

It is estimated that the total assets in the Life Fund have increased to Rs. 130 crores by the end of 1971.

### **INTERIM MEASURE**

9. As an interim measure, pending the re-organization of the industry, each company will retain its present separate entity. The trustees appointed by Government will have all the powers of the Board of Directors. The trustees have been drawn exclusively from the Life Insurance profession, and include both Insurance executives and actuaries.

10. The Government has constituted a Board of Management to control, guide and coordinate the work of the trustees.

11. The order makes provision for continuing in service, the employees of Life Insurance Companies, both during the interim stage as well as subsequently, when a Government Corporation is established.

12. In the case of composite companies, which transact both Life and General Insurance business, the assets pertaining to General Insurance will not be nationalized. The order makes appropriate provision for the allocation of assets and liabilities between Life and General Insurance Business.

### **RECOVERIES**

13. Provision has been made for recovery from insurance companies of illegal expenditures or illegal transfer of assets at any time during the last 15 years. The Government have also assumed powers to effect recoveries in cases where the companies have overvalued their assets or under-valued the liabilities.

14. The principal objective of nationalization is to re-organise the life insurance business on sound and economic lines. For this purpose, Government will set up, as early as possible, one or more Corporations for the purpose of transacting Life Insurance Business. The companies taken over by Government will be merged in those new Corporations.

15. Compensation will be paid for acquisition of Life Insurance Business. The insurers would have the option to take back their paid-up capital or to receive the capitalized value of their annual average earnings based on the operations during the 6 year period ending 1969. The compensation will be determined by an authority to be designated by Government. An appeal against a decision of this authority will lie to a tribunal.

## FOREIGN VISITS.

The text of the Press Note issued by the Government on January 11, 1972 regarding President Bhutto's visit to Kabul.

The President Mr. Z.A. Bhutto, accompanied by Air Marshal A. Rahim Khan paid an unscheduled visit to Kabul from Peshawar on January 11, 1972.

He rushed aside all protocol formalities to visit a neighbouring Muslim country which is bound to Pakistan by faith, history and geography. The people of Pakistan appreciated the friendly and brotherly outlook of the Afghan nation during the days of their worst crisis. The President, therefore, felt it necessary to go to Kabul personally on behalf of the people of Pakistan to thank His Majesty the King of Afghanistan, the Afghan Government and the people of Afghanistan for the understanding they have shown both of our people and our situation.

### FRIENDLY DISCUSSIONS

Soon after the President's arrival in Kabul the two Heads of State held friendly discussions. They reviewed the international situation and recent happenings in the subcontinent and discussed matters of mutual interest.

His Majesty the King of Afghanistan was assisted during the talks by His Royal Highness Sardar Abdul Wali Khan, H.E. Abdul Zahir Khan. Prime Minister of Afghanistan; the Deputy Prime Minister; Minister of Court; Minister of Foreign Affairs and Deputy Minister of Foreign Affairs.

Air Marshal A. Rahim Khan, C-in-C Pakistan Air Force, Pakistan's Ambassador and Counsellor in Afghanistan assisted the President.

Earlier on arrival at the Kabul airport the President was warmly received by His Majesty the King, His Royal Highness Sardar Abdul Wali Khan, H.E. Dr. Abdul Zahir Khan, the Afghan Prime Minister, the Deputy Prime Minister and the Foreign Minister of Afghanistan. Members of the Pakistan Embassy and the Pakistani community residing in Kabul were also present to welcome the President.

The President returned to the capital from Kabul the same evening.

*The text of Pakistan-Iran Joint Communiqué issued by the Government on January 25, 1972 regarding President Bhutto's visit to Iran.*

On the invitation of His Imperial Majesty Mohammad Reza Shah Pahalvi Aryamehr, the President of Pakistan Mr. Zulfikar Ali Bhutto paid a short visit to Iran on January 24, 1972. The following joint-communiqué was issued simultaneously from Teheran and Islamabad at the conclusion of President Bhutto's visit to Iran:

The two Heads of State discussed matters of mutual interest in a cordial atmosphere marked by the traditional brotherhood that exists between Pakistan and Iran.

His Imperial Majesty the Shahinshah of Iran was assisted in the discussion by His Excellency Mr. Ahmad Mirfenderski, Deputy Foreign Minister.

The President of Pakistan was assisted in the discussions by Mr. Sultan Mohammad Khan, Foreign Secretary and Mr. Rafi Raza, Special Assistant to the President.

#### **UN CHARTER**

The two Heads of State noted that use of force in relations between States and in the settlement of disputes between them has been specifically prohibited under the United Nations Charter and is not permissible under general international law. Accordingly they called upon all States in the region to eschew the use of force in the conduct of relations between them.

The two Heads of State urged that in order to bring about peace and stability in the Indo-Pakistan sub-continent the resolutions of the General Assembly dated December 7, 1971 and the Security Council dated December 21, 1971 concerning the existing grave situation should be respected and implemented.

#### **REPATRIATION OF POWs**

They, therefore, requested the member States of the United Nations to strive for an early formalization of a durable ceasefire between Pakistan and India and the withdrawal of their armed forces to their own side of the border and in Jammu and Kashmir. They also emphasised the urgency of the repatriation of the prisoners of war taken during the recent conflict between India and Pakistan.

They agreed that the future relationship between the two parts of Pakistan should be resolved through negotiations between their elected leaders. In this regard they emphasised the need for avoiding any precipitate step on the part of other States that would tend to further complicate the present situation. They also agreed that to ensure a successful outcome, these negotiations should be conducted without foreign interference or military occupation. Only in this way can lasting peace be ensured in the region.



The President of Pakistan conveyed to His Imperial Majesty the Shahinshah of Iran the gratitude of the Government and the people of Pakistan for the firm support extended by Iran to Pakistan during the recent crisis.

The text of Turco-Pakistan Joint Communiqué issued by the Government on January 26, 1972 regarding President Bhutto's visit to Turkey.

On the invitation of the President of Turkey, Cevdat Sunay, the President of Pakistan, Mr. Z.A. Bhutto paid a short visit to Turkey on January 24-25, 1972. The following joint-communicé was issued simultaneously from Ankara and Islamabad, at the conclusion of President Bhutto's visit.

The two Heads of State exchanged views on matters of mutual interest. Thereafter, the President of Pakistan and the President of Turkey held discussions in cordial atmosphere marked by the traditional brotherhood that exists between Pakistan and Turkey.

The Prime Minister of Turkey participated in the discussions. The Foreign Minister of Turkey also took part. They were assisted by the Secretary General of Ministry of Foreign Affairs as well as the responsible heads of departments.

President of Pakistan was assisted in the discussions by the Foreign Secretary, the Special Assistant to President, Pakistan's Ambassador to Turkey and the Director General of Foreign Affairs.

#### **NO USE OF FORCE**

The two sides noted that the use of force in relations between States in settlement of disputes between them has been specifically prohibited under the UN Charter and is not permissible under general international law. Accordingly they called upon all States in the region to eschew use of force in the conduct of relations between them.

They urged that in order to bring about peace and stability in Indo-Pakistan sub-continent the resolutions of General Assembly of December 7, 1971, and Security Council dated December 21, 1971 concerning the existing grave situation should be respected and implemented.

They, therefore, request member States of UN to strive for early formalization of durable ceasefire between Pakistan and India and withdrawal of their armed forces to their own side of border and in Jammu and Kashmir. They also emphasised urgently of repatriation of prisoners of war taken during recent conflict between India and Pakistan.

## NEGOTIATIONS

They agreed that the future relationship between the two parts of Pakistan should be resolved through negotiations between their elected leaders. In this regard they emphasised the need for avoiding any precipitate step on the part of other States that would tend to further complicate the present situation. They also agreed that to ensure successful outcome these negotiations should be conducted without foreign interference or military occupation. Only in this way can lasting peace be ensured in the region.

The President of Pakistan conveyed to the Turkish leaders the gratitude of Government and the people of Pakistan for the firm support extended by Turkey to Pakistan during recent crisis and for the diplomatic initiatives taken by Turkey in that regard in accordance with the spirit of close alliance that binds Pakistan and Turkey together.

The President of Pakistan confirmed the standing invitation extended to the President of Turkey to visit Pakistan. This invitation was accepted with pleasure by the President of Turkey.

The text of Pak-Morocco Joint Communiqué issued by the Government on January 26, 1972 regarding President Bhutto's visit to Morocco.

During his stay in Morocco, President Zulfikar Ali Bhutto had talks with His Majesty King Hassan II, which took place in an atmosphere of friendship, brotherhood and mutual understanding and matters of common interest were discussed.

The following took part in the talks :

On the Pakistan side:

1. Mr. Rafi Raza, Special Assistant to the President,
2. Mr. Sultan M. Khan, Foreign Secretary, Ministry of Foreign Affairs,
3. Mr. A.H.B. Tayabji, Ambassador of Pakistan to Morocco, and
4. Mr. Mohammad Younus, Director General, Ministry of Foreign Affairs.

On the Moroccan side:

1. Mr. Karim Uamrani, Prime Minister,
2. Mr. Mohammad Bahnini, Minister of Foreign Affairs Par Interim,
3. Mr. Ahmed Usman, Director of the Royal Cabinet, and
4. Mr. Abi Shalli, Permanent Secretary in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs.

## **CLOSE TIES**

His Majesty King Hassan II expressed his great pleasure and that of the Government and people of Morocco in welcoming, for the first time, the Head of State of Pakistan and Begum Bhutto on a visit to a brotherly country which was very close in historical, cultural, economic and religious ties with Pakistan.

The two parties reviewed the recent events in Asia, Africa and the Middle East. They also discussed economic and cultural relations between the two countries. The two parties declared that they wished to pursue a peaceful foreign policy aimed at reinforcing friendship and cooperation among nations. They noted that their views on a large number of international problems were identical and were based on the principles of the United Nations Charter, the maintenance of international peace and security, national sovereignty, non-interference in the internal affairs of States, refraining from the threat or use of force in matters of dispute and respect for territorial integrity and unity.

## **APPRECIATION**

President Zulfikar Ali Bhutto expressed to His Majesty King Hassan II his deep appreciation and gratitude of Pakistan for the generous, continued and sincere support of His Majesty the King, the Government and the people of Morocco in the struggle of the people of Pakistan to maintain the territorial integrity and unity of Pakistan.

President Zulfikar Ali Bhutto explained to His Majesty the King the present situation in the subcontinent and the necessity to reach a peaceful settlement based on justice and respect for international commitments so that peace may prevail again in the area and that millions of human beings may lead a dignified and respectable life.

These aims could be achieved by the withdrawal of troops from occupied territories, by the treatment of civilian and military personnel according to humanitarian principles and the prisoners of war in accordance with the Geneva Conventions and the repatriation of the prisoners of war as soon as possible.

## **PEACE IN SUB-CONTINENT**

The two parties reaffirmed that to re-establish peace and stability in the sub-continent, it is necessary to implement and respect the resolutions of the General Assembly of the United Nations dated December 7, 1971 and of the Security Council dated December 21, 1971.

Both sides considered in the present circumstances any precipitate action on the part of other countries can only hinder the negotiations between the leaders with a view to finding a solution to the problem with which Pakistan is confronted.

### **ARAB COUNTRIES**

Concerning the Middle East, the two parties reiterated their total solidarity with their brother Arab countries some of whose territories are occupied by expansionist Zionism.

They expressed their determination to make every effort to obtain the immediate, total and unconditional withdrawal of the occupying troops from the occupied Arab territories and the recognition of the rights of the Palestinian people.

### **AFRICAN CONTINENT**

Regarding the African continent, the two parties noted with deep regret that the situation in the African territories, still under colonial domination or subjected to Apartheid remains a threat to the peace and welfare of this continent.

As for bilateral relations, both sides expressed their intention to pursue their contacts at all levels and to exchange visits between the countries with the object of attaining fruitful cooperation.

President Zulfikar Ali Bhutto and the officials who accompanied him expressed their profound thanks to His Majesty King Hassan II, His Government and the Moroccan people for the remarkably warm and enthusiastic welcome which was extended to them during their stay and for so many expressions of consideration and esteem which signified the strong ties of brotherhood between the people of Morocco and Pakistan.

President Zulfikar Ali Bhutto warmly renewed to His Majesty the King the existing invitation to pay an official visit to Pakistan. His Majesty the King accepted the invitation with pleasure.

The text of Pak-Algeria Joint Communiqué issued by the Government on January 27, 1972 regarding President Bhutto's visit to Algeria.

Mr. Zulfikar Ali Bhutto, President of the Islamic Republic of Pakistan, paid an official visit to Algeria on 25-26 January 1972.

During the visit President Bhutto held talks with Mr. Huari Boumedianne, President of the Revolutionary Council and President, Council of Ministers of the Peoples Republic of Algeria.

The two Heads of State discussed the present situation in Asia, Africa and the Middle East. They also discussed bilateral relations between Algeria and Pakistan.

### **NON-INTERFERENCE**

They reiterated their support to the principles of the Charter of the United Nations, national sovereignty, non-interference in the internal affairs of States, avoidance of the resort to the threat or use of force in the settlement of disputes and respect of the territorial integrity and unity of States.

President Zulfikar Ali Bhutto described the existing situation in the sub-continent and the two Heads of State agreed on the urgent need to put an end to the hardships of the, inhabitants of this region in order to enable them to live in peace, freedom and justice. They further agreed that this could be achieved through the withdrawal of armed forces from the occupied territories, and humane and dignified treatment of civilian and military personnel in accordance with the internationally recognised principles and of the prisoners of war in strict accordance with the Geneva Conventions, and the repatriation of prisoners of war without further delay.

### **RESTORATION OF PEACE**

It was recalled that restoration of real peace and stability in the sub-continent requires that the resolutions of the General Assembly of the United Nations, dated December 7, 1971, and of the Security Council, dated 21st December 1971, be complied with.

The two parties considered that precipitous action by other countries in the present circumstances can only handicap the negotiations between the elected leaders in their search for a solution of the problems with which Pakistan is confronted at present.

### **MIDDLE EAST**

Regarding the dangerous situation in the Middle East, the two Heads of State reiterated their complete solidarity with the people of Palestine for the restoration of their rights to their homeland and also with other Arab countries which are victims of the Zionist expansionism and reiterated their support to the principle of non-acquisition of territory by military conquest.

### **SITUATION IN AFRICA**

Reviewing the situation in the African continent, the two Heads of State expressed their concern regarding the situation in African territories still under colonial domination and Apartheid which constitute danger to the peace, dignity and welfare of the continent.

Regarding bilateral relations, the two Heads of State agreed to increase and to expand the cooperation presently existing between the two countries.

The discussions between the two Heads of State were characterized by the traditional friendship, brotherhood and mutual understanding which have always existed between the two countries.

### **TIES OF FRIENDSHIP**

President Bhutto conveyed to President Boumedienne the sincere gratitude of the people and the Government of Pakistan and his thanks to the people of Algeria for their support during the recent crisis.

President Zulfikar Ali Bhutto expressed to President Boumedienne and to the Government and the people of Algeria his thanks for the extremely warm and enthusiastic welcome given to him during his visit, and also for the attention and regard shown to him, which is in keeping with the solid ties of friendship.

President Zulfikar Ali Bhutto extended a cordial invitation to President Boumedienne to pay an official visit to Pakistan at a mutually convenient date. The invitation was accepted with great pleasure. President Boumedienne also extended a friendly invitation to President Bhutto to visit Algeria again, which was accepted by the latter with great pleasure.

*The text of Pakistan-Egypt Joint Press Release issued by the Government on January 28, 1972 regarding President Bhutto's visit to Egypt.*

President Zulfikar Ali Bhutto paid a friendly visit to Arab Republic of Egypt on Thursday, January 27, 1972 and held talks with President Mohammad Anwar Al-Sadat.

Preliminary meeting was held in the presence of delegations of the two countries. The two Heads of State then met separately. They exchanged views about the situation in the sub-continent and international situation in general.

### **COMPREHENSIVE REVIEW**

President Sadat welcomed President Bhutto to Cairo and expressed warm thanks for the position adopted by Pakistan in support of the Arab cause and Arab rights. He underlined the brotherly and historic ties between the peoples of the two countries. President Bhutto made a historic and comprehensive review of the problems with a bearing on future developments. He went on to emphasize that the people of Pakistan should be afforded an opportunity and time, without

foreign intervention and without military occupation so that they might determine their fate and their future freely.

President Bhutto stressed the importance of maintaining ties and bonds of common destiny between Pakistan and the Middle East countries and underlined the necessity of safeguarding friendly relations between them.

### **COMPLETE UNDERSTANDING**

President Sadat declared his complete understanding of the problem in its full dimension as reviewed by President Bhutto. He expressed his conviction that President Bhutto had the experience and statesmanship to overcome all difficulties faced by Pakistan in these delicate circumstances.

The two Heads of State agreed on the need for implementation of resolutions of United Nations General Assembly and the Security Council, dated 7th and 21st December 1972 respectively.

The two Heads of State agreed on the exchange of visits and views between them whenever deemed necessary.

President Bhutto extended an invitation to President Sadat to visit Pakistan, which he accepted thankfully.

The text of Pakistan-Libya Joint Communiqué issued by the Government on January 28, 1972 regarding President Bhutto's visit to Libya.

The two Heads of State reviewed in the context of international relations, recent developments in the Indo-Pakistan sub-continent, Africa and the Middle East. They also discussed technical and economic relations between the two countries. They noted that their views on the international problems discussed by them were based on the principles of the United Nations Charter, the maintenance of international peace and security, National sovereignty, non-interference in the internal affairs of other States, refraining from the threat or use of force in international relations and respect for the territorial integrity and unity of States.

### **DEEP APPRECIATION**

President Bhutto conveyed to President Gaddafi his deep appreciation and the gratitude of the people of Pakistan for the firm principled support which was extended by the Libyan Government and people to the people of Pakistan in their struggle to maintain the territorial integrity and unity of their country.

President Gaddafi assured President Bhutto of the continued total support of the Libyan Arab Republic to Pakistan. President Bhutto gave a detailed explanation of the situation prevailing in the Indo-Pakistan sub-continent at present.

### **NEGOTIATIONS**

The two Heads of State agreed that in order to restore peace and stability in the sub-continent the resolutions of the General Assembly of the United Nations of December 7, 1971 and of the Security Council of December 21, 1971 concerning the existing grave situation should be respected and implemented. They, therefore, request the member states of the United Nations to strive for an early normalisation of the ceasefire between Pakistan and India, withdrawal of the armed forces to their own side of the borders in Jammu and Kashmir. They also emphasised that the civilian and military personnel involved should be treated in accordance with humanitarian principles and the problems of war in accordance with the Geneva Convention. They stressed that the prisoners of war taken during the recent conflict should be repatriated without any delay. They agreed that the future relationship between the two wings of Pakistan should be worked out through negotiations between their elected leaders. In this regard they emphasised the need for avoiding any precipitate steps on the part of other States that would further complicate the present situation.

They also agreed that in order to ensure a successful outcome, these negotiations would be conducted without foreign intervention of military occupation.

### **ARAB BRETHREN**

Reviewing the present situation in the Middle East, the two Heads of State reiterated their solidarity with their Arab brethren, whose territories are occupied by expansionist Zionism supported by colonialism. They expressed their determination to make every effort to ensure that immediate, total and unconditional withdrawal of troops from the occupied Arab territories and the recognition of the rights of the Palestinian people.

The two Heads of State noted with regret that the situation in the African territories, which are still under colonial domination and are suffering from the heinous practice of Apartheid continues to pose a serious threat to the peace and welfare of the African continent. The President of Pakistan lauded the bold policies of the Libyan Arab Republic in building its political and economic strength on the basis of Islam, freedom and non-alignment. President Gaddafi emphasised that Islam is the religion of peace, justice and progress and a galvanizing force which had changed the fate of nations in the past and will continue to do so in future. President Bhutto completely shared this view.



The two Heads of State stressed the need for closer cooperation among Muslim countries in order to solve the various problems now facing them.

### **PROMOTION OF TRADE**

The two Heads of State agreed that a joint commission comprising representatives of their respective Government should be set up at an early date to study ways and means for developing technical and economic cooperation as well as promoting trade between the two countries.

President Bhutto and the officials accompanying him conveyed their profound thanks to President Gaddafi and the Government and the people of the Libyan Arab Republic for the warm fraternal welcome extended to them during the visit. President Bhutto extended a cordial invitation to his brother President Gaddafi to pay an official visit to Pakistan. President Gaddafi accepted the invitation with pleasure. The date of the visit will be fixed later.

President Bhutto paid short visits to Syria and Tunisia also.

*The text of Pakistan-China Joint Communiqué issued by the Government on February 2, 1972 regarding President Bhutto's visit to China.*

At the invitation of the Government of the People's Republic of China, Mr. Zulfikar Ali Bhutto, President of the Islamic Republic of Pakistan, accompanied by Begum Bhutto, members of the National Assembly, other political leaders, and a high-level official delegation, paid a State visit to the People's Republic of China from January 31 to February 2, 1972.

The President of Pakistan and his party were accorded an enthusiastic reception and they were pleased to witness this demonstration of warmth of sentiments of the people of China for the people of Pakistan.

### **CHINESE SUPPORT**

The President of Pakistan met the great leader of the Chinese people, Chairman Mao Tsetung, and the Prime Minister of the State Council of the People's Republic of China, Mr. Chou En-Lai and conveyed to them sincere appreciation for the support given by China to Pakistan and the admiration of the people of Pakistan for the remarkable progress made by China under Chairman Mao's brilliant leadership.

The President had detailed exchange of views with Prime Minister Chou En-Lai on the Indo-Pakistan conflict and its aftermath, major international issues and cooperation between China and Pakistan. The discussions were held in a friendly

and cordial atmosphere. They were fully satisfied with the results of the discussions.

The President and the Prime Minister strongly condemned the naked aggression committed by India against Pakistan and the occupation of Pakistan's territory by her in blatant defiance of international law, the United Nations Charter and the Bandung principles. They called upon the international community to take serious note of the grave consequences that must ensue for the world order if a country imposes its will on another neighbouring country by the use of military force involving armed aggression.

## **NEGOTIATIONS**

The President reiterated that future relations between the two parts of Pakistan should be established through negotiations between the elected leaders of the people without foreign intervention or influence and that Indian forces must withdraw from East Pakistan to enable such negotiations to take place in an atmosphere free from coercion or intimidation. He urged all States to refrain from taking any precipitate action that would not only frustrate the objective but would, in effect, legitimize Indian aggression. The Prime Minister expressed his understanding of and respect for the above stand of Pakistan.

The President and the Prime Minister agreed that the countries in South Asia as elsewhere should co-exist in peace and amity. They expressed their conviction that there can be no tranquility in the Indo-Pakistan sub-continent unless India vacates territories under her military occupation in implementation of the resolutions of the U.N. General Assembly and the Security Council dated 7th and 21st December 1971 respectively. The United Nations must ensure strict observance of the cease-fire and the withdrawal of forces to their respective territories and to positions with respect to the ceasefire line in Jammu and Kashmir. They noted with gratification that the members of the Third World in general and the Islamic countries in particular are supporting the Government and the people of Pakistan in their struggle to preserve their national independence and territorial integrity against foreign aggression and interference in their internal affairs.

## **POWs**

The President and the Prime Minister expressed grave concern over the fate of Pakistani prisoners of war and civilians in East Pakistan who are in the hands of Indian occupation forces. They called upon India to fulfill her obligations under the Geneva Conventions and repatriate these persons without further delay. The President expressed readiness to repatriate Indian prisoners of war and other civil and military personnel from East Pakistan now in West Pakistan in order to assist in the rehabilitation of East Pakistan. The President and the Prime Minister

further expressed their earnest hope that the atrocities being perpetuated against innocent civilians in East Pakistan would cease immediately.

The President and the Prime Minister held that the international situation is developing in a more and more favorable way for the peoples of various countries. The President expressed his desire for peace in South Asia and for friendly relations with all neighbouring countries based on the Bandung principles. They firmly support the peoples of the Indo-Chinese countries in their just struggle for national liberation, the Palestinian people and the Arab peoples in their just struggle against imperialism and for the restoration of their legitimate rights, and the Afro-Asian peoples in their just struggle against imperialism colonialism and neo-colonialism.

### **ECONOMIC COOPERATION**

The President and the Prime Minister noted with satisfaction the development of economic cooperation between the two countries. The Prime Minister stated that in order to help the development of the national economy of Pakistan the Chinese Government has decided to change into grants the four loans which have already been provided to Pakistan and are being utilized, and the repayment period of the loan provided in 1970 shall be deferred for twenty years. The Prime Minister further expressed the Chinese Government's readiness to provide Pakistan with fresh loans on similar terms when that loan has been utilized.

The President and the Prime Minister declared that friendship and understanding between their two countries are based on principles that are in accord with the fundamental interest and wishes of their peoples. They reaffirmed their adherence to the principles of respect for territorial integrity, peaceful co-existence, and noninterference in each other's internal affairs. The Prime Minister warmly praised the determination and courage that the people of Pakistan had constantly displayed in safeguarding their State sovereignty and territorial integrity and reiterated the Chinese Government and people's firm support to the Pakistan Government and people in their just struggle to preserve their State sovereignty and territorial integrity against outside aggression and interference and their firm support to the people of Jammu and Kashmir in the just struggle for the right of self-determination.

The text of Pakistan-Soviet Joint Communiqué issued by the Government on March 18, 1972 regarding President Bhutto's visit to the USSR.

Mr. Zulfikar Ali Bhutto, President of the Islamic Republic of Pakistan, paid an official visit to the Soviet Union from 16 to 18 March, 1972.

During his stay in Moscow, the President of Pakistan, met the General Secretary of the Central Committee of the CPSU, L.I Brezhnev.

Talks were held between the Chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers, A.N. Kosygin, and the President of Pakistan, Mr. Z.A. Bhutto.

In the course of the talks a frank and useful exchange of views was held on the problem pertaining to the present state and further development of Soviet-Pakistan relations.

### **NEIGHBOURLY RELATIONS**

The two sides believe that the development of good neighbourly relations between the Soviet Union and Pakistan meets the interests of the peoples of the two countries and the cause of strengthening peace in Asia and throughout the world.

The two sides reaffirmed that relations between the Soviet Union and Pakistan are based on respect for territorial integrity and sovereignty and non-interference in the internal affairs of each other. They reviewed the present state of relations between the two countries in the political, economic, cultural, scientific and technological field.

Both sides confirmed their desire to further strengthen relations between Pakistan and the Soviet Union. They expressed their agreement on creation of favorable conditions for achieving this objective.

It was deemed desirable to hold a regular exchange of views between the two Governments on questions of mutual interest. Both sides favored the adoption of measures aimed at restoring Soviet-Pakistan trade, economic, scientific, and technological and other ties which came to be disrupted as a result of the events in 1971.

### **TECHNICAL COOPERATION**

Both sides agreed on the extension of the duration of the Soviet-Pakistan agreements on economic and technical cooperation and on holding of talks with a view to introduce in them consequential changes. It is intended that the two sides will continue cooperation in geological prospecting, in the construction of the steel works in Karachi, in the field of power industry and to widen economic and technical cooperation in other fields.

As to the commercial and trade relations, the two sides have agreed to immediately resume trade transactions and to conclude at the earliest possible

date a new trade agreement for the period up to 1975 with a view to further expanding the goods exchanged between the Soviet Union and Pakistan.

In the course of the talks special attention was paid to the situation in the sub-continent of South Asia and other international problems.

The President stated that he was prepared to take steps to help establish peaceful conditions in the sub-continent. In this connection he attached great importance to the cessation of hostile propaganda against each other.

### **INTERNATIONAL ISSUES**

The exchange of opinions revealed identity or proximity of views between the Governments of the Soviet Union and Pakistan on a majority of current international issues.

Both sides noted that as a result of continued occupation of the territory of Arab States by Israel, the situation in the Middle East remains tense and poses a threat to peace. With a view to establishing a just and lasting peace in the Middle East they deemed it necessary that all provisions of the Security Council resolution of November 22, 1967 should be implemented.

The Soviet Union and Pakistan expressed themselves in favour of the need for the withdrawal of all foreign troops from Indo-China in order to ensure peace and security in that area and the exercise of inalienable legitimate rights by the Indo-Chinese people to decide for themselves their own destiny in conformity with their national interests and without any interference from outside.

### **EFFECTIVE CONTROL**

The Governments of the Soviet Union and Pakistan reaffirmed their conviction that the cessation of the arms race and the achievement of general and complete disarmament including nuclear disarmament under effective international control would genuinely contribute to strengthening international security and ensuring universal peace.

Both sides expressed the hope that the convention on the prohibition of the development, production and stock-piling of bacteriological (biological) and toxic weapons and their destruction will be signed by a wide range of States in the near future. They are also in favour of an early agreement on banning and destroying chemical weapons.

The Soviet Union and Pakistan reaffirmed their support for a speedy and complete elimination of the vestiges of colonialism and unconditional implementation of the UN declaration on the granting of independence to

colonial countries and peoples. They resolutely condemn racism and Apartheid in all forms and manifestations.

### **UN CHARTER**

Regarding the United Nations as an important instrument of peace and security, both sides confirmed their adherence to the principles of that organisation and spoke of the need for strict observance of its Charter.

Both sides expressed their confidence that the visit to the Soviet Union of the President of Pakistan, Mr. Z.A. Bhutto, as well as the exchange of views held during the visit will help establish conditions for the development of good-neighborly relations and mutually advantageous cooperation between the two countries.

The President of Pakistan extended a cordial invitation to the General Secretary of the Central Committee of the CPSU, L.I. Brezhnev, President of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR, N.V. Podgorny, and Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the USSR, A.H. Kosygin, to visit Pakistan at a mutually convenient time.

The invitation was gratefully accepted.

**T H E   E N D**