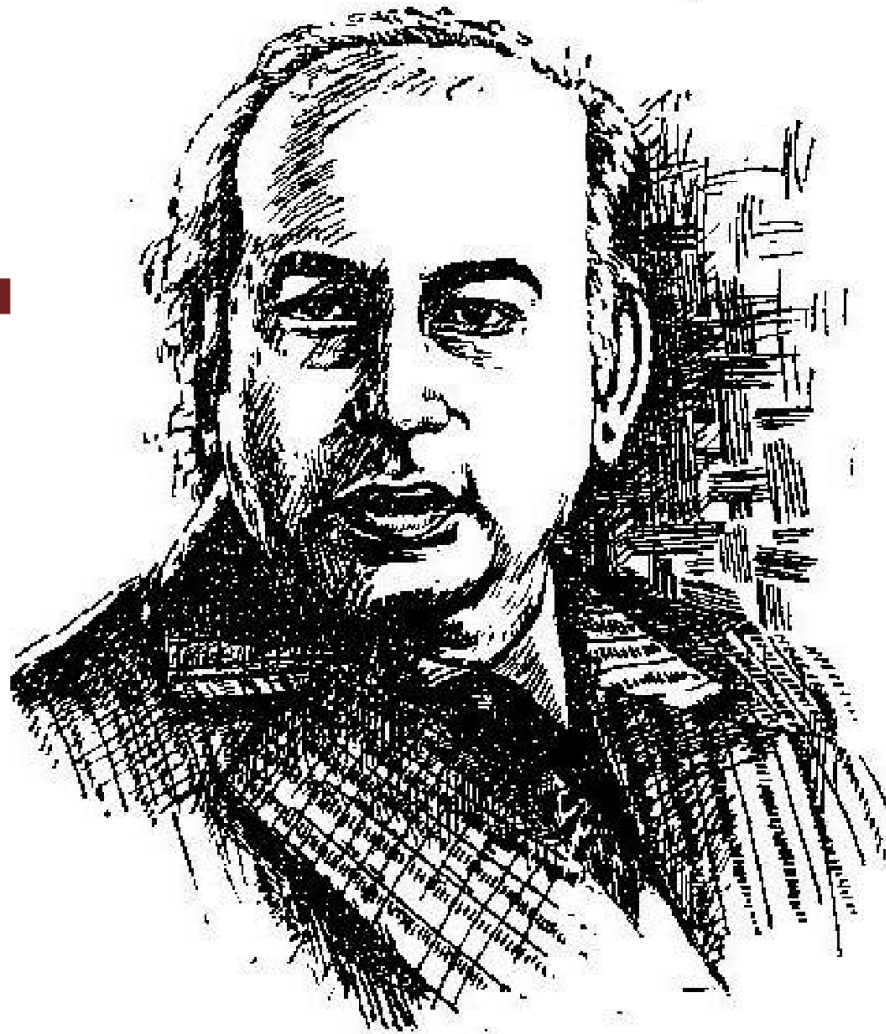


ZULFIQAR ALI BHUTTO



Six Steps to Summit

KAMALESHWAR SINHA

Reproduced in PDF format

By: Sani H. Panhwar

Member Sindh Council PPP

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**With a foreword by
M. CHALAPATHI RAU**

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Sani H. Panhwar
Member Sindh Council, PPP

FOREWORD

President Bhutto of Pakistan is, though still young, one of the fascinating personalities of the world, and this is the story of his life. But his life is also a part of the story of Pakistan and the book is thus both biography and history. The Simla Summit is not the first of the Indo-Pakistani summits and it is not to be the last. Besides, Indo-Pakistani relations are but one part of the problems of this sub-continent; Bangla Desh represents another part. The undivided India of pre—Partition, pre-Independence days was first two countries and is now three countries. If these countries become one in spirit, this sub-continent can have peace and can hope for progress.

Partition was implicit in all British proposals from the time of Cripps, the presence of a third, party exaggerating Hindu-Muslim differences into a deep division. Partition could have been avoided, but it was not. The Congress accepted Pakistan as the secession of unwilling elements, though partition was involved in the process. It meant that India still contained a large population of Muslims and did not lose her composite character. Even after the liberation of Bangla Desh, India remains the third largest Muslim state.

It is against this background that Indo-Pakistani problems must be discussed and solved. It requires a historical perspective, and Simla gave the first glimpse of it. Indira Gandhi and Mr. Bhutto, whatever the nature of the small opposition within each country, can speak for India and Pakistan respectively. The Indian people know Indira Gandhi, but Mr. Bhutto has to be explained to be understood.

Mr. Kamaleshwar Sinha here presents a vivid picture of Mr. Bhutto against the background of the recent tumultuous events. He has allowed Mr. Bhutto to speak for himself, according to the correct biographical tradition, reducing his contradictions of utterance to consistency of purpose. As Mr. Bhutto's portrait emerges from Mr. Sinha's colourful pages, both Mr. Bhutto and his biographer offer hope. Mr. Sinha has also included historical material in his book, which is a useful appendix to Mr. Bhutto's story. For all the speed at which he has worked, Mr. Sinha has a useful and informative book' and history is not likely to contradict the faith and trust with which he has written it.

M. Chhatapatm Rai

13, Shahjahan Road
New Delhi

PREFACE

MR. ZULFIKAR ALI BHUTTO'S life has interested me as intractable biographical material. With its psycho-pathological and curvilinear movements and bright and beautiful spots in its ascendancy, it defies set patterns and categorization. It has influenced behavior, outlooks and destinies around it. People have attributed its impact to an element of alleged charisma.

In this book I have tried to present a perspective for understanding this significant individual complex in relation to its making, milieu and methods.

It has become customary to portray Mr. Bhutto in derisive Profile. Such character delineations ignore the basic vitality of this brilliant and vibrant person with a capacity for nobility of action and change. Life bound by inertia becomes an island. Mr. Bhutto believes in growing, deepening and changing.

One can find spectacular evidence of this in his life. His staunch adherence to the ideology of Pakistan, rise to the seat of supreme power, popularity among the electorate of a land torn by schism, fanaticism, secessionism and hate as a possible harbinger of stability, gesture in releasing Sheikh Mujibur Rahman unconditionally, sincere quest of peace at the Simla summit, and desire to effect reforms point to his ability to conquer difficulties.

His is an enormous task at the moment. Pakistan's economic and political base is highly vulnerable. Regional leaders in his country are willing to extend only qualified cooperation to him, emergency curbs continue to fetter freedom, workers are dissatisfied, the people continue to be dazed after the unfortunate shocks of 1971, there are persistent demands for autonomy in a country reduced in size and stature, the police force strikes and ex-military top brass look on ominously for self-justification.

Mr. Bhutto has not yet been able to take stock of the surviving assets.

At this critical point of time, the young President is utilizing his political agility to do his best. My aim has not been to write a conventional biography or a political profile. I have attempted to indicate the making of this immensely interesting man. By holding the mirror of his own words and deeds up to him, I have tried to indicate the extent of his consistency and contradictions, strength and weakness, problems and prospects.

If the reader is able to see the unfragmented individual through this perspective, I shall feel rewarded. I believe that the faults we find in Mr. Bhutto's ambitious and unusual life are the faults of acute psychological needs. Psychological needs are not desirable needs always but they are real needs all the same.

An appreciation of Mr. Bhutto warrants an objective, sympathetic and hopeful approach to his future. For helping me in my work, I am deeply grateful to Mr. R. V.

Kripalani, the News Editor, and Mr. B. K. Joshi, the Chief of Bureau of the National Herald, and my wife and son.

Mr. V. P. Dhawan, doyen of Delhi's book-makers, has taken great pains to bring the volume out in record time and Mr. P. V. Gopalam, Mr. S. L. Johar, Mr. S. Subramaniam, Mr. K. N. Sahni, Mr. Victor D'Souza and Mr. C. B. Thakur have helped me with valuable information and suggestions. I am indebted to them.

I do not have adequate words to thank Mr. Jaisukh H. Shah without whose generosity this book would not have been written or published.

I have failed to attend to the proof-reading aspect of the book. I apologize to the readers.

— Kamalleshwar Sinha

Independence Day, 1972

PUBLISHER'S NOTE

Some books, people say, make their way into news; others sting the advance reader so violently that before the day of publication book-lovers are whispering about them.

We have tried and succeeded in offering such books. The latest one, Mr. Kamalleshwar Sinha's "Zulfikar Ali Bhutto — Six Steps to Summit", has no ephemeral topicality about it. Aware of its contents, we have used a set of type in it which is new in India for book-printing and matches the boldness of the theme and its treatment, besides being easy to read. The author has authorized us to invite and receive suggestions for improvement of the book in the next edition.

Bimla Kuman

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PART I
Six Steps to Summit

There is no good in arguing with the inevitable. The only argument available with an east wind is to put on your overcoat.

— *James Russell Lowell: DEMOCRACY*

The Simla Summit¹

‘THE Bhutto theme stands neatly divided into two complementary entities: the antithetical man-with-a-mask image of the fire-eating, sword-crossing, intrepid politician of the pre-Simla Summit time and the peace-seeking political being of post-Simla days trying to be nearer to history than to ephemeral titles to a seat of national power or pride of personal glory.

At Simla a brave new beginning was made and President Zulfikar All Bhutto’s personal contribution to it is, perhaps, the brightest event in his eventful life.

The pro-Summit image of Mr. Bhutto was an underestimation of the essential man. The expression used to describe him in India and abroad attributed to him all the frustration’s tragedies and bitterness of Pakistan during its two and a half decades of existence. Mohammad Ali Jinnah had fashioned a geographical incongruity, imaginary historical concepts and economic unreason into an unreal state, and after him through Ayub Khan down to Yahya Khan, the labours of a multi-stranded country were wasted in efforts at indefensible justification of the self-defeating concept that religion can be the sole basis of nationality.

Mr. Bhutto has the experience of two decades of Indo-Pakistani politics. While his involvement in the happenings in Pakistan has been intense and uninterrupted, his preoccupation with the repercussions of the transformation taking place in India under a continuity of principled leadership has been absorbing. He has been consistently fighting for democracy in Pakistan. His logic has been razor-sharp, his dislikes vehemently pronounced, and his affections un-diminishing, his affectations unconcealed. If he has willfully chosen to take up an inconsistent stand, his intellect has sustained him with wit and vitriol and the gall and vinegar dripping down has only clarified that beneath the inconsistent mask, there is a consistent man, capable of evolution and meaningful change.

The prophets of doom were falsified at Simla. Those who could see nothing behind the surface froth in the turbulent Mr. Bhutto read with surprise the preamble to the testament of peace written at Mrs. Gandhi’s initiative and with Mr. Bhutto’s desire for stability and peace. Those who had failed to notice his real stature discovered at Simla the making of a national hero, capable of sacrifice, courage and self-inquest.

To understand this amazing transmutation of suspicion into faith, confrontation into negotiation, belligerence into peace, one, of necessity, ought to go into the entire Bhutto theme: the story of a political being erring anti learning to be able to lead the misled millions of his land. A nation does not live in a biological sense alone; it lives

¹ June 28 to July 3 1972

through time in eternity. It survives by making sound mutational judgements. Its instruments, leaders with a sense of history, make such judgements and while improving themselves, improve the conditions of their times.

At Simla a major judgement of this nature was made by Mr. Bhutto on behalf of Pakistan and those who denigrated him as an impossible participant in any meaningful negotiation must be feeling a sharp prick in their feeling apparatus before conceding that they had sat on judgement over evolution without even a guess hazarded through darkness in favour of light.

Mr. Zulfikar Ali Bhutto did not evolve at Simla as a caterpillar evolves into a butterfly. His change is the change of conviction, of heart, attitudes cast off like trees shedding their old leaves to wear the youth of a vigorous and vital spring.

The six-point Summit Agreement will go down in the history of Pakistan as Mr. Bhutto's six steps to summit in the wider sense of his personal development and in that of bringing Pakistan from the abyss of hatred, despondency and gloom to a new height of hopeful existence in an atmosphere of cooperation, peace and trust in the sub-continent.

No unusual credit need be claimed for India, or her Prime Minister, for that matter. India has been consistently anti-aggression. There is no reason for her to be anti-Pakistan, for the religious grandeur and social achievements of that country will always hearten her. Islam is the spiritual source of sustenance numerically to more of her citizens now than of Pakistan and a weak neighbour is always a threat to her own strength.

This is why the Simla Agreement received spontaneous acclaim at the moment of its birth. It opened a new, bright era of hopes. Mr. Bhutto and Mrs. Gandhi laid the foundation of durable peace in the sub-continent. For the first time in their history the two countries came to an agreement which can end bitterness and misunderstanding and pave the way for co-operation.

Thus destiny has given a peace-maker's role to play to Mr. Bhutto. After a period of misunderstanding and distrust, here is an occasion for celebration both in India and Pakistan. It is a true home-coming for a man who has pledged to work for peace after remaining convinced of the inevitability of war for a quarter of a century.

The Ninth Exercise

THERE had been at least eight Indo-Pak summits before the Simla event.

Between April 2 and 8, 1950, Mr. Liaquat Ali Khan and Jawaharlal Nehru met in New Delhi and discussed the problem of the minorities and Indo-Pak differences. The Nehru-Liaquat Pact on the welfare of the minorities became a land-mark temporarily in Indo-Pak relations.

When Nehru visited Karachi between April 26 and 28, the Prime Ministers of India and Pakistan discussed the Canal Water and Kashmir issues also.

In July 1950, Liaquat Ali Khan, Nehru and the UN mediator for Jammu and Kashmir, Mr. Owen Dixon, discussed the demilitarization of Kashmir in Delhi. Pakistan's insistence on a plebiscite in Kashmir made this Summit abortive.

On July 25, 1953, Pakistan's Prime Minister Mr. Mohammad Ali, and Nehru met in Pakistan. It was agreed to solve all problems peacefully. The Pakistani attitude on Kashmir and Sheikh Abdullah's repudiation of his stand on Kashmir vitiated the atmosphere. When the two Prime Ministers met again in Delhi in August, a date was fixed for the appointment of a plebiscite administrator.

On September 1, 1959, President Ayub Khan, in the course of a brief stop-over at Palam on his way to Dacca, discussed trade and financial matters with Nehru.

When Nehru met Ayub Khan in Karachi on September 19, 1960, they signed the Canal Waters Treaty and resolved "to direct their policies towards mutual understanding."

Then came in 1965 the Tashkent Summit after 22 days of war between the two countries. The meeting arranged by the Soviet Prime Minister, Mr. Alexei Kosygin, ended in an agreement on restoration of peaceful normal relations between the two countries, adherence to the U.N. Charter, attempt to settle the Kashmir issue, mutual withdrawal of troops and observance of the cease-fire.

All the summits had done their bit to improve the atmosphere in the sub-continent. But Pakistan's inner compulsions made it unable to back resolutions by concrete steps and opportunism ate into the vitals of opportunity.

Doves Whisper Peace

‘THE Simla Summit brought to Pakistan a lifetime’s chance to assert its capacity for meaningful change and peace.

The Simla Agreement is distinct from other previous pacts between India and Pakistan inasmuch as it lays emphasis on a bilateral approach to the solution of hard-core problems that have bedeviled the relations between the two countries for the past quarter of a century.

The special features of the agreement are more positive than a no-war declaration. India did not go in for talks for bargaining, or haggling and haggling or marking time but in quest of durable peace and mutual cooperation anti friendship between the countries in the sub-continent on a footing of equality.

It was this approach that was responsible for the success of the Summit talks. Mrs. Gandhi took the initiative and the Pakistan President reciprocated the spirit. Both sides realized that they should reach understanding and agreement on the principles for the settlement of problems bilaterally and by peaceful means.

There was now no question of any third-party intervention, mediation or arbitration on the problems between the two countries.

The question relating to Jammu and Kashmir, however, remained unresolved. Under the agreement, the Indian troops would not be disengaged from the line of control as on December 17, 1971. It was significant that the agreement did not refer to any problem or dispute in relation to Jammu and Kashmir. But the two sides had their respective positions and it was to be hoped that a final settlement would be found bilaterally and by peaceful means. In any case, third-party intervention was excluded.

Bangla Desh was a necessary party to the talks concerning the POWs who had surrendered to the joint Indo-Bangla Desh command. The solution of the problem would be facilitated when relations between Pakistan and Bangla Desh improved. There was, however, no difficulty so far as the POWs in the western sector were concerned.

The differences between the Simla Agreement and the Tashkent Declaration are: Firstly, the Tashkent Declaration was the result of the good offices of a friendly country, while the Simla Agreement was the fruit of bilateral efforts.

Secondly, the Indian troops had then withdrawn to the 1949 cease-fire line in Jammu and Kashmir, but now they would be firmly entrenched where they were, that is,

up to the line of actual control. Thirdly, the agreement leaves no room for interpretation by Pakistan that the UN or other machinery could be brought in for mediation.

In fact, Pakistan now appears to have given up her stand all along on self executing machinery for solution of bilateral problems. Islamabad seems to realise that the best solution to Indo-Pakistan problems can come only through a bilateral and peaceful approach.

There was no difficulty in resumption of diplomatic ties and trade and travel arrangements. The disengagement of forces by both sides, except along the line of control in Jammu and Kashmir, would begin after the ratification of the Simla agreement by both countries.

The provisions of the agreement need not be viewed in terms of gains or losses by either side. That was not the spirit in which the discussions took place. Both parties had taken positions on various issues but endeavoured generally and sincerely to reach agreed principles. On these principles could take place further talks at summit and other levels, in India and Pakistan, to resolve the outstanding issues.

The agreement is the first step towards a detente between the two countries.

It gives expression to the wish expressed by Mr. Bhutto and Mrs. Gandhi that the two countries should resolve their problems peacefully and bilaterally so that the problem of poverty facing the people can be tackled successfully.

The first point, on which the agreement has been reached, is a commitment to end the “conflict and confrontation” which had marred their relations so far, and settles all issues through negotiations. India had always maintained that the countries in the sub-continent should live in peace, be good neighbours and stop looking to outside powers for assistance and this line has been accepted in the joint declaration.

The second major point in the agreement is the decision by both countries to withdraw their forces to their side of the international border. This should help Mr. Bhutto to assuage public opinion in his country, as India holds a far larger part of Pakistan territory in the western sector than Pakistan does of Indian Territory. Moreover, withdrawal of forces will help in relaxation of tensions in the border and curb frequent violations of the ceasefire border firings, mostly from Pakistan side.

A major irritant to good neighbourly relations between the two countries has been Pakistan’s assistance to subversive elements in Kashmir and in other sensitive areas in India, particularly in North-East and the hate-India campaign in the Pakistan press. This is sought to be stopped. Both Governments have agreed to prevent hostile propaganda against each other.

Both India and Pakistan appear to have yielded on their hitherto public stand in reaching the agreement.

For India, Mr. Bhutto's agreement abjuring the use of force, and accepting bilateral or any other mutually agreed upon peaceful means for a solution of problems is a distinct gain.

India has made concessions in regard to the issue of vacation of territories occupied by the Indian Army during the fourteen-day war. India will be vacating over 5,000 square miles of territory occupied by her in Sind and Punjab and will be getting back only about 69 square miles!

Mr. Bhutto, on the other hand, appears to have given ground both on the Kashmir issue and the POWs.

Three successive aggressive ventures by Pakistan on India and its attempts to bring pressure on this country through the United Nations, the South-East Asia Treaty Organisation and the Central Treaty Organisation or some big power like the United States and China had been at the root of the mistrust between the two countries and these two factors of tension are eliminated in this agreement.

Two basic principles which India had been trying to weave into the peace agreement were: abjuring of force by both countries and solving mutual problems by bilateral means.

Pakistan did not easily agree to the second proposal. Its delegation was reluctant to keep out the UN as a resort for unresolved problems. As an alternative, it urged arbitration by a third party But India ultimately persuaded Pakistan to give up its stand.

As for the first, Pakistan has always spurned to the idea of a no-war pact. But in substance India's point has been met. Not only has it agreed not to use force for solving problems but also to respect India's national unity and territorial integrity.

There was no reference in the agreement to the issue of trial of a section of the POWs for the crimes to which Mr. Bhutto has strongly objected.

On the question of the future of the POWs, Mrs. Gandhi advised Pakistani leaders that India was not in a position to take any action without the concurrence of the leaders of Bangla Dash. She advised them to patch up their differences and come to some agreement with Bangla Dash, so that it became easy to deal with this question.

The brightest feature of the agreement is that India and Pakistan have agreed to settle their differences by peaceful means through bilateral negotiations. They have also agreed to refrain from the threat or the use of force against the territorial integrity or political independence of each other.

The agreement provides for a meeting between the heads of the two Governments at a mutually convenient time. Meanwhile, the representatives of the two countries will

meet to discuss further the modalities and arrangements for a durable peace and normalisation of relations, including the question of repatriation of prisoners of war and civilian internees, a final settlement of Jammu and Kashmir and resumption of diplomatic relations.

The text of the agreement says that in order to initiate the process of establishment of a durable peace both Governments have agreed to withdraw their respective forces to their sides of the international border and respect the line of control in Jammu and Kashmir resulting from the cease-fire of December 17, 1971 without prejudice to the recognised position of either side. Both sides shall seek to alter it unilaterally, irrespective of mutual differences and legal interpretations. Both sides further undertake to refrain from threat or use of force in violation of the hue of control in Jammu and Kashmir.

The withdrawal of forces will commence after the agreement, which is subject to ratification by the two countries, comes into force. It will come into force from the date on which the instruments of ratification are exchanged and the withdrawals will be completed within a period of 30 days.

A series of steps have been agreed upon to progressively restore and normalise relations between the two countries step by step. They are resumption of communications, postal, telegraphic, sea, land, including border posts and air links, including over flights, promotion of travel facilities for the nationals of respective countries, resumption of trade and cooperation in economic and agreed fields and promotion of cultural exchanges. Delegations from the two countries will meet from time to time to work out the necessary details.

The agreement begins with a general preamble that the two countries are resolved to put an end to the conflict and confrontation that have hitherto marred their relations and work for promotion of a friendly and harmonious relationship and establishment of durable peace in the sub-continent.

An assurance is contained in the agreement that both countries shall prevent organisation, assistance or encouragement of any acts detrimental to maintenance of peaceful and harmonious relations.

The agreement says that the “prerequisite for reconciliation, good neighborliness and durable peace between them is a commitment by both countries to peaceful coexistence, respect for each other’s territorial integrity and sovereignty and non-interference in each other’s internal affairs on the basis of equality and mutual benefit.”

The two sides agreed that the basic issues anti causes of the conflict which have bedeviled the relations between the two countries for the last 25 years should be resolved by peaceful means and they “shall always respect each other’s territorial integrity, political independence and sovereign equality.”

A major step taken to put a stop to bitterness among the people is the agreement by the two Governments to take all steps to prevent hostile propaganda directed against each other and to disseminate such information as will promote development of friendly relations between them.

Threshold of Progress

MR. Bhutto said, before leaving Simla that he was “returning home with the firm conviction that we are embarking on a new era of peace.”

He said: “The agreement we signed last night represents a breakthrough in our relations”.

“If we implement the agreement with sincerity and good-will, we can give to our people peace with honour and progress which we have not found for so long. Today we have that opportunity. I have no doubt that we can set the foundation of a durable peace which we owe to our people. As I leave India, I wish to convey to the people in India my good wishes for their happiness and prosperity.”

It was heartening to find that the agreement was generally welcomed in Pakistan as a good beginning towards lasting peace in the sub-continent.

Mr. Mohammad Aslam Khan Khattak, the Speaker of the Provincial Assembly of the North-West Frontier Province, said a defeated nation could not have achieved better results.

He said the agreement showed the statesmanship of President Bhutto and reflected well on Mrs. Indira Gandhi too.

“It was a good beginning and we hope and pray there would be broadmindedness at Dacca so that the problems existing between the two brothers are amicably settled,” Mr. Khattak said.

Mr. Mahmoodul Haq Usmani, the Secretary-General of the pro-Moscow National Awami Party, described the agreement as a positive step towards, a durable peace in the sub-continent “It is a modest beginning and we hope lot the best,” he said.

He praised the efforts of President Bhutto and said a lasting peace was a necessity. “We should all contribute to achieve the objective without bartering our sovereignty and national dignity.”

The India-Pakistan agreement had “laid the foundation for the future of the two countries,” the Pakistan Political Affairs and Communication Minister, Mr. Ghulam Mustafa Jatoi, said.

The Minister for Natural Resources Mr. Hayat Mohammad Sherpao said the agreement had opened a way for the two countries to get together for the maximum improvements of their relations. "In India I found a lot of goodwill for my country," he added.

The West Punjab Chief Minister Mr. Malik Miraj Khalid described it as a historical agreement. "It shows the far-sightedness of the leaders of the two countries." He said "the poor of the two countries will be particularly happy because it is they only who have to bear the maximum burden of any confrontation."

The North West Frontier Province Governor, Mr. Arbab Sikander Khan Khalil, said the agreement would benefit both countries. "We will try to restore the cordial relations which existed before," he added.

Bangla Desh welcomed the Indo-Pakistan Summit agreement as "one of many successes to come" towards the path to a durable peace in the sub-continent. The Bangla foreign Minister, Mr. Abdus Samad, hailed the Simla agreement as "a right step in the right direction" and added this would help in identifying the areas of agreement and disagreement between India and Pakistan.

All British newspapers headlined the Indo-Pakistan agreement. The Times of London called it as the first step towards peace.

The Daily Telegraph commented that the agreement showed that President Bhutto had followed the Prime Minister, Mrs. Indira Gandhi, into the field of realism.

The BBO said the agreement "is a major breakthrough in the history of the Indian sub-continent."

Quoting its correspondent in Simla, the radio said, "The agreement came as a dramatic surprise. More significant was the fact that Mrs. Gandhi and Mr. Bhutto "have achieved a personal rapport."

This historic agreement was hailed by the United Nations Secretary-General, Dr. Kurt-Waldheim, and other world leaders as a wise step initiated by India and followed by Pakistan.

A near-unanimous consensus in favour of the accord emerged in a three-hour discussion of the agreement in the consultative committee of Parliament attached to the External Affairs Ministry in Delhi.

Members, with one solitary exception, hailed the accord as opening up the possibility of improvement of relations between the countries of the sub-continent and establishing the framework for durable peace in the region.

The lone critic of the agreement was the Jan Singh leader, Mr. A.B. Vajpayee, who is believed to have reiterated his party's well-known stand on Indo-Pakistan problems and described the agreement as a retreat from the Government's position.

The External Affairs Minister Mr. Swaran Singh, politely but spiritedly rebutted Mr. Vajpayee's criticism. He explained the various provisions of the agreement and asserted that the chances of a durable peace now were better than ever before.

Mr. Swaran Singh said he had been an eyewitness and participant in "all the drama" of strained and bitter Indo-Pakistan relations for the past 25 years and asked whether the brave Indian jawans should be condemned for ever to a life of vigil in extremely difficult conditions. "Should we not make an effort for peace and co-operation on the sub-continent?" he asked.

The Foreign Minister emphasised that the special feature of the accord was its bilateralism. If the US could open summit talks with China and the USSR and reach agreement and if the countries of Europe could move towards a durable detente, it should not be impossible for Asian countries to resolve their bilateral problems by mutual discussions.

The committee discussed the accord within hours of its being signed by the Prime Minister and the Pakistani President.

Members belonging to all groups, barring the Jan Singh, congratulated the Prime Minister and the Foreign Minister and the Government on the success of the Summit.

Mr. Swaran Singh pointed out that both countries had solemnly agreed to renunciation of force in settling bilateral problems. The emphasis was now on mutual talks and peaceful means. That should enable both countries to divert scarce resources to development and to minimise wasteful spending by an arms race.

People Say ‘Yes’

WHEN the Pakistan National Assembly was convened on July 10 to ratify the agreement, members gave it a big support.

From the debate in the National Assembly it was clear that Pakistan had reconciled itself to Bangla Desh and also to the need for maintaining cordial relations with India. Leaders of the National Awami Party and the Qayyum Muslim League welcomed President Bhutto’s policy of seeking bilateral solution to Indo-Pakistani problems. Apart from welcoming the agreement, the NAP leader, Mir Ghaus Baksh Bizenjo, uttered some home-truths

He stressed the need of recognising Bangla Desh.

He reminded the Assembly that Bangla Desh became a reality because of the attempt to suppress the voice of the majority. Apparently he wanted the rulers of Pakistan not to commit such mistakes again.

Recognition of Bangla Desh by Pakistan was only a question of time, and as President Bhutto had indicated earlier, recognition might take place by September or even earlier. On this issue he would face little opposition from his countrymen.

It appears that Pakistan is now in a mood to face her problems realistically.

Kashmir is the main Indo-Pakistani issue which remains unsettled. While supporting the right of self-determination for Kashmir, the NAP leader referred to the elections held there earlier. The Law Minister, Mr. Mahmud Ali Kasuri, said that the Simla Agreement was not aimed at abandoning the Kashmir issue or withdrawing it from the United Nations. Some opposition leaders tried to make out that President Bhutto had gone back on his commitments to the Kashmiri people, but one of them said that Pakistan could not afford to ignore the realities of the present situation. Nor could India afford it. The aim of both countries should be to arrive at a settlement which would not only reflect but confirm the reality. It would not be wise to put off a settlement indefinitely.

The support for the Simla Agreement in Pakistan strengthened President Bhutto’s hands.

As expected, the agreement was ratified by the National Assembly by an overwhelming majority.

In India, the Union Cabinet discussed all aspects of the agreement and finally the President gave it his assent, completing the process of ratification.

Parliament discussed it on a top priority basis. In the Lok Sabha, the Jan Sangh which opposed it saying India had been let down by her Government which had made concessions to Pakistan amounting to surrender of territory and willful neglect of the political interests of the victorious nation, was isolated by the massive support given to the initiative for peace by Mrs. Gandhi.

In the Rajya Sabha, demoralized by its plight in the Lok Sabha, the Jan Sangh adopted the line of least resistance by abstaining from voting.

In both Houses, the Prime Minister and the External Affairs Minister explained that India stood to lose nothing by supporting Mr. Bhutto's desire for peace. Kashmir was never accepted as a disputed territory. It was an integral part of India. The insinuations about Mr. Bhutto's "intentions" were apparently baseless. He had decided to work for peace in the sub-continent and got the agreement ratified by the National Assembly. His utterances in the Assembly and in public meetings, in their totality, showed him as a changed man with a deep belief in the inevitability of peace.

The overwhelming support by Parliament and numerous demonstrations of the people's backing made the ratified Simla Agreement a charter of stability for the people of India and Pakistan.

The Instrument of Ratification was delivered in Islamabad through the Swiss Embassy on August 5. On the following day, Mr. Bhutto expressed the hope that the process of reconciliation would bring better results soon.

The procedure for withdrawal of troops engaged the attention of the two countries and it was the beginning of a sincere effort at consolidation of peace.

The Little Lapses

REPLYING to the debate in the National Assembly, Mr. Bhutto said a couple of most encouraging things. He reminded the Assembly that Pakistan would not be ready for war for over decade that wars had failed to solve the problems of Pakistan. He went even to the extent of telling those who opposed détente that if they wanted war, instead of an era of stability and peace in the sub-continent, they should look for another president. His mandate was to consolidate Pakistan. He paid tributes to the conciliatory gestures of India and praised Mrs. Gandhi's approach to the Indo-Pakistan issues.

But, succumbing once again to political compulsions, he said some unfortunate things on Kashmir and Bangla Desh.

If the agreement had included a settlement of the Kashmir question, the prospect for Indo-Pakistan relations would have been better than they are now. India made a concession to the compulsions of Mr. Bhutto and wanted to give time to him and other Pakistani leaders to allow the Kashmir question to be further frozen.

This means that Pakistan will not commit another aggression over Kashmir. Some Indians say that India should have pressed for a settlement over Kashmir as part of a package deal, but India did not think of breaking up the Simla talks in a bargaining spirit, and Mr. Bhutto had his problems.

India agreed to vacate Pakistani territory in the spirit in which she had ordered a cease-fire on the western front. Pakistan lost Bangla Desh because of the foolish policies of its leaders. Mr. Bhutto has thrown part of the blame for the creation of Bangla Desh on Sheikh Mujibur Rahman but he knows the responsibility of his predecessors and his own role in it.

As at Tashkent, at Simla there was an assertion of the bilateral approach, without outside interference. When there is talk of "activation" of any country's complaint with the Security Council over Kashmir, it should be obvious that there is no escape from a bilateral approach.

Mr. Bhutto talked of self-determination for Kashmir, the talk which goes down well in Pakistan. He is reported to have said that there is only one way to "free Kashmir" from the "Indian yoke", that is, that the people of Kashmir should start "their struggle for freedom", he has added that the people of Pakistan would in that case go all out in support and even "shed their blood".

The Pakistani Representative to the United Nations thought it fit about the same time to inform the world body ostensibly that the Kashmir issue, as declared by the President of Pakistan, would continue to be before it, implying that the avowed principle of bilateralism could be easily violated by Pakistan.

However, Mr. Bhutto's talk of self-determination and fight for freedom means that Kashmir is essentially a problem for India and any "struggle for freedom" depends upon conditions in India. In spite of his statements, Mr. Bhutto had acknowledged that the fight for self-determination was lost in 1948.

It would be more correct to say that it had been lost in 1947. If Mr. Bhutto cannot agree to a settlement to replace the cease-fire line in Kashmir by an international boundary, the "durable" peace for which India is working cannot be measured with certainty.

Mr. Bhutto attacked Sheikh Mujib violently in the course of his speech in the Assembly calling him a secessionist from the very beginning, a renegade to the cause of Islam, a traitor to Pakistan and an undependable leader. He even sought to justify the charges leveled against Sheikh Mujib in the Agartala Conspiracy Case!

Sheikh Mujibur Rehman's role as the founder of secular Bangla Desh will be judged by history. The world is aware of the genesis of the independence resolution of East Pakistan. It resulted from the chain of suppression and injustice to what Mr. Bhutto has often described as Muslim Bengal at the hands of Muslim Pakistan.

When the autonomy plea got accentuated into the demand for independence, a syndrome was allowed to develop into a trauma and Mr. Bhutto knows who should be blamed for it instead of Sheikh Mujib and the "Muslim Bengalis".

The recent language riots are a pointer. If situations are allowed to worsen, discontent permitted to grow and legitimate aspirations of the people neglected, opposition to the establishment, however powerful may it be, is bound to grow.

India, too, had her quota of language riots, but Pakistan is facing a more difficult situation. Preservation of the integrity of Pakistan is the main need now. Leaders and people of Pakistan cannot afford to allow the crisis to develop on the lines of the Bangla Desh crisis. Language was a factor in the Bangla Desh crisis also.

Without Pride or Prejudice

MR. Bhutto's problems are gigantic but he is ideally equipped to tackle them. His is at the moment a commanding voice in Pakistan which can hurt and soothe, admonish and encourage, warn and command, and above all get accepted. There is no democratic alternative to him in the eyes of the masses at the moment. The right wing religion-oriented groups can at best raise tea-cup storms through controversies over policies of detente and progress. Khan Abdul Wali Khan and his National Awami Party have to strengthen their political base to put up a principled alternative before the country to Mr. Bhutto's leadership.

Most conducive to Mr. Bhutto's success is the strong, reasonable leadership of Mrs. Gandhi in India. Mrs. Gandhi has gone amazingly far to help Mr. Bhutto's boat from being rocked further.

Mr. Bhutto is passing through a hard school of experience. What is he heir to? Partition, disintegration, opportunism, religiously cloistered outlooks of large parts of the community, social injustice, dictatorial political exploitation, foreign domination over his nation's free spirit, growing gloom over the commanding heights of the economic infrastructure... The list is endless.

But Mr. Bhutto is in an enviable position. He is academically equipped to mix the philosophy of democracy with the economics of progress. He is an alert political being and can become a fountainhead of stability. If he pieces together the fragments of his frustrations, he can construct a model of a leader for his own reference. Time is mellowing the green turbulence in him. The impulsive romanticist is yielding place to a creative architect of national cohesion and regional co-existence.

The passion and tumult of his untamed temper are finding escape into mature leadership. The people of the Indo-Pakistan sub-continent should view his growth without pride or prejudice with satisfaction and his problems with sympathy because destiny has chosen him to be an alternative to a military dictator and because the alternative to him now can be just another military dictator. And that will be putting the clock back.

PART II

The Making of The Man

Before the beginning of years

There came to the making of man

Time with a gift of tears,

Grief with a glass that ran.

—Swinburne: *Before the Beginning of Years*

The Frame And The Canvas

AN art collector once sold a snow scene by Montillard, the impressionist, to Ambroise Vollard. When the price was paid, the collector began to pull the canvas out of the exquisite frame. Vollard, rather annoyed, stopped him and said “I am buying this for the frame I don’t want this canvas.”

If one met President Bhutto’s close associates in Pakistan or his friends in India before the Simla Summit in June 1972, they said the Presidency of Pakistan to Mr. Bhutto was the frame he had bought with sweat, suffering and calculated risk. The people — the Pakistani nation — were to him like Montillard’s snow scene, a little beyond the pale of his immediate ambition, a bit too inconvenient an object for a pleasant, personal existence.

Mr. Bhutto is a much misunderstood man His utter individualism and personal style have inspired either unqualified adulation or unmitigable bitter contempt This, at any rate, is not an indicator of the whole man Adulation alternated with contempt, perhaps can, indicate an image.

The man now at the helm of Pakistan’s affairs is in lime-light He is a public figure, an administrator with a legitimate and leading role and with absolute powers His enterprise and ability have blown him up onto a peak with a flag in his hands, he will certainly pitch it there and stay till the world says ‘Lo and behold’ He has arrived and conquered.

Mr. Bhutto was born on Jan 5, 1928 at Larkana He began as an affectionate child of average intelligence. He was proud of being the scion of a family rolling in affluence, judging from the Indian standards of abject poverty, privations of the masses and the gaping gap between the leading rich and the misled poor. He grew up into a charming individual with love for the good things of life and an education held prestigious in his youth. His mind fostered ambition as its main intellectual preserve and now he has been thrown up on a precipice to pick up success from a peak beyond his gaze. This is the predicament of the eminence of Mr. Bhutto.

He, as I have said earlier, is a misunderstood man. The reason is that he has a misunderstood mask. The man is underneath and the mask is on the surface. In between is a craterous crust of lava and brimstone confusing the real man and the unmalleable mask. The man Bhutto is a line made of simple logical developmental stretches. One does not need the Life Force Theory to explain him. He was born, he grew up, he has loved

and lived occasionally like a lark, at times like a caged sparrow nesting in limitations of circumstantial compulsions and seeking a door to be free.

His is a lovable life, fascinating and natural. This is the man, the private individual proud of the infinitude of mind and perceptive of the freedom of spirit. His earlier life was a promise and a preparation. But it was not a promise of what he is understood to have become; it was not a preparation for subordinating the man to the mask. Let us look at some details of the making of the man.

Today's Islamic Socialist, had a capitalist beginning. His father, Khan Bahadur Sir Shah Nawaz Bhutto, was a faithful friend of the British Empire. He was a zamindar chief of Sind and one of the largest land-holders in that part of the country. He was the proprietor of the Bhutto Colony, a colony of houses in Larkana. He was a feudal hold on the area; he was ~a community leader, with considerable influence on the Mohammedan section of Sind. Officially, he was appointed to various positions by the British. He was a member of the old Imperial Council and Minister of the Government of Bombay, besides having worked as adviser to the Governor of Sind and member of the Public Service Commission for Bombay and Sind. With his clear support for the status quo, he was a most agreeable person as a delegate to the Round Table Conference in 1930 and 1934 and as a member of the Bombay Provincial Simon Committee.

Many distinctions were conferred upon Mr. Zulfikar Ali Bhutto's father — OBE (1919), KIH (1924), CIE (1925) and Kt. (1930). The young Bhutto was brought up in this tradition of the "old world charm" of a colonial milieu in which hatred for the contemptuously described "Hindu India" was rampant.

Sir Shah Nawaz wound up his career as the Dewan of Juuagadh in Saurashtra when the state was merged with India in 1949.

Mr. Bhutto's mother, from authentic accounts, appears to be like a warm, comfy hen with her chicks around her. She was a kind woman with sympathy and respect for India and the Indian way of life. She was a convert. Sir Shah Nawaz had four wives and eight children, including two sons. After the death of his stepbrother, Zulfikar Ali became the sole heir to the family property.

Among his friends in Bombay, where he had considerable property, were numerous Hindu and Parsi students. His initial education in Karachi had little impact on him. Bombay had a bigger social world and greater glamour. The famous Cathedral and John Canon School, where the children of the rich went for English education, gave Mr. Bhutto initial training in sophistication and clever ways of thinking and expression. He had a brief spell of art education at the J. J. School of Art, Bombay.

The Salad Days

WHAT was Zulfikar Ali like when he was young?

There is no autobiographical account of his early life available yet But his friends supply some interesting information about his making.

Mr. Pilloo Mody, the Swatantra MP, knew him intimately. The illustrated Weekly of India brought out some interesting photographs of the flamboyant duo and some reminiscences by Mr. Mody and others of the young Zulfikar Ali Bhutto

According to Mr. Mody, Zulfikar Ali appeared to him as a generous, loyal and ambitious person in his college days. Earlier, he was an ordinary schoolboy with good manners.

Says Mr. Mody:

“My earliest remembrance of him is as a little boy—much younger than me—with a squeaky voice. He seemed well-behaved and enthusiastic. Actually, he was a good friend of a cousin of mine. This was in 1938-39. I was 13 and we were in the same school in Bombay— Cathedral. It was only after he had matured and was doing his Senior Cambridge that I came into intimate association with him. We became good friends and spent long hours together talking about life, opportunity and politics.”

His other school mates describe him variously as *“just like any of us—slim, handsome, fair, somewhat effeminate, fond of good clothes, proud of his command over English, a good debater, fond of the bottle even in those days.”*

Zulfikar Ali did his Senior Cambridge at the age of 18. His position in the class was not low—between fifth and tenth.

Mr. Pilloo Mody recalls that Zulfikar Ali was an admirer of Mohammad Ali Jinnah. Incidentally, Mr. Mody was “pro-Nehru”. “And throughout these years,” he says, “I got the impression that he was generous and loyal—and extremely ambitious.” Ambition, in a certain measure, is part of the raw material of youth. Zulfikar Ali’s student life is associated with the kind of ambition which demands a fair amount of hard work and diligence to get to the top by stages.

Pilo Mody recalls that Zulfikar Ali was very fond of cricket, good food, elegant clothes, tennis, squash, swimming and, of course, “girls and the bottle.” He was a great admirer of Mustaq Ali, the cricketer particularly.

“Zulfie lived across the road,” says Mr. Mody, “from us at Ghia Mansion, Carmichael Road. He was very fond of the immediate family. He was always in love—very often in love with the idea of being in love. But there was one girl he was very fond of, I think, he never forgot her. Her parents were absolutely against the whole thing. Incidentally, this was not the film star Nargis, with whom Zulfie’s name was often—but quite baselessly —romantically linked.”

Here, it will be interesting to know what Nargis herself has to say about Zulfikar Ali, according to B. J. Karanjia who interviewed her some days after the new Pakistan President assumed office.

Nargis was asked: “Was there any thing special between you and him (Zulfikar Ali) ?“

Nargis:No, not really. He used to come to the studio very often when I was shooting and the minute he arrived, Begum Para (the star of the forties) and I would wink at each other, giggle and generally rag Zulfikar. There are a lot of stories going round but I don’t think he really had any more than a teenage crush on me. It was, perhaps, the glamour of my being an up and coming star that must have appealed to his man-of-the-world image. We couldn’t help being friends because we used to be part of the same crowd, and Zulfikar was very charming and likable. He was quite shy, really. It was actually his cousin — Or brother — Sikandar who really terrorized me. He was persistently after me and would continue to threaten suicide if I didn’t marry him.”

“Did the young Bhutto ever provide inkling as to what the later Bhutto would turn out to be ?“, Nargis was asked.

She replied: “Never. In fact I cannot reconcile myself to this new image. Bhutto, as I knew him, was a feudal landlord, with princely pleasures, racing, drinking, going on shikar, dancing with a new Anglo-Indian girl every Saturday night. His father was the Diwan of Junagadh and the aura of wealth around him was very apparent. Now he talks only of communism and socialism I cannot believe that Zulfikar can be so aggressive. He has grown up here He has friends here How can he hate India the way he does? I have heard—I don’t know how true it is — that he had wanted to come back and settle in India, but political factors denied the fulfillment of this wish. Perhaps, his attitude is just an indication, trying to destroy what he could not get.”

Mr. Bhutto married Nasurat (Isphani) in 1951. She is of Iranian origin. She had her initial education in Bombay. (Her ancestors had settled down at Poona). The family later migrated to Karachi.

Mr. Bhutto has four children, daughters Benazir (18); Sanam (16) and sons Murtaza (17); Shahnawaz (13).

For Fatherland That Was To Be

‘THE turning point in Zulfikar Ali Bhutto’s life came at the University in California. He grew and deepened. His memory was good. He read political views avidly and “used the information to suit his arguments. He was pro-partition as he felt his chances of getting to the top were better in Pakistan.

Berkeley, California, prepared him for his mental grooming at Christ Church, Oxford. He later joined the Lincoln’s Inn and was called to the Bar in 1953 This was the most eventful time in the making of the man who is in love with rhetoric, and who uses demagogy to escape from inconvenience, adding startling emotional qualities to common sense and sound and often leaving himself and the world, when he has finished an exposition, ‘with words, words, words.

What is the normal image of Mr. Bhutto, the man?

A playboy? A charlatan? A dilettante? A snob? A sharp witted intellectual inviting, impressing, repelling? The total man, ‘with his humaneness, resilience of mind, capacity for change and utter frankness, has proved bigger than the moulds prescribed for him.

As we have seen, Mr. Bhutto wanted to become a purposeful political being. At the outset he was pro-Jinnah.

Being pro-Jinnah in Mr. Bhutto’s formative years meant being pro-partition. He knew enough politics in the company of elite who came to visit his father to know the nature of the strength and weaknesses of the Indian political way of life.

After the Holy Koran, Choudhary Rahmat Ali’s “Pakistan” published at Cambridge under the auspices of the Pakistan National Liberation Movement, was a “must” in some homes.

Mr. Bhutto was told as a schoolboy that “Pakistan is the fatherland of the Pak Nation. In other words, it is the land which lies in the north-west of the continent of Dinia (other wise known as the sub-continent of India); and which constitutes the age-old national strong hold of the people who represent the original core and content of the Millat living in the orbit of Pakasia.

“It will therefore, be seen that Pakistan is one of the most ancient and illustrious countries of the orient. Not only that. It is the only country in the world which, in the

antiquity of its legend and lore, as in the character of its history and hopes, compares with Iraq and Egypt the countries which are known as the oracle of the achievements of Mankind...”

There were great Muslim leaders of India like Maulana Azad and intellectuals like Dr. Zakir Husain who, with their service to the motherland and through their convictions, rejected the Two-Nation Theory. Their lives were symbols of clear thinking and meaningful action. They did not like to create the problems which, they felt, were detrimental to the harmonious national edifice which India wanted to become after achieving independence. But, Mr. Bhutto’s political circle, despite his ambition to rise to the top, was limited to the like-minded people which left him irretrievably exposed to the divisive influence of the Two-Nation Theory’s exponents.

Pakistan was doomed to be a problem state from the outset. Its problems would arise, Mr. Bhutto’s anti-partition friends argued, from the circumstances and manner of its creation. The Two-Nation Theory was a false doctrine nurtured on hatred and half-truths. It had no geographical support and no historical or national background. Mr. Bhutto would quote Jinnah.

Mr. Bhutto’s impressionable mind had an indelible impress on it. It was Jinnah’s thought of separation. That was the last word then. Jinnah’s hatred for India was sanctimonious, people thought, for he had known India well. He was Dadabhai Naoroji’s ward and Gokhale’s lieutenant. In the words of Mr. Chalpathi Ran, “he was an ambassador of Hindu-Muslim unity, who fought a lone, courageous battle against the beginnings of communalism. With the Home Rule League, he was the hero of a memorable campaign against Willingdon. For two decades he was in the forefront of the nationalist movement. The fervour of those days cannot be forgotten even in the disappointment of the bitterness he caused.”

Jinnah was a man of “mystery and destiny”; this pleasantly ambiguous status has been attributed to Disraeli and Gandhi. But then his ambivalence, ambition and opportunism stood between him and the rows that accommodate history’s great. This handicap was basic and big. He set his eyes on office without pretensions.

Mr. Bhutto, like him, never concealed his ambition. It is true the trappings of feudalism and temptations of wealth kept him, for a time, opportunistically inclined to the citizenship of India. But that was the handiwork of the mask, not that of the man.

The man consistently worked for political and official status in Pakistan. Endowed with great good luck, he rose from political obscurity to ministerial office when he was barely thirty years old. He became the right hand man and a protégé of President Ayub Khan to the world that came to know him. It was President Ayub who offered him fulfillment as the Foreign Minister of Pakistan in which position he sharpened his wits, made international contacts, consolidated his political gains. But Mr. Bhutto was too individualistic to have a master whose dictates hurt as a tight bridle hurts a galloping

horse. He defied the Field Marshal, sought to expose him, initially failed and was put behind the bars.

At The Crossroads

IN Mr. Bhutto's plan for power and glory a stage came one day when he could declare, indicting President Ayub:

“The true reasons why I have been pursued by the Government with grotesque harassment and finally arrested and thrown into prison are two

(1) The fear that I might take the Tashkent affair to the people of Pakistan for their verdict; and

(2) The fact that President Ayub Khan believes that I am his most powerful rival for the Presidency because I enjoy the confidence of the people, whereas he does not.”

Mr. Bhutto was convinced that he had a decisive role to play from the time of his success as Foreign Minister.

In that period, between 1963 and 1966, Mr. Bhutto aligned Pakistan closely with China and tried to extort maximum aid from the USA. The Americans called it blackmail but Ayub Khan, who ought to have known the essence of the situation, called him a CIA agent. Mr. Bhutto succumbed neither to political and financial temptations, nor to threats of being pursued to the grave. He parted company with the Field Marshal.

He vehemently opposed the Tashkent Agreement. His mood in the 1965 war was such that he was not expected to work for conciliation.

He was misunderstood as blowing hot and cold. He was perfectly consistent blowing hot and hotter, unfolding himself against his pre-partition image of Hindu India.

Kashmir came to him as a hobby-horse and he rode it, used it as a demagogue's platform and a bait to catch public attention at home and abroad. There is no deviation in this hate-India campaign which originated in him in his formative years. Flog India, flatter the people, keep a firm collaborating link with the power that rules and flourish: this was the straight line of the ideological development then.

Between 1966 and 1967, he remained out of active politics, holding private consultations with experienced civil servants and military leaders, denouncing President Ayub, sharpening his weapons of political assault and wooing the people. The former General Secretary of the Muslim League disowned the party which brought Pakistan into existence and which supplied Mr. Bhutto with all the guns of invective and lampoon

which he was using to assail India. It could not take him far enough. He still had miles to go to realise his dreams.

Another step on the ladder of ambition was the Pakistan People's Party formed by Mr. Bhutto on Dec. 1, 1967. He knew it was a step forward towards higher office. He proclaimed it was a step in the direction of a welfare state to be achieved through Islam, democracy and recognition of the supremacy of the people. The PPP's objectives were, as stated by Mr. Bhutto, "Islam is our faith, democracy is our policy and we believe in the supremacy of the people." "We believe, we believe..." Yes, that royal plural is not an expression for the first person singular I, Mr. Bhutto, the man, seldom say: "I believe." He believes in a straight line programme of making the people associated with what he says. But does the world try to understand such declarations of faith, such simple statements of personal credo, and such clear indications of the inner urge of an individual man?

When he indicated his belief a little too loudly and frankly, he was incarcerated for three months. The period was "awful with flies, mosquitoes, rats in one place and bats in another and a terrible stink all over."

One can demonstrate and agitate and fight political battles in a democracy. But a military dictatorship is a protectorate of power. You can't argue with a general who overthrows a reigning general like Ayub Khan. Can you? When Yahya Khan came to power, Mr. Bhutto lay low, strengthening his links with the Punjabi-dominated army and advocating Islamic Socialism with an occasional sprinkling of anti-Indianism on his soup of ambition for better taste and effect. As political exigencies demanded it, he made a common cause with strong men of the army and prepared ground for further fulfillment.

The Acknowledged Legislator

GENERAL Yahya Khan's policies, despite his later acts of insanity and moral turpitude, at the outset did the country some memorable good. He awakened the hope of a "democratic" set-up and this was forestalling Mr. Bhutto's Islamic Socialism. Mr. Bhutto became wary. There was the fear of an artery of progress being blocked. He protested against Yahya getting him harassed by his secret police But the General went ahead with his plans and held the first elections in Pakistan.

The mood of the people had changed. The eastern wing gave a massive victory to the Awami League of Sheikh Mujibur Rahman, throwing him up as the unquestioned future Prime Minister of Pakistan. Mr. Bhutto's Party, the Pakistan People's Party, secured a thumping majority in the West. In West Punjab and Sind, Mr. Bhutto had done exceptionally well, making his party the second largest in the National Assembly.

This was a time for the wisest maneuver. Gen. Yahya wanted to play Mr. Bhutto against Mujib, the "future Prime Minister of Pakistan." That was the only way to prolong his hold on the country. Mr. Bhutto saw that the General wanted the carrots for himself. There were two roadblocks before he could reach the goal the highest seat of power — Sheikh Mujib and General Yahya. The Sheikh was the "future Prime Minister"; General Yahya Khan was the absolute ruler of the time, trying to perpetuate his spell of governance.

If the Sheikh became the Prime Minister, East Pakistan would virtually become an independent entity It would damage the ideology of Pakistan—the two Nation Theory—impoverish, the western wing and encourage the demand of autonomy in the western provinces.

Mr. Bhutto decided to resist such a change.

When General Yahya let his mind be known that the supremacy of the East over the West in political affairs would not be acceptable to him, Mr. Bhutto opposed the convening of the constitution framing machinery and aligned himself with the military clique whom he apparently detested. Gen. Yahya talked about "co-operation between Mujib and Bhutto." Mr. Bhutto' refused to oblige. He threatened to boycott the Assembly before. Sheikh Mujib worked out a settlement with him, on his terms. General Yahya acceded to this demand. Mr. Bhutto saw the road-blocks were gradually moving away. The artery of progress, too, was slowly expanding.

The East-West confrontation became a collaboration move between Gen. Yahya and Mr. Bhutto to stop the wind of change away from the doors of Pakistan. General Yahya Khan's election move had proved to be an uneasy event. The General's intelligence system had failed to supply him a correct guess on the electoral possibilities. He had substituted the parity formula by representation on the basis of population. General Yahya's political pundits had told him that the electoral verdict would, in all probability, approximate to the following pattern:

The Awami League 80 seats.
The Muslim League (Qayum Group) 70 seats.
The Muslim League (Daulatana Group) 40 seats.
The National Awami Party (Wali Khan Group) 35 seats.
Mr. Bhutto's Pakistan People's Party 25 seats.

But the General Assembly scoreboard turned to be startlingly different:

The Awami League 160 seats (out of 300).
The People's Party—81.
Independents—16
The Muslim League (Qayum Khan Group) —9
The Muslim League (Daulatana Group)—7
The Jamat-ale-Sunna—7
The Hazarvi Group—7
The National Awami Party (Wali Khan Group)—6
The Jamat-i-Islami—4
The Muslim League (F. Choudhury Group)—2
The Pakistan Democratic Party—1.

Sheikh Mujib's party's enviable, sweeping victory brought out this inevitable fact: Sheikh Mujib, if given his democratic due, would be the master of the situation with absolute majority in the National Assembly. The subsequent announcement of the Sheikh, on Dec. 9, 1971, confirmed Gen. Yahya's fears. The Sheikh had said: The new constitution of Pakistan would be based on the six-point autonomy demand of the Awami League which aimed, broadly speaking, at greater autonomy for East Pakistan while remaining an integral part of Pakistan, a democratic constitution for entire Pakistan, removal of regional disparities in economic growth and preparing conditions for a viable economy with greater social objectives, a better system of education and development of the Bengali language and culture and formulation of a non-aligned foreign policy.

The inevitable had happened. General Yahya was till then convinced that he would escape the fate of General Ayub by keeping a facade of democracy around himself but ruling over the divided people misguided by small political parties replete with internecine personal feuds and programmatic incoherence.

Sheikh Mujib must be stalled now. And for this Mr. Bhutto must be won over. It was felt then that this was what suited Mr. Bhutto most. With Sheikh Mujib around, there

was little chance of eminence for him immediately. With Gen. Yahya there was. There could be some political position, some power to wield, and some way to keep the arteries of ambition wet and alive. There were long duck shooting sessions and parleys in which Mr. Bhutto fathomed the depths of Gen. Yahya's mind and finalised his strategy for the next step. General Yahya thought during the twenty-two long years the people had been taught to believe that all politicians were perfidious and "the army had an inherent responsibility, greater than any Constitution." Mr. Bhutto felt this could prove Yahya's ruination once the Sheikh was out of the race and he had an opportunity to expose General Yahya. Thus Mr. Bhutto's plans were carefully founded on the rock of General Yahya's planned betrayal of the people. The rest, he felt, must be left to time and for this he needed time and, of course, luck.

But one thing is clear had Mr. Bhutto been guided by sheer opportunism, he could have achieved his ambition in the course of time. As Mascarenhas puts it, Mujibur Rahman, after all, did not have all the answers. As Prime Minister he would have been the target of escalating opposition. Bhutto could then have successfully stepped in with his own more radical economic programme.

On D-Day At Dacca

THIS vital period in the making of Mr. Bhutto is unusually eventful. When army crack-down was reported from East Pakistan, Mr. Bhutto was present there.

Before that Yahya Khan had visited Dacca on January 13. Two weeks later, Mr. Bhutto arrived in Dacca. He met Sheikh Mujib and sought clarifications about the self-explanatory Six- Point Programme of the Awami League. When General Yahya announced that the National Assembly would be convened at Dacca on March 3, Mr. Bhutto declared in Peshawar on February 15 that he would boycott the Assembly Session unless he secured satisfactory assurances from the Sheikh regarding safeguarding of the interests of the western wing. He continued to cultivate and study Yahya Khan. March 3 was drawing near and he must make the General act.

On Feb. 28, Mr. Bhutto warned that he would organise agitation, civil disobedience “and worse” if the plan to convene the Assembly was not abandoned. Next day General Yahya postponed convening of the Assembly *sine die*.

The attitudes hardened. Mujib declared that the Bengalis would fight for their rights. General Yahya Khan announced he would put down “secessionism” with an iron hand. The genocide began.

According to one account Mr. Bhutto stayed on in Dacca for two days after General Yahya had left the city following the abortive talks with Sheikh Mujib.

Subsequently, Mr. Bhutto ensured the continued supply of weapons and support to the military machine by visiting Iran on July 8 and Peking on November 5. Gen. Yahya tried to keep him away from the scene of trouble by using him as is rather impolitely being stated as an errand boy. Mr. Bhutto suppressed his impatience and utilized the time he had gained wisely.

When General Yahya decided to escalate his misadventure into the Indian territory across the eastern as well as the western borders, Mr. Bhutto ensured military and political support for him. In the United Nations he succeeded in internationalizing the issue and winning considerable support from Pakistan’s allies and politically unstable regions.

People at home watched their fire-eating patriot resurrecting the ghost of “Indian adventurism” while reveling in the “victories” of their army on all fronts from the border

of Tripura to the deserts of Rajasthan, ingenuously reported by their radio, TV and the press.

Mr. Bhutto helped Yahya Khan until such time when the people came to know that the problem state of East Pakistan had achieved its solution in freedom, that the General's claims had been proved hollow. Mr. Bhutto's hour of trial had come. With Mujib in prison and General Yahya smarting under "hell of a bashing" from the Indian military machine, he was the only alternative to chaos, capable of claiming a massive mandate of the people of what was now the legitimate Pakistan.

General Yahya realized that when the tide of public opinion was ready to throw him in the dustbin of history, he could do nothing except handing over power to Mr. Bhutto and drown his doom in rum and reminiscences.

The following account by Anthony Mascarenhas indicates what Mr. Bhutto was made to do in Dacca after the fateful day: "Bhutto, of all the political leaders who had come to Dacca for talks with Sheikh Mujib, had curiously not been notified to make his departure on the morning of March 25. He had, in fact, an appointment with Sheikh Mujib for that evening. Bhutto, apparently tied up with more pressing engagements, telephoned Sheikh Mujib at about 6 P.M. suggesting they postpone their meeting to next day as he wanted to meet the President. Mujib told him that he had no objection to a Postponement but how did Bhutto expect to see the President when he had already left Karachi? According to the evidence given by some student leaders, Bhutto was taken aback. He tried to get through to the President's House but was told that the President Was "having dinner at the Eastern Command Headquarters and would not be able to see him. Bhutto it seems, got the message, next day he was to get a more pertinent one. Before putting him on a plane for Karachi, his military escort took him on a brief tour of the City where the army was still in action Bhutto's followers say it had no significance. But another leading politician told me it was intended to give a vivid demonstration of what the army would do to anyone obstructing its purpose. Whatever it was, Bhutto could not have been blind or insensitive to what he saw.

Mr. Bhutto's own reaction to the first bout of genocide in Dacca brings out the inner man drenched in pathos and grief: "With the horizon ablaze, my thoughts turned to the past and to the future. I wondered what was in store for us. There in front of my eyes I saw the death and destruction of our own people. It was difficult to think straight. Many thoughts crossed my mind. Had we reached the Point of no return - or would time heal the wounds and open a new chapter in the history of Pakistan? How I Wished I knew the answer."

Jesus Arid Judas

THE making of the man had proved sound. Mr. Bhutto reached the pinnacle of power on December 20, 1971.

The People's Party had already launched a "hang-Yahya" campaign and the gossip all over the humiliated and mutilated nation centered round this question: "How could we have confidence in Yahya Khan when he is such a drunkard and womanizer?"

I have a reliable report of the first conversation between Mr. Bhutto and Gen. Yahya after the former's arrival in his country after the surrender of the Pakistani forces to the joint command of the Indian and Bangla Desh forces.

Mr. Bhutto: "You have been committing one blunder after another. But even now if you don't listen to me, I will go into the background and keep quiet."

Gen. Yahya: "I want to swear you in."

And Mr. Bhutto was sworn in. It was the fulfillment of a twenty-year quest of luck but it was also the beginning of a difficult phase of life.

He made a long, rambling, impromptu speech to the nation in which he appealed: "One half of Pakistan is gone; the other half is in a mess. For heaven's sake do not rock the boat any further; it has been rocked enough."

True to his making, he admitted that around him "there was" a total crisis, crisis in all spheres.—political, military, economic, social, international. That was an hour of intense anguish. He had read enough history to anticipate what the moving fingers would write. Personally, the man within him knew he could have no claim on anyone's sympathy at that moment. He could not evade his share of responsibility for the war in 1965, the failure of the Pakistan Government to implement the Tashkent Agreement, and its refusal to resume trade with India and for the happenings in East Pakistan and its rebirth as Bangla Desh. It was a time to feel penitent and to give one's soul a baptism of remorse. And Mr. Bhutto did do so when he uttered these heavy words of deep, genuine, mortifying grief: "I wish I were not alive today and when I say it, I mean it."

This ambitious, talented, partly fulfilled man then pulled up the mask on him to escape the gaze of a distressed nation, seeking its destiny in the haze of defeat and

disaster in circumstances and people, including him. Some of them would point a finger and tell him: “Here is one of our Judases.”

No, tins was malicious. Someone would say, “May be, in him there is our Jesus, our saviour.”

Perhaps, others would say, “In him there are our Jesus and Judas both.”

Politics is made of dangerously fickle stuff. Both political joys and sorrows have violence in them, and they evoke unpredictable reactions in people.

PART III

The Making of the Mask

The loathsome mask has fallen, the man remains

Sceptreless, free, uncircumscribed, but man

Equal, unclassed, tribeless and nationless

— *Shelley Prometheus Unbound*

The Bhutto Theme

THE Bhutto theme can be summed up in two words: Ambition and Compulsion

In him ambition is the guiding force. Family affluence and the attending comforts made life a cradle of cleverness. Sophisticated “modern” education sharpened the intellect. The soil of ambition got ready for the seed which, unfortunately was separatism and the Two-Nation Theory in public life and the uninhibited opportunity to love and hate in the permissive cloister of Larkana, Junagadh, Bombay, California or London.

Separatism is a byproduct of hatred and hatred is a destroying passion. Given an unbridled scope to play, it will upset the balance of life, and make an evil dent in the wholesomeness of the personality in whom it operates.

The thread may be traced for its beginning in the early life of Mr. Bhutto. We have his friend’s word on this matter. Though the English masters at the Cathedral School did not encourage political opinion, Mr. Bhutto’s passion for politics - through his idolisation of Jinnah—was irrepressible. His political interest was the only thing that made him different from the rest of us.”

In the course of time the love for Jinnah developed into disregard or contempt for those who did not like Jinnah’s ideas. The seed of the anti-Indian ideology gradually grew into a tree disallowing anything else to grow under it and the personality got enmeshed in an obsession which was fostered and later given a respectable name: enlightened leadership.

Life seeks to maintain a balance. In Mr. Bhutto’s case it was disturbed early in life by the creeping of disorderly in trends of imposed hate, upsetting the order — disorder equilibrium.

The order-disorder antithesis required a balanced approach to the problems which was not possible with the hardening of adolescent ideas into permanently cherished ideals.

There were the thoughts of Choudhary Rahmat Ali at home: “It is important to remind the reader at the outset that the history of Pakistan is not that of a country which will be some day carved out of ‘India’. On the contrary, it is the history of a country which, though at present incorporated in ‘India’, has always existed in its own right, and

on whose life seventy centuries look down from the lofty peaks of the Jabaliya and the legendary passes of the Khaibar, and to whose future no human power can set any limits Again the history of Pakistan is not the history of only its own territory, it is in a very real sense, that of the whole continent of Dinia and its Dependencies For, thanks to the sterling qualities of its people, Pakistan has throughout the ages controlled the events and moulded the institutions in the other lands of Dinia.

“... In the remote times of man’s first known activities on this planet, Pakistan, was one of the three civilized regions of the globe—the other two being Iraq and Egypt”.

Jinnah, even after achieving what he wanted, continuously treated India as Pakistan’s enemy: “Having failed to prevent the establishment of Pakistan, thwarted and frustrated by their failure, the enemies of Pakistan have now turned their attention to disrupt the State by creating a split amongst the Muslims of Pakistan. These attempts have taken the shape principally of encouraging provincialism. As long as you do not throw off this poison in our body politic, you will never be able to weld yourself, mould yourself, and galvanize yourself into a real true nation”. Even for the Founding Father of Pakistan it was necessary to invoke the “inherent wickedness” of the enemies of Pakistan to inspire the people to galvanize and weld themselves.

Let us see the fusion of the sentiments of Choudhary Rahmat Ali and Mohammed Ali Jinnah in the memorable utterances of Mr. Bhutto.

In the UN Security Council, Mr. Bhutto’s expressions had left the Indian Minister, Sardar Swaran Singh, with no alternative to withdrawing from the discussions: Mr. Bhutto called the withdrawing Indian team “Indian dogs” and went on to observe that India had been subjugated for ten centuries. The script of his speech had for “two centuries” but Mr. Bhutto reprimanded his delegation: “It should be ten centuries. We in Pakistan had ruled over them for eight centuries and civilized them, and the British (ruled over them) for two centuries.

In a recently published interview given by Mr. Bhutto to the Italian journalist, Oriana Fallaci, he was quoted as having said this:

“Hindus and Muslims were never brothers The two religions, systems of living, cultures and approaches are basically different From the day of birth to the day of death the Hindu and the Muslim are subjected to different ways of life and they do not have any meeting point. Even their methods of eating and drinking are different. They are two strong and irreconcilable faiths. This explains why the two have not succeeded in reaching a compromise so far”.

This deep-seated hatred is a legacy. Mr. Bhutto used it mechanically as an instrument of popularity and success. But hatred, a destroying passion, cannot lead to any wholesome condition and Mr. Bhutto suffered by nurturing it. His associates disowned him, people demonstrated against him. Attempts were made at his life at least thrice.

Life has shown Mr. Bhutto the threshold of fulfillment; it has given him a violently delightful position. But then violent delights often have violent ends and bring violent ends to others. The vaulting ambition is running the gamut and the world is looking on as Mr. Bhutto adjusts his mask to face the world.

Mr. Bhutto, over the years, has been talking through the mask of his unimpeachable character, superior political sense, comparative inadequacies of others, the utter irrelevance of the Indian nation on the map of the world, a thousand-year war with a country subjugated for a thousand years and the final revenge. Has it all been mere sound and fury? Or is it the continuing soliloquies of a restless spirit languishing under a compulsion ?

Who has brought Pakistan to this Condition? Mr. Bhutto's, answers rang clear.

“Superficial minds without any elementary knowledge of policies, without any sense of history, have made fundamental political decisions which have brought Pakistan perilously close to ruin.”

What does he intend to do about this sorry state of things?

“This is my pledge to you (the people of Pakistan) — I will restore democracy East Pakistan is an inseparable and indissoluble part of Pakistan I am convinced the people of East Pakistan want to remain part of Pakistan. We will fight for East Pakistan”

Fight whom?

“Indian forces are occupying part of my motherland India has a choice before it — either to accept justice or to face an implacable enemy for all time... We will redeem this day. We will take revenge and we will see to it that this temporary humiliation is put right.”

What were the people like who had held similar hopes before the people?

Field Marshal Ayub Khan's regime was corrupt and unstable, and Ayub himself was afraid of Mr. Bhutto.

February 3, 1969: “The popular agitation in the country is an expression of protest against a derelict system, a reflection of the resentment against the general state of affairs... By coercion and corruption, the Government has brought the country to the verge of collapse... President Ayub Khan believes that I am his most powerful rival for the President-ship because I enjoy the confidence of the people whereas he does not...”

General Yahya Khan “is a disgusting drunkard”.

How does Mr. Bhutto's clean image go with the knowledge in Dacca that he was responsible for the massacre on the night of March 25, 1971?

“How can one discredit me with an episode so barbarous and stupid? Only a disgusting drunkard like General Yahya Khan can do such a bad and bloody job.”

And Sheikh Mujib?

“He is a congenital liar. He cannot do anything but lying...”

And he himself ?

Mr. Bhutto talked his way through his mask.

“I am the authentic voice of the people.”

The mask is a psycho-physiological affair. It makes one what one is not. It helps in histrionics and also in life.

It was Mr. Bhutto who exclaimed when the Pakistani Army moved in to crush the East Pakistan demand for justice within the framework of Pakistan: “Thank God, Pakistan is saved.” It was Mr. Bhutto whose heart bled at the “suffering of my East Pakistani brethren.”

Which of the two is Mr. Bhutto, the man plain, and which one with the mask?

Masks are fashioned by man out of his ingenuity and resources. They are used by man to express or suppress part of him. Bhutto, the man, has now outgrown the need of the mask he has been using for his long-exploited land needs him as a man who can bring reality into a situation of willful suspension of disbelief. Mr. Bhutto is fond of talking about the future, the unborn tomorrow to forget the dead yesterday. He has shown readiness to cast the mask off for he knows hatred is a destructive passion.

This is the way of all flesh, of presidents or private men, of heroes, including tragic heroes. Life seeks peace and balance. In our sub-continent of teeming millions, if Mr. Bhutto can help restore the much-needed peace, he will be remembered by history despite having been perilously close to office for long. People, then, will even forget that the man had a mask.

At Simla he made a beautiful beginning.

PART IV

The Original Sin

O dark, dark, dark, amid the blaze of noon

Irrecovably dark, total eclipse

Without all hope of day

—Milton Samson *Agonistes*

A Creative Falsehood

WHY has Mr. Bhutto's view of nationalism stood in the way of his quest of peace for a quarter of a century? There is a vital and creative falsehood underlying the obsessions of Mr. Bhutto with regard to Pakistani nationalism. It is a result of the outlook prescribed by Mohammad Ali Jinnah for the vindication of the thesis that the Hindus and the Muslims were two separate nations, perpetually at loggerheads with each other and permanently condemned to a life of forced geographical coexistence in the sub-continent.

According to Mr. Bhutto, the validity of the "need-based" plan of a clear separation of the "two nations" can be traced in the Hindu scriptures.

He painstakingly traces the history of Indian nationalism to the Rigvedas. According to him from the time of the Rigveda—he calls it the Rig Vedas, which I presume, may be the printer's error—the dominant features of the Indian genius have been its religious temperament and an exclusiveness derived from the caste system. Although Indian civilization is considered synonymous with Hindu culture, it has shown, over the centuries, a remarkable capacity for assimilating alien cultures.

He notices the impressive pre-Aryan civilization lying buried in the Indus Valley among the ruins of Mohenjo-Daro and Harappa. He thinks it is often forgotten that it was on the ruins of this civilization that the "Aryan invaders established their new order. They did not establish their own code of exclusive prerogatives in the domain of religion. The Brahmans continued to flourish, "bowing before their new masters" but stoutly refusing to admit them within their social or religious domains. At this tune was born the great Buddha, "a Scythian prince", who declared that all men are equal and salvation is equally open to all. This declaration was made "to the horror of the Brahmans", observes Mr. Bhutto. Buddhism had to pay later the price of banishment from India Jainism, which followed in the wake of the decline of Buddhistic influence, nearly met the same fate at the hands of the Brahmans, Mr. Bhutto says.

Mr. Bhutto examines Indian history to "reveal" how Hinduism has handled the incursions of external elements. Minor inroads were repaired by assimilation; conquerors were reduced by subservience; and those among the conquerors who remained in India, escaped assimilation only by assiduous efforts to retain their separate identity.

Mr. Bhutto finds that this "proud Indian order was broken by the Muslim conquest. The blow had to be endured but defiance was offered consistently in the name of Dharma". The Indian order was not slow to perceive that, unlike other invading tribes, Muslims were no barbarians to be readily assimilated. They did not consider admission to the indigenous polity a promotion and so began the tragic Hindu-Muslim confrontation.

Throughout the period of Muslim domination, says Mr. Bhutto, the Hindus exhibited an intense pride of race and culture which developed into violent xenophobia. “All the hatred and fear associated with the nation of Malech — the unclean and uncivilized foreigners—were invoked in the struggle against the Muslim alien. Even when the Muslims sought a compromise by adopting Indian ways and marrying Indian women, they could not be accepted as equals because the faith of Islam was a challenge to the fundamental concept of the Hindu dogma. This militant spirit was freely invoked in countless uprisings against the Muslims.”

Mr. Bhutto thinks one of the earlier attempts on the part of a conqueror to come to terms with Hinduism was made by Akbar, but his objectives were neutralized by the sheer weight of Hindu dogma which prevented a *modus Vivendi* between the two communities. His policy of cooperation, however, gave the Hindus the opportunity to influence and encircle the Muslim elite. Aurangzeb thought it necessary to react by reversing the process but came too late to complete his mission. By the time he ascended the throne, the Mughal empire was in the throes of decay. He had to save the empire, fight the Marathas and face many other harassing problems. It was to fight the colonial domination of the British that a more consistent policy of assimilation was instituted by leaders of the (Indian) National Congress.

“In both the 1857 War of Independence and the Khilafat Movement, Hindus and Muslims fought side by side”, Mr. Bhutto admits, “against British domination to achieve their common objectives”; but he adds: “In each case, however, when the struggle reached a critical stage, their unity could not be sustained with the result that the movements were suppressed.”

Neither the “Mughal attempt” to work out a relationship of equality, nor the common cause against imperialism was able to sustain cooperation leading to a lasting unity.

At this stage Mr. Bhutto’s argument against the feasibility of Hindu-Muslim unity turns to the views of “eminent historians who have exercised a powerful influence over the Indian mind.” They, according to Mr. Bhutto, have elaborated the concept of Mother India as not only the Motherland but also the Holy Land of the Hindus from the Himalayas to Cape Comorin. This veneration of Bharat Mata, which is Aryavarta (Aryan. homeland), is the central theme of Hinduism, “the strangest welter of mythology, philosophy, cosmogony and religion that the world has ever seen. The Aryans, from whom the Brahmans claim their descent, lived for many centuries in the Punjab before they advanced eastwards across northern India, conquering the indigenous Dasyus”.

In Mr. Bhutto’s view of “Hindu national consciousness” the sub-continent is conceived as a unity— one and indivisible from the Khyber Hills to the far south, with the north-west—which is now Pakistan—its heart and soul. Geographical India, he argues, was never completely united under one rule except that of the British and nominally for a few years under the Mughal emperor, Aurangzeb. Before that, the first

Indian empire, that of the Mauryas, had extended over the whole of northern India, reaching into Afghanistan and some parts of the southern peninsula. Indian influence spread towards the east across the ocean to Cambodia and Java. Brahmanical religious and cultural influence was more extensive than the frontiers of any single Indian empire in the past.

The Hindu religion, Mr. Bhutto says, expressly extols the concept of Chhatrápati (or the Lord Paramount), a ruler who conquers and dominates his neighbours and extends his sway from ocean to ocean. This kind of consciousness of past greatness, regenerated by Indian writers to inspire Hindu cultural and political revival, has been the mainspring of twentieth-century Indian nationalism. Mr. Bhutto refers to Nehru's "Discovery of India" to show how the most westernized of Hindu minds fell captive to this spell of the "essential Hindiness of India".

The advent of Islam in force in the eleventh century brought not only loss of political power but also outrage to the dominant religion. This is, briefly, Mr. Bhutto's view of "militant" Hinduism, the most "tolerant" and "civilizing" influence of Islam on the Indian sub-continent and the permanent condemnation of the Hindus as a race and the Muslims of Pakistan into eternal hostility which at various stages shows how "barbarous and chauvinistic" the Hindus have been down the ages and why Islamic intellectuals from Rahmat Ali to Mr. Bhutto have vigorously campaigned for the ostracisation of India from the world community. India as a secular land is a myth; India has validity only as a Hindu nation, according to Mr. Bhutto.

A Perspective

MR. Bhutto talks vigorously and well. The faults in his historical perspective of India and Hinduism originate from three basic reasons: He has never treated himself as an Indian deeply enough to have an inside view of Indian culture, history, tradition, myth and religions. His contact with India has been at geographical and economic levels. When he claims inside knowledge of the Indian historical complex, he is merely depending on British textbooks and translations of Indian books by foreigners who often failed to reach beyond the surface froth. Since my purpose here is to show Mr. Bhutto's way of understanding the validity of Pakistan *vis-a-vis* the reality of the historical factors, I shall only briefly point out some basic defects in Mr. Bhutto's hurried and hasty conclusions based on borrowed information.

Mr. Bhutto rightly begins at the Rigveda. But his source book does not only give him the name wrong as "Rig Vedas" in the plural number but also puts him wrong on the points of fact. For instance it tells him that the division of society into three classes or social groups (Varna in Sanskrit) — the Brahmins or priests, the Kshatriyas or warriors and the Vaisyas or cultivators—is not a dismembering act motivated by class superiority but a utilitarian act to facilitate the growth and well-being of the social organism, he may not be as angry with the Brahmins as he sounds to be. A similar classification existed among the Iranians and traces of it are found in early Greece and Rome. It is based on a natural distribution of functions. To these Indo-Aryans (for distinction one can refer to Indo-Europeans) was added a fourth class, the Shudras, descendents of the aboriginal inhabitants. The origin of the four Varnas or social groups is allegorically described in the Vedic hymn which tells how when Purusha, the primeval Man, was sacrificed, the Brahmins arose from his head, the Kshatriyas from his arms, the Vaisyas from his thighs and the Shudras from his feet. (Rig Veda, X, 90). The body remained an indivisible entity functioning with the co-operation of all the important limbs. The top-bottom positioning of the human structure was not the point of the utility of the body.

In Vedic times, the rigid barriers between the castes had not yet arisen.

It will probably be news to Mr. Bhutto and his speculative sources to read the Rigvedic hymn (IX, 102, 3) which says: I am a composer of hymns, my father is a physician, and my mother grinds corn on a stone. We are all engaged in different occupations.

The Brahman, the centre of Mr. Bhutto's contempt, was conceptually a seeker of truth, educator and enlightened man with abundant tolerance and wisdom. Under such tolerance and wisdom, the community, which Mr. Bhutto will like to imagine as single-stranded, has built churches for Christians and mosques for Muslims. Despite partition, Hindu festivals in India are made livelier by Muslims who participate in them treating them as cultural activities. The Id (Eid) and Moharrum gatherings are conspicuous in India owing to the participation of the multi-stranded community inhabiting the land.

The matrilineal reverence seen in the names of the sources of sustenance, the earth, the rivers and the country in which a man lives—is one of the finest points of Indian culture. Bharat Mata, Dharitri Mata (Mother Earth), Matri Bhoomi (Motherland) are some of the most elevating fruitions of man's reverence for the noble elements of life, lithe Aryans came and stayed in India and their land was called Aryavarta, there need not be any suspicion of narrowness about it. The Aryans and the Dravidians have, in the course of time, perfected a multi-stranded nation. The so-called Shudras have got all their legitimate rights protected and effected under the law of the land. The Father of the Nation spent most of his life working with them.

The concept of Chhatrapati, similarly, is a noble poetical concept. The word is based on the metaphor of the protective umbrella and not on any chauvinistic idea. If the Chhatrapati extends his sway from ocean to ocean, he does so by spreading goodwill, the light of love and persuasive, mutually helpful cultural contacts. Mr. Bhutto inadvertently admits, against his thesis that the Mauryan empire's influence had extended far and wide, reaching into Afghanistan's fountain springs and some parts of the southern peninsula also. Indian influence spread eastwards, across the ocean to Cambodia and Java. Mr. Bhutto knows well that this influence was not a result of military adventures like those of the Mughals in India. The fact that that influence still continues to strengthen the people and institutions of those lands should soften his antagonism to the basic nature of Indian culture and tradition.

It will pain even the worst critic of the Indian way of life to see Mr. Bhutto tearing Nehru's reference to the essential, Hindunees of India away from the context because of the infinite tolerance of Nehru, especially evident in his lifetime's work for Hindu-Muslim unity and welfare of the minorities in India and Pakistan, and his outright condemnation of communal or caste politics on all occasions of aberration. Nehru was proud of the generosity of the Hindus and the Hindu way of life. He was an idealist and never allowed himself to be detracted by the pettiness or petulance of any community. When he talked of the essential Handiness of India, he talked of the unifying, forgiving, secular' quality of the enlightened Hindus. The discoverer of the inner' spirit of India praised the beauty of Islam and the grandeur and nobility of the moral concepts of Buddhism, Jainism, Christianity and various tribal faiths practiced in India with the same fervor. He did not begin with preconceived notions on a premise. He examined it in the light of available facts and reached a scientific conclusion. It is worth remembering that at Nehru' initiative important roads, avenues, buildings and institutions were named after eminent Indians, both past and present, belonging to the Islamic faith.

Nehru's tolerance was not only the tolerance of secularism; it was the symbolic expression of the finest elements of a Hindu mind also.

Mr. Bhutto finds condemnable thoughts in certain expressions of leaders of the RSS and the Hindu Mahasabha. But he cannot be more firm against their limited outlook than Gandhi or Nehru was. Extremists among Hindus trace the origin of their outlook in Muslim fanaticism.

Part of Mr. Bhutto's anger against India is because of his search for convenient arguments to back his line of thought. It, in plain language, is: Pakistan is a Muslim state; India, therefore, must be proved to be a Hindu state. Since India refuses to accept a non-secular stand, she has to be portrayed with all imaginable force as an eternally anti-Muslim state. If facts refute the allegation of chauvinism against the Indian religious attitude, by linking stray references to occasional lapses, a case has to be built to justify grievances of the sections who derive vicarious delight from the thought of the subjugation of the land even if they were a part of its people for a long chunk of recorded time.

The question is why this attitude to India?

The answer can be found in the lack of a sense of belonging in certain sections of the community and inadequate contact with facts. Then, of course, comes willful rejection of established realities.

Mr. Bhutto suffers from the handicap of not receiving liberal education in the beginning. The Cathedral School could not undo what an entirely anti-Indian atmosphere did to him at home and in the immediate circles in which he moved. The Bhutto Colony of Larkana or the courtiers of Junagadh could not have possibly told him about the essential tolerance of the multi-racial, multi-stranded community of India.

The Milieu Is To Blame

THE milieu in which Mr. Bhutto grew up was saturated with the illogical sentiments of hatred for “Hindu India”. It was not the domain of Abul Kalam Azad or even Sir Sikandar Hayat Khan. It was the recruiting ground for separatist people who would sustain the dreams of the Cambridge Movement and illustrate the thoughts of Jinnah by weaving episodes of incompatibility in co-existence and holding out hopes for a paradise over the truncated body of a united country.

Chronologically, one has to think of Iqbal’s Pakistan. It was envisaged as a Muslim state in the north-west within an Indian federation. In his presidential address to the Allahabad session of the All-India Muslim League in December 1930, the philosopher-Poet said:

“I would like to see the Punjab, NWF Province, Sind and Baluchistan amalgamated into a single state. Self-government within the British Empire or without the British Empire, 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.... The Muslim demand for the creation of a Muslim India within India is, therefore, perfectly justified.”

What Iqbal wanted was not a separate Muslim state but only an autonomous state within India. There was no mention of East Bengal as part of a future Pakistan in his scheme of things.

The founder of the Pakistan National Movement, Choudhary Rahmat Ali, along with Mohammed Aslam Khan, Mohammed Sadiq and Inayatullah Khan, circulated a leaflet from Cambridge in January 1933 at the time of the Third Round Table Conference saying that while Iqbal “proposed the amalgamation of these (Muslim) provinces into a single state forming a unit of the All-India Federation, we propose that these provinces should have a separate federation of their own. There can be no peace or tranquility in this land, if we, the Muslims, are duped into a Hindu-dominated federation where we cannot be the masters of our destiny and captains of our own souls.”

These ideas were circulated “on behalf of our thirty million Muslim brethren who live in Pakistan by which was meant the five northern units of India viz, the Punjab, Afghan or North-West Frontier, Kashmir, Sind and Baluohistan.” The word Pakistan — “The Land of the Pure” — was made from the first letters of the three units and the middle second letter of Sind and the last four letters of Baluchistan.

In 1940, Rahmat Ali made a statement at a meeting of the supreme council of the Cambridge Movement at Karachi. He said that the case for Pakistan was based on centuries of experience and demanded that the whole of North-West India must constitute “the nation and sovereign state of Pakistan.” He also demanded the creation of two more Muslim states. Bengal, with its hinterland of Assam, was to be called “Bang-i-Islam” and the princely state of Hyderabad was to be called “Usruanistan.”

The Lahore Resolution of the Muslim League on March 26, 1940 said:

“....Resolved that it is the considered view of this session of the All-India Muslim League that no constitutional plan would be workable in this country or acceptable to the Muslims unless it is designated on the following basic principle — viz, that geographically contiguous units are demarcated into regions which should be so constituted with such territorial readjustments as may be necessary that the areas in which the Muslims are numerically in a majority, as in the north-west and eastern zones of India, should be grouped to constitute Independent States in which the constituent units shall be autonomous and sovereign.”

It is worthwhile to note that the name Pakistan was not used in this resolution and that it envisaged an independent, autonomous East Bengal.

For the views of Mohammad Ali Jinnah on this explosive issue, Mr. Bhutto relies on a conversation between Mr. Jinnah and ‘the British author, Mr. Beverley Nichols, on the consequences of partition on the economy and defence of the sub-continent. Mr. Bhutto tries to show through Jinnah’s views that Pakistan offered no insuperable difficulties—economic, ethnographic, political or strategic—to those who advocated it’s founding. He also seeks to justify his persistent view that the prospect of economic cooperation between India and Pakistan is just not there!

Nichols: . . . Are the Muslims likely to be richer or poorer under Pakistan? And would you set up tariffs against the rest of India?

Jinnah: I will ask you a question for a change. Supposing you were asked which you would prefer, a rich England under Germany or a poor England free, what would your answer be?

Nichols: It is hardly necessary to say.

Jinnah: Quite. Well, doesn’t that make your question look a little shoddy? This great ideal rises far above mere questions of personal comfort or temporary convenience. The Muslims are a tough people, lean and hardy. If Pakistan means that they will have to be a little tougher, they will not complain. But why should it mean that? What conceivable reason is there that the gift of nationality is going to be an economic liability? A sovereign nation of a hundred million people—even if they are not immediately self-supporting and even if they are industrially backward— is hardly likely

to be in a 'worse economic position than if its members are scattered and disorganized under the dominance of two hundred and fifty million Hindus whose one idea is to exploit them. . . How any European can get up and say that Pakistan is 'economically impossible' after the Treaty of Versailles is really beyond my comprehension. The great brains who cut Europe into a ridiculous patchwork of conflicting and artificial boundaries are hardly the people to talk economics to us, particularly as our problem happens to be far simpler.

Nichols: And does that also apply to defence?

Jinnah: Of course, it applies to defence. Once again I will ask you a question. How is Afghanistan defended? Well, the answer is not very complicated. By the Afghans. Just that we are a brave and united people who are prepared to work and, if necessary, fight. So how does the question of defence present any peculiar difficulties? In what way do we differ from other nations? From Iran, for example? Obviously, there will have to be a transition period...

You will remember I said a moment ago that the British would have to do a lot of hard thinking. It's a habit they don't find very congenial; they prefer to be comfortable, to wait and see, trusting that everything will come right in the end. However, when they do take the trouble to think, they think as clearly and creatively as any people in the world. And one of their best thinkers—at least on the Indian problem —was old John Bright. Have you ever read any of his speeches?

Nichols: Not since I left school.

Jinnah: Well, take a look at this. I found it by chance the other day.

He handed him the book. It was a faded old volume, the speeches of John Bright, and the date of the page at which it was opened was June 4, 1858. This is what the greatest orator in the House of Commons said on that occasion:

'How long does England propose to govern India? Nobody can answer this question. But be it 50 or 100 or 500 years, does any man with the smallest glimmering of commonsense believe that so great a country, with its 20 different nationalities and its 20 different languages, can ever be bounded up and consolidated into one compact and enduring empire confine? I believe such a thing to be utterly impossible.'

Jinnah: What Bright said then is true today... In fact, it's far more true —though of course, the emphasis is not so much on the 20 nationalities as on the two... Muslims and Hindus. And why is it more true? Why hasn't time brought us together? Because the Muslims are awake.., because they have learnt, through bitter experience, the sort of treatment they may expect from the Hindus in a 'United India'. A 'United India' means a Hindu-dominated India. It means that and nothing else. Any other meaning you attempt to impose on it is mythical, 'India' is a British creation..., and it is merely a single

administrative unit governed by a bureaucracy under the sanction of the sword. That is all. It is a paper creation, it has no basis in flesh and blood.

Nichols : The ironical thing is that your critics say that Pakistan itself is a British creation—that it is an example of our genius for applying the principle of ‘divide and rule’.

Jinnah: (with some heat) The man who makes such a suggestion must have a very poor opinion of British intelligence, apart from his opinion of my own integrity, The one thing which keeps the British in India is the false idea of a United India, as preached by Gandhi. A united India, I repeat, is a British creation—a myth, and a very dangerous myth, which will cause endless strife. As long as that strife exists, the British have an excuse for remaining. For once in a way, ‘divide and rule’ does not apply.

Nichols: What you want is ‘divide and quit’?

Jinnah: You have put it very neatly.

Nichols: You realize that all this will come as something of a shock to the British electorate?

Jinnah: Truth is often shocking, But why this truth. in particular?

Nichols: Because the average, decent, liberal-minded voter, who wishes Britain to fulfill her pledges, and grants independence to India, has heard nothing but the Congress point of view. The Muslims have hardly a single spokesman in the West.

Jinnah: (bitterly) I am well aware of that. The Hindus have organized a powerful Press and the Congress-Mahasabha is backed up by Hindu capitalists and industrialists with finance which we have not got.

Nichols: As a result they believe that the Congress is ‘India’, and since the Congress never tires of repeating that India is one and indivisible, they imagine that any attempt to divide it is illiberal, reactionary, and generally sinister, They seriously do believe this. I know that it is muddle-headed but then a democracy such as ours, which has to make up its mind on an incredible number of complicated issues, usually is muddle-headed What they have to learn is that the only liberal course, the only generous course, the only course compatible with a sincere intention to quit India and hand over the reins of government...

Jinnah: And the only safe course, you might add, is....

Nichols: PAKISTAN !

Jinnah: PAKISTAN !

The Fear of Fear

THE fear of Hindu domination was in fact, the fear of fear. Mr. Bhutto's distorted vision of the "assimilating capacity of the Hindus" is primarily an early stage of Indophobia. While talking of lack of adjustment in the Hindu-Muslim community set-up Mr. Bhutto has often chosen to blame the Indian community minus the Muslims of practicing a consistent cult of hatred against a "civilized section of humanity". He has also chosen to ignore how the Hindu-Muslim contact began in the Indian subcontinent.

It will be interesting for Mr. Bhutto to reflect that it was in Sind, in the eighth century, that some Arab sailors came into conflict with the people. In 711 an expedition under Mohammad Ibn Kasim was dispatched to Debul, a seaport about 24 miles from Tatta (Thatta) on the Indus. Two years later Multan fell and Sind became a Mohammedan province. Eastward of Sind, the Muslim conquerors did not attempt to advance. The Hindus on the whole remained on friendly terms accepting the presence of their mighty Arab neighbours as a fact of life. They even entered into trade relations. But different were the attacks on India from the north-west, where the Turkish praetorians, originally enlisted as their bodyguards by their Arab rulers, had asserted their independence. One of the states which sprang up in this manner was of Ghazni in eastern Afghanistan of which a Turkish slave, Subuktigin, became the ruler in 998. His son was Mahmud the story of whose raids on India is read with contempt all over the world. These have been described by historians as fierce, plundering savages. They claimed Islam was a proselytizing religion and that Mussalmans were enjoined to offer to the Hindu idolators the choice between conversion and the sword. "The People of the Book", Christians, Jews and, perhaps, Zoroastrians might be spared, provided that they submitted to their conquerors and paid the Jizya (tax), but no such concession was shown to the idol-worshipping Hindus. For them Mahmud and his followers felt bitter hatred comparable to that of the Puritans under Cromwell for the Irish. To grind images to powder, to raze temples to the ground, and to send idolators, without the distinction of age or sex, to that fire which God has lighted for infidels, and those who deny a resurrection, say no prayers, hold no fasts and tell no beads was a religious duty. India was a dar-ul-harb, a land of warfare handed over by God to true believers for plunder. The whole country of "India is full of gold and jewels and of the plants which grow there are those fit for making wearing apparel and aromatic plants and the sugarcane, and the whole aspect of the country is pleasant and delightful. Now since the inhabitants are chiefly infidels and idolators, by the order of God and his Prophet it is right for us to conquer them."

After a series of minor names and reigns we come to the time of the "great" ruler of the Khilji tribe—Ala-ud-din, who undertook an expedition into the Deccan region against Ramchandra, the Yadava king of Deogiri. Returning laden with spoils, he cruelly

murdered his unsuspecting old uncle, Jaial-ud-din Khilji, who had come out to welcome him, and seized his throne in 1296. The reign of Ala-ud-din was distinguished by desperate attempts to stamp out the last embers of Hindu rule.

An account which may be of interest in the context of Mr. Bhutto's views, is given by Barani, the historian:

The Sultan next directed his attention to the means of preventing rebellion and first he took steps for seizing upon property. Whenever a village was held by proprietary right, in free gift, or as a religious endowment it was to be brought back into the exchequer by a stroke of pen. The people were pressed and amerced and money was exacted from them on every kind of pretext. All pensions, grants of land and endowments were appropriated. The people became so absorbed in trying to keep themselves alive that rebellion was never mentioned. Next he set up so minute a system of espionage that nothing done, good or bad, was hidden from him....”

“The Hindu was to be so reduced as to be unable to keep a horse, wear fine clothes or enjoy any of life's luxuries. No Hindu could hold up his head and in their houses no sign of gold or silver or any superfluity was to be seen. These things, which nourish insubordination, were not to be found. Men looked upon revenue officers as worse than fever; to be a clerk was a crime no man would give his daughter to such. Ala-ud-din was a king who had no acquaintance with learning and never associated with the learned. He considered polity and government to be one thing and law another. ‘I am an unlettered man’, he said ‘but have seen a great deal. Be assured that the Hindus will never become submissive and obedient till they are reduced to poverty.....

Historians point out that the Sultan's later years were marked by a kind of megalomania, which caused him to look upon himself as a second Alexander or even a new Muhammad. He was not without ability, but his chief characteristic was his fiendish cruelty ; he did not even spare the relatives or children of his victims, and neither age, nor sex aroused in him the smallest feeling of pity.

Let us turn to his real successor, who came to the throne after much disorder and murder, Mohd Ibn Tughlak (1325-1347). He was as eccentric as his predecessor. We have the word of Ibn Batuta, “the traveler of Islam’ who visited Tughlak and stayed at his court between 1342 to 1347. The following extracts from the accounts of Ibn Batuta, translated by Defremery and Sanguinetti (Vol. III, 1858) throw some light on the nature of the religious and legal dispensation of this Muslim ruler:

“Muhammad, above all men, delights most in giving presents and shedding blood. At his door is seen always some pauper on the way to wealth or some man that has been executed. Stories are rife among the people of his generosity and courage, and of his cruelty and severity. Yet, he is the most humble of men and one who shows the greatest equity; the rites of religion are observed at his court;

he is most strict about prayer and punishment of those who neglect it. But his characteristic is generosity. Countries at some distance from India such as the Yemen, Khorasan, Persia are full of anecdotes of this prince and their inhabitants know him very well; and they are not ignorant, especially, of his beneficence towards foreigners, whom he prefers to Indians and favors and honors them greatly.

“One of Muhammad Ibn Tugaloo’s peculiar acts was his evacuation of Delhi. The inhabitants of this city had annoyed him by writing scurrilous verses ridiculing his government, and throwing them into the Council Hall by night. Delhi by then had grown into a great city rivaling Cairo and Baghdad in size and prosperity. Suddenly an order was issued that the people were to leave the city in three days and migrate to a new capital which the Sultan proposed to found at Deogiri, over 600 miles distant, with the name of Daulatabad or the City of Riches.”

Barani says when the people “resisted, a crier went round and proclaimed that after three days not a soul must be found remaining in Delhi. Most of them went but some hid in the houses. They were rigorously hunted out. His slaves found a cripple and a blind man in the streets and brought them before the Sultan, who had the cripple fired from a catapult and the blind man dragged to Daulatabad, a forty days’ journey; he fell into pieces by the way, and only a leg arrived. All the inhabitants left, abandoning their goods and merchandise and the city became totally deserted. A man, whom I believe assured me that one evening the Sultan went up to the flat roof of his palace and gazed upon Delhi where no fire, nor smoke, nor light was, and said, ‘Now my soul is content and my mind is at rest.’ Later on, he sent letters to the people of different provinces to come and repopulate the city. They ruined their own areas but did not fill Delhi, so vast, so immense is it, one of the largest cities, truly, in the world. When we arrived there, we found it empty, abandoned, with only a very sparse population.”

Then we meet Feroze Shah in the corridors of history, the master-builder. Labour then was fortunately cheap. The Sultan made extensive use of 1,80,000 Hindu slaves captured for him by provincial officers and sent to work in various capacities in the capital. These slaves were forcibly converted to Islam but were “otherwise well cared for and kindly treated.” Hindu temples were freely used to supply building material.

1388: Feroze Shah died at 79. A civil war broke out. Two contenders for the throne fought daily battles among themselves. The deplorable state of affairs was an invitation to the invader from the north-west, ever ready to swoop down when the gateway of India was left unguarded. Enter Timur the Lame, the Tamerlane of English literature, the Barlas Turk whose hordes had already overrun the greater part of Central Asia. He marched into Punjab from Samarkand. Timur writes this in his autobiography about his object in invading India:

“My principal object in coming to Hindustan was to accomplish two things. The first thing was to war with infidels, the enemies of the Mohammedan religion, and by this religious warfare to acquire some claim to reward in the life to come. The

other was a worldly object: that the army of Islam might gain something by plundering the wealth of infidels; plunder in war is as lawful as their mother's milk to Mussalmans who fight for their faith, and the consuming of that which is lawful is a means of grace."

There is a continuing story telling the world how and why thoughtless and heartless conquerors of India indulged in plunder, murder, forced conversion, torture of people of other faiths and ruination of the economy and culture of the land. An occasional Akbar tried to provide emotional relief in the sordid drama of intolerance, brutality, fanaticism and un-Islamic acts. Yet India rose from the ashes and embraced her children of various faiths. Temples were rebuilt and by their side were erected mosques in which children of God sought strength and succor in the light of their own birth, training and faith.

The Beautiful Faith

MOST enlightened Indians, including non-Muslims, believe that Islam is a beautiful and great religion. They know it is summed up in the simple creed: “There is no God but God and Mohammed is the Prophet of God.” The essence of its teaching is firm belief in God and his Angels; in the scripture, the Holy Koran, revealed to mankind through His Prophet, Mohammed; in a final resurrection and judgement of man according to his work on earth; and in Predestination. Equally simple and direct are the obligations laid upon the believers. They consist of charity (alms-giving), praying five times a day, observance of fast during the month of Ramazan, the ninth month of the Mohammedan year; and the Haj, or pilgrimage to Mecca. The Mohammedans abstain from eating pork and drinking wine; they bury their dead, and regard marriage as a civil ceremony. Its great strength lies in its unity; Muslims all over the world are brothers, regardless of wealth, rank or nationality. Orthodox Mohammedanism is puritanical and monotheistic. It tolerates neither graven image, nor the likeness of anything in heaven above the earth or beneath. The mosque, where the faithful assemble for public devotion every Friday and on other sacred occasions, is an open courtyard, surrounded by colonnades, unadorned except for Koranic texts, a ‘mehrab’ or niche showing the direction of Mecca, a pulpit and minarets from where the muezzin gives the call for prayers. No priest stands between God and the individual soul. Its tenets make it clear that religion is the relationship between the creator and his creature.

Where can hatred find a place in such a great religion?

Where is any room in it for narrow Outlooks, communal feuds, subjugation, recrimination personal or social fights, unrelenting, 1000-year poison trees of hatred nurtured in the tabernacles of hearts where God wants to plant the seeds of love and kindness and peace ? Those who have tortured men are guilty of violating the tenets of Islam; those who misinterpret its spirit are to be legitimately blamed for disobeying God and those who insult other children of God are anti-Islam. Maulana Azad, the great Islamic scholar, was never tired of explaining this to Muslims and Hindus in the hope that they would learn to respect the great faith and then understand each other’s faith and ways of life better.

Mr. Bhutto’s views on the superiority of one religion to another are irrelevant because despite partition, there are lakhs of Muslims in India who plough fields, make inter social-group relationships pleasant and meaningful, practice their faith, work in factories and defend their motherland in the event of aggression and live like decent human beings.

Education has been guided by Muslim ministers from the day the country became free except for a brief period when Hindus were ministers of Education. A great Muslim guided 'the destiny of the country as President during an eventful period in her life.

Where is the land without aberrations ?

The former East Pakistan has experienced the atrocities all the Alla-ud-dins, Mahammed Ibn Tughlaks and Timurs were 'capable of perpetrating over the years. Muslim women were raped by their brethren, Muslim children were spiked to death by Muslim soldiers at the behest of a Muslim Chhatrapati Houses were plundered, the scorched earth policy was practiced 'to deprive people of their food and, to crown the ravenous deeds, genocide was ordered and carried out.

India, the unifier of hearts and cradle of various religious ideals, aided the simple Muslims to save their lives, honour and religion. They shared the food and shelter of the poor Indian people whom Pakistani leaders have described as Hindu chauvinists, kafirs, idolators and infidels. But the nation that rose as one man to help the Muslim state of East Bengal to uphold its honour and entity, was not a Hindu nation of the RSS ilk or the Mahasabha brand. It was a secular nation rising to defend a secular ideal and to help men as men. There was no conversion in refugee camps, no preaching of Brahmanism, no pressures to align or conquer people and their land.

All the wars fought so far by India and Pakistan were launched by Pakistan with the religious cry of "Islam Is in Peril". And Islam has triumphed in all these wars. Their outcome has consistently been the defeat of politically motivated "religious" scare-cries. The most convincing answer to Mr. Bhutto's doubts about Indian intentions is Bangla Desh.

Even long before the creation of Bangla Desh eminent Muslims discouraged divisive trends and voted against partition. Many of them stayed back in their motherland, casting their lot with her. Even Mr. Bhutto did so for years, claim Indian citizenship and property in India, but, of course, he did not cast his lot with her.

The Illogical Invention

PEOPLE in touch with world history must be feeling distressed when they hear Bhutto use the Rig Veda and the history of the Indian National Congress interspersed with gleanings from Nirad Chaudhury to prove that partition was supported by all thinking Muslims and opposed by all Hindus, wise or stupid. In the archives of Pakistan, there dwells the wisdom of Sikandar Hayat Khan—one among the galaxy of those understanding Muslims and Hindus who were close to the spirit of history and aware of the validity of geography and culture in a nation's life. He was Mr. Jinnah's trusted lieutenant.

Mr. Penderel Moon was helping Sir Sikandar in preparing a constitutional scheme for India. One day he suggested to Sir Sikandar that in the ultimate analysis Pakistan could be the best solution to the Hindu-Muslim problem.

Sir Sikandar became red in the face and retorted: "How can you talk like this? You have been long enough in Western Punjab to know the Muslims there. Surely you can see that Pakistan would be an invitation to them to cut the throat of every Hindu Bania.... I do hope, I won't hear you talk like this again. Pakistan would mean a massacre."

Mr. Bhutto has often said that policies should be formulated on the basis of "enlightened self-interest". It is an interesting term. Enlightenment is a personal achievement; self-interest a personal concern. If the Muslims of the present Pakistan alone come under the purview of his self-interest theory, there is no appeal to this judgement.

But a greater Muslim and a greater leader, Sheikh Mujibur Rahman had this to say of the people of East Bengal: "In East Bengal, there is no Hindu, no Muslim, and none from the other communities. They are all Bengalis and, of course, Pakistanis."

When the military crackdown began, he said: "Listen, remember, the enemy has entered from the back. He will try to create mutual strife among us; he will go in for loot or arson. In this Bengal, all the Hindus and Muslims are our brethren—Bengalis and non-Bengalis—and their protection are our responsibility."

Who was the enemy Mujib was referring to? He was not the chauvinistic Indian Brahman ruling through Rigvedic rituals, nor was he a Mussalman for whose material and spiritual uplift the "bond of Hindu domination" was divided by Jinnah and his

followers at the time of partition He, in Mr. Bhutto's own words, was an abominable drunkard surrounded by people without any sense of history, economics or politics He was a demented man, fallen in the eyes of Islam, and a renegade from the Religion of Man. Ayub had leveled allegations against Mr. Bhutto which, if proved wrong, could have merited defamatory proceedings. Mr. Bhutto called General Ayub a selfish, corrupt, anti-people dictator engaged in corroding the base of Pakistan. His condemnation of General Yahya Khan has been in unprintable words.

History is looking on with myriad eyes. If Mr. Bhutto hopefully views with objectivity the relationship of Pakistan with its primary neighbour, India, he may soon rise over the creative falsehood of the Two-Nation Theory which had made Pakistan a geographical absurdity, an economic infeasibility and a political indiscretion foisted on millions of misled, impoverished people.

PART V

The Long Quest of Luck

**Prima est haec ultio quod se
Indice nemo nocens absolvitur**

*This is his first punishment, that by the verdict
of his own heart no guilty man is acquitted.*

JUVENAL: Satires

Bitten by Foreign Bug

THE politics of Pakistan has suffered from the syndrome of unreality since its inception and now it has grown into a trauma. Its birth is an intriguing event in the history of colonialism. While inheriting the basic contradictions of a colonial past, it was singularly innocent of any colonial struggle. Then it was created as a precarious balance between an unnatural geography and a medley of warring ethnic and provincial loyalties. These inner contradictions, along with the hatred for and fear of India, have been extended into its foreign policy, the basis of its international survival.

With the changing patterns of its internal structure and emergence of problems of economy, social adjustment and defence, Pakistan's foreign policy has undergone several phases of development. The political alignments in the country have tilted the policy from extreme capitalist alignment with the United States to a search for a soft corner in Chairman Mao-Tse-Tung's Communist China. In 1947, it acted within the ambit of a built-in alliance with Britain.

India was the focal point in its policy whose every move was suspect. It was due to a lack of understanding and the repercussions of partition to which Sir Sikandar referred in his conversation with Mr. Pendrel Noon.

The British had propped the separatist movement which led to the creation of Pakistan to contain, or, if at was not possible, to slow the pace and diminish the vigor of the freedom struggle. India's independent outlook under Nehru was a foregone conclusion. Therefore, the British began to cultivate the Pakistanis who, they thought, would watch their interests in the sub-continent. Then came the Kashmir question in which the British openly took a partisan stand, ignoring India's case. It was a tactical political alignment which brought Pakistan sympathy and support in its adventures against India. During this period Pakistan's ideology and behavior was suspect in the Communist eyes.

In 1954 the second phase of Pakistan's policy was initiated with its formal alignment with the West. When the Prime Ministers of China and Pakistan met at Bandung, a dialogue began between two opposed ideologies agreeing privately, perhaps, on the point of containing the morally-motivated political influence of India.

The third phase began with Sino-Indian border clashes. While Pakistan reaped the benefits of its alignment with the West, it forged close ties with Peking to bolster its strength and to get an ally in giving its hostility towards India sharper teeth.

This is the point where Mr. Bhutto made himself felt in Pakistan's diplomacy. One of the ambitions of Mr. Bhutto in politics was to become the Foreign Minister of Pakistan. It was in no way a comfortable job but then some people, by nature, have fascination for what is difficult.

At the age of thirty he was appointed Minister for Commerce in the Martial Law Government of Pakistan. It was in 1958. He was later given charge of the Ministries of Fuel, Power and Natural Resources, and Industries. After the death of Mr. Mohammad Ali of Bogra he was made Foreign Minister in January 1963. He says, "The study of history, an acquaintance with the problems of underdeveloped countries and my own penchant for international politics justified, I imagined, my' ambition to serve Pakistan as its Foreign Minister. That ambition was fulfilled when I was made Foreign Minister..."

This ambition threw new challenges in his ways and kept him in office under President Ayub till he had to resign in 1966. President Ayub's interest clashed with his.

Mr. Bhutto had good initial preparation for this important job. "There was no escape from problems of international relations whether I was in charge of the Ministries of Commerce and later of Fuel, Power and Natural Resources, or Minister for Industries", he says.

In his early international activities was included his visit to Moscow to conduct negotiations with the Soviet Union for an oil agreement in Dec. 1960. He claims to have reversed the process of Soviet-Pakistani relations in favour of his country.

He had witnessed an important UN General Assembly-Session in 1960 which was attended, among others, by Mr. Jawaharlal Nehru, Mr. Khrushchev, Mr. Nasser, Dr. Soekarno, MacMillan and Mr. Fidel Castro. He watched the world body in action, studied its strength and weakness and suggested ways to his Government to take full advantage of the situation which, briefly, was indicative of an utter lack of a coordinated approach among the power blocs and moves for leadership of underdeveloped regions.

Mr. Bhutto realized that the end of imperialism and the emergence of Global Powers had changed the whole concept of Great Power. The gunboat had now only a reduced significance in the power struggle. The Big-Power interest in the world beyond the respective frontiers and ideology had emerged as an influencing factor and a political weapon. The aim of Great Power, Mr. Bhutto felt, was not to subjugate the world in the conventional sense but to control the minds of men and gain the allegiance of the leaders of the under-developed countries through economic domination and other devices, without direct interference.

In the age of neo-colonialism physical occupation of territory by a Global Power is not necessary. The objectives of a global policy can be achieved by indirect exploitation and various kinds of inducement. Mr. Bhutto saw Pakistan's virtual sell-out to the USA as an illustration of this method of indirect subjugation. The situation was precarious. He says: "When in 1958 I entered upon my career in high public office at the

comparatively early age of 30 as Minister of Commerce in the Martial Law Government, the situation Pakistan found itself in was such that every decision of any importance, even as regards matters that ought to have been of purely of internal concern, was affected by some aspect, real or imaginary, of international relations, especially of commitments to the United States of America.”

On May 19, 1954, Pakistan was generously embroiled by the USA in a Mutual Defence Assistance Agreement. This was called a special relationship under which it received large quantities of military gifts, besides considerable economic assistance. The subservience of Pakistan was so complete that when the U-2 aircraft was shot down by the USSR and the US prevaricated with ambiguous statements about the origin of the flight hand its intentions, “Pakistan, more royalist than the monarch, openly admitted that the aircraft had taken off from Pakistan.” It declared that the Government of Pakistan was within their rights to allow US planes to use Pakistani military airports as a staunch ally of the United States.

Mr. Bhutto saw in the United States a sustaining source but an unstable ally. It was because the US Government, in their bid not to let their relationship drift too far from India, the largest democracy in the world, gave economic aid and sold military equipment to her.

Till the advent of President Ayub Khan, the country had been swinging between secret Communist overtures and public US wooings. The aim was neither any serious impact on world diplomacy, nor stability in the sub-continent. It was keeping the various regimes in the saddle. Whenever the internal stability of the country was in danger, an anti-India bogey was vigorously raised and the “right’ of self-determination of the people of Kashmir was resurrected. President Ayub made the ties with the USA, cemented and firm.

The Root Of The ‘Evil’

MR. Bhutto’s unquestionable success as Foreign Minister came from clearly understanding and expressing the fact that Pakistan’s foreign policy, to be of use to the people who were in seats of power and to the allies of Pakistan, had to be directed offensively against India. India was going through a spell of social resurgence and economic transformation under a constitutional scheme Jawaharlal Nehru himself had guided her external affairs and the successful phases of her planned development created the fear in the ruling circle of Pakistan that the people might soon be disillusioned if there were no strong distractions. The ruling passion in Pakistan’s foreign policy, therefore, influenced its behavior towards all other countries. It was a willfully flaunted imaginary fear of India. Apparently the primary objective was a search for security against India. (Mr. Bhutto calls it deterrent against aggression.) It was argued, after the unreasonable division of India that since Pakistan did not exist as one contiguous geographical unit, its security problems did not remain within the limits of its national strength and diplomacy. Because of its anomalous existence in two far-flung wings separated by Indian territory, Pakistan’s security amounted to the security of two separate entities. The leaders harped on these needs terming them as “organic needs” at home and abroad, seeking military alliances, gift of arms and diplomatic support in their plans to brand India as the unreconciled, anti partition, hostile neighbour of Pakistan poised to re-take the “lost territory”.

Yielding to the needs of the hour.

Mr. Bhutto as Foreign Minister, alleged that there were plans: “to bring Pakistan back to Bharat Mata”. Thus the search for external protectors and allies in anti-India maneuvers became the main plank of Pakistan’s foreign policy.

Mr. Bhutto’s aim was to dislodge the US from the position of absolute influence in Pakistan, get China installed there and take away the USSR as far as possible from its close relationship with India based on mutual understanding, respect and co-operation in internal as well as international fields. In the beginning it appeared that Mr. Bhutto had been an instant success. The US, at his instance, was relegated to the state of estrangement from that of association. China was the greatest friend of Pakistan, giving sizable aid and backing it in its anti-India moves. The USSR, too, began to show more interest in Pakistan’s development because it, apart from its desire to help the developing nations as a policy matter, wanted Pakistan to be as little dependent on military alliances like the SEATO and the CENTO, and on China with which it had ideological as well as territorial differences. The private view of India in knowledgeable Pakistani circles was,

however, different. They knew that tear psychosis was to be created to divert the people's attention from immediate national problems.

Pakistan's Foreign Minister, Mr. Mauzur Qadir, is on record as having told Peter Schimid that "even if India were to treat us with yielding love tomorrow, we should only regard it as a trap".

President Ayub fed the people on similar propaganda catapulting facts and presenting them in a lopsided manner, making sure that social and cultural intercourse between the people of India and Pakistan was not allowed to be unrestricted. If it happened the Pakistani people would gain a real insight into the working of the Indian mind and India's real intentions. Indian efforts to increase people-to-people relations were frustrated time and again.

President Ayub gave the lead to his Foreign Minister,

Mr. Bhutto, in this respect. He began by alleging that both in internal and external affairs India's image was that of an expansionist, a successor to British imperialism, desirous to build Vishal Bharat (greater India) from the Oxus or the Suez to the Mekong.

How President Ayub developed this theme can be seen in his following outbursts on various occasions:

'Could she (India) have any objective other than expansionism? The Indian theoreticians were claiming boundaries from Oxus to the Mekong. We could not attribute everything to the imperialists. India was not content with her present sphere of influence'

"The Indian leaders have often stated that their true border extends from the Hindukush Mountains to the Mekong River, that is to say, wherever the influence of Hinduism had existed in the past. Their earlier friendly overtures to China were based on the hope that there would be an understanding between them and China over their respective spheres of influence in Asia, and that China would recognize and endorse India's claim "India wanted to establish a Hindu state extending from Afghanistan to Indonesia and India offered China to occupy the whole of Asia on a fifty-fifty basis. But China refused"

"Having gained their independence late and become immediately obsessed with the idea of joining the rank of the world's Great Powers, the Indian ruling circles began to develop colonial ambitions. The idea of Vishal Bharat or Greater India, is an expression of that ambition. Their eyes are also on Nepal, Ceylon, Burma and other parts of South-East Asia, where, according to Hindu political thinkers, Hindu culture already exists."

"The Nehru Government, in its capacity of a successor to the British imperialism, wants to bring Pakistan, Tibet, Burma, Nepal, Bhutan, Ceylon, etc. once again

under its domination because these countries were once a part of British India or were covered by the sphere of British influence. Domination over the Suez Canal is also a part of Pandit Nehru's imperialistic programme and President Nasser, sooner or later, will have to taste the bitter fruit of Pandit Nehru's friendship."

"Whether Bharat is able to do it or not, she will try to implement the old dream of Hindu imperialism by swallowing her small neighbours gradually. This dream the Hindus have been nurturing for centuries and the 'Great Son' of the Hindu religion, Pandit Nehru, wants its implementation during his regime."

"Mr. Nehru's aim is not a matter to be taken lightly. It confirms the suspicion that Vishal Bharat comprising Afghanistan, Pakistan, Ceylon, Burma, Thailand, Indonesia and even beyond is not a mere fantastic dream of mediaevalist Hindus but is a well-planned national scheme which has the support of the highest in India."

Pakistan's ambition, it was clear, was to become a Belgium to be precise, in its case to become a stumbling block, in the way of India's growth.

Nai Roshni, the prominent newspaper of Karachi explained this point: "Had Pakistan not acted as a buffer state, Hindus would have by this time brought Afghanistan, Iran and other Middle East countries as well as Indonesia and Malaya under their domination".

Motiveless Meandering ?

MR. Bhutto said in the National Assembly in 1964 “To be fair to the Indian Government, and to be fair to the Indian Prime Minister, I think, relatively speaking, they had reconciled themselves to the Two-Nation Theory”

ON March 15, 1966, he said “India cannot tolerate the existence of Pakistan India wanted to destroy Pakistan In the destruction of Pakistan lay India s most sublime and finest dreams’ This was not his consistent line.

The motives of Mr. Bhutto s foreign policy have been succinctly put by Mr. N. B. Naqvi of Pakistan:

“The basic underlying motive of all our foreign policy orientations has been rivalry with India There is pre-independence history behind The Muslims of the sub-continent always thought and almost all Hindu-Muslim negotiations tacitly assumed it that there is some kind of parity (of importance) between the two leading communities The outlook has been carried into the Pakistani Foreign policies. Our innermost desire is to gain as much influence, prestige and strength as India does, and to make as much (and if possible, similar) progress as the sister dominion makes.... Our diplomatic effort has from the start sought primarily to undo what India does.”

Mr. Bhutto, while perfecting his anti-India arguments as Foreign Minister, tried to lend sufficient aggressiveness to Pakistan’s views on wider world issues.

Global Powers he spoke of them as adventurist contenders. They were not only ideological conflict-mongers but active figures in a vicious struggle for hegemony His chief targets in this respect were the USA, which did not mind keeping its ties with India in a strong form while being allied to Pakistan, and the USSR which stood by India in its claims on Kashmir and in its national development. China, surprisingly, was an anti-expansionist benign power, trying to foster good relations with “aggressive” India and power-drunk USSR.

His assessment of the USA: It indulges in punitive diplomacy in its bid for hegemony. Its policies are not based on the well-being of its allies but on its own interest, which is a despicable idea. Incidentally, Mr. Bhutto’s own concept of a successful foreign policy is based on “enlightened self interest”.

The USSR: It had, in the past, been engaged in escalating the cold war. But now it is inclined to end this dangerous phase of diplomacy and militarism. It is a good nation

when it helps Pakistan's war machine and economic base necessary for a prolonged confrontation with India; it is an evil force when it upholds India's secular and democratic ideals and helps her in her indigenous efforts to build a nation strong enough to discourage aggression.

China: Her border disputes with the USSR are unimportant. Her problems are in relation to India which is making a concerted attempt to assume the leadership of Asia, Africa and Eastern Europe.

The Commonwealth: It has passed the point of mutual benefit. It has become a vestigial institution and the sooner it is "decently and voluntarily dissolved", the better it will be for Britain and for the Asian and African nations of the Commonwealth. As inter-Commonwealth disputes have no outlet within the institution, they mount one on top of another to increase misunderstandings.

Afro-Asian solidarity: It has two main champions, China and Pakistan. Jawaharlal Nehru's efforts at it were mere rhetoric and since India herself is expansionist, only Pakistan has the right to speak for the cause of the solidarity of the Afro-Asian peoples, along with China. The UN has failed in its duty.

The United Nations: It was a somewhat effective instrument when it was guided by Pakistan's supporters in vilifying India over the Kashmir question. It failed its test in the Middle East. It saw the independence of Bangla Desh. Where is any hope for such an organisation, except through its possible salvation by China which is normalizing her relations with the USA, resolutely opposing revisionist moves by the USSR and containing Indian influence across her borders and in the emerging nations?

Pakistan and its neighbours: Geography continues to be the most important single factor in the formulation of a country's Foreign policy. It only had a holiday twice: First when India was treated as two nations for the purpose of partition and later when the misguided, separatist East Bengalis began to press their claim for freedom from exploitation by the western wing and durable ties with India on the basis of mutual respect. Among Pakistan's neighbours, China is a permanent friend, India an eternal enemy, the USSR unnecessarily hostile to Pakistan because of its hostility towards China and the so-called "Peace Treaty" with India, and Afghanistan a little, mischievous unit. (Burma and Nepal are now the headache of Bangla Desh. Pakistan did not rate them high, in any case.)

These are some basic approaches of the former Foreign Minister of Pakistan.

The secret fear President Ayub, had was that Mr. Bhutto was a CIA agent and that if his ardor in wooing the USA diminished, the outward profession of friendship of the USA might continue but Mr. Bhutto would rob him of the, throne with the help of the CIA subversive machine.

Why was Mr. Bhutto cultivating China when he was a CIA agent? President Ayub thought the answer was to be found in Mr. Bhutto's opportunism.

But it remains a fact that by landing Pakistan in the lap of Chins, Mr. Bhutto strengthened Pakistan's hostility to India and built a "socialist" image of himself which he needed in his confrontation with President Ayub and the eventual showdown. It was to be a milestone on his path of progress.

Indictment Of A Dictator

MR. Bhutto's foreign policy secured for him international contacts and improved his image at home.

When President Ayub got him out of his Government, and when he was under detention, Mr. Bhutto's chief concern was to prick the bubble of the President's vanity as a "Basic Democrat and to erode his base as a dictator hoping with his new images as a socialist he would be able to ascend the peak of power after any semblance of the people's choice was permitted by the ruling junta.

It was not that President Ayub was unaware of this. He brought the maximum curbs into play to keep Mr. Bhutto within the limits of a tamed demagogue. But his 10-year misrule had disillusioned the people and made his continuance in power difficult. He could not afford to be more assertive than he was. Since Mr. Bhutto knew better maneuvering and more law than President Ayub did, Mr. Bhutto managed his release and in the process made the severest indictment of the autocratic ruler of Pakistan. This was an act of Supreme Courage.

It came on February 4, 1969 in the 50-page affidavit filed by Mr. Bhutto before the West Pakistan High Court at Lahore. Since the document is the best example of Mr. Bhutto's style as a political planner and a demagogue and brings out in bold relief the vulnerability of President Ayub (symbolic of the working of military dictators in general), I furnish here some excerpts from the affidavit:

The popular agitation in the country is an expression of protest against a derelict system, a reflection of the resentment against the general state of affairs. The voices raised in the streets are a spontaneous verdict of the people against the excess of the regime, its corruption, its selfish purposes, its contempt for the rights of man, its corroding of institutions, its dependence on an oppressive bureaucracy, its failure to serve the common weal, its pedantic approach to culture, its insulation from the people and its insatiable appetite for family fortunes.

Our people are not different from those of other countries. There is a limit to their endurance. They feel the pain of privation and yearn for the happiness of their children. Their poverty is unimaginable but yet they hope for a better future.

They are entitled to a decent livelihood, to shelter and clothing. Starvation has dried the milk in the mother's breast and suffering has dried many a father's tear. It is not the law of God that our people must live eternally in despair and that their children should die of disease and want.

On the contrary, the Government has employed force capriciously. Everywhere the blood of innocents has watered the land, sometimes in Baluchistan and sometimes in East Pakistan. On occasions it is in the Punjab and Sind, on others in the ramparts of our northern regions.

The regime born of force- holds its much trumpeted stability on the muscle of force. It justified the use of force in October 1958 to save the country from disintegration, and where, pray may I ask, does the country stand today?

By coercion and corruption, the Government has brought the country to the verge of collapse. This regime which has slandered the word “revolution” in describing its *coup d'état* celebrates a Revolution Day each year, but has the temerity to punish people for uttering the word.

Not long ago, while defending the ‘democratic’ nature of the system, the Governor of West Pakistan gave vent to his wisdom by observing that democracy was not an elephant which could be produced before the people for them to touch it.

Yes, My Lords, democracy is certainly not an elephant ‘but it exists nevertheless like a breath of fresh air, like the fragrance of a spring flower, it is a melody of liberty, richer in sensation than tangible touch.

But more than a feeling, democracy is fundamental rights, it is adult franchise, the secrecy of the ballot, free press, free association, independence of the judiciary, supremacy of the legislature, controls on the executive and other related conditions which are conspicuously absent in the regime’s system

Under the canons of this regime, the printed word is in disgrace, the franchise limited to individuals subject either to intimidation or allurements, the body of law contaminated by arbitrary edicts, the legislature on sufferance, fundamental rights held in animated suspension and the right of assembly in the furnace of Section 144 By any objective criterion this monument that the regime has built cannot be called democracy

This is the depressing reality but this does not necessarily mean that a change is not possible without violence. The regime can be changed by making full use of the limited available means. The urge for change is so irresistible among the people that the country can be prepared for change without violence.

It can be politically demonstrated that the regime is no longer acceptable to the people of Pakistan, that it has lost their confidence and that, as such, it is in the regime’s enlightened self-interest to vacate in good time.

I am not in a position to cure the current malignancy without addressing the people. Only the Government is armed with the authority to elect change without public debate.

If the Government does not want demonstrations against its policies, the answer lies with the Government. The Government can change its policies, democratize its laws and liberalize the system to satisfy the people, it can bring contentment by rendering justice and by enforcing humane political and economic conditions.

How could this analysis reveal that the upsurge from end to end has not been generated by a few political speeches but that it is a manifestation of the people's cumulative resentment for the denial of essential commodities like sugar and medicine, that it is an indictment of the people against the regime's failure as unpremeditated and spontaneous as in other countries where personal dictatorship has held sway.

By agreeing to amend the University Ordinance, by proposing to take some belated steps against corruption, the Government has admitted that genuine hardships of the people were responsible for the disturbances.

This abnormal situation would not have arisen if the conditions were normal. This has been recognized by the regime in its quest to bring back a semblance of normalcy by acquiescing to some of the just demands of the students in respect of the notorious University Ordinance.

Nowhere in the world, not even in Hitler's Third Reich, have university degrees been forfeited.

What logic is needed to appreciate that confiscation of a degree, which is knowledge, is inalienable and that, to with-draw it is like committing a dacoity on the mind of a citizen. The Government should hold itself responsible and not others for the shame and ridicule it has brought to its name in a long trail of blunders.

As in the case of the students, so also with the rest of the population, miseries have mounted on account of the Government being insensitive to the needs of the people. The Government cannot be credited with making a single voluntary concession to the people's legitimate demands without duress.

Having neglected the interest of the people, and lost their confidence, the regime finds itself discredited. That is why the people are up in arms.

It is not possible for me to spread hatred against the regime when the hatred of the people has reached an apogee. Every-where unrest is rampant, democracy is denied and economic conditions are rapidly deteriorating.

Within the enormous capacity of such an extraordinary law as the Defence of Pakistan Rules, applied in circumstances where it is not applicable, there being no foreign aggressor at the door, almost any word or report displeasing to official ears can be branded as an incitement to violence.

But it must also be said that conditions were not so bad in the beginning of the 10 years and there shone a ray of hope but as the years progressed the conditions became worse and the hope disappeared.

The people have turned against the regime. That is the objective situation. The question of violence and non-violence does not enter into it all. It is known that the crowd's reaction to police brutality is inevitable violence.

The true reasons why I have been pursued by the Government with grotesque harassment and finally arrested and thrown into prison are two:

(i) The fear that I might take the Tashkent affair to the people of Pakistan for their verdict and (ii) The fact that President Ayub Khan believes that I am his most powerful rival for the Presidentship because I enjoy the confidence of the people whereas he does not.

My detention is to prevent my bringing to public knowledge how and why the Tashkent Declaration came about. The Government cannot afford to let the truth be known because if it were, the President would certainly not be elected for a third term, no matter what devices he employed.

Serious differences arose between me and the President during and after the 1965 war and subsequently at Tashkent. Before leaving Government in the unusual circumstances ascribed to my perfectly good health the President summoned me to his residence on the evening of June 6, 1966. At first the President was pleasant.

He praised my services to Pakistan in extravagant terms. As token of his appreciation, he wondered if I would accept an ambassadorial assignment to France or any other place of my choice on specially worked out terms.

I thanked the President for his offer, but declined it. I told him that after eight years of service as a Minister in an eventful period, I wanted to return to my lands before deciding upon my future course in public life.

The President thought it to be a good idea and graciously suggested that I should set up a sugar or a jute mill at Larkana. He went on to assure me that the Government would extend every facility for the project.

I again thanked the President for his solicitude and told him that I would still prefer to confine my activities to an occupation which had engaged my family for generations. Thereupon, the President changed his tone.

He reminded me sternly that as a young man born with "a silver spoon in my mouth," I had not seen the buffers of life to know what they meant. For this reason he said that he thought it necessary to candidly warn me that there will be trouble if, on my return to Pakistan, I dabbled in politics.

To make things perfectly clear, he proceeded to tell me that I should remember that if I incurred his enmity, he would follow me to the grave.

Refusing to submit to intimidation, I told the President politely that my decision to take part in politics would be influenced by national interest and not by threats.

My Lords, in the year 399 before the Christian era, Athenian rulers condemned a philosopher to death for having led astray the youth of the city. Socrates was given hemlock to drink.

And that is probably why the Home Secretary had stated in his note to the Governor:

“Mr. Z.A. Bhutto has chosen to be on the war path for the furtherance of his vindictive designs against the present regime. He has been publicly talking of violence, bloodshed and revenge.”

Pakistan’s Socrate might have been given hemlock but he managed not to drink.

President Ayub denied Mr. Bhutto’s allegations in a counter-affidavit which carried no conviction.

President Ayub and Mr. Bhutto had discussed their working arrangement months ago in Larkana over supper— their Last Supper together. They had disagreed violently and hardening attitudes had changed estranged relations into endless enmity.

After his release, Mr. Bhutto concentrated on the next step to improve his prospects. In this arduous self-assignment three things were vital President Ayub’s downfall, a popular party base to tighten his grip on the exploited and impatient people, and eliminating all threats to his leadership from East Pakistan.

President Ayub had misruled the country for ten years.

On October 7, 1958, General Ayub Khan had barely six month’s before the long-awaited General Election. He sacked the Prime Minister and extinguished the members of democracy symbolized pathetically by the National Assembly. He promised the people nothing short of the moon. He took unprecedented reform measures and then lapsed into a dung heap of corruption piled up on the skeleton of throttled democratic aspirations by the military bureaucratic coteries. He could not continue the bluff of “basic democracies” because people had begun to see through the webs of servility, sycophancy and corruption of his administration.

The popular resentment against him erupted in violent demonstrations throughout the country. Mr. Bhutto had done his best through the available media of venting grievances, including the court of law, to expose Ayub Khan and to improve his own

prospects. But his day was still distant. General Agha Mohammad Yahya Khan, Commander-in-Chief of the Pakistan Army, overthrew Field Marshal Mohammed Ayub Khan making the miserable dictator issue an abdicating appeal to the people and himself making a thundering proclamation tightening the military-bureaucratic stranglehold over the people of Pakistan still more strongly.

President Yahya had said:

“Friends, you have already heard Field-Marshal Mohammed Ayub Khan’s speech which was broadcasted yesterday. And by now you must have all read the letter of March 24 which was addressed to me and has been published in the Press.

“Field Marshal Mohammed Ayub Khan took all possible steps in the past few weeks to come to some arrangements whereby the peaceful and constitutional transfer of power could take place. As you all know, his efforts did not meet with success. He, therefore, called upon me to carry out my prime duty of protecting the country from utter destruction.

“As proclaimed earlier, I have imposed martial law throughout Pakistan. We in the Armed Forces had hoped that sanity would prevail and this extreme step would not be necessary. But the situation has deteriorated to such an extent that normal law-ensuring methods have become totally ineffective and had almost completely broken down. “Serious damage to life and property has occurred and a state of panic has paralyzed the life of the nation. Production has gone down to a dangerously low level and the economy has generally suffered an unprecedented setback. Strikes and violence have become a daily routine and the country has been driven to the edge of an abyss.

“The nation has to be brought back to sanity and normal conditions have to be restored without delay. The armed forces could not remain an idle spectator in the face of this state of near anarchy. They have to do their duty and save the country from utter disaster. I have therefore taken this step.

“My sole aim in imposing martial law is to protect the life liberty and property of the people and put the administration back on the rails. My first, foremost task as the Chief Martial Law Administrator is, therefore, to bring back sanity and ensure that the administration resumes its normal functions to the satisfaction of the people. We have had enough of administrative laxity and chaos. I shall see to it, that this is not repeated in any form or manner. Let every member of the administration take a serious note of this warning.

“Fellow countrymen, I wish to make it absolutely clear to you that I have no mission other than the creation of conditions conducive to the establishment of a Constitutional Government. It is my firm belief that a sound, clean and honest administration is the prerequisite for sane and constructive political life and for

the smooth transfer of power to the representatives of the people elected freely and impartially on the basis of adult franchise.

“It will be the task of the elected representatives to give the country a workable Constitution and find a solution of all other political, economic and social problems that have been agitating the minds of the people.

“I am, however, conscious of the genuine difficulties and pressing needs of various sections of our society, including the student community, labor and our peasants.

“Let me assure you that my administration will make every endeavor to resolve these difficulties.

“A word about your brethren in the Armed Forces. You are all aware that they have always stood by the nation selflessly and gallantly. They have always responded to the call of duty with promptness and devotion. They have never regarded any sacrifice too great to ensure and enhance the security and the glory of Pakistan. The Armed Forces belong to the people. They have no political ambitions. They will not prop up any individual and party. At the same time, I wish to make it equally clear that we have every intention of completing the mission that we have embarked upon to the nation’s satisfaction.

“We are passing through a most fateful period of our history. The recent events have dealt a serious blow to our national prestige and glory. The martial law administration cannot and will not tolerate agitational and destructive acts of any kind.

“I urge every one of you to cooperate with my administration in bringing the country back to sanity. Let everyone, whatever his calling may be, return to his post and do his bit to repair the damage caused to the economy and well-being of Pakistan.”

When Carrots Came

IN Mr. Bhutto's gradual rise to power, nothing proved as helpful as General Yahya Khan's regime. When the General took over from Field Marshal Ayub Khan, he made some most inspiring promises to the people. It had an euphoric effect on the disillusioned masses.

The President and Marshal Law Administrator, with the aid of his Machiavellian staff, henchmen and time-serving politicians backed out of most of his commitments and negated the effect of the one he fulfilled — general elections.

Two major commitments were not fulfilled : There was no cleaning-up of the corrupt and inefficient administration; no desire for transfer of power to the elected representatives of the people after the elections, the first in Pakistan on the basis of adult franchise. Such betrayal of the people by Ayub Khan had proved to be his doom and when General Yahya was embarking on the same suicidal path, he knew what he would like to do to keep himself in power.

There had been no general elections in 23 years. When the people heard Gen. Yahya promising one, they waited for him to act. The public might be gullible, but Gen. Yahya's partners in usurped greatness knew what he was up to. One of them said: "Yahya Khan is no fool. He will rather drive comfortably than struggle to pull the cart. That he will get the donkeys to do for him. You will see him bring out enough carrots to make him jump."

Intellectuals, including Mr. Bhutto, began to suspect that "although the centre and the provinces could have their assemblies and 'popular' governments, decisive power would remain with General Yahya Khan and the military establishment". No constitution contrary to this pattern would be acceptable to them. Everything is done in the "supreme interest" of the nation by dictators.

The elections were held, Mr. Bhutto campaigned for the PPP promising socialist transformation of the country and liberation of Kashmir from "the Indian yoke". He had no comparable rival in rhetoric, image-building and a measure success as an answer to Krishna Menons and Swaran Singhs.

In the East, Sheikh Mujib campaigned for his Six-Point Programme. The expectations of General Yahya that no party would be able to emerge in absolute majority at least in the National Assembly were belied by the results. The Awami League, in the final reckoning after the 13 seats reserved for women were fulfilled, got 167 of the 169 seats allotted to East Pakistan on the basis of population in a house of 313.

The exploited Bengalis saw a ray of hope. Mr. Bhutto, with 81 seats to the PPP's credit, was jubilant, thinking he might have arrived. He was the second in command according to the people's will, but second to Sheikh Mujib. This was discomfoting thought.

Communal parties like the Jamat-i-Islami felt unhappy at this turn of events. East Pakistan had secular streaks in it. It started alleging that the polls were rigged.

Mr. Bhutto analyzed the electoral verdict and reached the conclusion that the people had rejected military dictatorship. Mujib belt that the progressive elements in Pakistan had put the obscurantists in their proper place and that religion and the piety of the people would no longer be exploited by bureaucrats for their own gains.

Then it became evident to forestall Sheikh Mujibur Rahman and to "save Pakistan from the pro-India rule of that renegade political party". Gen. Yahya and Mr. Bhutto engaged in fruitless long parleys with Sheikh Mujib to mark time.

Mr. Bhutto, in the eyes of the Bangla Desh people, is the main liquidator of Pakistan. They attribute to him the initiation of the genocide. He is on record to have exclaimed: "Thank God, Pakistan has been saved", when he ought to have cried: "Oh God, my country has been sold to the Devil." It was the time when democratic hopes were extinguished and the convening of the National Assembly was postponed *sine die*.

These recorded facts need not be denied. Pakistan was in a flux and immediate reactions were often unguided by any perspective then.

Carrots had come. Mr. Bhutto began to reach for them through his Pakistan People's Party founded in September 1967 which mainly promised the people to usher in Islamic socialism— different from socialism in other countries, adult franchise, freedom of the press, support for labor unions and, above everything, a struggle for the right of self determination of the people of Jammu and Kashmir.

During his dormant days, Mr. Bhutto's chief point of stress In the limited public pronouncements continued to be on the explosive" Kashmir issue.

It is interesting to note how generations of politicians and dictators can thrive with the help of one single bogey. But in Mr. Bhutto's case, Kashmir was an obsession as ambition was in the case of Macbeth, baffling wisdom in Hamlet's life and jealousy in Othello's case. Since he, like all imperious heroes, has persisted in his obsession, let us examine this chronic syndrome with reference to Mr. Bhutto's views.

The Kashmir Syndrome

MR. Bhutto's chief point of consistency lies in his views on the Kashmir issue. Kashmir has been Pakistan's obsession since Pakistan's inception, and it is the major touchstone for any country's policy towards Pakistan. The Chinese have come closer to Pakistan by changing their stand on this issue. The Soviet's have remained a somewhat "wayward neighbour" because of their policy of factual understanding of the problem.

Mr. Bhutto, during his tenure as Pakistan's representative at the UN and as the Foreign Minister of that country used the Kashmir issue for two purposes: to project an image of India in terms of expansionism to accuse her of motivated malignity towards Pakistan and to project himself as a fire-eating champion of the supreme cause of Pakistan's territorial integrity, a sort of an imitation Krishna Menon to create a base for himself in the people's estimation for fulfillment of greater ambitions.

Kashmir's recent political history has been confused by Pakistani leaders, especially Mr. Bhutto. For instance, it is often forgotten that the British did not want the whole state of Jammu and Kashmir to be a part of Pakistan. They prepared a scheme for the partition of Jammu and Kashmir. They wanted Maharaja Hari Singh to part with a major part of his Muslim majority area which was to be placed under H. H. the Aga Khan as the ruler. The Maharaja was to get the cession of Kangra in the Punjab as compensation. The Aga Khan had agreed to play his role in the game. But the Viceroy could not convince himself that the Maharaja had consented to the move and it fizzled out quickly.

Jinnah is on record as advocating a hard line on Kashmir "for the liberation of our Muslim brethren there." Liaquat Ali Khan was accused by Maulana Mashriqi of evading the Kashmir issue. He issued a statement to the effect that if Liaquat Ali Khan failed to invade India promptly and liberate Kashmir, he would himself cross the borders along with millions of his armed Khaksars. He asked his followers to camp near the Lahore-Amritsar border and wait for his orders. His *Khutba* blamed Liaquat Ali Khan for the ills of Pakistan. Liaquat Ali Khan had to pay the price of his alleged softness towards India with his life.

The subsequent rulers of Pakistan went on reiterating the standard statement which has been succinctly put by President Ayub Khan in his autobiography: "We are stuck on Kashmir. The problem of Kashmir involves the feelings and wishes of the people of Kashmir. It is also a manifestation of India's hostility to the people of Kashmir."

President Ayub depended heavily on the joint statement issued after bilateral talks between Jawaharlal Nehru and Mohammad Ali of Bogra, then Prime Minister of Pakistan, as his chief argument to prove India's commitment of a plebiscite. The statement read in part: "It was their firm opinion that this (the Kashmir issue) should be settled in accordance with the wishes of the people of that State. The most feasible way of ascertaining the wishes of the people was by fair and impartial plebiscite."

However, he had the honesty of quoting one of Mr. Nehru's reasons for not consenting to a plebiscite. "Mr. Nehru indicated that he could not go forward with the agreements set out in the joint communiqué on Kashmir because 'the whole context in which these agreements were made will change if military aid comes (to Pakistan) from America.' Of course, Pakistan could not allow Mr. Nehru to dictate its foreign policy."

The invasion of Kashmir after partition was denied by Pakistan until incontrovertible proofs overwhelmed its delegates and then the connivance of the willing West brought another assurance of a settlement. On the part of Pakistan it was a happy occasion. By aggression it came to occupy about 40 per cent of Indian territory in Kashmir, Indian by virtue of the State's accession to India. Its interests were consolidated later by the integration of the northern areas with Pakistan. The so called "Azad Kashmir" was a minor part, kept as a separate entity as a propaganda stunt. President Ayub kept on harping on the necessity of acquisition of Pakistan while saying in the same breath that Kashmir belonged only to the Kashmiris. After meeting Nehru, he says, he showed him "a map of Kashmir and West Pakistan" to explain "how all our major rail or road connections and canal head works were completely outflanked. The security of Pakistan required a fair solution of the problem."

Mr. Bhutto, as I have pointed out, whipped the Kashmir issue to such an intensely obsessional state that it became the only vital issue for Pakistan.

His opinions on this problem have largely been responsible for two invasions of India.

What did he think of the Kashmir issue?

In historical perspective his views can be summed up as follows:

"The chief dispute between Pakistan and India hinges on the future of the state of Jammu and Kashmir, to whose people India is in honour bound to give the right of self-determination. It would be wrong, however, to think that Kashmir is the only dispute that divides India and Pakistan, though it is undoubtedly the most significant. There have been others of considerable gravity, such as the dispute over the canal waters, that over the future of the Ganges waters, and that occasioned by the persecution of Muslims in India, resulting in their emigration to Pakistan in large numbers.

“Other problems again, for historical and other reasons, have not been properly taken up, but remain nevertheless of fundamental national interest. One at least is nearly as important as the Kashmir dispute: that of Assam and some districts of India adjacent to East Pakistan. To these East Pakistan has very good claims, which should not have been allowed to remain quiescent. India has never ceased to take an unpleasant interest in East Pakistan and continues to support certain irredentist movements in West Pakistan. At a time when the Nagas and the Mizos have revolted and thousands of Muslims been ejected from Assam, which did not have a majority Hindu community at the time of partition, it would be wrong of Pakistan to ignore these problems. The eviction of Indian Muslims into East Pakistan and the disputed borders of Assam and Tripura should not be forgotten. The future of Farrakha Barrage and the general problem of the uses of rivers have yet to be equitable settled; and, although the Nehru-Noon agreement was concluded ten years back, Berubari has still to be transferred to Pakistan. Both wings of the country have legitimate grievances against India and until the principal disputes are resolved, it would be futile to expect relations to improve. Nehru’s thesis that these disputes are a symptom of Pakistan’s eternal hostility towards India is as sinister as it is baseless.

“Why does India want Jammu and Kashmir? She holds them because their valley is the handsome head of the body of Pakistan. Its possession enables her to cripple the economy of West Pakistan and, militarily to dominate the country. India retains Jammu and Kashmir because she wants to increase her strategic importance by having common borders with the Soviet Union and China, and correspondingly denying Pakistan these frontiers. Above all, she retains the state against all norms of morality because she’ wants to negate the Two-Nation Theory, the basis of Pakistan. If a Muslim majority area can remain a part of India, then the *raison d’être* of Pakistan collapses. These are the reasons why India, to continue her domination of Jammu and Kashmir, defies international opinion and violates her pledges. For the same reasons, Pakistan must continue unremittingly her struggle for the right of self-determination of this subject people.

“Pakistan is incomplete without Jammu and Kashmir both territorially and ideologically. Recovering them, she should recover her head and be made whole, stronger, and more viable. It would be fatal if in sheer exhaustion or out of intimidation, Pakistan were to abandon the struggle, and a bad compromise would be tantamount to abandonment which might, in turn, lead to the collapse of Pakistan. If, however, we settle for tranquil relations with India, without an equitable resolution of disputes, it would

be the first major step in establishing Indian leadership in our parts, with Pakistan and other neighboring states becoming Indian satellites.

“It has been suggested that Pakistan should become realistic and seek rapprochement with India without the settlement of outstanding disputes. Even this would not resolve the dilemma. Pakistan has already lost valuable territories to India under pretext of realism and, if applied to Jammu and Kashmir and other disputes, this process would involve the territorial attrition of our country. It would mean capitulation by installment and eventual liquidation. By settlement of a dispute we mean a solution designed to achieve lasting peace. Only through an equitable settlement can such an honorable peace be secured and, if it is our fundamental objective to achieve this, as it should be, then we must consider how it is to be achieved. Can it be achieved on India’s terms? Certainly not because if India’s terms were to prevail, there would be no viable Pakistan. If the worst were to come to the worst, what would be the consequences of Pakistan abandoning Jammu and Kashmir? It is clear that a compromise of this nature would whet but not satisfy India’s appetite and, with her growing military power and possible acquisition of nuclear weapons, she would use these territories as a rallying point to integrate the remaining parts of Pakistan.

“Before unleashing its aggression on Pakistan, India conducted some probing military operations in the Rann of Kutch to test Pakistan’s resolve in resisting encroachments on her territory. Similarly, Israel conducted probing operations against Jordan in November 1966 and against Syria before embarking on aggression. Prime Minister Shastri and the Israeli Prime Minister Levi Eshkol chose exactly the same words with which to threaten the victims of aggression, saying that they would attack at a time and place of their choosing. In both the Indo-Pakistan war and the conflict between Israel and Arab states, aggression was committed by the usurpers of territory. Even so, some western powers were critical of the victims of aggression for acts of war, forgetting that the United Nations Charter provides for self-defence and general international law permits wars of liberation under the well-established doctrine of Bellum Justum. Just as Pakistan did not immediately come to the aid of the freedom fighters in Jammu and Kashmir, the Arab states also did not carry their action to a logical conclusion after closing the Gulf of Aqaba, as they had a right to do under international law. Neither Pakistan nor the Arab states completed the plain exercise of their rights, and all suffered as a result. In both cases the initiative was left to the aggressors, who took the fullest advantage by striking first with all their might. In the Indo-Pakistan war, the Air Force of Pakistan gained mastery of the skies and this supremacy had its effect on the fortunes of the war. In the Middle Eastern conflict, Israel with its surprise attack gained the decisive air superiority. In both wars the aggressors violated cease-fire agreements and occupied strategic territories

after the cease-fire; in both, sanctions were threatened by the Global Powers. After the Indo-Pakistan war, the Indians committed genocide in Kashmir, driving Muslims from their homes and replacing them by Hindu Dogra populations. Similarly, Israel has now begun to evict Arabs from the territories they occupied and is calling for fresh Jewish immigration from other countries in order to replace the indigenous population and to reduce the Arab majority into a minority.

The Valley Is The Victim

DESPITE facts with irrelevant pedantic comparison and analysis, Mr. Bhutto has been unable to disprove the final accession of Kashmir to India and its irrevocable membership as a state of the Indian Union in the changed circumstances.

Even at the cost of the good prospects of the India-Pakistan, summit on June 28, Mr. Bhutto did not refrain from saying what he had learnt from Maulana Mashraqi and President Ayub. “We must have Kashmir. There can’t be a compromise on it.” Pakistan, under Mr. Bhutto, violated the recent ceasefire and took vital Tithwal posts by aggression. The object was to change the status quo in Kashmir in Pakistan’s favour, self-determination, or no self-determination. The arms being pumped into Pakistan by its allies, the revival of the CENTO and the raising of the mountain and guerilla divisions point to the obvious: Another uneasy calm, another spell of time-gaining peace talks, another aggression to alter the status quo, backed by allegations of Indian adventures on the Pakistani territory of this was what observers felt would follow.

The infiltrations prior to the aggression of 1965 are a pointer. Mr. Bhutto had then said that he had a plan for the liberation of Kashmir. It consisted of wider, intense border tension, mass-scale infiltration of trained guerillas to sabotage vital installations and cripple the administration and the “final” invasion by the “regular” Pakistan Army to liberate Kashmir. The Kutch incidents were engineered and the rest of it followed according to Mr. Bhutto’s plan. Mr. Bhutto, as is evident from his views ‘stated earlier, claimed that Pakistan was being subjected to “yet another” violent bid of subjugation by India.

The Americans and the Chinese backed Pakistan to the hilt. Mr. Bhutto swore to fight a thousand-year war to lustily the one which Pakistan had lost.

Prime Minister Lal Bahadur Shastri, who led the country in her defensive-offensive and in the search for peace at Tashkent, was virulently misrepresented by Mr. Bhutto as a hawkish dwarf and as a Hindu chauvinist.

Mr. Shastri put the record straight in his broadcast to the nation on September 3, 1965:

“...On September 1, Pakistan mounted a heavy attack in brigade strength in the Chhamb Sector of Jammu. The attack was supported by heavy artillery and tanks of the Pakistan army. Our Armed Forces went into action against them and knocked out several tanks and many army vehicles. Pakistan’s initial thrust has been halted. An instance of what Pakistan is doing in that area is the bombing by

the Pakistan Air Force of civilians killing many men, women and children, as well as destroying a mosque. The people of Jammu and Kashmir are facing the situation with great fortitude.

“I wish to pay a warm tribute to our security forces. The whole nation is proud of them and has the fullest confidence in their ability to defend the country. The whole country stands behind them. The attempt of the armed raiders, who had entered Kashmir earlier to damage bridges and administrative and military centers and to commit other acts of sabotage, has largely failed. The raiders failed also in enlisting the sympathy of the local population. In fact they had to indulge in acts of loot and arson to sustain themselves. The raiders were able to move about in the villages for a few days under the cover of darkness, but this phase is now over and many of the infiltrators have been driven to seek cover in thick jungles. The presence of these infiltrators within Kashmir and their sporadic attempts at sabotage make it essential that we should, be constantly alert and vigilant.

“The infiltrators were well armed with modern weapons and the whole operation was conceived, planned and executed by Pakistan. This, we believe, has been established beyond doubt in the reports submitted by the Chief Military Observers to the United Nations Secretary— General. These reports, in spite of our request, have not seen the light of the day. We have dealt successfully with hundreds of infiltrators and, as an inescapable measure of self-defence, we have to take military action to occupy certain strategic posts beyond the cease-fire line in order to block the routes of infiltrators. Some bands of raiders’ are however still attempting to come in with full backing of the Pakistan army. Pakistan has denied responsibility for such infiltrators.

“The Pakistan Government has endeavoured to create the myth, and this myth has been reiterated in President Ayub Khan’s broadcast of September 1, that the infiltrators are freedom-fighters and that there is an internal revolt in Kashmir.

“The whole world knows that there is no revolt. The Indian people of Kashmir have remained calm and have co-operated with the authorities in tracking down the infiltrators. In 1947-48, Pakistan continued to deny for several months after she had sent her troops illegally into Kashmir that they were there. It was only in 1948, when the truth could no longer be hidden, that the Pakistani Representative confessed to the United Nations Commission for India and Pakistan that Pakistani forces had been fighting in Kashmir for several months. In the Agreement between India and Pakistan in connection with the Gujarat-West Pakistan border, signed on June 30 of this year, Pakistan solemnly affirmed its hope that the agreement would result in better relations and easing of tensions between India and Pakistan. The conscience of the world would be shocked to know that even at the time when this Agreement was being signed, Pakistan had already drawn up a plan of armed infiltration into Kashmir and was training its personnel in Murree for the operations which were undertaken just over a month

later, even before the ink was dry on the Agreement of June 30. Such conduct speaks for itself.

“The Pakistani ruling circles accuse India of practicing colonialism in Kashmir. President Ayub seems to have forgotten that the State of Jammu and Kashmir, juridically and in fact, is a part of India. The people of Kashmir are Indian citizens who enjoy all the rights and privileges guaranteed to them under the Constitution of India unlike their unfortunate brethren across the cease-fire line in Pakistan-occupied Kashmir.

“Let me add that our quarrel is not with the people of Pakistan. We wish them well, we want them to prosper and we want to live in peace and friendship with them. What we are up against is a regime which does not believe in freedom, democracy and peace, as we do. It talks glibly of a plebiscite in Kashmir, while it is not prepared to have a free election in its own country. In the state of Jammu and Kashmir there have been three elections since 1949. What once was a princely state, ruled on dynastic principles, is now a state in our Federation under a constitution which guarantees civil rights, freedom of worship and free elections.

“How would Pakistan like a plebiscite in the Pakhtoon area to find out whether it wishes to remain a part of Pakistan? How would Pakistan like a plebiscite in East Bengal to find out whether the people of East Bengal want to be ruled from Rawalpindi? What is at stake in the present conflict is a point of principle. Has any country the right to send its armed personnel to another with the avowed object of overthrowing a democratically elected Government?”

The Kashmir issue needs a settlement. The rational settlement is vacation of aggression by Pakistan and return of all the territory of the state, including what Pakistan has liberally gifted to China as a step towards a ‘border settlement’, to India. The other way is to make the existing ceasefire line into a permanent border with reasonable modifications.

Both of these ways are obviously unacceptable to Pakistan. This trauma, which has deeply affected Pakistan’s stability and equilibrium but gradually helped Mr. Bhutto gain popularity and public base as the authentic discoverer of the “biggest malaise” and its possible healer, helped him win the election and reduced opposition to him as President of Pakistan.

This is the farthest one can go on a wooden horse.

The liberation of Bangla Desh and India’s smashing reply to Pakistan’s aggression has brought an opportunity for a realistic approach to the problem for Mr. Bhutto. The syndrome is not beyond cure. It only needs co-operation from the unwilling patient.

It is a pity that even at the Simla summit, Mr. Bhutto thought it fit to whip this issue and thus blocked the way 'for a speedy over-all settlement. However, the agreements to supervise the cease-fire line jointly and to renounce force have assured an uneasy calm in Jammu and Kashmir.

A Tide Comes And Goes

TRERE is an illuminating episode described by Anthony Mascarenhas which shows the working of the minds of Sheikh Mujib and Mr. Bhutto.

In the course of East-West negotiations Sheikh Mujib reportedly sent a message to Mr. Bhutto through an emissary, a Bengali student leader from London who knew both leaders well.

Sheikh Mujib told the emissary: “Tell Mr. Bhutto if he wants the big job, I am prepared to give it to him if he is ready to accept my Six Points and to join hands with me in getting the army out of politics and back to the barracks.”

The message, says Mascarenhas, was carried to Karachi. Mr. Bhutto, who had just returned from Larkana, was, as usual, holding his “court” in the elegant Clifton residence. There was the usual throng of supplicants and friends and some newly elected members of the national and provincial assemblies.

The emissary was ushered into the inner sanctum where he delivered the message to Mr. Bhutto over a glass of whisky.

Mr. Bhutto was ecstatic: “Did he really say so?” When the answer was in the affirmative, Mr. Bhutto immediately asked Babu, his Man Friday, to bring in the telephone and booked an urgent personal long distance call to Sheikh Mujib. Unfortunately, the Sheikh was not available on telephone. Mr. Bhutto then asked the student leader to carry a message back to the Sheikh. “Tell him”, said Mr. Bhutto, “I am involved in some by-elections and can’t see him now. But I, will send Mustapha Kaber to see him. I am personally not opposed to the Six Points but I have got to carry my party with me.”

The message was conveyed to the Sheikh and Mr. Kaber also visited Dacca. But obviously, General Yahya had his way through Mr. Bhutto’s quest of luck and the little move proved abortive.

Through such silver linings one moves now into gloomy clouds.

Bangla Desh was ravaged for eight months.

The anti-India obsession flogged into the hateful heat of the “Crush India”, and “Wipe Out Kafirs” slogans in West Pakistan, however, began to be sanctified by a real

assessment of India's motives in East Bengal. Sheikh Mujib pledged to protect the minorities in East Bengal because "they are our brothers". This was in contrast to the Bhutto approach "The Hindus and the Muslims can't be brothers."

Mujib was arrested on March 25. There was no chance of a rapprochement between the two wings. The inevitable had happened. The socio-political structure built by self-seeking politicians and preserved by the unrealistic foreign props and hate-India campaigns had crumpled in the Eastern Wing. The ideal of the Two-Nation Theory had died its natural death. As the Guardian commented, Ayub's corruption and Yahya's bungling, beside the fact that the nation was built on the thin sands of hatred and polemic, had been responsible for the ills of Pakistan.

The Birth of A Nation

BANGLA DESH gave itself a provisional government on March 28, 1971. The People's Republic of Bangla Desh was founded on April 17 with Sheikh Mujibur Rahman as President (in absentia), Syed Nazrul Islam as Vice-President and Mr. Tajuddin Ahmed as Prime Minister.

Subsequently, an unprecedented genocide was perpetrated on the people of Bangla Desh whose only crime was to ask for a measure of autonomy, part of their birthright of freedom.

The Sunday Times London, published an eye-witness account of the heartless Pakistanis' acts of violence:

“When the army units fanned out in Dacca on the evening of March 25, in pre-emptive strikes against the mutiny planned for the small hours of the next morning, many of them carried lists of people to be liquidated. These included Hindus and a large number of Muslims, students, Awami Leaguers, professors, journalists and those who have been prominent in the Sheikh's movement.”

“.....Touring Dacca on April 15, I found the heads of students lying rotting on the roof of the Iqbal Hall Hostel. The caretaker said they had been killed in the night of March 25... This is genocide conducted with amazing casualness.”

The Pakistani plan was to “solve the problem finally.” Under it the Hindus, forming 10 per cent of the population of the province, were to be evicted or liquidated and the Bengali Muslim youth were to be “dispatched”. Within eight and a half months about 10 million Bengali refugees crossed into India, over two million people were murdered, thousands of women were raped and children were bayoneted to death. The whole Bangla Desh was rendered destitute.

The refugee problem created unprecedented financial and social problems in India. It was a human crisis. Mrs. Gandhi assured succor to the luckless, freedom-loving people. India spent about Rs. 15 million per day on the refugees. Only a fraction of it was contributed by charitable sections of the world community.

The Bangla Desh Government foresaw a long fight against a brutal dictatorship and began to train guerillas. It succeeded in raising about one lakh of disciplined freedom fighters, thousands still in their teens.

If it is stated in Bangla Desh that Mr. Bhutto was as much responsible for the rape of Bangla Desh as Gen. Yahya Khan, none except Mr. Bhutto has to feel angry, and that too with himself. He co-operated with all the anti-Bengali moves of Yahya Khan and visited China and Iran for arms to crush Bangla Desh. He advocated the “Justice of the Pakistani step” before the world community, branded India as an aggressor and declared “we are fighting the USSR in East Pakistan.” He, stooping for power, accepted the position of Deputy Prime Minister, thus letting down his electorate which had seen in him not an ally of the dictator but their friend and fearless leader.

There were provocative Pakistani military infiltrations within Indian territory across the border and while India was engaged in containing sabotage and incursions, Pakistan (fulfilling the ultimatum given by Gen. Yahya that he would launch a war within 10 days), declared war against India by an announcement in the official gazette on December 3. There were preemptive attacks on Indian airports and border posts. India hit back decisively. She recognised Bangla Desh on December 6. The war that lasted 14 days was swift and marked with complete inter-services co-ordination, quick political decisions and, above all, complete solidarity on the part of the entire secular, democratic nation.

There were prayers for India’s success in mosques, Muslim refugees’ camps, churches, gurdwaras, and temples. The harmony of the good old days was seen once again.

India had, in the meantime, signed a treaty of mutual friendship and co-operation with the USSR and to improve the situation, the Prime Minister had visited important western capitals to acquaint the various governments of the situation in. Bangla Desh. Her Ministers were sent on mission of understanding.

The Americans, even more belligerently than the Chinese, branded India as an aggressor and sent the massive Seventh Fleet on a mission of intimidation. The Chinese, repeated veiled threats of action but they did not create any fiasco like the Americans.

Mr. Bhutto fought furiously with the support of China, the United States and theocratic nations at the UN to justify the Pakistani war against India. It was always the same line of argument: India is un-reconciled to Partition and keen to dismember and then swallow Pakistan, and finally fulfill the “Hindu dream of Vishal Bharat”.

The pro-China African lobby and the pro-American Asian and European nations backed Pakistan in the Security Council. Britain, to an extent France, and the USSR took an objective view of the situation. The USSR’s understanding was shared by East European pioneers and Mr. Bhutto’s fulminations were adequately answered.

The Indo-Soviet Treaty irked Mr. Bhutto most. The Americans saw a deterrent to their hegemony plan in Asia and despite Mr. Bhutto’s cables assuring redemption to Gen. Yahya from the USA, the Seventh Fleet beat a retreat in full view of Soviet ships

watching them from a distance and the Indian Navy ready to defend the country's territory.

When Lt. Gen. Niazi of Pakistan surrendered to Lt. Gen. Jagjit Singh Arora after the fall of Dacca on December 16, and Mrs. Gandhi announced a simple, unilateral cease-fire, India and Bangla Desh expressed their gratitude to their leaders who had given them a secular outlook and a democratic temper.

India, at the end of the war did not only help liberate Bangla Desh but also occupied 3,000 square miles of West Pakistani territory as against some 50 square miles of Indian territory taken by Pakistan in the Chhamb sector, and the Hussainiwala enclave in the Ferozepore area.

India destroyed 94 Pakistani aircraft out of a total strength of 290, 214 tanks out of 300 and 22 naval craft while she lost 44 aircraft, 73 tanks and a frigate.

Mr. Bhutto this time described the decisive Indian victory as “hell of a bashing” for Pakistan. This was a real tribute to India's fighting machine and her leadership from the leader of Pakistan who had termed the deliberate restraint on India's part in Pakistan's earlier two aggressions as the natural defeat of the “chronically enslaved Hindu nation” and the reverses in the war launched by China as a humiliation of a weak people, trying to assume expansionist postures.

Mr. Bhutto, however, kept on accusing India of attacking Pakistan (in East Bengal) and trying to subjugate Muslims “in our eastern province.”

Defeat is a bitter morsel. Its reactions, too, are bitter. There was no surprise at what Mr. Bhutto was saying. He had said worse things in the past. India only knew that the expensive military defensive-offensive had paid dividends: she had liberated an oppressed people, given back hearths and homes to 10 million victims of the Pakistani rulers' frenzy and hatred, exploded the myth of the Two-Nation Theory, known her friends and enemies and driven home to the rulers of Pakistan that military adventures against India were exercises in futility.

Mr. Bhutto has accepted part of this by now...The rest he will accept later. But then the lives of nations are not divided into days and weeks; they are marked by patience, foresight, reasonable give and take and their social and economic base.

This is what India suggested as a goodwill gesture when she assured Mr. Bhutto that she was ready for bilateral negotiations on all issues of mutual concern and that she would wait for Mr. Bhutto to stabilize the situation in Pakistan.

When India withdrew all her troops from Bangla Desh, Mr. Bhutto saw there was no justification for accusing her of expansionism. His later utterances tended to be modestly temperate and occasionally conciliatory.

PART VI

The Hazy Dawn

Forsan et haec olim meminisse iuvabit

Perhaps one day this too will be pleasant to remember.

VIRGIL: Aeneid

The Total Crisis

WHEN Mr. Bhutto took over as President, he described the situation as “a total crisis” He had to forget that he had fought for General Yahya’s survival till yesterday The people knew East Pakistan was lost for ever. Pakistan itself had been reduced from one-fifth of the size of India to one-tenth. It had lost 54 per cent of its population It was no longer the “largest Islamic power’ in the world It was a smaller “Muslim’ country than Bangla Desh It had fewer Muslims than India had!

How does a man react to such situations?

Mr. Bhutto, in his first heart-to heart talk with his nation, expressed his determination to carry the people from defeat to victory through revenge in a thousand-year war, then cooled down, appealed to “our brothers in East Pakistan not to forget us”, announced civil and military reforms and then vowed to serve the country till death with zeal.

He was sworn in on December 20 as President and Chief Marshal Law Administrator. He was the first civilian President in 13 years.

He arrived in Rawalpindi from New York in the morning of the 26th and immediately drove to the Palace of President Yahya Khan where he had discussions lasting nearly three hours.

The announcement that he was taking over was made at once to a country angry with a military leadership which was held responsible for the Army’s surrender in “East Pakistan’ and for bailing to hit India hard in the west.

Mr. Bhutto thus won full executive powers. The most surprising aspect of the announcement was that he had taken over as Chief Martial Law Administrator.

To observers, who had expected that a lull return to civilian rule would be accompanied by the abolition of martial law, the appointment suggested that some arrangement had been worked out with the army.

A crowd of several thousand, mainly the peasants and workers who form the base of his popular support, were at the airport in the morning to welcome him. They waved banners and chanted “Long Live Zulfikar Ali Bhutto”. When his aircraft was spotted in the sky they roared their applause.

A People's Party official, who was preparing to garland Mr. Bhutto on his return, was told by a senior official to remove the garland because of the shame of the army's defeat.

In Karachi a general strike was declared as a protest at the ignominy of the army's action. In Islamabad a mob of about 100 smashed up liquor stores.

President Bhutto told the people of Pakistan in a nation-wide broadcast monitored in Delhi: "This is my pledge to you — I will restore democracy." He said the country was facing the worst crisis in its history, but pledged that a new Pakistan would arise.

He called for the help and co-operation of the people, without which, he said, he would not succeed. He promised to take no decisions without the consent of the people.

"This is my pledge to you—I will restore democracy," he said. He wanted to do away with martial law as soon as possible.

His heart, Mr. Bhutto said, was with the people of East Pakistan, who were the majority of Pakistan. "East Pakistan is an inseparable and indissoluble part of Pakistan," the President went on. He was convinced the people wanted to remain part of Pakistan.

He was prepared to meet the leaders of East Pakistan to discuss a negotiated settlement provided this was done within the framework of one Pakistan and without foreign interference and without occupation by the Indian forces.

"Indian forces must vacate my motherland. Indian forces must vacate East Pakistan", added Mr. Bhutto.

Speaking in English, he said: "I am confident that with your cooperation and understanding and patience we will emerge as a stronger and greater state. I have no doubt about that."

"We will fight for East Pakistan", he declared. India had a choice before her—either to accept justice or to face "an implacable enemy for all time."

To the people and the soldiers he said: "Please do not lose heart. We will redeem this day. We will take revenge and we will see to it that this temporary humiliation is put right."

A new constitution would be given to Pakistan and democracy would be restored.

Mr. Bhutto said he never believed he would live to see the day when Mr. Jagjivan Ram, the Indian Defence Minister would gloat as he was doing.

“I wish I were not alive today—and when I say that I mean it”, Mr. Bhutto said. That was not because the task before him was too difficult but because of recent developments.

The former President, Gen. Yahya Khan, and his closest associates among the high-ranking officers had been retired from the armed forces, the President announced. These men included the Chief of Staff, General Abdul Hamid Khan, and Maj-General Ghulam Umar Khan, who held the military security portfolio.

Mr. Bhutto ended his address with the dramatic statement, “I make a solemn pledge that I will serve you with all my heart and soul—that I will serve you if it kills me”.

“The present stigma would be wiped out even if it had to be stoned by the grandchildren of the present generation.”

On December 22, Mr. Bhutto’s Government impounded the passports of members of the 22 rich families in what appeared to be a crackdown on the few who control the country’s economy.

Announcing the action, an official spokesman said that time for intimating the authorities of their holdings abroad was running out.

The Government was in possession of information about the capital assets transferred by these families in 1969 and in a position to enforce compliance with instruction regarding repatriation of these assets to the country.

Those concerned had 24 hours to obey a Government ultimatum that the money is returned to Pakistan.

The 22 families on whom Mr. Bhutto cracked down on the third day of his president-ship are known to be the richest families in Pakistan with assets over Rs 5,000 million.

With the loss of “Sonar Bangla”, its economic backbone, Pakistan, with its wanton war against India, naturally found itself economically shattered, besides its military machine being mauled.

That Mr. Bhutto would come down heavily was indicated in his first broadcast to the nation when he said, “I shall take measures against the families of those people who have taken money out of this country.” He warned them then to bring the money back honorably.

The follow-up action of impounding the passports of these wealthy families was in keeping with his stern warning in the hour-long broadcast that “if the capital is not brought back by voluntary means, then you should not blame me for the actions I take.”

The families are known to have owned more than 60% of industrial assets, controlled nearly 80% of banking and almost cent per cent of insurance business of Pakistan before Bangla Desh.

Their “playground” was mainly in the golden land of Bangla Desh, which has vast raw material resources.

These 22 families have fattened on the resources with active encouragement from Governments that have ruled in West Pakistan. The Government’s motive behind this economic exploitation by the 22 was for political ends to keep a stranglehold on what is now Bangla Dash through these business Czars.

Through economic policies these tycoons were able to amass wealth, and it is widely known that in what is dubiously described as ‘the development decade’ between 1958-68, the Ayub family came to be among the noted 22.

As the economic empire of the families enlarged, the people found poverty grinding them to bones, their wages sunk and their lives condemned to misery.

This concentration of wealth with the “22” made the eastern wing virtually a colony, a state which the Bengalis resented and led them to burst into open revolt and break the shackles and emerge, after a nine-month-long bloody war, into the sovereign independent Republic of Bangla Desh

Mr. Bhutto had, in his broadcast to the nation, said the money that had gone out of the country was the “blood and the sweat of the people of Pakistan I appeal to those 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 My armed forces need weapons, my armed forces need tanks, my armed forces are to be rehabilitated.”

Mr. Bhutto warned: “if there is any lessening of industrial production or agricultural production to frustrate my reforms, then I will nationalize and I will acquire property in the name of the people... These reforms cannot be frustrated. Those who want to frustrate these reforms will have to pay a very heavy price.”

The following is the list of the 22 families with the sectors of the industry in which they operate:

1. **A.K. KHAN:** jute manufactures, matches, shipping, cotton textiles, plywood.
2. **ADAM;** tea, silk, grain seed trade, cotton textiles, sugar.
3. **ADAMJI:** jute manufactures, banking, cotton textiles and insurance.
4. **AMIN BASHIR:** jute goods, jute trade, cotton trade, petroleum, refrigeration, sugar and cotton textiles.

5. **BAWANI:** cotton textiles, jute goods, chemicals.
6. **DAWOOD:** cotton textiles, synthetic fiber, petroleum, paper, fertilizer, polythene, woolens.
7. **FANCY:** iron and steel, petroleum, insurance, banking.
8. **GANDHARA:** cotton textiles, engineering, automobiles, newspapers, farm machinery.
9. **HABIB:** banking, insurance, sugar, cotton textiles.
10. **HABIB** (of Arag): biscuits, cotton textiles, cosmetics, pharmaceuticals.
11. **HOTI:** banking, sugar, paper, distillery.
12. **HUSSEIN:** sugar, cotton textiles.
13. **HIESONS:** fertilizer, glass manufactures, steel pipes, electric lighting, sugar, cement.
14. **ISPAHANI:** tea, shipping, jute goods, jute trade, beverages.
15. **KARIM:** cotton textiles, silks, synthetic fabrics.
16. **MAULA BAKSH:** jute goods, cotton textiles, shipping, paints, insurance.
17. **MOONNO:** cotton textiles, auto distribution, general mills.
18. **RANGOONWALA:** petroleum, cooking oil, banking.
19. **SAIGOL:** cotton textiles, sugar, chemicals, cooking oil, synthetic fiber, construction, newspapers, banking, insurance.
20. **SHEIKH:** cotton textiles, woolens, cement, banking, insurance, flour mills.
21. **VALIKA:** cotton textiles, shipping, insurance, woolen fabrics.
22. **WAZIR ALI:** cooking oil, soap, blades, automobiles, construction.

But soon after, in a determinedly conciliatory speech, Mr. Bhutto on January 23, 1972 at least temporarily abandoned his policy of coercing Pakistan's wealthy business community into bringing home their foreign assets.

Speaking in Karachi to some 200 of Pakistan's leading businessmen, including members of the families who dominate the country's banking, insurance, shipping and industrial interests, he announced the release from house arrest or prison of three of the best known members of the business community.

These were Mr. Fakhruddin Valika, Mr. Ahmed Dawood and Mr. Ganeran Habibullab, who had been detained partly as a warning to other wealthy Pakistanis to bring back their assets. The announcement was greeted by loud applause.

Dr. Mubasbir Hassan, the Finance Minister, had said that, more arrests would follow and that there would be police investigations.

Mr. Bhutto also lifted the restrictions on foreign travel and told his audience that they and their families could go abroad for business, education, and holidays or even to go night-clubbing. But he asked them not to emigrate. Canada, he said, was a cold place and the South of France boring. He pleaded with them, however, to bring back the bulk of their foreign exchange.

A new deadline for the declaration of foreign assets was set for February 15. The earlier deadline expired nine days ago when only £7m was declared of the £154m believed to be held by Pakistanis abroad.

The response was politically humiliating for Mr. Bhutto as the amount was considerably less than had been declared when Presidents Ayub Khan and Yahya Khan took office and made similar appeals for the return of foreign holdings. Enquiries suggest that in defiance of the new regime the inner circle of the twenty-two wealthiest families either ignored the declaration form or else only revealed frozen assets held in countries like India, Tanzania or Burma.

It had been thought Mr. Bhutto would take heavy reprisals. Instead he said that he was giving his audience a second chance. "Let's get together and bring about reconciliation."

He told the businessmen: "I am not your enemy", and said they had an important role to play in the development of Pakistan. But in an apparent reference to the penalties that might follow if they did not cooperate he said that without reconciliation life would be tense and hazardous.

I have gone into the details of Mr. Bhutto's ambivalence on the issue of taming capitalists because they happen to be an inseparable part of the military set-up. In the subsequent dispensation of Mr. Bhutto, General Tikka Khan, the main hand behind the massacre of Baluchistan and the genocide in Bangla Dash, has come to the top. He has already started his intimidation campaign and misadventures in the Kashmir sector. With General Tikka in virtual control of the entire military machine, does Mr. Bhutto feel secure?

Not only the active Generals but the feuding, politicking ones, who were sacked, also are Mr. Bhutto's headache. Besides most of the POWs in India happen to be from martial families whose simmering discontent is a menacing factor.

The situation improved considerably with the hope of release of the POWs from the western front after the Simla agreement.

The Shifting Sands

MR. Bhutto cannot forget that his Government is the 11th regime Pakistan has seen since its birth 24 years ago.

During the first eleven years after independence, seven Governments were installed in Pakistan and fell.

On October 8, 1958, President Iskander Mirza imposed martial law throughout the country and appointed General Mohammed Ayub Khan as Supreme Commander of the armed forces and Martial Law Administrator.

On October 27, 1958, he appointed Gen Ayub Khan Prime Minister, but was overthrown by the General the same day in a bloodless coup.

President Ayub Khan, who assumed eventually the rank of Field Marshal, ruled the country until early 1969 under a system of “Basic Democracies”. Popular resentment against the regime culminating into widespread violent demonstrations throughout the country, Gen. Yahya Khan, Commander-in-Chief of the Pakistan army, overthrew the Ayub Government on March 25, 1969, and assumed Presidency.

His handing over of power to Mr. Bhutto completes the full circle, the governance of the country once again going into the hands of a civilian Politician.

The last time Pakistan had a civilian Prime Minister was in 1957-58 when Mr. Feroze Khan Noon headed the Government.

The other Prime Ministers were:

Mr. Liaquat Ali Khan: He formed the first Muslim League Government. He was assassinated on October 16, 1951.

Khwaja Nazimuddin: He was Prime Minister from Oct. 17, 1951, to April 17, 1953, when he was dismissed by the Governor-General, Mr. Ghulam Mohammed.

Mr. Mohammed All of Bogra: He assumed office on the dismissal of Mr. Nazimuddin. He was Prime Minister until Aug. 7, 1955, when the Muslim League elected another leader.

Chaudhury Mohammed Ali: He led a coalition Government made up of representatives of the Muslim League, the Awami League and the United Front. The Muslim League later broke away from the coalition. His Government ruled from August, 12, 1955 to September 3, 1956.

Mr. H. S. Suhrawardy: He too led a coalition Government composed of the Awami League and the Republican Party. The Republicans later left the coalition~ Mr. Suhrawardy was in office from September 12, 1956 to October 11, 1957.

Mr I. I. Chundrigar: His Government lasted less than two months. The coalition consisted of the Muslim League, the Republican Party and two other parties. The Republicans later withdrew. The Government fell on December 11, 1957.

Mr. Feroze Khan Noon: He was in office from December 16, 1957 to October 7, 1958.

The meaning of all these crumbling edifices is simple: a country founded on the shifting sands of impossible geography and irrational socio-economic guesswork cannot have stability specially when her daily bread is spent on maintaining a military machine and her daily existence depends on protective umbrellas. Bought at the price of constant hostility towards India, such umbrellas have never produced protection. The Americans weakened the nation forcing it to a state of dependence on alliances; the Chinese have been doing so for a decade now.

Pakistan fought India in 1965 and 1971 with their combined aid—their tanks, guns and political support—and lost.

President Bhutto, aware of this, in a frantic bid to impress the depressed Pakistani people, indulged in some obvious showmanship at the outset: “He swore in his cabinet at 3 A.M. leading a harried TV official to lament ‘this is a government of insomniacs’ and dispatched most of the army brass into retirement. He also fired every active admiral in the navy, placed ex-President Yahya Khan under house-arrest and ordered a board of inquiry to ascertain the circumstances of the military debacle.”

Later he took a hurried tour of Iran, Turkey, Algeria, Tunisia, Libya, Morocco and Egypt to thank “our friends for their support” and to seek assurance of their continued understanding of Pakistan’s endless, self-created problems.

The Chinese were wooed ardently and attempts were made to placate Moscow.

When Mrs. Gandhi proposed bilateral talks without preconditions, sent her emissary, Mr. D.P. Dhar, to Murree for finalising the prospects of such a summit meeting and personally saw to it that all hostile propaganda against a neighbour in distress was stopped to create an atmosphere of meaningful negotiations, Mr. Bhutto embarked on another mission of influencing nations.

In the course of his 12-day tour he visited Abu Dhabi, Kuwait, Lebanon, Iraq, Jordan, Saudi Arabia, Somalia, Sudan, Ethiopia, Nigeria, Guinea, Mauritania, Turkey and Iran. All these countries backed Pakistan in the UN General Assembly, voting the resolution on December 7, 1971 calling for an immediate ceasefire and withdrawal of troops. The resolution was passed by 104 votes which President Bhutto calls the diplomatic victory of Pakistan over India.

According to a political analyst:

Mr. Bhutto succeeded in getting an endorsement of the Pakistani position on withdrawal of troops and repatriation of POWs from most of the countries he visited. Abu Dhabi, Kuwait, Jordan, Saudi Arabia, Sudan, Guinea, Turkey, Iran and Mauritania clearly stated that the withdrawal of troops from each other's territory and repatriation of POWs should take place as early as possible in accordance with the UN resolutions and international conventions. Turkey and Iran also laid stress on a "durable and honorable settlement" which the Indo-Pak summit should lead to. Somalia went a step further and expressed support for "unity and integrity of Pakistan." Lebanon and Iraq, on the other hand, only referred to the solution of Indo-Pak issues within the framework of the UN Charter, or in accord with the UN resolutions. Ethiopia and Nigeria merely expressed the hope that the Indo-Pak summit would be fruitful.

In the course of the same tour, he threatened the CENTO that if he did not get enough military support from it, he would not mind Pakistan quitting it.

How did this all go with the objective of holding summit talks to negotiate for peace?

Peace with honour or peace with threats?

Wanderlust could surely not be the reason for such hectic inter-continental rounds. World press interpreted it as a convenient escape from disillusionment at home, a bid to impress on the impatient Pakistani people that something is being done to improve the situation and to secure aid aimed against India in military hardware and vocal sympathy. British and American tanks are believed to be arriving in Pakistan through third countries. The Chinese have been already generous. The CENTO faces coercion and threat.

This happened just days before the summit, and there happened much more.

President Bhutto's rhetoric has been continuously over-shooting the mark. It was heartening to hear him say this in January:

"We do not want eternal enmity with India. We have never wanted it. We want a modus Vivendi built on justice and equity. Vindication of national honour does not mean chauvinism but acceptance of the 1947 arrangement agreed upon by India and Pakistan and acknowledged by the world. All we seek is for that

rationale of live and let live to come to fruition in the interests of the people of both countries.

“I am prepared to visit not only Peking and Moscow but Washington as well. If she invites me to New Delhi beforehand, I’m prepared to go there first. I’m not calling her ‘that woman’ (as his predecessor Yahya Khan did). She is the Prime Minister of a neighboring great State. My family has three generations of contacts with her family. I have had dealings with Mrs. Gandhi, and I hope our children won’t be enemies. We don’t want to be now.

“I will be the last to see the curse of the generals’ dictatorship further ruin my country. Before the day is done, if I m still here, I will ensure that the night of terror will never return to this country. I can only set the pace and direction, better men than me may complete the job. You will see that I’m not an enemy of private enterprise Foreign investment will be encouraged and welcomed and never touched In the present process, though, all of us have to be cut down to size— the 22 families, the feudal lords, the generals, the fat and flabby ones.”

Then came the Oriana Fallaci interview. It was not only in bad taste, it also contained the worst kind of indiscretion and insulting expressions, more hurting than the “that woman” outburst of Yahya Khan. It dug out skeletons of old hatred, put out distorted facts and in a sweeping manner denounced not only India but Mrs. Gandhi also. It insulted Mrs. Bandaranaike and praised Mrs. Golda Meir. It abused Sheikh Mujib and hurt millions in the subcontinent.

I mention this interview here because the “out-of-context” excuse and the reported Pakistani apology in Rome are not sufficiently convincing. The diction and the style are Mr. Bhutto’s. The line of thought is typically his. The timing of its publication is in tune with the Pakistani President’s regular vitriolic denunciation of India.

The following extracts from a news agency report, based on Oriana Fallaci’s account of Mr. Bhutto’s views expressed in the interview given to her and originally published in the Italian journal, L’Europeo, in its April 27 issue, point out to the poor preparation for the big event in Simla—the summit which could crown all summits by ensuring peace in the sub-continent.

In a vituperative attack on the Prime Minister, Mrs. Indira Gandhi, the Pakistani President, Mr. Z.A. Bhutto, described her as a woman without initiative and imagination.

Mr. Bhutto said he considered Mrs. Gandhi a mediocre woman with mediocre intelligence and added: “There is nothing great in her. Only the country she governs is great. I would like to say that it is the throne which makes her look high and also the name which she carries”.

Mr. Bhutto said: “Believe me, if it was the Prime Minister of Ceylon, there could be nothing more than a Bandaranaike. If it was the Prime Minister of Israel, then there is no comparison to Mrs. Golda Meir. She is much superior. She has an acute mind, a clear judgement and she overcomes crises which are more difficult than those faced by Mrs. Gandhi. Mrs. Bandaranaike has reached that position by virtue of her being the widow of Mr. S.W.R.D. Bandaranaike, and Mrs. Gandhi for the simple reason of being the daughter of Mr. Nehru without having his brilliance.

“With all her sarees, her red mark on the forehead, her smile, Mrs. Gandhi will never impress me. She has never impressed me from the day when I knew her in London.”

Mr. Bhutto claimed that he and Mrs. Gandhi had taken part in a conference in their London days and he found her taking notes in all seriousness. He said he asked “Are you taking notes or writing a thesis?”

He said he did not believe she could do a thesis, “otherwise she could have succeeded in taking that doctorate in Trinity at Oxford. In two years at Oxford I did a course of three years. And in three years she was not capable of finishing the course.”

The interviewer reported that she asked Mr. Bhutto whether he was not exaggerating and being a little unjust. “Do you really believe that she could rise to such a position and remain there if she was nothing? Or do you believe that it does not mean anything because she is a woman?”

Mr. Bhutto answered: “No, I have nothing against women being Heads of State, although I do not consider that women could be better Heads of State than men. My judgement of Mrs. Gandhi is impersonal and objective. It is not suggested, not even by the fact that she conducts herself in a deplorable manner by not releasing the prisoners of war and by not respecting the Geneva Convention. I have always seen her like this — a diligent and hardworking school girl, a woman without initiative or imagination.

“Today it is better than when she was studying at Oxford or taking notes at London. Power has created confidence in her and she has achieved success. And this success is disproportionate to her merits.

“If India and Pakistan were to become partners of a confederation, I would take away the post from Mrs. Gandhi without any effort”.

Mr. Bhutto went on: “I don’t fear intellectual confrontation with her. I am, therefore, ready to meet her when she wants and where she wants, even in New Delhi.

“I am ready to go even to New Delhi as Tollymore after the Vienna Congress.

“The only idea which disturbs me is that of being escorted by a guard of honour by the Indian Army and a physical contact with the madame. It irritates me. My God, I can’t think of it.

“Rather, please, tell me what does Mrs. Gandhi say about me?”

The interviewer then told Mr. Bhutto that Mrs. Gandhi had told her that he was a man without equilibrium that he said one thing ‘today and another tomorrow, and that she could not understand what he had in his mind.

Mr. Bhutto said: “I will reply immediately. The only thing which I accept of the John Locke philosophy is this affirmation: ‘Coherence is a virtue of small minds.’ In other words, I think that a fundamental concept must remain steady. But within that concept one should move forward and backward. It blows hot and cold. An intellectual should not be rigid about a set idea. It should be elastic.”

Mr. Bhutto said: “Apparent incoherence was the first virtue of the intelligent mind and an astute politician. If Mrs. Gandhi did not understand this, she did not understand the goodness of her job. Her lather understood this.”

When the interviewer said that Mrs. Gandhi thought of her lather not as a politician but as a saint, Mr. Bhutto said: “Mrs. Gandhi has done her father a wrong. She should have had at least hail of her father’s talent. Although he was against the principle of Pakistan, I have always admired that man.”

Oriana Fallaci’s report was based on six sessions with Mr. Bhutto.

It began with her asking Mr. Bhutto about the soundness of creating a nation with two wings separated by 2,000 km. of alien territory.

Mr. Bhutto pointed out that the two wings had remained together for 25 years in spite of the errors that had been committed.

The State was not only a territorial or geographical concept. When the flag and the religion were the same, distance was not a problem.

The interviewer observed: “I understand better Mrs. Gandhi when she says that the partition of 1947 was unjust and that the communal wars were ridiculous.”

Mr. Bhutto said: “Mrs. Gandhi does not but dream of taking the whole sub-continent and of subjugating us. She would like to have a confederation to wipe out Pakistan from the face of the earth and for this she says that we are brothers, etc.”

“Hindus and Muslims were never brothers. The two religions, systems of living, cultures and approaches are basically different. From the day of birth to the day of death the Hindu and the Muslim are subjected to different ways of life and they do not have any

meeting point. Even their methods of eating and drinking are different. They are two strong and irreconcilable faiths. This explains why the two have not succeeded in reaching a compromise so far.”

A part of the interview covered events leading to the India-Pakistan war.

Mr. Bhutto called Yahya Khan a “disgusting drunkard” and Sheikh Mujibur Rahman “a congenital liar.”

Asked whether he was aware that Dacca believed he was responsible for the massacre on the night of March 25, he countered how one could discredit him with an episode “so barbarous and stupid.” Only a disgusting drunkard like Gen. Yahya Khan could do such a bad bloody job, he added.

About Sheikh Mujib, he said he had never been intelligent and added: “He is a congenital liar. He cannot do anything but lying. For example, he says three million people had been killed. He is mad and everybody is mad, including the Press, which went on publishing that three millions were killed. The Indian version is one million. Then comes Mujib who doubles and then trebles it. This is characteristic of his personality. He did the same thing with the cyclone.”

When he ought to have been using the idiom of peace and reconciliation, Mr. Bhutto, at home and abroad, was destroying the basis of negotiations. Here are some of his latter remarks:

“The Kashmir issue involves the right of self-determination of the people of Kashmir. There can be no compromise on this issue. We can’t abandon our stand on Kashmir.”

“We will not disarm. That is out of question.”

“Our back is not to the wall any more... The army today has signs of morale... We have genuinely turned the corner...”

“We will not sign a no-war pact with India as suggested by Mrs. Gandhi several times.”

He did not recognize Bangla Desk. Sheikh Mujibur Rahman could not attend the summit unless his country was recognised by Pakistan and he was able to take part as Mr. Bhutto’s “equal” in Mr. Bhutto’s eyes—officially. The prisoners of war issue, therefore, could not be settled at the summit.

There could be no talks on Kashmir because Mr. Bhutto would not abandon his “stand.” What then could be the use of the summit?

The Simla summit was not the only summit between the two countries. There were at least eight such exercises in futility earlier.

The achievements of this summit will go down in history as the result of Indian policy of non-interference in other nation's affairs, her good will for the Pakistani people and above all, a personal triumph for Mr. Bhutto who has shown a great capacity for adaptability and meaningful change in outlook.

FACTS
AND
BACKGROUND

The Simla Agreement

The Government of India and the Government of Pakistan are resolved that the two countries put an end to the conflict and confrontation that have hitherto marred their relations and work for the promotion of a friendly and harmonious relationship and the establishment of durable peace in the subcontinent, so that both countries may henceforth devote their resources and energies to the pressing task of advancing the welfare of their people.

In order to achieve this objective, the Government of India and the Government of Pakistan have agreed as follows:

- (i) That the principles and purposes of the Charter of the United Nations shall govern the relations between the two countries;
- (ii) That the two countries are resolved to settle their differences by peaceful means through bilateral negotiations or by any other peaceful means mutually agreed upon between them Pending the final settlement of any of the problems between the two countries, neither side shall unilaterally alter the situation and both shall prevent the organization, assistance or encouragement of any acts detrimental to the maintenance of peaceful and harmonious relations;
- (iii) That the pre-requisite for reconciliation, good neighborliness and durable peace between them is a commitment by both the countries to peaceful co-existence, respect for each other's territorial integrity and sovereignty and non-interference in each other's internal affairs, on the basis of equality and mutual benefit;
- (iv) That the basic issues and causes of conflict which have bedeviled the relations between the two countries for the last 25 years shall be resolved by peaceful means;
- (v) That they shall always respect each other's national unity, territorial integrity, political independence and sovereign equality;
- (vi) That in accordance with the Charter of the United Nations they will refrain from the threat or use of force against the territorial integrity or political independence of each other.

Both Governments will take all steps within their power to prevent hostile propaganda directed against each other. Both countries will encourage the dissemination of such info information as would promote the development of friendly relations between them.

In order progressively to restore and normalize relations between the two countries step by step, it was agreed that:

- (1) Steps shall be taken to resume communications, postal, telegraphic, sea, land including border posts and air links including over flights.
- (II) Appropriate steps shall be taken to promote travel facilities for the nationals of the other country.

(iii) Trade and co-operation in economic and other agreed fields will be resumed as far as possible.

(iv) Exchange in the fields of science and culture will be promoted.

(v)

In this connexion delegations from the two countries will meet from time to time to work out the necessary details.

In order to initiate the process of the establishment of durable peace, both the Governments agree that:

(i) Indian and Pakistani forces shall be withdrawn to their side of the International border

(ii) In Jammu and Kashmir, the line of control resulting from the cease-fire of December 17, 1971 shall be respected by both sides without prejudice to the recognized position of either side. Neither side shall seek to alter it unilaterally, irrespective of mutual differences and legal interpretations Both sides further undertake to refrain from the threat or the use of force in violation of this line.

(iii) The Withdrawals shall commence upon entry into force of this agreement and shall be completed within a period of 30 days thereof.

This agreement will be subject to ratification by both countries in accordance with their respective constitutional procedures, and will come into force with effect from the date on which the instruments of ratification are exchanged.

Both Governments agree that their respective heads will meet again at a mutually convenient time in the future and that, in the meanwhile, the representatives of the two sides will meet to discuss further the modalities and arrangements for the establishment, of durable peace and normalization of relations, including the questions of repatriation of prisoners of war and civilian internees a final settlement of Jammu and Kashmir and the resumption of diplomatic relations.

Pakistan² And India

Avoid “Minorityism”

“Minorityism” means the problem created by those religious, racial, or political minorities which possess an active consciousness of their own nationality and, consequently, oppose their inclusion in or assimilation by, another nation or state.

It is a notorious fact that, since the rise of “Nationalism” such minorities have done greater harm to the nation concerned than ever before and that, therefore, most of the nations for their own safety, are trying to get rid of them by exchange expulsion, or segregation Yet, strangely enough, there are people still found who want to keep and coerce them in the hope that though to-day the protesting citizens of the state, tomorrow they will become the contented, if not proud, members of the nation.

Surely, that is a pure Wish-thought and a dangerous one at that. The fact is that, in the present period of world’s history, the minorities would not do that if they could, and could not if they would. For their separate and sullen existence as minorities interests all the enemy-nations of the Wish-thinkers. And these nations see to it that, whatever the situation, the minorities live rather as “fifth-columnist” than as loyal citizens.

This being so, on the issue of minorities we should follow not the dangerous dreams of wish-thinkers, but only the fundamental truth born of historical experience.

What is the fundamental truth about minorities?

It is that there are times when minorities are the heralds of their original nations, and others when they are the symbols of their helplessness. Again, there are times when nations can fully assimilate minorities, and others when minorities can fatally sabotage such nations. Finally, there are times when, to leave your minorities in foreign lands, or to keep alien minorities in your own lands, is a sound policy, and others, when to do either is childish folly ; also, when to do neither, is saving statesmanship, but, when to do both, is sure suicide.

It is this last contingency which concerns us in the current phase of our life and calls upon us to remember that, in the past “Minorityism” has ever proved itself a major

² In the Millat and the Mission, a pamphlet written in 1942, Choudhary Rahmat All, father of the Pakistan Plan and founder of the Pakistan National Movement at Cambridge, presented an ideological plan. The pamphlet was issued by the Pakistan National Movement, Cambridge, in 1944. In it the ideological setting consists of two dicta: Avoid Minorityism and Avow Nationalism.

Rahmat Ali uses the word Dinia for India. To him India is the land of the Hindus Dinia is the land of various Dins, i.e., religions–Hinduism, Islam, Christianity, Sikhism, etc.

enemy of our Millat; that at present it is sabotaging us religiously, culturally and politically even in our national lands; and that, in future, it would destroy us throughout the Continent of Dinia and its Dependencies.

Hence the Commandment Avoid “Minorityism,” which means that we must not leave our Minorities in Hindoo lands, even if the British and the Hindoos offer them the so-called constitutional safeguards For no safeguards can be a substitute for nation-hood, which is their birth right Nor must we I keep Hindoo and/or Sikh Minorities in our own lands even if they themselves are willing to remain with or without any special safeguards. For, they will never be of us. Indeed, while in ordinary times they will retard our national reconstruction, in times of crisis they will betray us and bring about our re destruction.

That is the gist of the Commandment. It may be expanded into the factual statement that

- (a) to leave our Minorities in Hindoo lands is:
 - (i) to leave under Hindoo hegemony 35 million Muslims who form no less than 1/3 of the whole Millat, which in her struggle for freedom has no allies in the continent;
 - (ii) to deny their resources to the cause of the Millat at a time when she needs the maximum contribution of every one of her sons and daughters;
 - (iii) to devote their lives and labours to the cause of the Hindoo Jati. Those people who argue that an equal number (35 million) of Hindoo and Sikh Minorities in Pakistan, Bangistan, and Osmanistan will be working for the Millat overlook the fact that the work of one can never compensate for that of the other;
 - (iv) to expose them, generation after generation, to the denationalizing influences of “Indianism,” which ever has been and ever will be after absorbing us all in its own system and society;
 - (v) to forget the tragic fate that overwhelmed our minorities which—in more favorable times than these and with better guarantees than now possible —we left in Sicily, Italy, France, Portugal, Spain, Austria, and Hungary—where are they now? To ask that question is to answer it in the most poignant terms;
- (b) to keep Hindoo and/or Sikh Minorities in our own lands is:
 - (i) to keep in Muslim lands 35 million Hindoos and Sikhs who form no more than 1/8 of the total strength of the forces opposing the Millat in the Continent of Dinia;

(ii) to condemn to permanent servitude, our 35 million brethren living in Hindoo Dinia, i.e., outside Pakistan, Bangistan, and Osmanistan. The reason is that unless and until we accept this Commandment we cannot liberate them from the domination of “Indianism”. To realise their true importance to both the Millat and the Fraternity we must remember that in number these 35 millions represent two Turkeys, more than two Irans, three Afghanistans, ten Iraqs, eighteen Syrias, or twenty Palestines

(iii) to expose ‘our civilization to those Indian influences which seriously undermined it in the past but would completely annihilate it in the future;

(iv) to perpetuate our subjection to “Imperialism” which thrives on “Minorityism” and makes “Minorityism” live on, and for, itself (Imperialism). That is why the super and sub-agents of British Imperialism—the Congressites and the Leaguers respectively—are trying to keep all the countries of the Continent of Dinia full of minorities, whether or not Dinia is partitioned between its nations. These worthies are encouraging both the simple-minded Muslims and the hare-brained Hindoos in the fatal notion that by keeping the other’s minorities in their strongholds they will be able to lord it over them;

(v) to forget even the unforgettable lesson taught to us by the disappearance of our own Pak Empire and of the Turkish Empire, namely, that one of the major causes of their decline, defeat and downfall was the treachery and treason of their religious, racial, or political minorities. Such is the fundamental and the factual truth about minorities. In its light I feel bound to declare that:

(c) (i) from the point of view of our immediate interests, to leave 1/3 of the Millat under Hindoo hegemony in the seven Hindoo Majority Regions of Dinia and its Dependencies in exchange for 1/8 of the Jati under Muslim supremacy in Pakistan, Bangistan and Osmanistan will be an act not of sanity but of insanity;

(ii) from the point of view of our interim policy, to prepare the Muslim minorities to remain in the Hindoo majority regions of Dinia and its dependencies and to persuade the Hindoo and Sikh minorities to stay in Pakistan, Bangistan, and Osmanistan will be an act not of fidelity but of treachery to the Millat.

(iii) from the point of view of our ultimate purposes, to compromise with “Minorityism” will lead not to an eternal triumph but to irreparable tragedy for the Millat.

This being so we must all bear in mind the above truth and avoid “Minorityism”. For that is the master-lesson of History and to forget the secret of our deliverance, of our defence, and of our destiny as a Millat.

II. Avow Nationalism

This Commandment is complementary to the previous one and means that we must assert, and demand the recognition of the distinct national status of our Minorities in the Hindoo Majority Regions of Dinia and its Dependencies and reciprocally offer to give similar status to the Hindoo and Sikh Minorities in Pakistan, Bangistan and Osmanistan.

The Commandment is inspired by the truth that nationhood is to people what majority or manhood is to individuals. That is, it marks their coming of age, their realisation of the elementary status as a people, and their assumption of the essential obligation of that status. It is also prompted by the historical fact that in practice whatever work the minorities may be able to do for others, they can do precious little for themselves, at any rate when they are so dispersed as ours are. The result is that their position remains one of permanent subjection, involving every certainty of their living and dying for others, but no possibility of their redeeming themselves

Undoubtedly, therefore, their salvation lies in “Nationhood which we must demand for minorities in the Hindoo Majority Regions of Dinia and its Dependencies, and do that in the assurance that whatever the result it can do nothing but good to the Millat. The reason is that, if the British and the Hindoos accept our demand, it will liberate our 35 million brethren now caged in Hindustan (the United Provinces of Agra and Oudh) Bihar and Orissa the Central Provinces, Bundhelkhand, and Malwa, Rajasthan, the Bombay Presidency and South India, Western Ceylon, and Eastern Ceylon, transform them into seven nations, free Pakistan, Bangistan, and Osmanistan from the dangers of “Minorityism” and, above all, ensure the spiritual purity the fundamental unity, and the national homogeneity of the Millat.

On the other hand, if the British and the Hindoos do not agree, it will at least put on record the right to nationhood of our 35 million brethren, register our protest against their “Indianization”; improve our bargaining position in regard to Pakistan, Bangistan and Osmanistan, and render a lasting service to the cause of freedom of all nations in the Continent.

A Step Towards Peace

Nehru-Liaquat “No-War Pact”³

The Government of India and the Government of Pakistan, being desirous of promoting friendship and goodwill between their peoples who have many common ties, hereby declare that they condemn resort to war for the settlement of any existing or future disputes between them. They further agree that the settlement of such disputes between them shall always be sought through recognition or arbitration by special agency set up by mutual agreement for the purpose, or by agreed reference to some appropriate international body recognised by both of them. It is their earnest hope as well as their firm conviction that the implementation of this declaration in the spirit which lies behind it will serve to maintain good relations between the two countries and advance the cause of world peace.

PRIME MINISTER
INDIA

New Delhi,
January 18, 1950

My dear Prime Minister,

I am writing to you about the proposed joint declaration by the Governments of India and Pakistan for the avoidance of war.

2. On the 16th January we received a copy of a statement, which you were to make in the Pakistan Constituent Assembly in reply to a question regarding this proposed joint declaration by the Governments of India and Pakistan for the avoidance of war in the settlement of disputes. In this statement it is said that, in the view of the Government of Pakistan, the only way to promote peace is to resolve major disputes. Even if these disputes cannot themselves be settled before the declaration is made, at least the procedure for settling them can be laid down by agreement in precise terms in the declaration. Further that your Government urge the Government of India to agree to the ~concrete and precise suggestions of the Government of Pakistan already made regarding the procedure to be followed in the settlement of disputes.

3. I was not aware of any concrete and precise suggestions of the Government of Pakistan or its High Commissioner in Delhi in this respect. All that happened previously was that your High Commissioner had mentioned various matters in dispute and referred to possible methods of settling them. No concrete or precise procedure had been suggested. We had dealt with the points raised by your High

³ This is the draft of the joint declaration, suggested by the Government of India. It was handed over to the Pakistan High Commissioner in Delhi on December 22, 1949.

Commissioner, whereupon it was agreed that a tentative draft of a declaration might be prepared. This draft was handed to your High Commissioner on the 22nd December, 1949. The first reply to it that we received is the copy of your statement which reached us on the 16th January. We were surprised to find in this a reference to certain concrete and precise suggestions, which we had not thus far received.

4. I have now seen newspaper reports of the full statement made by you before the Pakistan Constituent Assembly on January 17th. You refer in this to the various matters which are, according to you, in dispute. As you know, the Kashmir issue is before the United Nations and has therefore to be considered separately. As regards Junagadh, I am surprised at your reference to it, as this is not a live issue.

5. The canal water issue has been the subject of correspondence between the two Governments and both are practically agreed that a joint technical commission should be set up for making a factual investigation. On the basis of the report of the commission, the two Governments will confer with a view to arriving at a settlement. If it is not found possible to reach a settlement, we are quite prepared to refer the matter to arbitration or some tribunal approved of by both Governments. You will appreciate that the manner of subsequent procedure as well as the forum can hardly be decided satisfactorily before we know what the results of the technical commission are and what the remaining points for decision are.

6. We are prepared that the evacuee property dispute should be settled by arbitration if negotiations and mediation fail.

7. So far as the division of the Reserve Bank's assets is concerned, the major portion of the assets claimed by Pakistan has already been transferred to the State Bank, and in regard to the remaining claims, disagreement has arisen on the question of the mode of payment. The question thus is one of the manner in which the claims have to be settled. This matter has already been discussed informally between the two Governments, and Pakistan themselves have suggested a conference to discuss it further. There are a number of other issues connected with this matter, all of which would have to be considered in arriving at a settlement.

8. The question of payment of sterling depends upon the amount that is due and of which type it is, that is whether current or blocked. Both these matters are eminently fit for settlement by negotiation and indeed, as I have mentioned above, a conference is envisaged.

9. As you know, the Government of India have large claims of a financial nature on the Pakistan Government, These have been pending for a long time without any satisfactory settlement. This again should be dealt with by negotiation and, in the absence of any settlement, by other peaceful methods.

10. The whole object of the proposed joint declaration was to remove or lessen the unfortunate tension that exists between our two Governments and to produce

an atmosphere which is more favorable to the consideration and settlement of particular disputes. If these disputes are satisfactorily settled separately, we would welcome it. But obviously there has been difficulty and delay in doing this. A joint declaration would, no doubt, be helpful in bringing us nearer to a settlement of all outstanding disputes between the two Governments, which the Government of India earnestly desire.

11. The procedure for settling disputes cannot be uniform in all cases. It is possible that one method may be appropriate for one dispute and another method for another dispute. Apart from negotiation and mediation, the only remaining peaceful methods are arbitration and reference to some international authority or tribunal. This is precise enough.

12. The proposal to make a joint declaration was made by the Government of India in all earnestness, so that we might take one effective step forward towards the resolution of existing disputes between the two Governments. Not to take this first step, because the other steps are not simultaneously taken, is to avoid taking any steps at all for the present at least. That is not a very helpful way of proceeding in the matter. For us to say that in no event are we going to war for a settlement of disputes is an important and significant contribution to peace between the two countries. The Government of India is prepared to say that, if the Government of Pakistan is also agreeable. Owing to geography and for many other reasons, it is inevitable that many issues arise between the two countries which require settlement. A firm declaration that we will in any event settle them by peaceful methods will itself be a great service to our two countries and the world, because it will remove fear of war from the minds of our peoples.

13. Any joint declaration that we might make must necessarily be in general terms to cover all cases that may arise now or hereafter. Apart from this joint declaration, and in pursuance of it, we can at once begin to consider specific matters separately.

I shall be glad to have an early reply from you.

Yours sincerely,
JAWAHARLAL NEHRU

The Honorable Mr. Liaquat Ali Khan
Prime Minister of Pakistan
Karachi.

PRIME MINISTER
PAKISTAN

Karachi,
Dated 14th February, 1950

My dear Prime Minister,

As promised in my letter of January 25, (acknowledging letter of 18 January; not reproduced here), I write in reply to your letter of January 18, to give you the views of the Government of Pakistan.

2. At the outset, I should like to emphasize the principles which guide Pakistan's approach to this question. As a Member of the United Nations, Pakistan has firm faith in the principles of the Charter and is prepared always to abide by them. This membership in itself constitutes a declaration of Pakistan's renunciation of warlike means of settling disputes. With her neighbour, India in particular, Pakistan desires most sincerely to remove all causes of friction, and to promote friendly relations without which it is impossible for either country to achieve the full measure of its potential development. As I have repeatedly reaffirmed, Pakistan is convinced that war between India and Pakistan would bring utter ruin on both. The common good of both countries lies in the peaceful settlement of all disputes between them.

3. Pakistan therefore welcomes the proposal to issue a joint declaration the primary object of which must be to carry conviction to the people of India and Pakistan and of the whole world as to the sincerity of both Governments in renouncing war as a method of settling their disputes. To attain this object, it is essential that there should be tangible action to match the spirit of the declaration, since peoples and Governments are judged by their actions rather than by their words. The action should, in the view of my Government, be the laying down of a clear-cut procedure with an agreed timetable, which would make it binding on both Governments to carry through the settlement of their disputes to its final peaceful conclusion. For example, we could lay down that, from the date of the declaration, two months would be allowed for negotiations. The next two months would be allowed for settlement by mediation of those matters which negotiation had failed to resolve. If, at the end of this second period of two months, any matters remained over they should all stand automatically referred to arbitration by a method agreed upon in advance. A last period of two months should suffice for this process, though its duration would, of course, depend on the arbitrators.

4. I am sorry, if, as paragraph 3 of your letter suggests, there has been any misunderstanding regarding the view which we have consistently held that a concrete and precise procedure should be followed. When, towards the end of November 1949, your Secretary General orally suggested to our High Commissioner that a joint "no-war declaration" should be made and that, if no agreement were reached, the dispute should be referred to a third party for settlement, we directed our High Commissioner to reply as in the annexure to this letter. Our High Commissioner reported that he read out his reply word by word to your Secretary General on December 3. You will, I think, agree that the reply makes concrete and precise suggestions ; and the statement which I made in the Assembly on January 17 did no more than reiterate the suggestions made to your Government on December 3. However, it seems that there was some misunderstanding and that our precise proposals were not placed before you when you prepared that draft of the joint declaration which reached us on January 9. I would most earnestly request you to reconsider your view that an agreement in general terms is alone required, and to consider further the advantages of the more precise course suggested by me.

5. The procedure for settling disputes which we suggest is fundamentally a very simple one, and is flexible enough to cover all cases which may arise now or in

future. As you observe, “apart from negotiation and mediation, the only remaining peaceful methods are arbitration and reference to some international authority or tribunal. If, therefore, a dispute cannot be settled by negotiation and mediation, it must be referred to arbitration. Whether arbitration is by a special agency set up by mutual agreement for the purpose, or by an international authority, its essential feature is that an independent authority gives an award which is binding on both parties. Resort to arbitration would of course be had only when negotiation and mediation had failed to bring about agreement and would in each case cover differences over procedure as well. In all disputes, there is a danger that the party which is in possession of and wishes to withhold the rightful dues of the other may so conduct itself as either to prevent a fair settlement or to cause such delay in settlement as to give the same result. Either course produces a sense of injustice, frustration and despair of securing a remedy by peaceful means which is one of the most frequent causes of conflict. The procedure which my Government propose is designed to obviate any such contingency.

6. In no spirit of controversy, but as an illustration of the considerations set out above, the Kashmir dispute which holds the key to Indo-Pakistan relations may be cited. This dispute was referred to the Security Council, and after a year's effort the settlement embodied in the U.N.C.I.P.'s Resolution of 13th August, 1948 and 5th January, 1949, was reached, with the agreement of both India and Pakistan and approval of the Security Council. This settlement provided for a cease-fire and demilitarization leading to a free and impartial plebiscite. Differences having arisen over the programme of demilitarization and the Commission's mediation having failed to resolve them, the Commission suggested arbitration of the points of difference. Pakistan accepted, but refused, with the result that the matter was referred back to the Security Council after the lapses of another year. The Security Council then asked its President, General McNaughton, to mediate. The proposals which General McNaughton put forward have again been accepted by Pakistan but not by India. In a situation of this kind, when reference to an international body like the Security Council and negotiations and mediation carried out under its authority have failed, no negotiations other than arbitration of points of difference in implementation of the settlement already reached can lead to a resolution of the dispute.

7. Again, the canal water dispute is justiciable issue which should be referred to the International Court of Justice if no agreement by negotiations can be reached, and yet India has so far refused to agree to this course. It is true that both Governments have practically agreed that a joint Commission should be set up, although Pakistan believes that the common objectives will be better served if the Commission consists of non-technical statesmen who will enlist services of technical experts, than by appointing a technical Commission. On the basis of the Commission's report, the two Governments will confer with a view to arriving at a settlement, but if an agreement is not reached, the proper way of resolving differences in a matter of this kind would be a reference to the International Court of Justice. What is most urgently needed is to set at rest the fear operating on the mind of the people likely to be affected that the dispute may drag on indefinitely while their welfare and prosperity are progressively put in jeopardy. They must be assured that, in the event of the dispute not being resolved by the method now

being pursued, it will be settled by adjudication of the Tribunal best fitted to resolve it. Since you are prepared to accept arbitration, there should be no objection to designating the International Court of Justice as the arbitral authority.

8. It will thus be seen that the considerations which have impelled the Government of Pakistan to their proposal for a precise procedure are derived from their past experience of these disputes. Other issues need not be dwelt upon in detail, but it is necessary to state that Junagadh is on the agenda of the Security Council to be dealt with after the Kashmir dispute has been settled, and cannot be regarded as a dead issue.

9. I feel that you will agree that if the principle of arbitration and a time-table leading up to it is accepted, the exact 'disputes to be handled under this procedure should be a matter for settlement in advance.

10. As regards the exact forum, mediation or arbitration could be undertaken by a special agency set up by mutual agreement for the purpose, or by agreed reference to some appropriate International body recognised by both parties. I will gladly consider any suggestion made by you to this end, but I suggest that it is desirable that the name of the arbitrator or arbitral agency be decided before the issue of the declaration and inclusion of names or description of the arbitrators. If the Government of India agrees, the Government of Pakistan would be prepared to accept the majority decisions of an arbitral Tribunal of three persons; and I suggest for your consideration that the Governments of three friendly countries, whom we should now select, should be asked to nominate one member each.

11. In the light of these considerations, my Government suggests that the following should be the terms of the joint declaration:

“The Government of India and the Government of Pakistan, being desirous of promoting friendship and good will between their peoples, hereby declare that they will not resort to war for settlement of any existing or future disputes between them. They further agree that settlement of such disputes shall always be sought through peaceful methods of negotiation and mediation and, if these should fail to bring settlement, by resort to arbitration of all points of difference including those relating to the procedure for arbitration. They undertake that they will abide by the award of an arbitral Tribunal, which shall consist of.....for the settlement of all existing disputes. In the event of their not being unanimous, the decision of the majority shall be binding. Negotiations for the settlement of all such disputes shall begin as early as practicable, and such of them as are not settled by negotiation within two months from the date of this declaration shall be referred to mediation, for which a further period of two months shall be allowed. Any matters remaining unsettled at the expiry of this period shall be referred to arbitration.”

In pursuance of this declaration, both Governments, hereby agree to refer to this arbitral Tribunal differences which have arisen or may arise in implementation of the U.N.C.I.P.'s Resolution of 13th August, 1948 and 5th January, 1949, which both Governments have accepted for settlement of the Kashmir dispute. Both Governments

also agree that the canal water dispute shall, if no agreement is reached by negotiation or mediation, be referred to the International Court of Justice for decision. In other disputes outstanding between them such as Junagadh and its neighboring States, evacuee property, boundary disputes and claims relating to assets, both Governments agree that if no settlement is reached by negotiation or mediation, the matter shall be referred to the arbitral Tribunal. It is their earnest hope as well as their firm conviction that. Implementation of this Declaration and the spirit which lies behind it will serve to promote friendly, relations between the two countries and advance the cause of International peace.

Annexure —Aide Memoire December 3, 1949

The Pakistan Government welcomes the proposal that all outstanding disputes between India and Pakistan should be settled by peaceful means and not by war. This has been their stand all 'along. They are convinced that just and peaceful settlements of outstanding questions would remove both the causes and the fear of war between the two countries.

2. The main disputes between India and Pakistan relate to:

- (i) Jammu and Kashmir.
- (ii) Junagadh and neighboring States that have acceded to Pakistan.
- (iii) Canal waters.
- (iv) Evacuee property.
- (v) Assets of Pakistan withheld by India.

(i) Jammu and Kashmir

The points at issue relate to the implementation of the U.N. Commission's Resolutions of 13th August, 1948, and 5th January, 1949. These Resolutions have been accepted by both Governments and have the character of an International Agreement. Negotiations between the two Governments and mediation by the U.N. Commission have failed to resolve the differences between the two Governments in the implementation of Part II of the Commission's Resolution of 13th August 1948. The only course left is to refer the points of difference to arbitration. In short, both Governments should reaffirm their desire to implement at the earliest possible date the Commission's Resolutions of 13th August, 1948, and 5th January, 1949, by having a free and impartial plebiscite in the Spring of 1950, and should agree in advance to refer to arbitration any points of difference that have arisen or may arise in the implementation of these Resolutions.

In view of the Pakistan Government, the Kashmir dispute has an absolute priority over other disputes. Without a just and peaceful solution of the Kashmir question it is impossible to create that atmosphere of goodwill which is essential to the solution of disputes

(ii) Junagadh

The dispute relates to the occupation by India's armed forces of Junagadh and neighboring States which had acceded to Pakistan. The U.N. Commission has been entrusted with the task of mediation in this case also and if its efforts at mediation do not succeed, both Governments should agree to abide by arbitration.

(iii) Canal Waters

The issue is a juridical one and if negotiations between the two Governments do not succeed, both Governments should agree in advance to refer the matter to decision by the International Court of Justice.

(iv) Evacuee Property

The Evacuee property dispute can only be settled after the canal waters dispute has been settled since a decision on the canal waters dispute has a vital bearing on the question of evacuee property. A settlement of the canal waters dispute is, therefore, an essential preliminary to a settlement of the evacuee property. After the canal waters dispute has been settled, the evacuee property disputes should be settled by negotiation aided, if necessary, by mediation and if that does not prove successful by a resort to arbitration.

(v) Assets of Pakistan withheld by India

For example, the assets of the State Bank withheld by the Reserve Bank, the sterling due to Pakistan under the Payments Agreement. In this case too if negotiations do not succeed, both Governments should agree in advance to refer the matter to arbitration.

3. In all cases where a matter is to be referred to arbitration it should be agreed that all points of difference including those relating to procedure should, if necessary, be referred to arbitration so that it should not be possible for either party to hold up or obstruct a settlement. And both Governments should agree to abide by the award of the arbitrator.

4. If the Government of India is prepared to accept a solution on the above lines, further negotiations can be undertaken to settle the details and the procedure of mediation and arbitration. As soon as agreement has been reached a joint declaration will be made that the two Governments will in no case go to war.

PRIME MINISTER
INDIA

No. 1236-P.M.
New Delhi,
29th August, 1950

My dear Nawabzada,

I must apologise for the delay in answering your letter of the 14 February regarding the issue of a joint declaration by the Governments of India and Pakistan that they will settle all outstanding disputes between the two countries by peaceful methods. After our talks on Kashmir last month, I had to cope with an important session of

Parliament and since the session concluded, I had a number of most pressing matters to attend to.

I have, in consultation with my colleagues, given the most careful consideration to our correspondence on the subject, in particular to the views expressed in your' letter of the 14th February. We are glad to note that Pakistan desires most sincerely to remove all causes of friction with her neighbour, India, and to promote friendly relations, without which it is impossible for either country to achieve the full measure of its potential development. May I say that we fully reciprocate these sentiments. I am also happy to note that Pakistan welcomes the proposal to issue a joint declaration to the people of India and Pakistan, and of the whole world, as to the sincerity of both Governments in renouncing war as a method of settling their disputes~ To attain this object, you say, "it is essential that there should be tangible action to match the spirit of the declaration, since peoples and Governments are judged by their actions rather than by their words. I may assure you that, in suggesting that we should make the declaration first, and immediately afterwards, consider way and means of settling outstanding disputes between our two countries, it was not my intention that action should not be prompt and its conformity with spirit of the declaration. To mention the three more important disputes

(i) We have had personal discussions about Jammu and Kashmir and the matter should soon come up before the Security Council.

(ii) As regards evacuee property also, there have been discussions, since the conclusion of the Delhi Pact, between our two Governments, and my colleague, Shri Gopalaswami Ayyangar, hopes to renew these in Karachi in the near future with a view to an early settlement.

(iii) The letter that you have sent me recently regarding the dispute over canal waters is receiving attention now and I hope to be able to address you shortly on the subject.

These instances support my contention that individual disputes have to be and can be dealt with most satisfactorily by separate consideration. What is, in our view, psychologically important is that this separate consideration of individual disputes should take place in an atmosphere of friendly understanding. For this purpose, a short but comprehensive declaration to the effect that, whatever the differences between our two Governments, they will be settled peacefully and that both countries would be spared the horrors of a fratricidal war is desirable and should be adequate. I would, therefore, in all earnestness, again commend to you, for favorable consideration, the draft declaration that we sent you through our High Commissioner last December.

For convenient reference, I am enclosing a copy of the draft declaration proposed by us.

Yours Sincerely,
JAWAHARLAL NEHRU

The Honorable Mr. Liaquat Ali Khan
Prime Minister of Pakistan
Karachi

Only Co-operation ?

Pak-Turkish Agreement

Preamble: Reaffirming their faith in the purposes and principles of the Charter of the United Nations and their determination always to endeavor to apply and give effect to these purposes and principles; desirous of promoting the benefits of greater mutual cooperation deriving from the sincere friendship happily existing between them; recognising the need for consultation and cooperation between them in every field for the purpose of promoting the well-being and security of their peoples; and being convinced that such cooperation would be in the interest of all peace-loving nations and in particular of nations in the region of the contracting parties, and would consequently serve to ensure peace and security which are both indivisible; the two countries have, therefore, decided to conclude this Agreement for friendly cooperation and for this purpose, have appointed as their Plenipotentiaries; For Pakistan: Mohammad Zafrullah Khan, Minister of Foreign Affairs and Commonwealth Relations. For Turkey: His Excellency Monsieur Selahattin Refet Arbel, Ambassador of Turkey who after presentation of their full powers, found in good and due form, have agreed as follows:

Article 1

The contracting parties undertake to refrain from intervening in any way in the internal affairs of each other and from participating in any alliance or activities directed against the other.

Article 2

The contracting parties will consult on international matters of mutual interest and, taking into account international requirements and conditions, cooperate between them to the maximum extent.

Article 3

The contracting parties will develop the cooperation, already established between them in the cultural field under a separate Agreement, in the economic and technical fields if necessary, by concluding other agreements.

Article 4

The consultation and cooperation between the contracting parties in the field of the defence shall cover the following points:

- (a) exchange of information for the purpose of deriving benefit jointly from technical experience and progress;
- (b) endeavors to meet, as far as possible, the requirements of the Parties in the production of arms and ammunition;
- (c) studies and determination of the manners and extent of cooperation which might be effected between them in accordance with Article 51 of the Charter of the United Nations, should an unprovoked attack occur against them from outside.

Article 5

Each contracting party declares that none of the international engagements now in force between it and any third State is in conflict with the provisions of this Agreement and that this Agreement shall not affect, nor can it be interpreted so as to affect, the aforesaid engagements, and undertakes not to enter in to any international engagement in conflict with this Agreement.

Article 6

Any State, whose participation is considered by the contracting parties useful for achieving the purposes of the present Agreement, may accede to the present Agreement under the same conditions, and with the same obligations as the contracting parties.

Any accession shall have legal effect, after the instrument of accession is duly deposited 'with the Government of Turkey from the date of an official notification by the Government of Turkey to the Government of Pakistan.

Article 7

This Agreement of which the English text is authentic, shall be ratified by the contracting parties in accordance with their respective constitutional processes, and shall enter into force on the date of exchange of the instruments of ratification in Ankara.

In case no formal notice of denunciation is given by either of the contracting parties to the other, one year before the termination of a period of five years from the date of its entry into force, the present Agreement shall automatically continue in force for a further period of five years, and the same procedure will apply for subsequent periods thereafter.

In witness whereof, the above-mentioned plenipotentiaries have signed the present agreement. Done in two copies at Karachi the second day of April One Thousand Nine Hundred and Fifty-four.

For Self Defence ?

Pak-US Mutual Defence Assistance Agreement

The Government of Pakistan and the Government of the United States of America;

Desiring to foster international peace and security within the framework of the Charter of the United Nations through measures which will further the ability of nations dedicated to the purposes and principles of the Charter to participate effectively in arrangements for individual and collective self-defence in support of those purposes and principles;

Reaffirming their determination to give their full cooperation to the efforts to provide the United Nations with armed forces as contemplated by the Charter and to participate in United Nations collective defence arrangements and measures, and to obtain agreement on universal regulation and reduction of armament under adequate guarantee against violation or evasion;

Taking into consideration the support which the Government of the United States has brought to these principles by enacting the Mutual Defence Assistance Act of 1949, as amended, and the Mutual Security Act of 1951, as amended;

Desiring to set forth the conditions which will govern the furnishing of such assistance;

Have agreed:

Article 1

1. The Government of the United States will make available to the Government of Pakistan such equipment, materials, services or other assistance as the Government of the United States may authorize in accordance with such terms and conditions as may be agreed. The furnishing and use of such assistance shall be consistent with the Charter of the United Nations. Such assistance as may be made available by the Government of the United States pursuant to this Agreement will be furnished under the provisions and subject to all the terms, conditions and termination provisions of the Mutual Defence Assistance Act of 1949 and the Mutual Security Act of 1951, acts amendatory or supplementary thereto, appropriation acts there under, or any other applicable legislative provisions. The two Governments will, from time to time, negotiate detailed arrangements necessary to carry out the provisions of this paragraph.

2. The Government of Pakistan will use this assistance exclusively to maintain its internal security, its legitimate self-defence, or to permit it to participate in the defence of the area, or in United Nations collective security arrangements and measures, and Pakistan will not undertake any act of aggression, against any other nation. The Government of Pakistan will not, without the prior agreement of the Government of

the United States, devote such assistance to purposes other than those for which it was furnished.

3 Arrangements will be entered into under which equipment and materials furnished pursuant to this Agreement and no longer required or used exclusively for the purposes for which originally made available will be offered for return to the Government of the United States.

4. The Government of Pakistan will not transfer to any person not an officer or agent of that Government, or to any other nation, title to or possession of any equipment, materials, property, information, or services received under this Agreement without the prior consent of the Government of the United States.

5. The Government of Pakistan will take such security measures as may be agreed in each case between the two Governments in order to prevent the disclosure or compromise of classified military articles, services or information furnished pursuant to this Agreement.

6. Each Government will take appropriate measures consistent with security to keep the public informed of operations under this Agreement.

7. The two Governments will establish procedures whereby the Government of Pakistan will so deposit, segregate or assure title to all funds allocated to or derived from any programme of assistance undertaken by the Government of the United States so that such funds shall not, except as may otherwise be mutually agreed, be subject to garnishment attachment, seizure or other legal process by any person, firm, agency, corporation organisation or Government.

Article 2

The two Governments will, upon request of either of them, negotiate appropriate arrangements between them relating to the exchange of patent rights and technical information for defence which will expedite such exchanges and at the same time protect private interest and maintain necessary security safeguards.

Article 3

1. The Government of Pakistan will make available to the Government of the United States rupees for the use of the latter Government for its administrative and operating expenditures in connection with carrying out the purposes of this Agreement. The two Governments will forthwith initiate discussions with a view to determining the amount of such rupees and to agreeing upon arrangements for the furnishing of such funds.

2. The Government of Pakistan will, except as may otherwise be mutually agreed, grant duty-free treatment on importation or exportation and exemption from internal taxation upon products, property, material or equipment imported into its territory in connection with this Agreement or any similar Agreement between the

Government of the United States and the Government of any other country receiving military assistance.

3. Tax relief will be accorded to all expenditures in Pakistan by, or on behalf of the Government of the United States for the common defence effort, including expenditures for any foreign aid programme of the United States. The Government of Pakistan will establish procedures satisfactory to both Governments so that such expenditures will be net of taxes.

Article 4

1. The Government of Pakistan will receive personnel of the Government of the United States who will discharge in its territory the responsibilities of the Government of the United States under this Agreement and who will be accorded facilities and authority to observe the progress of the assistance furnished pursuant to this Agreement. Such personnel, who are United States nationals, including personnel temporarily assigned, will, in their relations with the Government of Pakistan, operate as a part of the Embassy of the United States of America under the direction and control of Chief of the Diplomatic Mission, and will have the same privileges and immunities as are accorded to other personnel with corresponding rank of the Embassy of the United States who are United States nationals. Upon appropriate notification by the Government of the United States the Government of Pakistan will grant full diplomatic status to the senior military member assigned under this Article and the senior Army, Navy, and Air Force Officers and their respective immediate deputies.

2. The Government of Pakistan will grant exemption from import and export duties on personnel property imported for the personal use of such personnel or of their families and will take reasonable administrative measures to facilitate and expedite the importation and exportation of the personal property of such personnel and their families.

Article 5

1 The Government of Pakistan will

(a) join in promoting international understanding and goodwill and maintaining world peace,

(b) take such action as may be mutually agreed upon to eliminate causes of international tension,

(c) make, consistent with its political and economic stability, the full contribution permitted by its manpower, resources, facilities and general economic condition to the development and maintenance of its own defensive strength and the defensive strength of the free world;

(d) take all reasonable measures which may be needed to develop its defence capacities ; and

(e) take appropriate steps to insure the effective utilization of the economic and military assistance provided by the United States.

2. (a) The Government of Pakistan will, consistent with the Charter of the United Nations, furnish to the Government of the United States or to such other Governments as the Parties hereto may in each case agree upon, such equipment, materials, services or other assistance as may be agreed upon, in order to increase their capacity for individual and collective self-defence and to facilitate their effective participation in the United Nations system for collective security

(b) In conformity with the principle of mutual aid, the Government of Pakistan will facilitate the production and transfer to the Government of the United States, for such period of time, in such quantities and upon such terms and conditions as may be agreed upon, of raw and semi-processed materials required by the United States as a result of deficiencies or potential deficiencies in its own resources, and which may be available in Pakistan. Arrangements for such transfers shall give due regard to reasonable requirements of Pakistan for domestic use and commercial export.

Article 6

In the interest of their mutual security, the Government of Pakistan will cooperate with the Government of the United States in taking measures designed to control trade with nations which threaten the maintenance of world peace.

Article 7

1. This Agreement shall enter into force on the date of signature and will continue in force until one year after the receipt by either party of written notice of the intention of the other party to terminate it, except that the provisions of Article 1, paragraphs 2 and 4, and arrangements entered into under Article 1, paragraphs 3 5 and 7, and under Article 2, shall remain in force unless otherwise agreed by the two Governments

2. The two Governments will, upon, the request of either of them, consult regarding any matter relating to the application or amendment of this Agreement.

3. This Agreement shall be registered with the Secretariat of the United Nations.

Done in two copies at Karachi the 12th day of May One Thousand Nine Hundred and Fifty-four.

The Trapping of Pakistan

The South-East Asia Collective Defence Treaty of 8 September, 1954 and Pacific Charter

The Parties to this Treaty,

Recognizing the sovereign equality of all the Parties,

Reiterating their faith in the purposes and principles set forth in the Charter of the United Nations and their desire to live in peace with all peoples and all Governments,

Reaffirming that, in accordance with the Charter of the United Nations, they uphold the principle of equal rights of self-determination of peoples, and declaring that they will earnestly strive by every peaceful means to promote self-government and to secure the independence of all countries whose peoples desire it and are able to undertake its responsibilities,

Desiring to strengthen the fabric of peace and freedom and to uphold the principles of democracy, individual liberty and the rule of law, and to promote the economic well-being and development of all peoples in the Treaty Area,

Intending to declare publicly and formally their sense of unity, so that any potential aggressor will appreciate that the Parties stand together in the area, and

Desiring further to coordinate their efforts for collective defence for the preservation of peace and security,

Therefore agree as follows:

Article I

The Parties undertake, as set forth in the Charter of the United Nations, to settle any international dispute in which they may be involved by peaceful means in such a manner that international peace and security and justice are not endangered, and to refrain in their international relations from the threat or use of force in any manner inconsistent with the purposes of the United Nations.

Article II

In order more effectively to achieve the objectives of this Treaty, the Parties, separately and jointly, by means of continuous and effective self-help and mutual aid will maintain and develop their individual and collective capacity to resist armed attack and to prevent and counter subversive activities directed from without against their territorial integrity and political stability.

Article III

The Parties undertake to strengthen their free institutions and to co-operate with one another in the further development of economic measures, including technical

assistance, designed both to promote economic progress and social well-being and to further the individual and collective efforts of governments toward these ends.

Article IV

1. Each Party recognizes that aggression by means of armed attack in the Treaty Area against any of the Parties or against any State or territory which the Parties by unanimous agreement may hereafter designate, would endanger its own peace and safety, and agrees that it will in that event act to meet the common danger in accordance with its constitutional processes. Measures taken under this paragraph shall be immediately reported to the Security Council of the United Nations.

2. If, in the opinion of any of the Parties, the inviolability or the integrity of the territory or the sovereignty or political independence of any Party in the Treaty Area or of any other State or territory to which the provisions of paragraph 1 of this Article from time to time apply is threatened in any way other than by armed attack or is affected or threatened by any fact or situation which might endanger the peace of the area, the Parties shall consult immediately in order to agree on the measures which should be taken for the common defence.

3. It is understood that no action on the territory of any State designated by unanimous agreement under paragraph 1 of this Article or on any territory so designated shall be taken except at the invitation or with the consent of the Government concerned.

Article V

The Parties hereby establish a Council, on which each of them shall be represented, to consider matters concerning the implementation of this Treaty. The Council shall provide for consultation with regard to military and any other planning as the situation obtaining in the Treaty Area may from time to time require. The Council shall be so organized as to be able to meet at any time.

Article VI

This Treaty does not affect and shall not be interpreted as affecting in any way the rights and obligations of any of the Parties under the Charter of the United Nations or the responsibility of the United Nations for the maintenance of international peace and security. Each Party declares that none of the international engagements now in force between it and any other of the Parties or any third party is in conflict with the provisions of this Treaty, and undertakes not to enter into any international engagement in conflict with this Treaty.

Article VII

Any other State in a position to further the objectives of this Treaty and to contribute to the security of the area may, by unanimous agreement of the Parties, be invited to accede to this Treaty. Any State so invited may become a Party to the Treaty by depositing its instrument of accession with the Government of the Republic of the Philippines. The Government of the Republic of the Philippines shall inform each of the Parties of the deposit of each such instrument of accession.

Article VIII

As used in this Treaty, the 'Treaty Area' is the general area of South-East Asia, including also the entire territories of the Asian Parties, and the general area of the South-West Pacific not including the Pacific area north of 21 degrees 30 minutes north latitude. The Parties may, by unanimous agreement, amend this Article to include within the Treaty Area the territory of any State acceding to this Treaty in accordance with Article VII or otherwise to change the Treaty Area.

Article IX

1. This Treaty shall be deposited in the archives of the Government of the Republic of the Philippines. Duly certified copies thereof shall be transmitted by that Government to the other signatories.

2. The Treaty shall be ratified and its provisions carried out by the Parties in accordance with their respective constitutional processes. The instruments of ratification shall be deposited as soon as possible with the Government of the Republic of the Philippines, which shall notify all of the other signatories of such deposit.

3. The Treaty shall enter into force between the States which have ratified it as soon as the instruments of ratification of a majority of the signatories shall have been deposited, and shall come into effect with respect to each other State on the date of the deposit of its instrument of ratification.

Article X

This Treaty shall remain in force indefinitely, but any Party may cease to be a Party one year after its notice of denunciation has been given to the Government of the Republic of the Philippines, which shall inform the Governments of the other Parties of the deposit of each notice of denunciation.

Article XI

The English text of this Treaty is binding on the Parties, but when the Parties have agreed to the French text thereof and have so notified the Government of the Republic of the Philippines, the French text shall be equally authentic and binding on the Parties.

Understanding of The United States of America

The United States of America in executing the present Treaty does so with the understanding that its recognition of the effect of aggression and armed attack and its agreement with reference thereto in Article IV, paragraph I, apply Only to Communist aggression but affirms that in the event of other aggression or armed attack it will consult under the provisions of Article IV, paragraph 2.

In witness whereof, the undersigned Plenipotentiaries have signed this Treaty.

Done at Manila, this eighth day of September, 1954.

Protocol to the South-East Asia Collective Defence Treaty

Designation of states and territory as to which provisions of Article IV and Article III are to be applicable:

The Parties to the South-East Asia Collective Defence Treaty unanimously designate for the purpose of Article IV of the Treaty the States of Cambodia and Laos and the free territory under the jurisdiction of the State of Vietnam.

The Parties further agree that the above mentioned states and territory shall be eligible in respect of the economic measures contemplated by Article III.

This Protocol shall enter into force simultaneously with the coming into force of the Treaty

In witness whereof, the undersigned Plenipotentiaries have signed this Protocol to the South-East Asia Collective Defence Treaty.

Done at Manila, this eighth day of September, 1954.

The Pacific Charter

The delegates of Australia, France, New Zealand, Pakistan, the Republic of the Philippines, the Kingdom of Thailand, the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, the United States of America:

Desiring to establish a firm basis for common action to maintain peace and security in South-East Asia and the South-West Pacific;

Convinced that common action to this end in order to be worthy and effective, must be inspired by the highest principles of justice and liberty;

Do hereby proclaim:

First, in accordance with the provisions of the United Nations Charter, they uphold the principle of equal rights and self-determination of peoples and they will earnestly strive by every peaceful means to promote self-government and to secure the independence of all countries whose peoples desire it and are able to undertake its responsibilities;

Second, they are each prepared to continue taking effective practical measures to ensure conditions favorable to the orderly achievement of the foregoing purposes in accordance with their constitutional procedures

Third, they will continue to cooperate in the economic, social: and cultural fields in order to promote higher living standards, economic progress and social well-being in this region;

Fourth, as declared in the South-East Asia Collective Defence Treaty, they are determined to prevent or counter by appropriate means any attempt in the Treaty Area to subvert their freedom or to destroy their sovereignty or territorial integrity.

Proclaimed at Manila, this eighth day of September, 1954.

The Big Ganging-up

The Central Treaty Organization and Bilateral Agreements⁴

Article 1

Consistent with Article 51 of the United Nations Charter the High Contracting Parties will cooperate for their security and defence. Such measures as they agree to take to give effect to this cooperation may form the subject of special agreements with each other.

Article 2

In order to ensure the realization and effect application of the cooperation provided for in Article 1 above, the competent authorities of the High Contracting Parties will determine the measures to be taken as soon as the present Pact enters into force. These measures will become operative as soon as they have been approved by the Governments of the High Contracting Parties.

Article 3

The High Contracting Parties undertake to refrain from any interference whatsoever in each others internal affairs. They will settle any dispute between themselves in a peaceful way in accordance with the United Nations Charter.

Article 4

The High Contracting Parties declare that the dispositions of the present Pact are not in contradiction with any of the international obligations contracted by either of them with any third state or states. They do not derogate from, and cannot be interpreted as derogating from, the said international obligations. The High Contracting Parties undertake not to enter into any international obligation incompatible with the present Pact.

Article 5

The Pact shall be open for accession to any member state of the Arab League or any other state actively concerned with the security and peace in this region and which is fully recognized by both of the High Contracting Parties. Accession shall come into force from the date on which the instrument of accession of the state concerned is deposited with the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Iraq.

Any acceding state Party to the present Pact may conclude agreements, in accordance with Article 1, with one or more states Parties to the Present Pact. The competent authority of any acceding state may determine measures in accordance with Article 2. These measures will become operative as soon as they have been approved by the Governments of the Parties concerned.

⁴ Text of Articles contained in the original Pact of Mutual Cooperation between Iraq and Turkey, signed in Baghdad on 24 February, 1955, subsequently acceded to by Iran, Pakistan and the United Kingdom Iraq withdrew in 1959.

Article 6

A Permanent Council at Ministerial level will be set up to function within the framework of the purposes of this Pact when at least four Powers become parties to the Pact.

The Council will draw up its own rules of procedure.

Article 7

This Pact remains in force for a period of five years renewable for other five-year periods. Any Contracting Party may withdraw from the Pact by notifying the other Parties in writing of its desire to do so, six months before the expiration of any of the above-mentioned periods, in which case the Pact remains valid for the other Parties.

Article 8

This Pact shall be ratified by the Contracting Parties and ratifications shall be exchanged at Ankara as soon as possible. Thereafter it shall come into force from the date of the exchange of ratifications.

Bilateral Agreements⁵

The Government of (Iran/Pakistan/Turkey) and the Government of the United States of America,

Desiring to implement the Declaration in which they associated themselves at London on July 28, 1958;

Considering that under Article 1 of the Pact of Mutual Co-operation signed at Baghdad on February 24, 1955, the Parties signatory thereto agreed to cooperate for their security and defence and that, similarly, as stated in the above-mentioned Declaration, the Government of the United States of America, in the interest of World peace, agreed to cooperate with the Governments making that Declaration for their security and defence

Recalling that, in the above mentioned Declaration, the members of the Pact of Mutual Cooperation making that Declaration affirmed their determination to maintain their collective security and to resist aggression, direct or indirect,

Considering further that the Government of the United States of America is associated with the work of the major Committees of the Pact of Mutual Cooperation signed at Baghdad on February 24, 1955;

⁵ Text of the identical Bilateral Agreements of Cooperation signed by the United States with Iran, Pakistan and Turkey in Ankara on March 5, 1959.

Affirming their right to cooperate for their security and defence in accordance with Article 51 of the Charter of the United Nations;

Considering that the Government of the United States of America regards as vital to its national interest and to world peace the preservation of the independence and integrity of (Iran/Pakistan/Turkey);

Recognizing the authorization to furnish assistance granted to the President of the United States of America by the Congress of the United States of America in the Mutual Security Act of 1954, as amended, and in the Joint Resolution to Promote Peace and Stability in the Middle East; and considering that similar agreements are being entered into by the Government of the United States of America and the Governments of (Iran/Pakistan/Turkey) respectively,

Have agreed as follows

Article 1

The Government of (Iran/Pakistan/Turkey) is determined to resist aggression. In case of aggression against (Iran/Pakistan/Turkey) the Government of the United States of America, in accordance with the Constitution of the United States of America, will take such appropriate action, including the use of armed forces, as may be mutually agreed upon and as is envisaged in the Joint Resolution to Promote Peace and Stability in the Middle East, in order to assist the Government of (Iran/Pakistan/Turkey) at its request.

Article 2

The Government of the United States of America, in accordance with the Mutual Security Act of 1954, as amended, and related laws of the United States of America, and with applicable agreements heretofore or hereafter entered into between the Government of (Iran/Pakistan/Turkey) and the Government of the United States of America, reaffirms that it will continue to furnish to the Government of (Iran/Pakistan/Turkey) such military and economic assistance as may be mutually agreed upon between the Government of (Iran/Pakistan/Turkey) and the Government of the United States of America, in order to assist the Government of (Iran/Pakistan/Turkey) in the preservation of its national independence and integrity and in the effective promotion of its economic development.

Article 3

The Government of (Iran/Pakistan/Turkey) undertakes to utilize such military and economic assistance as may be provided by the Government of the United States of America in a manner consonant with the aims and purposes set forth by the Governments associated in the Declaration signed at London on July 28, 1958, and for the purpose of effectively promoting the economic development of (Iran/Pakistan/Turkey) 'and of preserving its national independence and integrity.

Article 4

The Government of (Iran/Pakistan/Turkey) and the Government of the United States of America will cooperate with the other Governments associated in the Declaration signed at London on July 28, 1958, in order to prepare and participate in such defensive arrangements as may be mutually agreed to be desirable subject to the other applicable provisions of this agreement.

Article 5

The provisions of the present agreement do not affect the cooperation between the two Governments as envisaged in other international agreements or arrangements.

Article 6

This agreement shall enter into force upon the date of its signature and shall continue in force until one year after the receipt by either Government of written notice of the intention of the other Government to terminate the agreement.

Co-operation for What

Regional Cooperation for Development⁶

The Heads of States of Iran, Pakistan and Turkey, His Imperial Majesty Mohammad Reza Shah Pahlavi, Shahinshah of Iran, His Excellency Field Marshal Mohammad Ayub Khan, President of Pakistan and His Excellency Cemal Gursel, President of the Republic of Turkey met on 20th and 21st of July, 1964, in Istanbul.

The Heads of the States reaffirmed their belief that regional cooperation is an essential factor in accelerating the pace of national development and in contributing to peace and stability

They expressed their conviction that the strong cultural and historical ties which bind the peoples of their countries and have already provided them with a solid basis for collaboration should be strengthened further and developed for the common benefit of the peoples of the entire region.

To this end, the Heads of the States resolved that appropriate ways and means should be adopted to enlarge and develop further cooperation in their existing relations in all fields.

They unanimously expressed the belief that this new collaboration should be carried out in a spirit of regional cooperation notwithstanding their activities as members of other organizations of a regional character.

The three countries would be pleased to consider the participation of other countries of the region in this cooperation.

Having reviewed the practical steps taken by the Foreign Ministers in the field of cooperation among the three countries, during their meeting on 3rd and 4th of July, 1964, in Ankara, the Heads of the States expressed their full appreciation for the progress already achieved in this respect. They endorsed the recommendations made by the Ministerial Pre-Summit meeting of the three countries held in Ankara on July 18 and 19, 1964 on subjects of common and regional interests.

The Heads of the States noted with approval the creation of a Ministerial Council composed of the Foreign Ministers with the participation of other ministers of their respective governments in order to take and implement appropriate decisions on matters of common interest.

⁶ Joint Statement by the Heads of States of Iran, Pakistan and Turkey, at Istanbul on July 21, 1964.

They noted with satisfaction the decision of the three Heads of the Governments to establish a Regional Planning Committee composed of the Heads of the three Plan Organizations, dealing with work relating to regional collaboration and harmonization of development plans. To this end, they have agreed to establish Secretarial arrangements to serve the Regional Planning Committee and the Ministerial Council

They agreed in principle

1 To a Free or Freer movement of goods through all practical means such as the conclusion of trade agreements,

2 To establish closer collaboration amongst existing Chambers of Commerce and eventually a joint Chamber of Commerce;

3. To the formulation and implementation of joint proposed projects;

4. To reduce the postal rates between the three countries to the level of internal rates;

5. To improve the air transport services within the region and the eventual establishment of a strong and competitive international airline among the three countries;

6 To investigate the possibilities of securing a close co-operation in the field of shipping, including the establishment of a joint maritime line or “conference” arrangements;

7. To undertake necessary studies for Construction and improvement of rail and road links;

8. To sign at an early date an agreement with a view to promoting tourism;

9. To abolish visa formalities among the three countries for travel purposes;

10. To provide technical assistance to each other in the form of experts and training facilities.

Furthermore, the Heads of the States have directed to explore all the possibilities for expanding cooperation in the cultural field among the countries of the region. Cultural relations should~ be particularly oriented towards creating mass consciousness of the common cultural heritage, disseminating information about the history, civilization and culture of the peoples of the region, inter alia through the establishment of Chairs in Universities, the exchange of students, the grant of scholarships, the establishment of cultural centers and the joint sponsoring of an Institute for initiating studies and research on their common cultural heritage.

The activities planned within the present scheme of collaboration shall be carried out under the name of “Regional Cooperation for Development.”

The Heads of the States expressed the hope that the spirit of perfect harmony and of regional solidarity which prevailed throughout the deliberations of the Istanbul Conference would ensure the attainment of the objectives formulated at this Conference

They are confident that the combined efforts of their peoples to this end will open new vistas of hope and opportunity for them and thus contribute to world peace and to the prosperity of the whole region.

Discovery of A ‘Neighbour’

The China-Pakistan Boundary Agreement of March 2, 1963

The Government of the People’s Republic of China and the Government of Pakistan;

Having agreed, with a view to ensuring the prevailing peace and tranquility on the border, to formally delimit and demarcate the boundary between China’s Sinkiang and the contiguous areas, the defence of which is under the actual control of Pakistan, in a spirit of fairness, reasonableness, mutual understanding and mutual accommodation, and on the basis of the ten principles as enunciated in the Bandung Conference;

Being convinced that this would not only give full expression to the desire of the peoples of China and Pakistan for the development of good-neighbourly and friendly relations, but also help safeguard Asian and world peace

Having resolved for this purpose to conclude the present agreement and have appointed as their respective plenipotentiaries the following

For the Government of the People’s Republic of China: Chen Yi, Minister of Foreign Affairs

For the Government of Pakistan: Mr. Zulfikar Ali Bhutto, Minister of External Affairs

Who, having mutually examined their full powers and found them to be in good and due form, have agreed upon the following:

Article 1

In view of the fact that the boundary between China’s Sinkiang and the contiguous areas, the defence of which is under the actual control of Pakistan, has never been formally delimited, two parties agree to delimit it on the basis of the traditional customary boundary line including natural features and in a spirit of equality, mutual benefit and friendly cooperation.

Article 2

One: In accordance with the principle expounded in Article 1 of the present agreement, the two parties have fixed, as follows the alignment of the entire boundary line between China’s Sinkiang and the contiguous areas, the defence of which is under the actual control of Pakistan

(1) Commencing from its north-western extremity at height 5,630 meters (a peak, the reference coordinates of which are approximately longitude 74 degrees 34

minutes east and latitude 37 degrees 03 minutes north), the boundary line runs generally eastward and then southeastward strictly along the main water- shed between the tributaries of the Tashkurgan river of the Tarim river system on the one hand and the tributaries of the Hunza river of the Indus river system on the other hand, passing through the Kilik Daban (Dawan), the Mintake Daban (Pass), the Kharchanai Daban (named on the Chinese map only), the Mutsjilga Daban (named on the Chinese map only), and the Parpik Pass (named on the Pakistan map only), and reaches the Khunjerab (Yutr) Daban (Pass).

(2) After passing through the Khunjerab (Yutr) Daban (Pass), the boundary line runs generally southward along the above- mentioned main watershed up to a mountain-top south of this Daban (Pass), where it leaves the main watershed to follow the crest of a spur lying generally in a southeasterly direction, which is the watershed between the Akjilga river (a nameless corresponding river on the Pakistan map) on the one hand, and the Taghumbash (Oprang) river and the Koliman Su (Oprang Jilga) on the other hand.

According to the map of the Chinese side, the boundary line, after leaving the southeastern extremity of this spur, runs along a small section of the middle line of the bed of the Keliman Su to reach its confluence with the Elechin river. According to the map of the Pakistan side, the boundary line, after leaving the southeastern extremity of this spur, reaches the sharp bend of the Shaksgam or Muztagh river.

(3) From the aforesaid point, the boundary line runs up the Kelechin river (Shdksgam or Muztagh river) along the middle line of its bed to its confluence (reference coordinates approximately longitude 76 degrees 02 minutes east and latitude 36 degrees 26 minutes north) with the Shorbulak Dana (Shimshal river or Braldu river).

(4) From the confluence of the aforesaid two rivers the boundary line, according to the map of the Chinese side, ascends the crest of a spur and runs along it to join the Karakoram range main watershed at a mountain-top (reference coordinates approximately longitude 75 degrees 54 minutes east and latitude 36 degrees 15 minutes north) which on this map is shown as belonging to the Shorgulak mountain. According to the map of the Pakistan side, the boundary line from the confluence of the above- mentioned two rivers ascends the crest of a corresponding spur and runs along it, passing through height 6,520 meters (21,390 feet) till it joins the Karakoram range main watershed at a peak (reference coordinates approximately longitude 75 degrees 57 minutes east and latitude 36 degrees 03 minutes north).

(5) Thence, the boundary line, running generally southward and then eastward, strictly follows the Karakoram range main watershed which separates the Tarim river drainage system from the Indus river drainage system, passing through the east Mustagh Pass (Muztagh Pass), the top of the Chogri peak (K-2), the top of the broad peak, the top of the Gasherbrum mountain (8,068), the Indirakoli Pass (names on the Chinese maps only) and the top of the Teram Kankri peak, and reaches its south-eastern extremity at the Karakoram Pass

Two: The alignment of the entire boundary line as described in Section One of this article, has been drawn on the one million scale map of the Chinese side in Chinese and the one million scale map of the Pakistan side in English which are signed and attached to the present agreement.

Three: In view of the fact that the maps of the two sides are not fully identical in their representation of topographical features, the two parties have agreed that the actual features on the ground shall prevail, so far as the location and alignment of the boundary described in Section One is concerned, and that they will be determined as far as possible by joint survey on the ground.

Article 3

The two parties have agreed that:

- (1) Wherever the boundary follows a river, the middle line of the river bed shall be the boundary line; and that
- (2) Wherever the boundary passes through a daban (pass), the water-parting line thereof shall be the boundary line.

Article 4

One: The two parties have agreed to set up, as soon as possible, a joint boundary demarcating commission. Each side will appoint a chairman, one or more members and a certain number of advisers and technical staff. The joint boundary demarcation commission is charged with the responsibility, in accordance with the provisions of the present agreement, to hold concrete discussions on and carry out the following tasks jointly.

(1) To conduct necessary surveys of the boundary area on the ground, as stated in Article 2 of the present agreement, so as to set up boundary markers at places considered to be appropriate by the two parties and to delineate the boundary line of the Jointly prepared accurate maps.

(2) To draft a protocol setting forth in detail the alignment of the entire boundary line and the location of all the boundary markers and prepare and get printed detailed maps, to be attached to the protocol, with the boundary line and the location of the boundary markers shown on them.

Two: The aforesaid protocol, upon being signed by the representatives of the Governments of the two countries, shall become an annex to the present agreement, and the detailed maps shall replace the maps attached to the present agreement.

Three : Upon the conclusion of the above-mentioned protocol, the tasks of the joint boundary demarcation commission shall be terminated.

Article 5

The two parties have agreed that any dispute concerning the boundary which may arise after the delimitation of the boundary line actually existing between the two countries shall be settled peacefully by the two parties through friendly consultations.

Article 6

The two parties have agreed that after the settlement of the Kashmir dispute between Pakistan and India, the sovereign authority concerned will reopen negotiations with the Government of the People's Republic of China on the boundary, as described in Article 2 of the present agreement, so as to sign a formal boundary treaty to replace the present agreement, provided that in the event of that sovereign authority being Pakistan, the provisions of the present agreement and of the aforesaid protocol shall be maintained in the formal boundary treaty to be signed between the People's Republic of China and Pakistan.

Article 7

The present agreement shall come into force on the date of its signature.

Done in duplicate in Peking on the second day of March, 1963, in the Chinese and English languages, both texts being equally authentic.

A Healing Touch

The Tashkent Declaration⁷

A. A. N. Kosygin

Dear Mr. President,
Dear Mr. Prime Minister,

We are happy to welcome in Tashkent, the capital of the Uzbek Soviet Socialist Republic, Mr. Lal Bahadur Shastri and Mr. Mohammad Ayub Khan, the outstanding statesmen of the two great Asian countries—India and Pakistan, for the peoples of which the people of the Soviet Union feel sincere respect and friendship

The Soviet Government felt deep satisfaction at the consent of the President of Pakistan and the Prime Minister of India to meet in Tashkent in order to establish direct contacts for improving relations and ending the conflict between India and Pakistan.

In suggesting this meeting, the Government of the Soviet Union was guided solely by feelings of friendship for the peoples of Pakistan and India, by the striving to help them find a road to peace and avoid sacrifices and privations involved in the calamities of war. The Soviet Union, as a country which bore particularly hard trials in past wars, deeply values peace and cherishes its ideals.

India and Pakistan are our southern neighbours. We always came out not only for the strengthening of friendly relations between the Soviet Union and India and Pakistan, but also for the reign of peace and friendship between these countries themselves. The history of the peoples of India and Pakistan knows quite a few examples when they came out shoulder-to-shoulder in the heroic struggle against foreign domination. Victory over colonialism was achieved by common efforts, and for it, they bore common sacrifices. Today, as in the past, only enemies of Pakistan and India may be interested in a clash between them.

Things which make the Indian people and the Pakistani people close to each other, relate not only to the past. The tasks confronting them coincide in many respects. The peoples of both countries are striving to solve major economic problems upon which the welfare of the population and further progress depend. We understand these strivings; we want to see Pakistan and India living at peace and solving peacefully all the problems arising between them and successfully advancing along the road of national development. The Indian and the Pakistani peoples possess great potentialities. Their constructive

⁷ Speeches by A.N. Kosygin, Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the U.S.S.R., Lal Bahadur Shastri, Prime Minister of India, and Mohammad Ayub Khan, President of Pakistan, at the opening session of the Tashkent meeting on January 4, 1966.

efforts unfolding of their creative capabilities, the development of the natural riches of these countries provide conditions for their rapid economic progress

The Soviet people and the Soviet Government welcomed the consent of the Governments of Pakistan and India to a cease-fire Progressive people in all countries acknowledged with satisfaction the statements made after that by the statesmen of India and Pakistan with regard to their desire to live in peace and friend-ship.

We regard this meeting in Tashkent as one which may mark a turning point in the relations between Pakistan and India. We believe that the leaders of the two states came to Tashkent with the desire to seek that end. Naturally, during one meeting it may prove to be difficult to find solutions for all the existing problems. What is important is to chart the path leading towards their settlement, to create a climate of trust and mutual understanding and simultaneously to solve those questions which today constitute an obstacle to normalizing the relations.

That would be an important step forward, and together with all people of goodwill we hope that President Ayub Khan and Prime Minister Shastri will make efforts to take this step. Facts show that when governments coolly and objectively consider outstanding issues, taking mutual interests into account, not only are conflicts ended but the sources from which they spring are largely eliminated. We believe that public opinion in both countries and representatives of the Press, guided by peace-loving motives, would contribute towards that end.

The future of Indo-Pakistani relations depends on India and Pakistan, on their readiness to display goodwill, mutual understanding and persistence in achieving positive results. For its part, the Government of the Soviet Union will help in every conceivable way to achieve these noble aims. We are ready to render good offices for the successful holding of this meeting.

President Ayub Khan and Prime Minister Shastri will hold their talks on the soil of Soviet Uzbekistan, which has scored great successes in the fraternal family of the peoples of the Soviet Union. The peoples of our country, and especially the Central Asian Republics, have long maintained the closest trade and cultural contacts with the peoples of Pakistan and India. It can be said that normalization of relations between these two countries, which the coming talks should promote, will lead to even greater development of the Soviet Union's friendly relations with Pakistan and India, to a further expansion of economic and cultural cooperation designed to strengthen their national independence and raise the welfare of their peoples.

All who cherish peace follow the meeting of the President of Pakistan and the Prime Minister of India with great attention and hope. They believe in the wise statesmanship of the leaders of Pakistan and India, wish success to the Tashkent meeting, and peace and prosperity to the Indian and Pakistani peoples. They await good news from Tashkent, and hope that this meeting will be fruitful and will reinforce all progressive-

minded people in their conviction that peace between states can be ensured, and that, even in the present difficult situation, ways of settling conflicts can be found.

Permit me to wish you, Mr. President and Mr. Prime Minister, successful work in the interests of the peoples of your countries, for the good of world peace. We express the hope that the new year, 1966, will be a year of the establishment of good-neighbourly relations between India and Pakistan.

B. Lal Bahadur Shastri

First of all, I want to convey to you, Chairman Kosygin, the feelings of sincere appreciation with which my people, my Government and I hailed your bold initiative which has brought me and President Ayub Khan of Pakistan together in this historic Asian city. It is with great pleasure that I express on my behalf and on behalf of my delegation our gratitude for the hospitality which has been lavished upon us and the care and attention which has been bestowed upon us. The great welcome which the people of Tashkent gave us was indeed very moving.

Our response to your invitation for a meeting in Tashkent was immediate and positive. The objective of peace which inspired you is indeed a noble one. Peace is vital for both India and Pakistan and indeed for the world as a whole. It should be our endeavor to try to open a new chapter in Indo-Pakistan relationship. I would not like to go into past history. I feel, and I am sure, President Ayub Khan also feels, that the conflict which took place between our two countries was most unfortunate. Our objective at this meeting should be not recrimination over the past, but a new look towards the future.

I know that there are many unresolved differences between our two countries. Even between countries with the best of relationship, there are differences and even disputes. The question which we have both to face is whether we should think of force as a method of solving them, or whether we should decide and declare that force will never be used. If other countries, even those with vast resources and much deeper differences, can avoid an armed conflict and live together on the basis of peaceful coexistence, should not countries like India and Pakistan whose main problem is the economic betterment of their people, give up the idea of solving any problems by recourse to arms?

The only justification for the use of force in international relations is to repel aggression. Our assurance to each other not to use force would mean, therefore, that each agrees to respect the territorial integrity of the other. We have always said, and I say it today also, that we unreservedly accept Pakistan's sovereignty and territorial integrity. Equally, we have to preserve our own territorial integrity and sovereignty. Respect for each other's sovereignty is essential for peace and good relations.

Once this has been clearly accepted, the whole character of Indo-Pakistan relationship could be transformed to the benefit of the people of both countries. Let me say quite clearly and very sincerely that we wish people of Pakistan progress and

prosperity. We have ourselves been striving to better the lives of our people. We are convinced that prosperity would come sooner to the subcontinent if there was better relationship between India and Pakistan.

The foundation of such relationship should be, as I have said, the acceptance of the policy of peaceful coexistence. In pursuance of this, action will have to be taken on several fronts. For instance, the atmosphere of cold war has to be removed. If through propaganda, in the press or by radio, a feeling of animosity or distrust is generated and sustained between the two Countries, whatever we, as Heads of the two Governments, might say, there will always exist the danger of a conflict. Our aim should be to improve the totality of the relationship between the two countries. Our trade has been shrinking. It should grow instead. Many rivers flow between India and Pakistan. Instead of being a source of controversy, they could, through cooperative endeavor, enrich both our countries. There are many other areas of economic cooperation which, given goodwill and understanding, can be developed to our mutual advantage.

In saying all this, I am not trying to suggest that we could or should shut our eyes to the many points of difference that exist between the two countries. I do not want to enumerate them. What I do say, however, is that all these problems must be resolved through talks and negotiations and not by resort to force. An armed conflict creates more problems than it solves. It is an impediment to understanding and agreement. On the other hand, in an atmosphere of peace, we can make real progress towards solving the differences between us

It would be a notable achievement if at this meeting which Chairman Kosygin has convened; an agreement could emerge for renouncing the use of force for settling our differences. This should pave the way for the kind of good neighbourly relations which both countries need and would also make the solution of many of our problems much easier. We could and should, of course, discuss other matters as well, but even if we differ on some of them and cannot see our way to an immediate agreement, we should still not forsake the path of peace.

A heavy responsibility lies on our shoulders. The subcontinent has a population of 600 million—one-fifth of the human race. If India and Pakistan have to progress and prosper, they must learn to live in peace. If there is constant conflict and hostility, our peoples would suffer even greater hardships. Instead of fighting each other, let us start fighting poverty, disease and ignorance. The problems, the hopes and the aspirations of the common people of both the countries are the same. They want not conflict and war, but peace and progress. They need, not arms and ammunition, but food, clothing and shelter. If we are to fulfill this obligation to our peoples, we should, in this meeting, try to achieve something specific and positive.

This is a momentous meeting. The eyes of the world are upon us. Let it not be said that the President of Pakistan and the Prime Minister of India met and failed to reach an agreement. Let us show by our actions that we are capable of seeing our own problems in the wider context of world events.

B. Mohammad Ayub Khan

Mr. Chairman, Mr. Prime Minister and distinguished delegates,

My delegation and I were deeply moved by the overwhelming warmth and spontaneity of the reception accorded to us by the people of this beautiful and historic capital of the Republic of Uzbekistan. We share with the people of this region many cultural traditions and many memories of a rich past. It is significant that this place should have been chosen for this historic Conference in which we hope to discover a fresh direction for our future—a future based on understanding, goodwill and cooperation. Tashkent recalls the past as it beckons the future.

Mr. Chairman, we are also extremely grateful to the Soviet Government and to you personally for the vision and statesmanship which you have shown in convening this meeting and for making such excellent arrangements for it. We are all fully conscious of the demands on your time and the burden of your enormous responsibilities. I wish to assure you that the importance of your great gesture of peace is not lost on us, as indeed it is not lost on the world.

The eyes of the world are on Tashkent. History has offered both India and Pakistan a great opportunity to resolve their dispute in a peaceful, just and honorable basis. We have come here determined to use this opportunity in a positive and constructive manner.

We have come in a spirit of cooperation. Our aim is to compose our difference with India not to perpetuate them. We are not here to indulge in polemics. We want to eliminate tensions and to promote a sense of confidence and security among the peoples of the two countries. I have no doubt that the distinguished Prime Minister of India and his distinguished colleagues are inspired by similar sentiments.

The prosperity of six hundred million people of India and Pakistan depends on peace. Both of us have suffered under long and dark periods of foreign domination. It is after centuries that we have regained our freedom. We must live in peace to be able to devote all our energy and resources to the liquidation of the grim heritage of colonialism and to open avenues of happiness and progress for our peoples. For us peace is vital—it is indispensable.

But wishing peace is not enough to establish peace. One has to work for it. And one way is to face the problems which endanger peace. We have learnt that we can ignore them at our peril. Nor can Nations be content with a simulation of peace while the undercurrents of tension still remain. A semblance of peace is no substitute for real peace.

It is for us to face the problem and to create conditions which will provide a firm and lasting basis for peace between our two countries. In this context I recently made a sincere offer in the General Assembly of the United Nations to enter into a No-War Pact

with India, once the basic problem confronting us was resolved according to the principles already accepted by both of us. A No-War Agreement between Nations can work only if it is adopted after taking concrete steps for resolving the disputes which divide them. And disputes can be resolved only in a spirit of conciliation

The problems with which India and Pakistan are faced are complex, no doubt But it is not beyond the leadership in the two countries to solve them peacefully and honorably. After all, we were able to reach an agreement on the Indus Basin Waters. That problem was no less complex or explosive. More recently we agreed to submit our dispute in the Rann of Kutch to an Arbitration Tribunal. Earlier, we had succeeded in demarcating our borders and settling many controversial points amicably. Why should we now feel unable to face up to the basic problem which continues to cause tension and conflict between us?

Both of us have limited resources and we need all that we have, and much more, to raise our peoples from their present level of existence. Neither of us can afford war, nor can we divert our resources to preparations for war. This is the one lesson which we should have learnt from our recent experience. What we must provide to our people, and what they demand, are instruments of life, not instruments of death.

Let this Conference become a harbinger of peace and let us issue from here a message of hope for our people. There is no problem between us which cannot be solved peacefully and honorably We should address ourselves to them in all earnestness. This is how we must begin if peace is what we seek remembering always that no one nation can lay down the terms. of peace. The terms of peace are equality and justice. These are the terms which nations must learn to respect and obey.

I wish to assure you, Mr. Chairman, and also the distinguished Prime Minister of India that we will, give you our fullest cooperation in making this Conference, a Conference of peace in its truest sense.

Before I conclude, I must thank you once again for your hospitality and for the great interest you have shown in bringing India and Pakistan together.

The Declaration

The Prime Minister of India and the President of Pakistan, having met at Tashkent and having discussed the existing relations between India and Pakistan, hereby declare their firm resolve to restore normal and peaceful relations between their countries and to promote understanding and friendly relations between their peoples They consider the attainment of these objectives of vital importance for the welfare of the 600 million people of India and Pakistan.

Article I

The Prime Minister of India and the President of Pakistan agree that both sides will exert all efforts to create good neighbourly relations between India and Pakistan in

accordance with. the United Nations Charter. They reaffirm their obligation under the Charter not to have recourse to force and to settle their disputes through peaceful means. They considered that the interests of peace in their region and particularly in the Indo-Pakistan sub-Continent and, indeed, the interests of the people of India and Pakistan were not served by the continuance of tension between the two countries. It was against this back-ground that Jammu and Kashmir was discussed, and each of the sides set forth its respective position.

Article II

The Prime Minister of India and the President of Pakistan have agreed that all armed personnel of the two countries shall be withdrawn not later than 25 February 1966, to the positions they held prior to 5 August 1965, and both sides shall observe the cease-fire terms on the cease-fire line.

Article III

The Prime Minister of India and the President of Pakistan have agreed that relations between India and Pakistan shall be based on the principle of non-interference in the internal affairs of each other.

Article IV

The Prime Minister of India and the President of Pakistan have agreed that both sides will discourage any propaganda directed against the other country, and will encourage propaganda which promotes the development of friendly relations between the two countries.

Article V

The Prime Minister of India and the President of Pakistan have agreed that the High Commissioner of India to Pakistan and the High Commissioner of Pakistan to India will return to their posts and that the normal functioning of diplomatic missions of both countries will be restored. Both Governments shall observe the Vienna Convention of 1961 on Diplomatic Intercourse.

Article VI

The Prime Minister of India and the President of Pakistan have agreed to consider measures towards the restoration of economic and trade relations, communications, as well as cultural exchanges between India and Pakistan, and to take measures to implement the existing agreements between India and Pakistan.

Article VII

The Prime Minister of India and the President of Pakistan have agreed that they will give instructions to their respective authorities to carry out the repatriation of the prisoners of war.

Article VIII

The Prime Minister of India and the President of Pakistan have agreed that the two sides will continue the discussion of questions relating to the problems of refugees

and evictions/illegal immigrations. They also agreed that both sides will create conditions which will prevent the exodus of people. They further agreed to discuss the return of the property and assets taken over by either side in Connection with the conflict.

Article IX

The Prime Minister of India and the President of Pakistan have agreed that the sides will continue meetings both at the highest and at other levels on matters of direct Concern to both countries. Both sides have recognized the need to set up joint bodies which will report to their Governments in order to decide what further steps Should be taken.

* * * *

The Prime Minister of India and the President of Pakistan record their feelings of deep appreciation and gratitude to the leaders of the Soviet Union, the Soviet Government and personally to the Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the U. S. S. R. for their constructive, friendly and noble part in bringing about the present meeting which has resulted in mutually satisfactory results They also express to the Government and friendly people of Uzbekistan their sincere thankfulness for their overwhelming reception and generous hospitality.

They invite the Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the U.S.S.R., to witness this Declaration.

PRIME MINISTER OF INDIA

PRESIDENT OF PAKISTAN

Lal Bahadur Shastri

Mohammad Ayub Khan

Tashkent, 10 January, 1966

Autonomy Or Cessation ?

The Six-point programme of the Awami League first set out in 1966 and on the basis of which elections were fought in December, 1970

1. The character of the government shall be federal and parliamentary, in which the elections to the federal legislature and to the legislatures of the federating units shall be direct and on the basis of universal adult franchise. The representation in our federal legislature shall be on the basis of population.

2. The federal government shall be responsible only for the defence and foreign affairs and subject to the conditions provided in (3) below.

3. There shall be two separate currencies mutually or freely convertible in each wing for each region, or in the alternative a single currency, subject to the establishment of a federal reserve system in which there will be regional federal reserve banks which shall devise measures to prevent the transfer of resources and flight of capital from one region to another.

4. Fiscal policy shall be the responsibility of the federating units. The federal government shall be provided with requisite revenue resources for meeting the requirements of defence and foreign affairs which would be automatically appropriable by the federal government in the manner provided, and on the basis of the ratio to be determined by the procedure laid down in the constitution. Such constitutional provisions would ensure that federal government's revenue requirements are not met consistently with the objective of ensuring control over fiscal policy of the governments of the federating units.

5. Constitutional provisions shall be made to enable separate accounts to be maintained of the foreign exchange earnings of each of the federating units, under the control of the respective governments of the federating units. The foreign exchange requirements of the federal government shall be met by the governments of the federating units on the basis of a ratio to be determined in accordance with the procedure laid down in the constitution. The regional governments shall have power under the constitution to negotiate foreign trade and within the frame work of the foreign policy of the country which shall be the responsibility of the federal government.

6. The governments of the federating units shall be empowered to maintain a militia or paramilitary force in order to contribute effectively towards national security.

Mujib Speaks

Sheikh Mujib to the people, 18 days before Yahya. Khan's army swung into action. It came in the form of an address to the people in Dacca on March 7, 1971.

The struggle this time is the struggle for freedom. They have summoned the Assembly (National) on March 25, 1971. I have told them that Mujibur Rahman cannot enter the assembly treading over the blood of martyrs. If they accept my demand, then the first thing to do would be to withdraw the martial law and to recall the troops to the barracks.

There will be an inquiry into the murder of people and power will have to be transferred to the elected representatives of the people. Then we shall consider whether we can attend the assembly.

I do not want Prime Ministership, I want people's rights.

You all know that from today, in Bangla Desh, courts and educational institutions will remain closed for an indefinite period. Semi-Government organizations will also remain closed. Railways, rickshaws and buses will run so that the people may not suffer.

If people are not paid their salaries and if firing is resorted to and my people are murdered, then my request to you all is—turn all homes into forts and meet the challenge of armed might with whatever you possess. Close all means of communications.

We shall starve them. We shall deprive them of drinking water.

You (West Pakistani troops) all are my brothers. Do not put your boots on our chests. You cannot keep seven and a half crores of people suppressed. Nobody can keep us suppressed.

We shall help those who have become *shaheed*. Those who can may please send monetary help to our office. And those who have taken part in the seven days' *hartal*, shall have to be paid their salaries.

I am asking Government servants to obey my directives. Let nobody be seen in the Secretariat, the High Court, the courts.

Taxes shall not be paid till our country is free.

In Bangla Desh Hindus and Muslims are all Bengalis. Non-Bengalis who are in Bangla Desh are also our brethren. Remember this.

‘Expect the Attack’

The second thing is this. At any moment expect the attack; I may not be able to issue orders. My close associates may not be able to issue orders.

Remember another thing. Do not allow the armed forces to move from one place to another. If television and radio do not give out news about us, no Bengali shall go near either. Banks will remain open for two hours every day so that people may draw their salaries etc.

Not a paisa shall move out of Bangla Desh to West Pakistan.

Telephone and Telegrams shall continue in Bangla Desh and also run with foreign countries.

If an attempt is made to finish the people of this country, you act as you think best; I shall have nothing to say.

If necessary, stop all wheels from moving.

Free speech has been banned in my country. Those who may not hear my voice, I request them not to let this country go to hell.

If we can settle this matter peacefully, then there is a chance of our living together as brothers. That is why I am asking you (West Pakistani troops) not to attempt to impose military rule in my country.

Build up *sangram parishads* in every village, in every town and in every *mohalla* under the leadership of the Awami League. Be prepared with whatever you have. Enough blood has been given.

We shall give more blood. We shall free the people of this country, *Insha Allah* (God willing).

Our struggle is to free ourselves. Our battle is the battle for independence, *Joi Bangla*.

Shape Of Things To Come

General Yahya Khan's Broadcast on March 26, 1971 after he left Dacca on the night of March 25 and had ordered his army to 'do their duty'

On the sixth of this month I announced March 25 as the new date for the inaugural session of the National Assembly, hoping that conditions would permit the holding of the session on the appointed date. Events have, however, not justified my hope and the nation has continued to face a grave crisis.

In East Pakistan a non-co-operation and disobedience movement was launched by the Awami League and matters took a serious turn. The events were moving very fast and it became absolutely imperative that the situation was brought under control as soon as possible

With this end in view I had a series of discussions with political leaders in West Pakistan and subsequently on March 15, I went to Dacca. As you are aware, I had a number of meetings with Sheikh Mujibur Rahman in order to resolve the political impasse. Having consulted West Pakistani leaders it was necessary for me to do the same over there so that the areas of agreement could be identified and an amicable settlement arrived at.

As has been reported in the Press and other news media from time to time, my talks with Sheikh Mujibur Rahman showed some progress. Having reached a certain stage in my negotiations with Sheikh Mujibur Rahman, I considered it necessary to have another round of talks with West Pakistani leaders in Dacca.

Mr. Bhutto reached there on March 21 and I had a number of meetings with him.

As you are aware, the leader of the Awami League had asked for the withdrawal of martial law and transfer of power prior to the meeting of the National Assembly. In our discussions, he proposed that this interim period could be covered by a proclamation by me, whereby martial law would be withdrawn, provincial Governments set up and the National Assembly divided into two committees, one composed of members of East Pakistan and the other composed of members from West Pakistan. Despite some serious flaws in this scheme in its legal and other respects, I was prepared to agree, in principle, to this plan in the interests of peaceful transfer of power but with one condition. The condition which I clearly explained to Sheikh Mujibur Rahman was that I must first have unequivocal agreement of all political leaders to this scheme.

I, therefore, discussed the proposal with other political leaders. I found them unanimously of the view that the proposed proclamation by me would have no legal sanction whatsoever. It will neither have cover for martial law nor could it claim to have been based on the will of the people. Thus, a vacuum would be created and chaotic conditions would ensue. They also considered that the splitting of the National Assembly

in two parts through a proclamation would encourage divisive tendencies that may exist. They, therefore, expressed the opinion that if it is intended to lift martial law and transfer power in the interim period, the National Assembly should meet to draft an interim Constitution Bill and present it to me for my assent. I entirely agreed with their view and requested them to tell Sheikh Mujibur Rahman to take a reasonable attitude on this issue.

I told the leaders to explain their views to him that his scheme whereby on the one hand you extinguish all source of power and martial law and on the other fail to replace it by the will of the people (in the National Assembly) will merely result in chaos.

They agreed to meet Sheikh Mujibur Rahman to explain the position and try to obtain his agreement to the interim arrangement for the transfer of power to emanate from the National Assembly.

The political leaders were also perturbed over Sheikh Mujibur's idea of dividing the National Assembly in two parts right from the very start. Such a move, they said, would be totally against the interests of Pakistan's integrity.

The Chairman of the Pakistan People's Party at the meeting between me, Sheikh Mujibur Rahman and him had also expressed similar views to Mujib.

On the evening of March 23 political leaders who had gone to talk to Mujib on this issue called on me and informed me that he was not agreeable to any changes in his scheme. All he really wanted me was to make the proclamation whereby I withdraw martial law and transfer power.

Sheikh Mujibur's decision of starting his non-cooperation movement is an act of treason. He and his party have defied the lawful authority for over three weeks; they have insulted the Pakistan flag and defiled the photograph of the father of the nation. They have tried to run a parallel Government, they have created turmoil, terror, insecurity and a number of murders have been committed in the name of the movement. Non-Bengali brethren and others who have settled in East Pakistan are living in a state of terror and are fleeing for fear of their lives.

The armed forces in East Pakistan have been repeatedly subjected to taunts and insults of all kind. I wish to compliment them on the tremendous restraint that they have shown in the face of grave provocation. Their sense of discipline is indeed praiseworthy. I am proud of them.

I should have taken action against Sheikh Mujib and his collaborators weeks ago, but, I had to try my utmost to handle the situation in such a manner as not to jeopardize my plan for a peaceful transfer of power. In my keenness to achieve this end I kept on tolerating one illegal action after another and at the same time was trying to arrive at some solution, I hardly mention the efforts made by me and by the various political leaders to get Mujib see reason. We have left no stone unturned but he has failed to

respond in a positive manner. On the other hand, he and his followers kept on flouting the authority of the Government even during my presence in Dacca.

The proclamation that he proposed I should make was nothing but a trap. He knew that it would not have been worth the paper it was written on and he could have done anything with impunity. His obduracy and his absolute refusal to take sense made one to conclude that the man and his party are enemies of Pakistan. They Want East Pakistan to break away completely from the country.

We will not let some power-hungry, unpatriotic people to destroy this country and play with the destiny of 120 million people.

In my address to the nation on March 16, I had told you that it is the duty of the Pakistan armed forces to ensure the integrity, solidarity and security of Pakistan. I have ordered them to do their duty and fully restore the authority of the government.

In view of the grave situation that exists in the country today, I have decided to ban all political activities throughout the country. As for the Awami League it is completely banned as a political party. I have also decided to impose a complete press censorship. Martial law regulations will very shortly be issued in pursuance of these decisions.

In the end, let me assure you that my main aim remains the same, namely, transfer of power to the elected representatives of the people. The sooner the situation permits I will take fresh steps towards the achievement of this objective

It is my hope that the law and order situation will soon return to normal in East Pakistan so that we can again move forward towards our cherished goal

I appeal to my countrymen to appreciate the gravity of the situation for which the blame rests entirely on anti-Pakistan and secessionist elements.

The Dawn Of Freedom

The Statement by Mr. Tajuddin Ahmed, Prime Minister of Bangla Dash, after the Proclamation of Bangla Desh as a Sovereign Republic on April 17, 1971

Pakistan is Now Dead

Bangla Desh is at war. It has been given no choice but to secure its right of self-determination through a national liberation struggle against the colonial oppression of West Pakistan.

In the face of positive attempts by the Government of Pakistan to distort the facts in a desperate attempt to cover up their war of genocide in Bangla Desh, the world must be told the circumstances under which the peace-loving people of Bangla Desh were driven to substitute armed struggle for parliamentary politics to realise the just aspirations of the people of Bangla Desh.

Sincere Effort

The six-point programme for autonomy for Bangla Desh within Pakistan had been put forward in all sincerity by the Awami League as the last possible solution to preserve the integrity of Pakistan. Fighting the elections to the National Assembly on the issue of six points, the Awami League won 167 out of 169 seats from Bangla Desh in a House of 313. Its electoral victory was so decisive that it won 80 per cent of the popular votes cast. The decisive nature of its victory placed it in a clear majority within the National Assembly.

The post-election period was a time of hope, for never had a people spoken so decisively in the history of parliamentary democracy. It was widely believed in both wings that a viable Constitution based on the six points could be worked out. The Pakistan People's Party which emerged as the leading party in Sind and Punjab had avoided raising the issue of six points in their election campaign and had no obligation whatever to its electorate to resist it.

In Baluchistan, the dominant party, National Awami Party, was fully committed to six points. In NWFP, the NAP, dominant in the Provincial Assembly, was also a believer in maximum autonomy. The course of the elections, which marked the defeat of the reactionary parties, therefore, gave every reason to be optimistic about the future of democracy in Pakistan.

Preparatory to the convening of the National Assembly, talks were expected between the main parties in the political arena. However, while the Awami League was always willing, preparatory to going to the Assembly to explain its constitutional position and to discuss alternative proposals from the other parties, it believed that the spirit of a true democracy demanded that the constitution be debated and finalized in the National Assembly rather than in secret sessions.

To this end it insisted on an early summoning of the National Assembly In anticipation of this session, the Awami League worked day and night to prepare a draft constitution based on six points and fully examined all the implications of formulating and implementing such a constitution

Major Talks

The first major talks over Pakistan's Political future took place between General Yahya and Sheikh Mujibur Rahman in mid January. In this session Gen. Yahya proved the extent of the Awami League's commitment to its programme and was assured that they were fully aware of its implications. But contrary to expectations Yahya did not spell out his own ideas about the constitution Gen Yahya gave the impression of not finding anything seriously objectionable in six points but emphasised the need for coming to an understanding with the PPP in West Pakistan.

The next round of talks took place between the PPP and the Awami League from 27th January, 1971 in Dacca where Mr. Bhutto and his team held a number of sessions with the Awami League to discuss the constitution.

As in the case with Yahya, Mr. Bhutto did not bring any concrete proposals of his own about the nature of the constitution He and his advisers were mainly interested in discussing the implications of the six points Since their responses were essentially negative and they had no prepared brief of their own it was not possible for the talks to develop into serious negotiations where attempts could be made to bridge the gap between the two parties. It was evident that as yet Mr. Bhutto had no formal position of his own from which to negotiate.

It must be made clear that when the PPP left Dacca there was no indication from their part that a deadlock had been reached with the Awami League. Rather they confirmed that all doors were open and that following a round of talks with West Pakistani leaders, the PPP would either have a second and more substantive round of talks with the Awami League or would meet in the National Assembly whose committees provided ample opportunity for detailed discussion on the constitution.

Complete Surprise

Mr. Bhutto's announcement to boycott the National Assembly, therefore, came as a complete surprise. The boycott decision was surprising because Mr. Bhutto had already been accommodated once by the President when he refused Sheikh Mujib's plea for an early session of the Assembly on February 15 and fixed it, in line with Mr. Bhutto's preference, for March 3.

Following his decision to boycott the Assembly Mr. Bhutto launched a campaign of intimidation against all other parties in West Pakistan to prevent them from attending the session. In this task, there is evidence that Lt. Gen. Umer, Chairman of the National Security Council and close associate of President Yahya Khan, with a view to

strengthening Mr. Bhutto's hand, personally pressurized various west wing leaders not to attend the Assembly.

In spite of this display of pressure tactics by Mr. Bhutto and Lt. Gen. Umer, all members of the National Assembly from West Pakistan except the PPP and the Qayyum Muslim League had booked their seats to East Pakistan, for the session of March 3.

Within the QML itself half their members had booked their seats and there were signs of revolt within the PPP, where many members wanted to come to Dacca. Faced with the breakdown of this front against Bangla Desh, General Yahya obliged Mr. Bhutto on March 1, by postponing the Assembly, not for any definite period, but *sine die*. Moreover he dismissed the Governor of East Pakistan, Admiral S. M. Ahsan, who was believed to be one of the moderates in his administration. The “-Cabinet with its component of Bengalis was also dismissed so that all power was concentrated in the hands of the West wing military junta.

In these circumstances Yahya's gesture could not be seen as anything but an attempt to frustrate the popular will by colluding with Mr. Bhutto. The National Assembly was the only forum where Bangla Desh could assert its voice and political strength, and to frustrate this was a clear indication that parliament was not the real source of power in Pakistan.

Spontaneous Reaction

The reaction to the postponement in Bangla Desh was inevitable and spontaneous and throughout the land, people took to the streets to record their protest at this arbitrary act. People now felt sure that Yahya never really intended to transfer power, and was making a mockery of parliamentary politics. The popular mood felt that the rights of Bangla Desh could never be realized within the framework of Pakistan, where Yahya could so blatantly frustrate the summoning of an Assembly proclaimed by his own writ and urged that Sheikh Mujibur Rahman must go for full independence.

Sheikh Mujib however continued to seek a political settlement in calling for a programme of confrontation against the army of occupation as an attempt to bring them to their senses. This was in itself a major gesture in the face of the cold-blooded firing on unarmed demonstrators on March 2 and 3, had already led to over a thousand casualties.

The course of the non-co-operation movement is now a part of history. Never in the course of any liberation struggle has non-co-operation been carried to the limits attained within Bangla Desh between March 1 and 25. Non-co operation was total. No Judge of the High Court could be found to administer the oath of office to the new Governor, Lt. Gen. Tikka Khan. The entire civilian administration, including the police and the civil service of Pakistan, refused to attend office. The people stopped supply of food to the army. Even the civilian employees of the defence establishments joined the boycott.

Non-co-operation did not stop at abstention from work. The civilian administration and police positively pledged their support to Sheikh Mujibur Rahman and put themselves under his orders.

In this situation the Awami League without being a formally constituted government, was forced to take on the responsibility of keeping the economy and administration running whilst non co-operation lasted. In this task they had the unqualified support not only of the people but the administration and business community. The latter two subordinated themselves to the directives of the Awami League and accepted them as the sole authority, to solve their various problems.

Modified Tactics

In these unique circumstances the economy and administration were kept going in spite of the formidable problems arising out of the power vacuum which had suddenly emerged in Bangla Desh. In 'spite of the lack of any formal authority, Awami League volunteers in co-operation with the police, maintained a level of law and order which was a considerable improvement on normal times.

Faced with this demonstration of total support to the Awami League in this historic non-co-operation movement, Gen. Yahya appears to have modified his tactics. On March 6, he still seemed determined to provoke a confrontation when he made his highly provocative speech putting the full blame for the crisis on the Awami League and not even referring to the architect of the crisis Mr. Bhutto.

It seems that he expected a declaration of independence on March 7. The army in Dacca was put on full alert to crush the move and Lt. Gen. Tikka Khan was flown to replace Lt.-Gen. Yakub to signify the hardening of attitudes within the junta.

Sheikh Mujib, however, once again opted for the path of political settlement in spite of massive public sentiment for independence. In presenting his four-point proposal for attending the National Assembly he not only had to contain the public mood but to leave a way open for Yahya to explore this last chance for a peaceful settlement.

Contingency Plans

It is now clear that Yahya and his generals never had the slightest intention of solving Pakistan's political crisis peacefully but were only interested in buying time to permit the reinforcement of their military machine within Bangla Desh. Yahya's visit to Dacca was mere cover for his plan of genocide. It now becomes clear that contingency plans for such a crisis had already begun well in advance of the crisis.

Shortly before March 1, tanks which had been sent north to Rangpur to defend the borders were brought back to Dacca. From March 1 the families of army personnel were being sent off to West Pakistan on a priority basis along with the families of West Pakistani business men.

The military build-up was accelerated after March 1 and continued throughout the talks up to March 25. Members of the armed forces dressed in civilian clothes were flown in PIA commercial flights via Ceylon. C-130s carrying arms and provisions for the garrisons flew into Dacca. It is estimated that up to one division, with complementary support, was brought into Bangla Desh between March 1 and 25. To ensure security, the airport was put under strict air force control and heavily guarded with artillery and machine-gun nets whilst movement of passengers was strictly supervised

An SSG commando group specially trained for under cover operations in sabotage and assassinations was distributed in key centers of Bangla Desh and were probably responsible for the attacks on Bangalis in Dacca and Saidpur in the two days before March 25 to provoke clashes between locals and non locals so as to provide a cover for military intervention

As part of this strategy of deception Yahya adopted the most conciliatory posture in his talks with Mujib. In the talks beginning on March 16, he expressed regrets for what had happened and his sincere desire for a political settlement. In a crucial meeting with Sheikh Mujib he was asked to positively state the Junta's position on the Awami League's 4-point proposal. He indicated that there were no serious objections and that an interim constitution could be worked out by the respective advisers embodying the four points

Basic Points

The basic points on which agreement was reached were

- (1) Lifting of martial law and transfer of power to a civilian government by a Presidential proclamation.
- (2) Transfer of power in the provinces to the majority parties.
- (3) Yahya to remain as President and in control of the General Government.
- (4) Separate sittings of the National Assembly members from East and West Pakistan preparatory to a joint session of the house to finalise the constitution.

Contrary to the distortions now put out by both Yahya and Bhutto the proposal for separate sittings of the Assembly was suggested by Yahya to accommodate Mr. Bhutto. He cited the practical advantage that whilst the six points provided a viable blueprint to regulate relations between Bangla Desh and the centre its application would raise serious difficulties in the west wing. For this reason west wing MNA's difficulties must be permitted to get together to work out a new pattern of relationships in the context of a six-point constitution and the dissolution of one unit.

Once this agreement in principle had been reached between.. Sheikh Mujib and Yahya, there was only the question of defining the powers of Bangla Desh vis-a-vis the Centre during the interim phase. Here it was again jointly agreed that the distribution of power should as far as possible be approximate to the final constitution approved by the National Assembly which, it was expected, would be based on six points.

No Breakdown

For working out this part of the interim settlement Mr. M. M. Ahmed, the economic adviser to the President, was specially flown in. In his talks with the Awami League adviser he made it clear that provided political agreement had been reached there were no insuperable problem to working out some version of six points even in the interim period.

The final list of three amendments to the Awami League draft which he presented as suggestions, indicated that the gap between Government and Awami League position was no longer one of principle but remained merely over the precise phrasing of the proposals. The Awami League in its sitting of March 24 had accepted the amendments with certain minor changes of language and there was nothing to prevent the holding of a final drafting session between the advisers of Yahya and Mujib when the interim constitution would be finalised.

It must be made clear that at no stage was there any indication by Gen. Yahya or his team that they had a final position which could not be abandoned.

Belated Fabrication

The question of legal cover for the transfer of power is merely another belated fabrication by Yahya to cover his genocide. He and his team had agreed that, in line with the precedence of the Indian Independence Act of 1947, power could be transferred by Presidential proclamation. The notion that there would be no legal cover to the arrangement, raised subsequently by Mr. Bhutto and endorsed by Gen. Yahya, was never a bone of contention between Sheikh Mujib and Yahya.

There is not the slightest doubt that had Yahya indicated that a meeting of the National Assembly was essential to transfer power, the Awami League would not have broken the talks on such a minor legal technicality. After all as the majority party it had nothing to fear from such a meeting and its acceptance of the decision for a separate sitting was designed to accommodate Mr. Bhutto rather than a fundamental stand for the party.

Evidence that agreement in principle between contending parties had been reached is provided by Mr. Bhutto's own Press conference of March 25. It is not certain what transpired in the separate session between Gen. Yahya Khan and Mr. Bhutto, but there is evidence that deliberate falsehood about the course of the talks with the Awami League were fed to the PPP, who were told that Sheikh Mujibur was determined to have a show down and was escalating his demands.

Needless to say, not the slightest indication of these misgivings had been raised in the meetings between the Awami League team and Gen. Yahya Khan's advisers, where amicability and optimism had prevailed to the end.

More Bad Signs

Whilst hope for a settlement was being raised, more bad signs of the intentions of the army were provided by their sudden decision to unload the ammunition ship, MV Swat, berthed at Chittagong port. Preparatory to this decision, Brig. Mazumdar, a Bengali officer commanding the garrison in Chittagong, had been suddenly replaced by a West Pakistani. On the night of March 24, he was flown to Dacca under armed escort, and has probably been executed. Under the new command, notice was given to local authorities of the decision to unload the ship, in spite of the fact that the army had abstained from doing so for the last 17 days in the face of non-co-operation from the port workers.

The decision to unload was a calculated provocation which immediately brought 100,000 people on the streets of Chittagong and led to massive firing by the army to break their way out. The issue was raised by the Awami League with General Peerzada as to why this escalation was being permitted whilst talks were still going on. He gave no answer beyond a promise to pass it on to Gen. Yahya.

Following the final meeting between Gen. Yahya Khan's and Awami League's advisers on March 24 where Mr. M.M. Ahmed passed on his amendments, a call was awaited from Gen. Peerzada for a final session where the draft could be finalized. No such call materialized and instead, it was learnt that Mr. M. M. Ahmed, who was central to the negotiations, had suddenly left for Karachi on the morning of March 25 without any warning to the Awami League team.

Heroic Resistance

By 11 p.m. of the 25th, all preparations were ready and the troops began to take up positions in the city. In an act of treachery unparalleled in contemporary history, a programme of calculated genocide was unleashed on the peaceful and unsuspecting population of Dacca by the midnight of March 25. No ultimatum was given to the Awami League by Gen. Yahya. No curfew order was issued when the machine guns, artillery and cannon unleashed their reign of death and destruction.

By the time the first martial law proclamations issued by Lt. Gen Tikka Khan were broadcast the next morning, some 50,000 people, most of them without offering any resistance, and many women and children, had been butchered. Dacca had been turned into an inferno with fires raging in most corners of the city. Sleeping inhabitants, who had been drawn from their homes by the fires started by the military, were machine-gunned as they ran to escape the flames.

Whilst the police, EPR and armed volunteers put up a heroic resistance, the main victims remained the weak, the innocent and the unsuspecting, who were killed at random in their thousands. We are compiling a first hand account of the details of genocide committed by the Pakistan army on the orders of the President of Pakistan, which we will publish shortly. The scale and brutality of the action exceeds anything perpetrated in the civilized world.

Gen. Yahya himself left Dacca on the night of March 25 after giving the Pakistan army an open license to commit genocide on all Bengalis. His own justification for this act of barbarism was not forthcoming till 8 p.m. the next day, when the world was given its first explanation for the unleashing of this holocaust.

Pakistan Dead

The statement was self-contradictory and laced with positive lies. His branding members of a party as traitors and outlaws, with whom he had only 48 hours ago been negotiating for a peaceful transfer of power, bore no relationship to the situation in Bangla Desh or the course of the negotiations. His promise to hand over power to the elected representatives of the people after banning the Awami League, which was the sole representative of Bangla Desh had held a majority of seats in the National Assembly, was a mockery of the freely recorded voice of 75 million Bengalis. The crudity of the statement was clear evidence that Gen. Yahya was no longer interested in taking shelter behind either logic or morality, and had reverted to the law of the jungle in his bid to crush the people of Bangla Desh

Pakistan is now dead and buried under a mountain of corpses. The hundreds and thousands of people murdered by the army in Bangla Desh will act as an impenetrable barrier between West Pakistan and the people of Bangla Desh. By resorting to pre-planned genocide Gen Yahya must have known that he was himself digging Pakistan's grave. The subsequent massacres perpetrated on his orders by his licensed killers on the people were not destined to preserve the unity of a nation. They were acts of racial hatred and sadism devoid of even the elements of humanity.

Professional soldiers, on order, violated their code of military honour and were seen as beasts of prey who indulged in an orgy of murder, rape, loot, arson and destruction unequalled in the annals of civilization. These acts indicate that the concept of two countries is already deeply rooted in the minds of Gen. Yahya and his associates, who would not dare commit such atrocities on their own countrymen.

Gen. Yahya's genocide is thus without political purpose. It serves only as the last act in the tragic history of Pakistan, which Gen. Yahya has chosen to write with the blood of the people of Bangla Desh. The objective is genocide and scorched earth, before his troops are either driven out or perish. In this time, he hopes to liquidate our political leadership, intelligentsia and administration, to destroy our industries and public amenities, and as a final act, he intends to raze our cities to the ground. Already his occupation army has made substantial progress towards this objective. Bangla Desh will be set back 50 years as West Pakistan's parting gift to a people they have exploited for 23 years for their own benefit.

This is a point of major significance to those great powers that choose to ignore this largest single act of genocide since the days of Belsen and Auschwitz. If they think they are preserving the unity of Pakistan they can forget it because General Yahya himself has no illusions about the future of Pakistan.

Support

They must realise that Pakistan is dead and murdered by General Yahya—and that independent Bangla Desh is a reality sustained by the destructible will and courage of 75 million Bengalis who are daily nurturing the roots of this new nationhood with their blood. No power on earth can unmake this new nation and sooner or later both big and small powers will have to accept it into the world fraternity.

It is, therefore, in the interest of politics as much as humanity for the big powers to put their full pressure on Gen. Yahya to cage his killers and bring them back to West Pakistan. We will be eternally grateful to the people of the Soviet Union and the freedom-loving people of all countries for the full support they have already given us in this struggle.

We would welcome similar support from the People's Republic of China, the USA, France, Great Britain and all Afro-Asian countries who have freed themselves from colonial rule and from all freedom-loving countries. Each in their own way should exercise considerable leverage on West Pakistan and were they to exercise this influence; Gen. Yahya could not sustain his war of aggression against Bangla Desh for a single day longer.

Bangla Desh will be eighth most populous country in the world. Its only goal will be to rebuild a new nation from the ashes and carnage left behind by Gen. Yahya's occupation army. It will be a stupendous task because of the destruction of the economy by Gen. Yahya's army in our already underdeveloped and over-populated region. But we now have a cause and a people who have been hardened in the resistance, who have shed their blood for their nation and won their freedom in an epic struggle, which pitted unarmed people against a modern army. Such a nation cannot fail in its task of securing the foundations of its nationhood.

In our struggle for survival, we seek the friendship of all people, the big powers and the small. We do not aspire to join any bloc or pact but will seek assistance from those who give it in a spirit of good-will free from any desire to control our destinies. We have struggled far too long for our self-determination to permit ourselves to become anyone's satellite.

We now appeal to the nations of the world for recognition and assistance, both material and moral, in our struggle for nationhood. Every day this delayed, a thousand lives are lost and more of Bangla Desh's vital assets are destroyed. In the name of humanity, act now and earn our undying friendship.

This we now present to the world as the case of the people of Bangla Desh. Bangla Desh has earned her right to recognition at great cost, as the people of Bangla Desh made sacrifices of unequal magnitude and fought hard in order to establish the rightful place for Bangla Desh in the comity of nations

The Proclamation of Independence Order of

Bangla Desh

The Proclamation of Independence Order, dated the 10th day of April, 1971.

Whereas free elections were held in Bangla Desh from Dec. 7, 1970 to January 17, 1971 to elect representatives for the purpose of framing a constitution, and

Whereas at these elections the people of Bangla Desh elected 167 out of 169 representatives belonging to the Awami League, and

Whereas Gen. Yahya Khan summoned the elected representatives of the people to meet on March 3, 1971, for the purpose of framing a constitution, and

Whereas the Assembly so summoned was arbitrarily and illegally postponed for an indefinite period, and

Treacherous War

Whereas instead of fulfilling their promise and while still conferring with the representatives of the people of Bangla Desh the Pakistan authorities declared an unjust and treacherous war, and Whereas in the facts and circumstances of such treacherous conduct Bangabandhu Sheikh Mujibur Rahman, the undisputed leader of 75 million people of Bangla Desh, in due fulfillment of the legitimate right of self-determination of the people of Bangla Desh, duly made a declaration of independence at Dacca on March 26, 1971, and urged the people of Bangla Desh to defend the honour and integrity of Bangla Desh, and

Whereas in the conduct of a ruthless and savage war the Pakistani authorities committed and are still committing numerous acts of genocide and unprecedented tortures, amongst others on the civilian and unarmed people of Bangla Desh, and

Whereas the Pakistan Government by levying an unjust war and committing genocide and by other repressive measures made it impossible for the elected representatives of the people of Bangla Desh to meet and frame a constitution, and give to themselves a government, and

Whereas the people of Bangla Desh by their heroism, bravery and revolutionary fervor have established effective control over the territories of Bangla Desh,

We, the elected representatives of the people of Bangla Desh, as honour-bound by the mandate given to us by the people of Bangla Desh whose will is supreme, duly constituted ourselves into a Constituent Assembly, and

Having held mutual consultations, and

In order to ensure for the people of Bangla Desh equality, human dignity and social justice,

Declare and constitute Bangla Desh to be a Sovereign People's. Republic and thereby confirm the declaration of independence already made by Bangabandhu Sheikh Mujibur Rahman, and

Do hereby confirm and resolve that till such time as a constitution is framed, Bangabandhu Sheikh Mujibur Rahman shall be the President of the Republic and that Syed Nazrul Islam shall be the Vice-President of the Republic, and

That the President shall be the Supreme Commander of all the armed forces of the Republic,

Shall exercise all the executive and legislative powers of the Republic including the power to grant pardon,

Shall have the power to appoint a Prime Minister as he considers necessary, shall have the power to levy taxes and expend monies,

Shall have the power to summon and adjourn the Constituent Assembly, and

Do all other things that may be necessary to give to the people of Bangla Desh an orderly and just government.

Retrospective Effect

We the elected representatives of the people of Bangla Desh do further resolve that in the event of there being no President or the President being unable to enter upon his office or being unable to exercise his powers and duties due to any reason whatsoever, the Vice-President shall have and exercise all the powers, duties and responsibilities herein conferred on the President.

We further resolve that we undertake to observe and give effect to all duties and obligations devolved upon us as a member of the family of nations and by the Charter of the United Nations

We further resolve that to give effect to this our resolution, we authorize and appoint Prof M Yusuf Ali our duly constituted potentiary to give to the President and Vice-President oaths of office.

India Resolves

The Resolution Passed in Both Houses of India's Parliament on 31 March, 1971.

The following Resolution was passed in both Houses of the Indian Parliament on March 31, 1971.

Text of the Resolution

This House expresses its deep anguish and grave concern at the recent developments in East Bengal. A massive attack by armed forces, dispatched from West Pakistan, has been unleashed against the entire people of East Bengal with a view to suppressing their urges and aspirations.

Instead of respecting the will of the people so unmistakably expressed through the election in Pakistan, in December 1970, the Government of Pakistan has chosen to flout the mandate of the people.

The Government of Pakistan has not only refused to transfer power to legally elected representatives but has arbitrarily prevented the National Assembly from assuming its rightful and sovereign role. The people of East Bengal are being sought to be suppressed by the naked use of force, by bayonets, machine guns, tanks, artillery and aircraft.

The Government and people of India have always desired and worked for peaceful, normal and fraternal relations with Pakistan. However, situated as India is and bound as the peoples of the sub-continent are by centuries-old ties of history, culture and tradition, this House cannot remain indifferent to the macabre tragedy being enacted so close to our border. Throughout the length and breadth of our land, our people have condemned in unmistakable terms the atrocities now being perpetrated on an unprecedented scale upon an unarmed and innocent people.

This House expresses its profound sympathy for and solidarity with the people of East Bengal in their struggle for a democratic way of life.

Bearing in mind the permanent interests which India has in peace, and committed as we are to uphold and defend human rights, this House demands immediate cessation of the use of force and the massacre of defenseless people. This House calls upon all peoples and Governments of the world to take urgent and constructive steps to prevail upon the Government of Pakistan to put an end immediately to the systematic decimation of people which amounts to genocide.

This House records its profound conviction that the historic upsurge of the 75 million people of East Bengal will triumph. The House wishes to assure them that their struggle and sacrifices will receive the wholehearted sympathy and support of the people of India.

The War Has Come

Mrs. Gandhi's Statement In Parliament on Dec. 4, 1971

Mr. Speaker,

This morning the Government of West Pakistan has declared war upon us. We meet as a fighting Parliament. A war has been forced upon us, a war we did not seek and did our utmost to prevent. The avoidable has happened. West Pakistan has struck with reckless perfidy.

Last evening the West Pakistan Air Force violated our air space wantonly and attacked a large number of our airfields. Simultaneously their ground forces shelled our positions along the Western border. Their propaganda media have made totally baseless allegations that India had launched an assault.

The news reached me, just as I was leaving Calcutta. Immediately on my return I took counsel with my colleagues and with the leaders of the Opposition parties. We were all of one mind—united in our resolve that the nation's freedom should be defended and unanimous that the aggressor should be beaten back. I am sure that the same sense of solidarity will mark our work in the difficult days ahead. A State of Emergency has been proclaimed. We are approaching the House to adopt the Defence of India Bill.

Our feeling is one of regret that Pakistan did not desist from the ultimate folly and sorrow that at a time when the greatest need of this sub-continent is development, the peoples of India and Pakistan have been pushed into war. We could have lived as good neighbours but the people of West Pakistan have never had a say in their destiny. In this grave hour, our own dominant emotion is one of confidence and faith.

For over nine months, the military regime of West Pakistan has barbarously trampled upon freedom and basic human rights in Bangla Desh. The army of occupation has committed heinous crimes, unmatched for their vindictive ferocity. Many millions have been uprooted; ten millions have been pushed into our country.

We repeatedly drew the attention of the world to this annihilation of a whole people to this menace and to our security. Everywhere the people showed sympathy and understanding for the economic and other burdens and the danger to India. But Governments seemed morally and politically paralyzed. Belated efforts to persuade the Islamabad regime to take some step which could lead to a lasting solution fell on deaf ears.

The wrath of the West Pakistan army has been aroused because the people of Bangla Desh have stood and struggled for values which the army is unable to comprehend, and which it has suppressed in every province of Pakistan. As the Mukti Bahini's effectiveness increased, the West Pakistan army became more desperate. Our

tradition is to stand not with tyrants but with the oppressed. And so the anger has been turned upon us.

West Pakistan has escalated and enlarged the aggression against Bangla Desh into full war against India. War needs as much patience and self-restraint as does peace. The military regime of West Pakistan will go all out to sow suspicion and rumor in the hope of fomenting communal tension and internal trouble. Let us not be taken in by their designs. We must maintain unity and a sense of high purpose.

We should be prepared for a long struggle. High production, agricultural and industrial, is the foundation upon which defence rests. The courage and fighting capability of the jawans have to be backed by the dedication of the farmer, the worker, the technician and the trader.

The business community has a special responsibility to resist the temptation to hoard or to charge higher profit. Artistes and writers, teachers and students, the nation looks to them to defend our ideals to keep high our morale. To the women of our country I make special appeal to save every possible grain and rupee, to avoid waste. The sacrifice of each of us will build the nation's strength and enduring power.

We have stood for peace but peace itself has to be defended. Today we are fighting to safeguard our territorial integrity and national honour. Above all, we are fighting for the ideals we cherish and the cause of freedom.

A Partner in Progress

Recognition to Bangla Desh

The Prime Minister, Mrs. Indira Gandhi, made the following: statement in Parliament announcing the decision of the Government of India to grant recognition to the Government of *Gana Praja Tantri Bangla Desh*:

The valiant struggle of the people of Bangla Desh in the face of tremendous odds has opened a new chapter of heroism in the history of freedom movements.

Earlier, they had recorded a great democratic victory in their elections and even the President of Pakistan had conceded the right of Sheikh Mujibur Rahman to become Prime Minister of Pakistan. We shall never know what intervened to transform, this benevolent mood and realistic approach, if it really was that, to deception and the posture of open hatred.

We are told that Sheikh Mujibur Rahman and his party, the Awami League, had planned a non-violent movement of resistance to the Government of West Pakistan. But they were caught unaware and overtaken by a brutal military assault. They had no alternative but to declare for independence. The East Pakistan Rifles and East Bengal Regiment became the Mukti Fauj and later the Mukti Bahini, which was joined by thousands of young East Bengalis determined to sacrifice their lives for freedom and the right to fashion their future. The unity, determination and courage with which the entire population of Bangla Desh is fighting have been recorded by the world Press.

These events on our door-step and the resulting flood of refugees into our territory could not but have far-reaching repercussions on our country. It was natural that our sympathy should be with the people of Bangla Desh in their just struggle. But we did not act precipitately in the matter of recognition. Our decisions were not guided merely by emotion but by an assessment of prevailing and future realities.

With the unanimous revolt of the entire people of Bangla Desh and the success of their struggle it has become increasingly apparent that the so-called mother State of Pakistan is totally incapable of bringing the people of Bangla Desh back under its control. As for the legitimacy of the Government of Bangla Desh the whole world is now aware that it reflects the will of the overwhelming majority of the people, which not many Governments can claim to represent. In Jefferson's famous words to Governor Morris, the Government of Bangla Desh is supported by the "will of the nation, substantially expressed". Applying this criterion, the Military regime in Pakistan, whom some States are so anxious to buttress, is hardly representative of its people even in West Pakistan.

Now that Pakistan is waging war against India, the normal hesitation on our part not to do anything which could come in the way of a peaceful solution, or which might be construed as intervention, has lost significance. The people of Bangla Desh battling for

their very existence and the people of India fighting to defeat aggression now find themselves partisans in the same cause.

I am glad to inform the House that in the light of the existing situation and in response to the repeated requests of the Government of Bangla Desh, the Government of India have, after the most careful consideration, decided to grant recognition to the *Gana Praja Tantri Bangla Desh*.

It is our hope that with the passage of time more nations will grant recognition and that the *Gana Praja Tantri Bangla Desh* will soon form part of the family of nations.

Our thoughts at this moment are with the father of this new State—Sheikh Mujibur Rahman. I am sure that this House would wish me to convey to Their Excellencies the Acting President of Bangla Desh and the Prime Minister and to their colleagues, our greetings and warm felicitations.

I am placing on the Table of the House copies of the communications which we have received from the Government of Bangla Desh. Hon'ble Members will be glad to know that the Government of Bangla Desh have proclaimed their basic principles of State policy to be democracy, socialism, secularism and the establishment of an egalitarian society in which there would be no discrimination on the basis of race, religion, sex or creed. In regard to foreign relations, the Bangla Desh Government have expressed their determination to follow a policy of non- alignment, peaceful coexistence and opposition to colonialism, racialism and imperialism in all its manifestations. These are the ideals to which India also is dedicated.

The Bangla Desh Government has reiterated their anxiety to organise the expeditious return of their citizens who have found temporary refuge in our country, and to restore their lands and belongings to them. We shall naturally help in every way in these arrangements.

I am confident that in future the Governments and the peoples of India and Bangla Desh, who share common ideals and sacrifices, will force a relationship based on the principles of mutual respect for each other's sovereignty and territorial integrity, non-interference in internal affairs, equality and mutual benefit. Thus working together for freedom and democracy we shall set an example of good neighborliness which alone can ensure peace, stability and progress in this region. Our good wishes to Bangla Desh.

Bond of Brotherhood

The Treaty Between India and Bangla Desh

The following is the text of the Treaty of Friendship, Cooperation and Peace between Bangla Desh and India signed by Prime Minister Sheikh Mujibur Rahman and Prime Minister Indira Gandhi.

Inspired by common ideals of peace, secularism, democracy, socialism and nationalism.

Having struggled together for the realisation of these ideals and cemented ties of friendship through blood and sacrifices which led to the triumphant emergence of a free, sovereign and independent Bangla Desh.

Determined to maintain fraternal and good neighbourly relations and transform their border into a border of eternal peace and friendship.

Adhering firmly to the basic tenets of non-alignment, peaceful co-existence, mutual co-operation, non-interference in internal affairs and respect for territorial integrity and sovereignty.

Determined to safeguard peace stability and security and:
to promote progress of their respective countries through all possible avenues of mutual co-operation.

Determined further to expand and strengthen the existing, relations of friendship between them.

Convinced that the further development of friendship and cooperation meets the national interest of both States as well as the interests of lasting peace in Asia and the world.

Resolved to contribute to strengthening world peace and security and to make efforts to bring about a relaxation of international tension and the final elimination of vestiges of colonialism, racialism and imperialism.

Convinced that in the present day world international problems can be solved only through cooperation and not through conflict or confrontation.

Reaffirming their determination to follow the aims and principles of the United Nations Charter.

The People's Republic of Bangla Desh, on the one hand, and the Republic of India, on the other, has decided to conclude the present treaty.

Article 1. The high contracting parties, inspired by the ideals for which their respective peoples struggled and made sacrifices together, solemnly declare that there shall be lasting peace and friendship between their two countries and their peoples. Each side shall respect the independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity of the other and refrain from interfering in the internal affairs of the other side.

The high contracting parties shall further develop and strengthen the relations of friendship, good neighborliness and all-round co-operation existing between them, on the basis of the above-mentioned principles as well as the principles of equality and mutual benefit.

Article 2. Being guided by their devotion to the principle of equality of all peoples and States, irrespective of race or creed, the high contracting parties condemn colonialism and racialism in all their forms and manifestations and reaffirm their determination to strive for their final and complete elimination.

The high contracting parties shall co-operate other States in achieving the aims and support the just aspirations of peoples in their struggle against colonial and racial discrimination and for their national liberation.

Article 3. The high contracting parties reaffirm their faith in the policy of non-alignment and peaceful co-existence as import factors for easing tension in the world, maintaining international peace and security and strengthening national sovereignty and independence.

Article 4. The high contracting parties shall maintain regular contacts with each other on major international problems affecting the interests of both States through meetings and exchanges of views at all levels.

Article 5. The high contracting parties shall continue to strengthen and widen their mutually advantageous and all-round cooperation in the economic, scientific and technical fields. The two countries shall develop mutual co-operation in the fields of trade, transport and communications between them on the basis of the principles of equality, mutual benefit and the most favored national principle.

Joint Action

Article 6. The high contracting parties further agree to make joint studies and take joint action in the fields of flood control, river basin development and the development of hydro-electric power and irrigation.

Article 7. The high contracting parties shall promote relations in the fields of art, literature, education, culture, sports and health.

Article 8. In accordance with the ties of friendship existing between the two countries, each of the high contracting parties solemnly declares that it shall not enter into or participate in any military alliance directed against the other party

Each of the high contracting parties shall refrain from any aggression against the other party and shall not allow the use of its territory for committing any act that may cause military damage to or constitute a threat to the security of the other high contracting party

Article 9. Each of the high contracting parties shall refrain from giving any assistance to any third party taking part in an armed conflict against the other party.

In case either party is attacked or threatened with attack, the high contracting parties shall immediately enter into mutual consultations in order to take appropriate effective measure to eliminate the threat and thus ensure the peace and security of their countries.

Article 10. Each of the high contracting parties solemnly declares that it shall not undertake any commitment, secret or open, towards one or more States which may be incompatible with the present treaty.

Article 11. The present treaty is signed for a term of 25 years and shall be subject to renewal by mutual agreement of the high contracting parties. The treaty that come into force with immediate effect from the date of its signature.

Article 12. Any difference in interpreting an Article or articles of the present treaty that may arise between the high contracting parties shall be settled on a bilateral basis by peaceful means in a spirit of mutual respect and understanding.”

The following is the text of the joint declaration signed in Dacca today by Mrs. Indira Gandhi, and Sheikh Mujibur Rahman:

“1. At the invitation of his Excellency the Prime Minister of Bangla Desh, Sheikh Mujibur Rahman, the Prime Minister of India, Mrs. Indira Gandhi, visited Dacca from the 17 to 19 March, 1972.

“The Indian Prime Minister was accompanied by the External Affairs Minister, Mr. Swaran Singh, Prof. S Chakravarty, Member of the Planning Commission, Mr. P.N. Haksar, Principal Secretary to the Prime Minister, Mr. T.N. Kaul, Foreign Secretary, Mr. P.N. Dhar, Secretary to Prime Minister, and other officials.

“During her stay in Dacca, the Prime Minister addressed a mammoth public meeting and was accorded a civic reception. The affection and warmth shown by the people of Bangla Desh on these occasions towards the Indian Prime Minister were

symbolic of the close friendship and fraternal feelings that characterize the relations between the peoples of India and Bangla Desh.

“2. The two Prime Ministers discussed matters of mutual interest at length on several occasions during this visit. The Indian External Affairs Minister, Mr. Swaran Singh, also held separate talks with the Foreign Minister of Bangla Desh, Mr. Abdus Samad Azad, on bilateral relations and on the international situation.

“3. The opportunity of this visit was utilized to have substantive discussions at the officials’ level on all aspects of relations between the two countries and also to review the international situation with the special reference to the problems that Bangla Desh and India face in the context of recent developments in Asia.

Political Matters

“At the official level talks on political matters, the Bangla Desh side was represented by Mr Rahul Quddus, Principal Secretary, Mr. S.A.M.S. Kibria, Secretary, Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Bangla Desh Ambassador to India, Dr. A.R. Mallick, Mr Justice Munim, Law Secretary, and Mr. Nurul Islam of the Home Ministry.

“4. At the talks on economic matters, the Bangla Desh side was represented by Mr. Nurul Islam, Deputy Chairman of the Planning Commission, Dr. Musharraf Hussain, member of the Planning commission, Mr. Matiul Islam, Finance Secretary, Mr. B. M. Abbas, Adviser to the Prime Minister on Irrigation and Flood Control, Mr. Nur Mohammad, Commerce Secretary, Mr. A. Samad, Transport Secretary, Mr. Al-Hussainy, Secretary, Power and Irrigation, and other officials.

“5. The Prime Minister of Bangla Desh expressed admiration for the valiant armed forces of India who made supreme sacrifices in fighting shoulder to shoulder with all sections of the brave Mukti Bahini to end the tyrannical colonial rule of Pakistan in the sacred soil of Bangla Desh. He mentioned with appreciation the impeccable behavior of the Indian troops during their brief stay in Bangla Desh. Having accomplished their mission, the last units of the Indian armed forces had withdrawn earlier than the deadline agreed upon

“6 Reviewing the international situation with particular reference to recent developments in Asia, the two Prime Ministers took note of the forces threatening the security, stability and territorial integrity of countries of the region They affirm their solidarity in resisting these forces. Both the Prime Ministers express the confidence that the close and firm bonds of friendship between the peoples of India and Bangla Desh would effectively counter efforts by interested countries to reverse the course of history.

“7. In this context the two Prime Ministers, declare their determination to continue to adhere to the policy of non-alignment which has played a positive and constructive role in strengthening national sovereignty and independence and the forces of peace, stability and prosperity in international relations.

“8. To give concrete expression to the similarity of views, ideals and interests between ~India and Bangla Desh, the two Prime Ministers decided to sign a treaty of friendship and cooperation and peace.

Regular Contacts

“9 The two Prime Ministers further decide that in order to strengthen co-operation between the two countries, regular consultations shall be held between the officials of the Ministries of Foreign Affairs, Defence Planning Commissions and the Ministries and Departments dealing with economic, commercial, cultural and technical affairs of the two Governments. Such consultations will take place periodically, at least once every six months.

“10. The Prime Minister of Bangla Desh drew the attention of the Prime Minister of India to the plight of the Bengali population in Pakistan and emphasised the imperative need for their early repatriation. The Prime Minister of India assures the Government of Bangla Desh of all assistance in facilitating the process, particularly in giving transit facilities for such repatriation.

“11. The Prime Minister of Bangla Desh apprised the Prime Minister of India of the steps taken by the Government of Bangla Desh to expedite the trials of members of Pakistani armed forces and civil servants who are guilty of committing war crimes, genocide and crimes against humanity in Bangla Desh, in accordance with international law.

Both the Prime Ministers express the hope that these trials will bring the guilty persons to justice and also bring home to the world at large the enormity of the sufferings of the people of Bangla Desh. The Prime Minister of India assures the Prime Minister of Bangla Desh that the Government of India will fully co-operate with the Government of Bangla Desh in bringing those guilty persons to justice who are responsible for the worst genocide in recent times.

“At the same time the two Prime Ministers agree that seriously sick and wounded prisoners of war who are not guilty of war crimes will be repatriated to Pakistan as a matter of priority by mutual consent of reciprocity.

Entry into UN

“12. In the context of the declared adherence of the Government and the people of Bangla Desh to the ideas and objectives of the United Nations Charter, the Prime Minister of India assures the Government of Bangla Desh of the Government of India’s full support and cooperation for the admission of Bangla Desh to the United Nations and other UN agencies. Both the Prime Ministers agree that Bangla Desh’s joining the UN would be a significant step forward in promoting world peace and ensuring stability in South Asia.

“13. The two Prime Ministers declare that the Indian Ocean area should be kept free of Great Power rivalries and military competitions. They express their opposition to the creation of land, air and naval bases in the area. It is their conviction that this is the only way of ensuring the freedom of navigation and safety of the sea-lanes in the Indian Ocean for trade and commerce which is vital to the development and stability of the littoral States. The two Prime Ministers further express their determination to endeavor to make the Indian Ocean area a nuclear-free zone.

“14. Consistent with the decisions taken at the meetings of the Foreign Ministers of Bangla Desh and India in January, 1972, and of the Prime Ministers early in February, 1972, to strengthen economic and developmental co-operation, the two Prime Ministers decide:

“(A) To establish a joint Rivers Commission comprising of experts of both countries on a permanent basis to carry out a comprehensive survey of the river systems shared by the two countries, formulate projects concerning both the countries in the fields of flood control and to implement them

“Experts of the two countries are directed to formulate detailed proposals on advance flood warnings, flood forecasting, study of flood control and irrigation projects on the major river systems and examine the feasibility of linking the power grids of Bangla Desh with the adjoining areas of India, so that the water resources of the region can be utilized on an equitable basis for the mutual benefit of the peoples of the two countries.

Trade Principles

“(B) The Prime Minister of Bangla Desh expressed his gratitude to the Prime Minister of India for the economic assistance extended so far and for assurances of future assistance according to the requirement of Bangla Desh. The two Prime Ministers reviewed the progress of deliveries of supplies of food grain and other commodities under the economic assistance programme and recognised the need to accelerate deliveries under this programme in view of the urgent economic, need of the rehabilitation programme in Bangla Desh

“(C) Both the Prime Ministers approved the principles of the’ revival of transit trade and the agreement on border trade.

“They directed that these agreement as well as the general trade and payments agreements, should be signed by the end of March, 1972.

“15. Keeping in view the important role that science and technology plays in accelerating economic and social development, the two Prime Ministers direct that experts and officials of the Government of Bangla Desh and India shall have consultations and exchange information on:

“(a) Peaceful uses of nuclear energy,

- “(b) technological and scientific research for industrial development,
- “(c) utilization of future space research for communication purposes.

“16. Conscious of the close historical and cultural affinities between the peoples of India and Bangla Desh, the two Prime Ministers decides that concrete steps should be taken by the appropriate agencies of the two Governments to strengthen cultural relations between the two countries. The two Prime Ministers direct that the concerned authorities of the two Governments should undertake immediate discussions for the signing of a bilateral agreement on cultural, scientific and technological co-operation.

“17. The two Prime Ministers are fully satisfied at the progress made and the concrete results achieved during their talks at Dacca and express the hope that these understandings and agreements would constitute a sound and durable basis for co-operation between India and Bangla Desh for the mutual benefit and prosperity of the peoples of the two countries.

“18. The Prime Minister of India thanks the Prime Minister of Bangla Desh for the hospitality, affection and kindness shown to her and her colleagues by the Prime Minister and Begum Mujibur Rahman, the Government and the people of Bangla Desh during her visit to Dacca. The Prime Minister of Bangla Desh expressed satisfaction that the Prime Minister of India found time in spite of her many pre-occupation to visit Bangla Desh.

“19. The two Prime Ministers express the conviction that the bonds of fraternity and friendship forged during the freedom struggle of Bangla Desh and cemented by the sacrifices made by the peoples of both the countries shall continue to grow and become a vital factor in strengthening the forces of peace and progress in Asia and the world.”

In The Name of God

President Yahya Khan's Broadcast to His Nation at 12.30 p.m. on December 4, 1971

My Beloved Countrymen,

Our enemy has once again challenged us. The Indian armed forces have launched full scale attacks on several fronts in Pakistan.

India's hatred for and enmity towards Pakistan is well-known the world over. It has always been India's endeavor to see that Pakistan is weakened and ultimately destroyed. India's latest and serious aggression fits into this pattern. All along, we tolerated this but now time has come when we have to give a befitting reply to the enemy.

Twelve crore Mujahjds of Pakistan, rise—the blessings of Allah is with you and Rasul Karim will guide you. The enemy has once again challenged our capability to defend ourselves. And we have to face them unitedly and as one man. Our cause is just and we have to face the enemy defeat him with the spirit of Islam and all the strength at our command. We have to show the enemy that every Pakistani can lay down his life for the sake of his country.

The valiant *jawans* of our armed forces have halted the advance of the enemy. Our forces are not afraid of the numerical superiority of the enemy. They know very well that number and equipment are not decisive in Winning victory in war. With true Islamic spirit, determination and confidence we will throw the aggressor not only out of our territory but will chase the enemy and crush him in his own territory.

Our brave soldiers taught the Indians good lesson in the 1965 war. This time too they will strike at the enemy with even greater intensity. We will safeguard our country, no matter what the sacrifice is. We are confident that in safeguarding our freedom and territorial integrity we will receive the sympathy of all peace and justice loving nations and our friends. Undoubtedly the Indian aggression will be strongly condemned by these nations who will, I am confident, support us in our endeavor.

I appeal to every one of you to remain calm. Everyone has to work for the defence of the country by maintaining national unity. Move forward and strike at the enemy. God is with us.

(Throughout the broadcast, President Yahya Khan appealed to the sentiments of Islam and Allah. For the first time he spoke in Urdu. So far he has made such broadcasts in English only).

Appeal To Conscience

President Podgorny's Message to Yahya Khan

Esteemed Mr. President,

The reports that the talks in Dacca had been broken off and that the military administration had found it possible to resort to extreme measures and used armed force against the population of East Pakistan was met with great alarm in the Soviet Union.

Soviet people cannot but be concerned by the numerous casualties, by the sufferings and privations that such a development of events brings to the people of Pakistan. Concern is also caused in the Soviet Union by the arrests and persecution of Mujibur Rahman and other politicians who had received such convincing support by the overwhelming majority of the population of East Pakistan at the recent general elections. Soviet people have always sincerely wished the people of Pakistan all the best and prosperity and rejoiced at their successes in solving in a democratic manner the complex problems that faced the country.

In these days of trial for the Pakistani people we cannot but say a few words coming from true friends. We have been and remain convinced that the complex problems that have arisen in Pakistan of late can and must be solved politically, without the use of force. Continuation of repressive measures and bloodshed in East Pakistan will, undoubtedly, only make the solution of the problems more difficult and do great harm to the vital interests of the entire people of Pakistan.

We consider it our duty to address you, Mr. President, on behalf of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR, with an insistent appeal for the adoption of the most urgent measures to stop the bloodshed and repressions against the population in East Pakistan and for turning to methods of a peaceful political settlement. We are convinced that this would meet the interests of the entire people of Pakistan, and the interests of preserving peace in the area.

A peaceful solution of the problems that have arisen would be received with satisfaction by the entire Soviet people.

In appealing to you we are guided by the generally recognised humanitarian principles recorded in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights and by concern for the welfare of the friendly people of Pakistan.

We hope, Mr. President that you will correctly interpret the motives by which we are guided in making this appeal. It is our sincere wish that tranquility and justice be established in East Pakistan in the shortest possible time.

Big Brother's Backing

Mr. Chou En-Lai's Message to Yahya Khan⁸

I have read your Excellency's letter and Ambassador Chang Tung's report on your Excellency's conversation with him.

I am grateful to your Excellency for your trust in the Chinese Government. China and Pakistan are friendly neighbours.

The Chinese Government and people are following with close concern the development of the present situation in Pakistan.

Your Excellency and leaders of various quarters in Pakistan have done a great deal of useful work to uphold the unification of Pakistan and to prevent it from moving towards a split

We believe that through the wise consultations and efforts of your Excellency and leaders of various quarters in Pakistan the situation in Pakistan will certainly be restored to normal.

In our opinion the unification of Pakistan and the unity of the people of East and West Pakistan are the basic guarantees for Pakistan to attain prosperity and strength.

Here it is most important to differentiate the broad masses of the people from a handful of persons who want to sabotage the unification of Pakistan.

As a genuine friend of Pakistan we would like to present these views for your Excellency's reference.

At the same time we have noted that of late the Indian Government has been carrying out gross interference in the internal affairs of Pakistan by exploiting the internal problems of your country.

And the Soviet Union and the USA are doing the same one after the other.

The Chinese Press is carrying reports to expose such un-reasonable interference and has published your Excellency's letter of reply to Podgorny (Soviet President).

The Chinese Government holds that what is happening in Pakistan at present is purely the internal affair of Pakistan which can only be settled by the Pakistan people themselves and which brooks no foreign interference whatsoever.

⁸ Broadcast on Radio Pakistan on April 11, 1971

Your Excellency may rest assured that, should the Indian expansionists dare to launch aggression against Pakistan, the Chinese Government and people will, as always, firmly support Pakistan Government and people in their just struggle to safeguard state sovereignty and national independence.

In Mr. Bhutto's Honour

Mr. Chi Peng-fei's Statement

A Pakistan delegation, under the leadership of Mr. Bhutto, visited China from November 5 to 8. China's Acting Foreign Minister, Chi Peng-Fei, gave a banquet in honour of the visiting Pakistani delegation on November 7, 1971. In his welcome speech, Mr. Chi Peng-Fei said: "The friendly relations and cooperation between our two countries and the friendship between our two peoples have been consolidated and developed continuously.

"He spoke highly of the Pakistan people who had a glorious tradition of opposing imperialism and expansionism. He said: In order to defend their state sovereignty, territorial integrity and national independence, they have waged unremitting struggles against foreign aggressors, interventionists and domestic secessionists. The Pakistan Government is adhered to its foreign policy of independence and contributed to the defence of peace in Asia and the promotion of Afro-Asian solidarity.

Chi Peng-Fei continued: Of late, the Indian Government has crudely interfered in Pakistan's internal affairs, carried out subversive activities and military threats against Pakistan by continuing to exploit the East Pakistan question. The Chinese Government and people are greatly concerned over the present tension in the sub-continent. We maintain that the internal affairs of any country must be handled by its own people. The East Pakistan question is the internal affair of Pakistan and a reasonable settlement should be sought by the Pakistan people themselves, and it is absolutely impermissible for any foreign country to carry out interference and subversion under any pretext. Consistently abiding by the Five Principles of peaceful co-existence, the Chinese Government never interferes in the internal affairs of other countries and firmly opposes any country interfering in the internal affairs of other countries. This is our firm and unshakable stand. We believe that the broad masses of the Pakistan people are patriotic and they want to safeguard national unity and unification of the country, oppose internal split and outside interference. It is our hope that the Pakistan people will strengthen their unity and make joint efforts to overcome difficulties and solve their own problems. We have noted that certain persons are truculently exerting pressure on Pakistan by exploiting tension in the sub-continent, in a wild attempt to realize their ulterior motives. The Chinese Government and people have always held that disputes between states should be settled by the two sides concerned through consultations and not by resorting to force. The reasonable proposal put forward recently by President Yahya Khan for the armed forces of India and Pakistan to withdraw from the border respectively and disengage is helpful to easing tension in the sub-continent and should be received with welcome. Our Pakistan friends may rest assured that should Pakistan be subjected to foreign aggression, the Chinese Government and people will, as always, resolutely support the Pakistan Government and people in their just struggle to defend their state sovereignty and national independence."

—*From Peking Review, November 12, 1971,*

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