

Speeches and  
Statements  
October 1 - December 31, 1972

# Zulfiqar Ali Bhutto



Reproduced by  
**Sani H. Panhwar**  
Member Sindh Council, PPP

*President of Pakistan*

**ZULFIKAR ALI**

**BHUTTO**

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***Interview with Mr. Van Rosmalen, Chief Editor, Elseviers Magazine, Amsterdam, at Rawalpindi on October 1, 1972***

***President:*** Is this your first visit to Pakistan?

***Question:*** Yes, It is for the first time that I am visiting Pakistan and, I must say, I am very much impressed with your work of picking up the pieces you inherited on assumption of office.

***President:*** Well, I am trying to do my best.

***Question:*** Yes, starting from scratch.....

***President:*** We began from scratch in 1947 also; that is , physically speaking. Now, psychologically also we are beginning from scratch. The people have been deeply affected by the events of these last two years. Many feel or have felt a lack of confidence which has to be restored. They felt that they had failed or that their leaders had failed. To restore a normal balance between the people and their leaders is a big task. There is a lot of critical questioning; anything the leaders do now, the people examine it cynically. A new equilibrium has to be established between them.

***Question:*** *After ten months what is the impact of the separation of the eastern part of the country?*

***President:*** The impact on the minds of the people remains quite significant and this is natural because we were one country, we had struggled together, in a common caused, to become one. Of course, there was geographical separation which made it look odd. But, that seemed more odd to outsiders than to those who had been together in the struggle and who had managed to keep together for 25 years although we were separated by a thousand miles. So the severance has been painful, both politically and psychologically. It has also naturally affected the pride of the nation, the pride of the people, their feelings. These factors are all present, and in some respects the problems have been aggravated more by the negative attitude of the people on the other side. Here our difficulties need to be appreciated. With a little more understanding on the other side we could have made much more progress in trying to improve conditions, make them as normal as they can be in the circumstances. But, today, the people here are touchy and sensitive on this matter. I don't think that the gap of ten months has affected their memory to the extent of making them less sensitive.

***Question:*** *For ten months you have been, to quote you, picking up the pieces and to start again. Are you satisfied with your progress?*

***President:*** Fairly satisfied. I would like to be more satisfied. But there have been difficulties. It has not only been the physical severance between two parts of the country, but with physical severance we have also had to cope with changed systems, both political and economic. Political, because from military dictatorship we have returned to democracy; to parliamentary democracy, to be more precise. We are also

trying to effect many changes in the economic structure so that it is more in conformity with our requirements and with the requirements of social justice, changes which will enable me to deal with our colossal problem of poverty and distorted distribution of wealth. So what has happened is that while we are trying to pick up the pieces, and the pieces are many – small pieces in the constitutional fabric, in the political fabric, in the economic and social fabric – and putting them together we are also introducing fundamental and real economic reforms. This has upset the business community, and its reaction is understandable to some extent. But I don't see why, even after ten months, the business community has not settled down and started making its contribution to the economy. Repeatedly, we have made it clear that for the time being, that is, for a period of five years, we do not intend to do more than what we have done. That should give them sufficient assurance because I think only about 20 per cent or 18 per cent are still in the private sector; that with this 80 per cent, with so many industries, so many enterprises, their owners should not feel impoverished; they should not feel that they will be on the streets. But they are not making the necessary contribution.

In the political field also, we have planted a very small and delicate plant of democracy. It will have to take root; it will have to grow. But suddenly, now, after fifteen years of sealed lips, when lips have been unsealed, people once again have gone on a verbal rampage without any regard for each other's rights and feelings. They justify this as freedom of expression. They want to disregard all laws, from treason to perjury, and call it freedom of the press. The point is that when we pick up the political pieces, then, these elements make atrocious charges, unbecoming charges, unbecoming of them and of a free nation. But, you see, this is also a part of the earlier story; the people's moral, ethical and psychological balance has to be restored since it has been very badly upset by the events of last two years, specially of the last year. The people have become suspicious.

I give you the example of Simla Agreement. This is an agreement pre-eminently good for Pakistan and good for peace in the subcontinent. In tangible terms Pakistan has to get back five thousand square miles of territory enabling a million refugees, affected by the occupation, to return to their homes. And yet there are individuals, some of them quite intelligent, some of them have held high office before, who have been ruthlessly critical of the Simla Agreement, attributing all kinds of motives. When they could not find any motive, and nothing wrong with the Agreement, they then started saying that there must be some secret clauses in it. The point is; why should a democratically elected President, who has to go back to the people, have secret clauses in such an agreement. After all no secret remains secret for ever, especially in an international agreement. They made this charge when they could find no defect with the Agreement. If there was nothing on the surface, they seemed to argue, there must be something beneath it, inside. There is nothing inside.

But all this obstructs the picking up of the political pieces. We are still picking them up and building up the country. I am confident that if we did not have so much of lack of co-operation from the business community; if there was a little more restraint – and I do not ask for more – in the political process; and if there is a little more realization among the proletariat that hard work and only hard work can build

countries, the task of reconstruction would be easier. The system might be right but that system cannot work if the people are not prepared to work and sweat. In Europe, you could not remain what you are without hard work. Europe was not made on the battle-fields. Europe was made by the hard work of its people. Not by the dictators who won wars but by the workers who increased the output of the factories, and by the peasants who tilled the land and raised its yield. That is true also of China, of Asia, of the Soviet Union. So our people must also realize that although we can give them the right system it is they who will have to increase production. They will have to work from morning till evening and with that make their contribution to the growth of the country. We are trying to inculcate that spirit among our people, by example and by education.

**Question:** *Would you now regard Bangla Desh as a sovereign state?*

**President:** They are making efforts to get into the United Nations. Let us see what decision is taken there because sovereign states are admitted to the United Nations. Sovereignty is not just an expression. It is also a state of mind. Sovereignty does not only have a legal connotation. Of course, people are sovereign everywhere. The fundamental matter is that there should be an agreement between us. Once there is an agreement between us we will resolve all these questions, legal and technical, and those of pride and those of prejudice. All these questions can be resolved.

**Question:** *Do you think the East can stand on its own feet in future?*

**President:** I wish them well, because, although they have been separated from us they have been with us and we have been in a common struggle, we have a common history. It is still Muslim Bengal. But on the basis of a humanitarian approach to problems, we will not want anyone to suffer even if they live on the North or South Pole. This is our duty as human beings. We owe this to ourselves; we owe this to society; we owe this to modern civilization. From that point of view, of course, I wish them well. I wish them well whole-heartedly because we have been one nation and we pray for their success. But their problems are really formidable and they will have to find very big men to tackle them. Some of them are very depressing problems. It is a small area, a very small area, and its density of population, I think, is the heaviest in the world. I suppose the United States will have to build a second floor there, because the ground floor is too crowded and there has to be one more storey. The problem of food which goes with that of population has always been there but now, unfortunately, it is becoming more acute along with the problem of essential commodities because of smuggling across the border. Smuggling has become a professional art, and the trouble is that the economies of West Bengal and East Pakistan are such that the drain on East Pakistan has been accelerated. Jute is grown in East Pakistan where since Independence we together built jute mills. But the older, established Jute mills are in India in West Bengal. So, there is a drain on the jute, there is a drain on the foodstuffs, on poultry, on fish because all that also is needed in Calcutta, and of course rice is also needed in Calcutta and in other places in West Bengal. Then the business entrepreneurs in West Bengal are more experienced and they have more world-wide contacts, both in jute and otherwise. The new

entrepreneur who is coming up in East Pakistan is too green to compete with the entrepreneur of West Bengal. So they are facing many problems.

*Question: Could they stand on their own feet, in your view?*

**President:** We wish them to. To my mind, there is no state which have some element of viability. If your question is in this context then my answer is: yes; viability can come with economic assistance from abroad, with charity, with grants, with aid. If you call that viability, then they can be viable. But, if you want them to be viable in the sense of a self-sufficient nation, then it will take them a longer time to reach that viability than it will take us to do that. Of course, they say that they are not going to keep an army and this is going to be a big factor. We have a big army here. It is true that we are spending a great deal on defence and they don't have to spend that much. But I don't think that any established government in East Pakistan, or whatever they want to call themselves, will be able to do without an army altogether and gradually this army will expand and become larger. They have got boundary problems; they have got a boundary with Burma; they have got boundary with India; they are close to Nepal and to Bhutan and Sikkim. In this situation, I don't think they can become completely like Costa Rica and have no army. So I don't know whether they are going to save on that for long. I know what we are spending today on the army. In the foreseeable future I can't see any cut in this expenditure. But, one day, I hope when better sense prevails between India and Pakistan and we resolve our disputes amicably and justly, then we may not have to spend so much on defence.

*Question: If the Simla Agreement is a base for a durable peace, seven years ago there was Tashkent. Are you not afraid that the Simla Agreement has the same weaknesses as the Tashkent Agreement?*

**President:** There are differences between Simla and Tashkent. At Tashkent, the objective conditions were different. Pakistan had not been dismembered, it had not been divided by armed aggression, as it was in 1971. In 1965, if we did not win the war we did not lose it either. In 1965, there was much less territory in hostile occupation of India and in 1965 we had more Indian prisoners of war than the Indians had ours. Today, India has 93,000 of our soldiers and civilians as prisoners of war, while we have 700 Indians. We went to Tashkent in great exaltation, with the confidence of our people who felt we had emerged victorious because a bigger nation – a much bigger nation – had been kept at bay. That was one very big difference in the two situations.

The second point is that in spite of this big qualitative and quantitative difference, we have made the Simla Agreement both a framework and a starting point. At Tashkent, Ayub Khan had most of the cards in his hand. And in spite of this he came to a settlement which the people rejected spontaneously. There were reasons for it: we were in a more favourable position to get a better settlement. Another reason was that Ayub Khan did it all in one go, but I refused to do it like that. At Simla, I made it quite clear to the Indians that I cannot do it in one go; I don't have any authority to do so; I am too humble a person to go and settle all the problems of the last thousand years in one go when others have not succeeded. So we made a modest

beginning at Simla. At Taskhent, Ayub Khan wanted to cover the whole canvass and the whole canvass could not be covered. It was too much. Historical passions and prejudices are involved in the situation. So you have to proceed step by step, from one favourable situation to another favourable situation.

These were two big differences. At Simla we had no cards in our hand. The only card in our hand was that having seen so many upheavals our people had hardened in the face of adversity and had the capacity to face the situation.

**Question:** *Would it not have been wise for you, Pakistan being weaker, to ask for the assistance of the UN in resolving your problems?*

**President:** Well, we have found that the weaker state, to use your word, has generally not been favoured by the UN because there are power politics in the UN also. The Charter of the United Nations is not a legal document. It is a political document.

**Question:** *Have you any examples of such situations?*

**President:** Many, and from the beginning of the United Nations. You might be thinking of your own country's problems where president Soekarno managed to get an agreement against the Netherlands when you were more powerful. But, you see, the point is that there you had to contend both with the genius and the courage of Soekarno who used to believe in brinkmanship and he practiced brinkmanship so well that he had frightened the United States and, you know, the negotiations that United States had with Luns who was then your Foreign Minister. He was very disappointed. He was very disillusioned. So don't let me go into details. Soekarno had the support of the United States.

**Question:** *Are you into afraid that China and USSR will have more and more influence in this part of the world? Did you not seek assistance from China and USSR?*

**President:** It will depend on our own attitude also. Our destiny is not entirely in the hands of others. If we choose to place our destiny in the hands of others we are equally responsible for the consequences. I do not see any contradiction although this is the favourite question of our Western friends. I do not see any contradiction in India having good relations with the Soviet Union and I our having good relations with China. Why I don't see any contradiction is because, first, as I have already said, ultimately the destiny of a nation rests in its own hands. Secondly, we don't mind if India has good relations with the Soviet Union because we also wanted to have good relations with the Soviet Union. There is no dispute between Pakistan and the Soviet Union. So why should we not have wanted good relations with the Soviet Union?

As far as China is concerned, there is a Sino-Indian dispute. We have no dispute with China, and if India does not want the subcontinent to be exposed to foreign interventions, India can resolve her boundary dispute with the Chinese. If the whole world is improving their relations with the Chinese, including the Japanese and

the Americans, why should India be the odd man out. And that again shows how difficult it is to have negotiations with India. We are not the only country which has found it difficult. If we were the only country to have found it difficult to have some negotiated settlement with India, then, you can say, well, it must be the fault of Pakistan, because India has such good relations with everyone else. But the position is the other way round. Our relations with China are very good; our relations with the Soviet Union are good; our relations with Afghanistan are quite normal and friendly; our relations with Nepal are very good; our relations with Bhutan are very good; also with Sikkim and Burma. I mention them because I am talking of one Pakistan – and with Ceylon and Indonesia – they are almost our neighbours. And our relations are good with Iran, with Turkey, with Iraq. India, on the other hand, unfortunately has had strained relations with China, with Pakistan, with Ceylon and with Burma. I do not say that these strains should continue but it is for the Indians to consider the future of the whole region and that of their own people. We are prepared to live in the same world; we have no choice. Since we have no choice why don't we choose to live as good neighbours. So I don't see any complications in our having good relations with the Soviet Union and China. It is understandable because they are both our neighbours and one must at least have good relations with one's neighbours because the effect of this is more important than any other relationship. Our frontier is very close to that of the Soviet Union; it is just about seven or eight miles away and from a very sensitive part of our country, With China we have over 370 to 400 miles of common border. We had historical relations with China before the advent of imperialism. Imperialism broke those ties and with the departure of imperialism we see it perfectly understandable and normal for those ties to be restored.

***Question:** May I have some information on labour unrest and the language trouble in Sind?*

***President:*** One of the reasons for the language problem was that former Governments did not want to face these critical emotional issues and give a decision. They kept procrastinating and with procrastination the feelings grew stronger and stronger. You can't sweep such things under the carpet if you want to build your society, because these are fundamental matters. In our part of the world, and for us in Pakistan, religion is the most fundamental matter because we are an Islamic state. But, I think, generally speaking in other countries, language evokes more emotions than, I suppose, anything else, and here also, after religion, I would say one's mother tongue, one's language, is an issue over which people can get emotionally roused.

So it was a controversial, excitable, combustible question which was not being tackled on merit as it should have been. When a decision is taken on merit there may be some trouble but it cannot be permanent. A dishonest judgment or decision cannot solve a problem. But, when an equitable decision is made even those who are not initially happy will change when the dust settles and agree finally that the right thing has been done. They will say we lost our temper in the beginning and we were very angry but, thank God, the right decision was taken and now things are settled. Now, let us look at this language issue in Sind in this context. Well, we took a decision based on merit and in the historical background. We have learnt lessons from the past, we know what can happen when due recognition is not given to the legitimate feelings

of the people. We know what has happened in our country, and also in other countries, when the legitimate aspirations are not recognized.

One of the biggest simplifications, an over-simplification, that has caused the splintering of many countries is the tendency to think that uniformity brings unity. Very often diversity brings unity and plurality brings unity. We have suffered from this uniformity concept of some of our very educated politicians. From 1947 till almost 1965-66, there were slogans that since there is one God and one Quran, so there must be one language and that there must be one people. Of course, there is one God, and there is one Quran but there will be one god and one Quran even if there are a hundred states believing in them. This obsession with uniformity has resulted in making ourselves two, and if we do not free ourselves from that obsession we will make ourselves three or four or God knows how many other pieces.

It is difficult to deal with abnormal problems because you have to be tolerant and accommodating, and you have to have vision. But intolerant people, and those who don't have a vision, they will think that unless there is uniformity the nation's unity is being threatened. As I said, uniformity does not mean unity. If America had taken that position at the founding of the United States, when 13 colonies got together, the United States would not have been one country today, and I can give you many other examples. Of course, I am giving you democratic examples. But even under dictatorships there is not all that coercion in these matters. I do not also deny that there is always some element of duress in bringing about unity. But it depends on what movement of history that duress is applied. You cannot have Pax Romania now to bring about a cohesion. Those were Roman times.

These people in Sind don't understand some of these problems and they become excited. But, the language problem is now over. On this language problem, I do not want to go into details. But there have been foreign fingers. I said that to an Indian journalist the other day. Mr. Karanjia of *Blitz* came to see me recently and he told me that these things had been said. I said, yes, this had been done during the last 25 years but may be after Simla you have stopped; I do not know, but I do not think so. Because old habits die hard. Intelligence people get secret funds, and they get used. But as I said I do not want to go into details nor do I want to make any accusations because we want to have good relations with our neighbours. We want to remain vigilant. If we were vigilant their money will be wasted but if we are not then, of course, they can do us damage. But in both these problems, the language issue and labour unrest, there were foreign fingers. Some labour leaders came to see me and asked me to name which among them was guilty of having received financial support and political support from abroad. They said they had acted because the prices were going up and wages were not, and that this was for good cause. I told them that a Government does not give names like this but it does so at the appropriate time. But I told them that intelligence in the modern world is not so unintelligent. An agent does not come up and say here are some chocolates, now go and do some sabotage work. Intelligence agents today work through devious means. They may come up and say you need to organize your union, you need new offices, new literature, a newspaper, and we are prepared to help; this is the time to fight because this is a new Government and when things settle down you may not be able to get your rights, that rights have



always come through a struggle, that if you are afraid to put up a struggle, you won't get your rights. So there are many subtle and concealed methods of espionage and of intelligence.

*Question: Do you think the situation has settled down now?*

**President:** Relatively. We are in a happier position although I am getting reports that efforts are being made to organize another strike. As a matter of fact we have got some prior information about the Karachi strike. We were forewarned when I was abroad. When I heard about the strike plan I made a phone call to the governor of Sind from Sudan but I could not contact him. When I came to turkey, I phoned him and said I have some information that there is going to be big labour trouble. The Governor replied that it was taking place that very day.

I am receiving information again about plans for further unrest because the general labour situation is settling down. But banks do not come in the category of industries. Banks are commercial concerns. They don't have any proletariat and are not covered by general trade union rules regarding strikes. If all the banks strike, and the financial houses come to a standstill, the economy would be badly affected – especially, an economy like ours which is in the process of revival. Our economy is still ailing. We all know it. If we are hit with bank strikes then the repercussions will be far-reaching. But we have information on these plans. Apart from banks they are also looking at some of the heavy industries, industries taken over by the Government. Here, some business interests have a stake. They want to show that the public sector is not as good as the private sector, and that we made a mistake in taking over heavy industries. The industries which we call heavy are peanuts for you. However, they are heavy for us. Well, some business interests don't like what we have done. They want to prove us wrong. So they are trying to incite the labour to go on strike. I think that is really a dog in the manger attitude. But that is the way it is. But we are vigilant, we are watching their moves and we are taking counter steps.

*Question: you have done a lot for the farmers here.*

**President:** And for the labourers too, and we must do more for them. When we have more we can do more. You see, the base is very limited. We have a marginal economy and within this marginal economy I have really gone to the brink, and I can't take even a single step further because it may, at the present stage, mean complete collapse. But with greater production and hard work when the base expands our policy will always be tilted in favour of the proletariat.

*Question: What are the main causes of concern now for you?*

**President:** Peace, political unity, political balance and economic revival.

*Question: How would you like to see you nation after ten years?*

**President:** This country has great potential, very great potential, and I say this, not because I am the president of this country. As a matter of fact, I really never

regard myself as President of Pakistan. I always feel like one of our people. But we have potential and this is not an empty boast. We are rich in minerals and yet it is a misfortune that we have not yet been able to even scratch the surface for them. They lie in the mountains in Gilgit and Hunza in the north and in Baluchistan, vast tracts that are rich in minerals. People have gone to these areas and seen marble. We have ruby mines; emerald mines; natural gas; oil; some copper as well; and also iron ore. Some oil we have tapped but we are sure there is more. The search is going on. Geological surveys and explorations take time, and political turmoil sets us back. No even a tenth of our mineral resources have been touched. In Dera Ghazi Khan we have found uranium. Apart from that we are self-sufficient in food to the extent that we can export rice. We used to send it to East Pakistan. Now we have found markets elsewhere. We had reached self-sufficiency in sugar and in wheat but again political crisis and turmoil have set us back. But self-sufficiency in wheat and sugar is within our grasp. Wheat was selling here for 17<sup>1/2</sup> rupees a maund. Now we have raised the price to 20 rupees and still we are subsidizing it, and giving it to the ration-shops at previous prices. But in Afghanistan it costs about 35 rupees, the subsidy would have become a heavier burden on the exchequer. We have good lands, we have got our mineral resources, we have our agricultural production, we have got very hard-working manpower when it is motivated, and we are trying to bring about that motivation. We have got people who can handle machines well and with ease, people who are enterprising but they need motivation. We have got a textile industry which is doing fairly well in the world. Our exports are going up and our goods are getting more competitive. We have set up quite a few fertilizer factories but intend to set up more. We also have factories for manufacturing machine tools and also a shipyard for building sea-going vessels. We have an infrastructure for future industrialization. Our communications are fairly good but we are going to have a very good road building programme as well, as massive road building programme. We are going to have a big scheme for low cost housing. We are also going to have a huge public works programme in the rural areas, clearing out the slums and building modern villages. That will give employment to the unemployed and the underemployed. If we get reasonable assistance from the world outside, I think we can bring about a real change, an appreciable difference in Pakistan within five to ten years.

*Question: Do you have your steel mill?*

*President:* We are going to have one now in Karachi with Soviet assistance, and the Chinese are also going to assist us in building up a small steel mill.

*Question: Any other development?*

*President:* We have also introduced reform in the education system. Education is now being made free gradually. This is a big thing. We have done this despite our heavy expenditure on defence. If we could reduce our defence budget by half or by one-third, we could have also given more facilities for the students. But we can't do it. So the people have to make sacrifices. They have borne them for 25 years and, I think, they will have to bear them till we come to a settlement with India. But this expenditure on defence is not only bleeding us white, it is bleeding India white. India is big at the top but hollow at the bottom because her people are very poor and

the strength of a nation is not judged by the number of tanks it has but by the *per capita* income of her people.

***Van Rosmalen:*** *Thank you very much.*

***Message of greetings to Mr. Ahmad Sekou Toure,  
President of the Republic of Guinea on October 2, 1972***

On the happy occasion of the National Day of guinea, I extend to Your Excellency, the Government and the brotherly people of guinea our warm greetings and felicitations. I am confident that the close ties of friendship and brotherhood existing between guinea and Pakistan shall be strengthened further in the years ahead.

May you great country continue to prosper and play its important role in the international arena under Your Excellency's great and inspiring leadership.

I take this opportunity to wish best of health and happiness to Your Excellency and continued progress and prosperity to the friendly people of guinea.

*Message of condolence to Chairman Ne Win of Burma  
on October 2, 1972*

I am deeply grieved at the news of the sad demise of Madame Ne Win. Please accept my heat-felt sympathies and condolences.

***Text of letter to Mr. Mahmud Ali Kasuri,  
accepting his resignation as Minister for Law and  
Parliamentary Affairs on October 5, 1972***

Dear Mr. Kasuri,

Please refer to your letter of 4<sup>th</sup> October 1972, I am pleased to accept your resignation as Minister for Law and Parliamentary Affairs with immediate effect.

As you make mention of our last meeting, and the previous one, I would like to refresh your memory on the correct position. About one month back, you informed me that an income-tax demand of over Rs.1,20,000 had been made which you were unable to meet unless you returned to your law practice. You, therefore, requested me to relieve you from Ministerial responsibilities after the session of the National Assembly. I told you that the departure of the Law Minister at this juncture would inevitably delay the framing of the constitution.

As a result of the fiasco in the National Assembly when you moved the Constitution Amendment Bill on 25<sup>th</sup> August, I could well have taken the narrow view and accepted your resignation. I did not, for the reason already stated.

Subsequently, there was the attempt to requisition a meeting of the National Assembly as a Constituent body even though the Assembly was in session.

The matter was disposed of by the Assembly on the 24<sup>th</sup> September. You then submitted your resignation in writing on 25<sup>th</sup> September. Again, although I could well have accepted it the restraining factor was the delay that would be occasioned in the framing of the Constitution. Certain reasons for your resignation having been imputed to you in the Press, however, the matter was discussed in some detail at a Cabinet meeting in Rawalpindi the following day on the 27<sup>th</sup> September after I asked the officials to leave the room.

At this meeting, it was the considered opinion of those present that your leaving office was not desirable at this stage because, as it was again pointed out, the framing of the Constitution was of supreme importance at this critical juncture, and nothing should be done to cause any delay. You suggested that you could possibly continue as Chairman of the Constitution Committee. To this, the consensus at the meeting was that if you wished to dissociate yourself from the Government on points of principle, as attributed to you in the Press, then the honourable and logical course would be not only to leave your Government office, but also your party office and to vacate the seat you won through the party. You do not have to be reminded that we have a party system of Government both at the Centre and in the Provinces. At the meeting, the statement in the Press giving a one-sided story was also strongly deprecated. You said that the statement in the Press was wrongly attributed to you – that it may have been given by your well-wishers and friends. The net result was that the following day you suggested a statement be issued that you have submitted your resignation with was not accepted by me and, accordingly, a press note was issued.

Your latest resignation has not come entirely as a surprise; what is surprising, however, is that in spite of the views' expressed at the meeting on the 27<sup>th</sup> September, you should still wish to continue as Chairman of the Constitution Committee.

National Assembly elected you to this position by virtue of your being the Minister for Law and parliamentary Affairs. For that matter even your seat in the Assembly is wholly attributable to the fact that the party gave you a ticket. If the reasons for your leaving the Ministership, which have varied from time to time and occasion to occasion, have suddenly become so grave as to "impel" you to dissociate yourself immediately from the Government, then the honourable course would be not to retain your seat, and similarly the Chairmanship of the Committee which by right should go to the new nominee of the Pakistan people's Party.

I will not repeat here the well-established practice and tradition of simultaneous release of letters of resignation and acceptance thereof. As you have chosen to issue yours to the Press, I am constrained to have this letter similarly released.

Yours sincerely,  
Zulfikar Ali Bhutto  
President of Pakistan  
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***Message to cadets of P.A.F. College of Aeronautical Engineering, Korangi, on October 5, 1972***

It is a matter of great pleasure for me to congratulate you on your successful completion of an extremely useful course at the college of Aeronautical Engineering, P.A.F. Base, Korangi Creek.

A great deal of time, effort and Government money has been invested in your training as potential officers. I have no doubt you will prove worthy of this investment by mastering your profession and dedicating your life to the defence of our country.

You must always maintain the highest standard of personal example expected of your profession.

I wish you best of luck and God speed.



*Address to students at Lahore on October 6, 1972*

President Zulfikar Ali Bhutto while talking to a group of students belonging to various educational institutions of Lahore reiterated here that his Government and his Party were determined to end exploitation in whatever form it existed in the country. “We are bent upon removing all sorts of injustices done to the suffering masses of Pakistan during the last two decades,” he added.

The President told the students that his Party believed in Islamic Socialism. Islamic Socialism, he said, was the only answer to our manifold problems and it could alone bring economic progress, social uplift and prosperity to Pakistan.

The President said that after about two decades Pakistan has now a representative Government which has introduced important reforms in various spheres of national activity. These reforms, he said, have yet to bear fruit. He was, however, confident that these reforms will go a long way in ameliorating the condition of the masses in the long run.

The President told the students that his Government was in its very essence and purpose a people’s government. This government, he said, stood and will always stand by the side of peasants, labourers, workers, students, in fact all the down-trodden people in the country.

The President said that the great ambition of his life was to see that Pakistan emerges as a truly independent and strong country in the comity of nations. For this purpose, he said, it was imperative that we should have an effective center and not a lame one as argued by some people. The President told the students that he had at no stage said that he wanted presidential form of Government for the country. What he wanted was that there should be such a system of Government which could really ensure Pakistan’s solidarity, integrity and prosperity.

The President advised the students to throw away lethargy. “You should work harder than before. You should throw yourselves heart and soul into you into your studies. It is only by dint of hard work and devotion to your studies that you can succeed in your mission and build this nation into a welfare state.” He said.

The students assured the President of their fullest co-operation and unflinching support in his nation-building mission. The students told the President: “We will stand by you through thick and thin as we did in the past.”

***Address to the workers of the Pakistan People' Party  
at Lahore on October 6, 1972***

Addressing about 3,000 PPP workers of Lahore city assembled in Gulistan-i-Fatima, the President of Pakistan and Founder-Chairman, PPP, Mr. Zulfikar Ali Bhutto said that whenever he came to Lahore, he met the workers of the Party. He said that he could never be too busy to meet the workers.

It was his effort that he should continue meeting the workers of the Party. He was always pleased to meet the workers of the Party because they are the warriors of the people's cause and they, through their valiant struggle, sincerity and untiring selfless efforts, made the Party successful and propagated the Party programme among the masses.

The President said that the day he arrived in Lahore, he asked the governor that he wanted to meet the Party workers. He said that he met the MNAs and why should not he meet the workers too because fundamentally, "I can never forget the sacrifices of the Party workers and the people."

The President thanking the workers said that the meeting was a Party workers' meeting and was not for any specific purpose but to meet the Party workers.

The President said that he intended touring N.W.F.P. after the sacred month of Ramazan for about a fortnight and during his tour he would address public meetings and Party workers. After his tour of N.W.F.P. he would go to the capital and after that he would tour Punjab districts during November and December.

He said: "We need democracy. We have fought for it. This is the age of democracy. We do encourage freedom of expression, academic freedom and we want that every party and its leaders should go to the people and tour and explain their point of view with full responsibility and decorum, because the people are the final judges."

The President said: "All of us must shoulder our responsibilities and must rise above self in collective work so that we can reconstruct Pakistan. Everyone of us must put in honest, hard work."

He said that for the last 25 years there was talk of democracy "but we have to see who in practice has struggled for the flowering of democracy in the country."

"Even during dictatorial regimes, claims to bring democracy in the country were heard. Even Yahya Khan mentioned democracy in his every speech but we should not listen to words only. We must vigilantly watch the nation.

He said that the PPP's political character and history revealed their fight for democracy. No doubt, others too had contributed towards democracy but the PPP was also in the caravan of people's struggle against Ayub. Rather, it spearheaded the

movement and for the triumph of peoples' rights PPP workers went through untold hardships and difficulties.

The President referring to Yahya Khan's statement of June 28, 1970 said that when Yahya said that he would give a constitution to the country, who were those who welcomed this statement and even those who welcomed it went to the extent of saying that it was " a Mujahid's decision." These days such people are busy hunting flies sitting in their houses, he added.

He said that he and his Party had opposed this move of Mr. Yahya and the stand of the Party had always been that no individual was that sacrosanct as to impose a constitution on the people and thus Yahya had no right to do it. "Our Party stand has been this that the constitution will be framed by the approval of the Assembly," he added.

The President said it was as a result of this determined and unequivocal stand for the democratic principles and people of Pakistan, that President Yahya had to capitulate and had to agree to our point of view.

The President said he considered the people as a mighty force and no force could stand in their way. He said he and his Party believed that people were the final judges and they were the real sovereigns and power.

He said that immediately after coming into power, he lifted ban on a political party. The ban had been imposed under Martial Law by the previous ruling junta. He and his Party had spearheaded a marathon campaign against Martial Law. So the question of supporting Martial Law or continuing it could not arise in their mind.

The President said: "We don't believe in democracy out of fear but we won't fear democracy because our hands are clean and we have emerged triumphant through people's struggle. We can never give up struggle for the people's rights and Pakistan's solidarity, sovereignty and integrity even if we have to sacrifice our lives. "I salute not only the party workers but also the people of Pakistan."

The President said when his party took over the Government, Pakistan was virtually a 'Janaza' and there was much talk abroad that Pakistan's life would fizzle out in a matter of days but the regime faced the crisis and today Pakistan by the grace of God is again strong and alive and stood on its feet.

He said that the Interim Constitution had been given. If Martial Law could go, Emergency could also go in due course of time. "We are not fond of it. We are not fond of Martial Law. We were never fond of it."

The President stressed the need for stepping up production and putting in hard labour in order to build up the country's economy. He said economy had its own laws and merely slogans could not build it up. Only hard work and labour could change the system.

He said: “If we don’t labour, then how we are labourers or workers.” The President, citing examples of Germany and China, said that there the people worked very hard day and night.

He said that on October 2, he met student leaders and told them that Pakistan was a poor country but even then after the defence budget the Government was giving utmost importance to education and spending a colossal amount of money on education and welfare of students because this “was a national investment and a positive contribution towards our future.”

The President said that nationalization of schools and colleges was not a small step but a Herculean effort for raising the quality and quantity of education and upon education depended the progress of the people. He said: “We have to spend on defence because we have dispute with India.”

The President said that students should concentrate on their studies. He said that the Governor of Baluchistan told him that in Quetta a few students even announced that they must get degrees without touching or reading books. If at all degrees were to be obtained like that then they should get degrees of whatever standard the day they were born. He said it is high time they work hard. “Those who don’t work hard want in fact to obstruct the progress of the country.”

The President said that it was Government policy not to interfere at all in the college or campus politics. “We are least interested in who wins or who loses in the colleges or campuses.”

Certain degrees like medical degrees were not being recognized in England, he said. So the students must work hard and raise the standard of education and thus build up the image of Pakistan in the field of education. “Work hard at least for 5 to 6 months. After all, what is the harm in it?”

He said that there was no political vendetta or victimization when he took over. If somebody shed blood the law had to take action and when action was taken, then even those who shed blood and committed murder said they were being victimized. “Don’t the ‘big people’ victimize the poor,” he asked the workers and said that those who victimized the poor could not go unpunished by the people’s Government.

“Whenever we should deliver speeches, we ought to speak with reason and sense. Abusing friendly foreign countries does not bring any good to Pakistan.”

He said that freedom also meant respect for law and did not at all mean taking law into one’s own hands.

He said that he had served Pakistan right from his school age and had not come to power from the backdoor nor through ‘*danda*’ nor through any army sword. He said it was because of the people’s support that he came into power.

He said the word “*ghaddar*” is labeled at once on anyone who disagrees with your point of view. It is not a healthy tendency. Those Indian political parties who oppose Indira Gandhi’s government on Simla accord do not dub her as a “*ghaddar*” because to call an elected leader of the nation a “*ghaddar*” amounts to abusing and insulting the whole nation.

The President said that he had no personal motive or design at all. The National Assembly, he added, had approved the accord.

“You know me well. My politics is not secret politics, my politics is people’s politics and open and clean politics. Those who are criticizing us are dabbling in parlour politics.”

The President said that he had always supported the right of self-determination even for Algeria, Vietnam and our unequivocal stand on Kashmir was the right of self-determination and we could never surrender this principled stand.

“We cannot quit Chhamb because we were there on December 17. If India wants to have Lipa then she must give Chhamb.” The President said he knew the nature and mentality of India.

The President said that the country was undergoing a crisis internally and externally. “Had we been in the opposition, we would have given at least a year’s period to the Government because country’s interests are supreme and cannot be sacrificed at the altar of personal or party prestige.”

He said that his party’s manifesto could not be implemented in a day. It had to take some time for its implementation and this was a phased process. “Make a balance-sheet of our performance and you will see positive steps have been taken in the implementation of the manifesto.”

He said that he was fully aware of the aspirations of the people and we would never let them down at any time, at any front. He had dedicated his life to the service of the masses, and for their well being. Our economy was based upon the concept of Islamic socialism and we were not a Communist country.

Other parties, the President said, had never implemented their pledges and manifestos when they were in power. The past of these parties was self-explanatory. He said that PPP was the first political party which was increasingly marching towards the implementation of its programme and pledges step by step against all possible odds and despite the crisis, which faced us as a nation.

There was constant protest and hue and cry against corruption and when steps to put an end to it were taken, and then recommendations started pouring in that the corrupt are spared.

The President said that he would talk about the question of “Bangladesh” in open and public meetings because he believed in direct dialogue with the people on all vital issues and because people were to give their verdict on fundamental issues.

Referring to Governor Bizenjo’s speech yesterday in YMCA hall here on “Bangladesh,” he said that one might not agree with the Governor but we must cultivate the habit of listening to other’s point of view, too, if we were to advance the democratic traditions in the country.

He said that national issues need dispassionate analysis and meditation and could not be solved through rolling up sleeves or through chanting slogans.

He said that we should not take decisions in haste but with full reason and after careful study in totality of the whole problem.

The President also touched upon the Munich incident and did not appreciate the conduct of Pakistani team there.

The President said: “By March 23 or at the most by April 21, 1973, (Iqbal’s death anniversary) I will give complete people’s constitution to the country. The previous regimes never announced a date for the constitution and always said that constitution-making was difficult. Had I been against democracy, I would have not then announced a specific date for the constitution.”

Referring to Mr. Kasuri’s resignation, the President said that had the former Law Minister’s letter not been published, his letter too would have not appeared in the Press. He said publishing letters in the Press did not behave political decorum or dignity.

He said that he had not previously accepted his resignation not because Mr. Kasuri was the only constitutionalist but to avert the delay in constitution-making. He said that nobody was indispensable.

Referring to Governor Ghulam Mustafa Khar’s statement to which Mr. Kasuri took exception, the President said: “I don’t subscribe to it in totality but he did not speak with any malice but out of sheer regard for me.”

Paying tributes to the Governor, Mr. Mustafa Khar, the President said: “He has struggled with me right from the beginning and has suffered and sacrificed a lot for the cause. Any attack on me is felt by him as if it is an attack on him because of his close comradeship and association with me through thick and thin. It was my intention that I will make both of them reconcile at Lahore. Had I time, I would have gone to Dr. Sheikh Rafiq’s house but I don’t have time.

“PPP gave all possible respect to Mr. Kasuri. He could have never been elected without the Party’s ticket and I myself campaigned for his success.”

“For personal grievances, the nation should not be punished because it is too sacred, supreme and great. We can’t afford such an attitude in our politics that we sacrifice national interest at the egoistic altar of personal grievances and aggrandizement.”

The President said that he, along with his wife, went to the house of Mr. Ghulam Mustafa Jatoi in Karachi to apologise for the police “and we never support injustice and wrong thing.”

“Pride hath a fall. In people’s politics, there is no such attitude as being haughty. The more humble you are, the more you are respected and esteemed by the people.”

He said: “Fundamentally we support autonomy but that does not mean confederation. “Even during Ayub’s regime I was against Presidential system and I told him it won’t work in Pakistan. Only through parliamentary system, there can be division of power but British parliamentary system cannot function here and could not succeed.

We must learn from our past experiences. We want democratic stability in the country. We will have to cross thorny paths and will have to work very hard and I am sure the days are not far when Pakistan will emerge triumphant from all crises and will be a successful, great and unique country in the world. Give us a little time for the reconstruction of Pakistan and work, work and work for the people of Pakistan with full devotion and dedication.”

The President urged upon the workers not to lose heart and to continue their struggle and said that their sacrifices would never go waste as the PPP was determined to ameliorate the lot of common man and end exploitation of man by man from the face of Pakistan.

Concluding, the President thanked the workers and said he stood by them through thick and thin.

***Convocation address at P.A.F. Academy, Risalpur on October 7, 1972***

It gives me great pleasure to preside over this convocation, which represents the second and, in some ways, the more important aspect of the training imparted at this Academy. I am aware that it is no mean achievement on the part of you young men who have graduated today to have completed a very exacting course, and to have come up to the high standards that are demanded here, in studies, flying, physical, fitness and officer qualities. I would, therefore, like to begin by congratulating you all on your splendid achievement.

You are going off now to take up your tasks which will often be demanding, but for which you will continue to be provided with all the facilities, professional and personal, which the country can afford. Your duty will be to concentrate solely upon defending your country which, you must remember, is now confined only to wartime operations: it consists mainly of providing a full-time guarantee to the nation that it is safe from interference and intimidation to carry on with its tasks and to pursue its goals.

Your goal and your task is, therefore, easily identifiable: it is to ensure that the guarantee you and your soldier and sailor comrades provide should be as solid as you can make it with the means that are available to you. But, as you know, we shall never possess enough in the way of weapons and equipment, of those things that only money can buy: but we do possess one great potential on the totality of means available to us, and that is in our vast and superb human resources. We frequently hear of the need for exploiting human resources but what it really means is a few down-to-earth things such as, exploiting our potential for hard work, ingenuity, concentration and innovation: and bringing into play qualities of courage, leadership, initiative and the like. It is these things which make all the difference to the effectiveness of any equipment, or any weapon system, and it will be your responsibility, as future leaders, to bring out and make the best use of these qualities, both in yourselves and in those working under your command.

To be able to do that, to become good leaders, it will be essential for you to first acquire professional competency, because the kind of leadership you will be required to provide will be that of a professional working in a team with other professionals. To remain at all times on top of your job, and to make a real contribution to your country's defence, you will have to apply yourselves with the greatest dedication to mastering every aspect of your profession, which includes keeping up with all the advances and developments that are constantly taking place all around you in the science and techniques of military aviation.

This is not an easy task for military aviation today is highly complex and demanding. It is built up on subtle concepts and sophisticated techniques so that quite apart from many other requirements, it pre-eminently demands a trained mind possessing a sustained capacity for disciplined intellectual endeavour. It is in this context that these degrees which you have received today have their relevance. They are not meant merely to attest to the knowledge you have gained here, but to the fact



that your minds have received here the first phase of training and discipline which will enable you effectively to exercise your intellect in mastering your profession by acquiring more and more knowledge: By understanding and assimilating that knowledge and by applying it to your circumstances to achieve optimum results.

So, today, all at one go, you have become officers, aviators, scientists and decision-makers. This is a great achievement, and I trust it will lead to many more achievements in the future. But at this moment, perhaps, what is foremost in your thoughts is the fact that you have guarantee into the profession of Arms. Today you have become fighters, defenders of the sacred soil of your country, and I am sure that you are very proud of it. You, the new officers of the Pakistan Air Force, are today joining a fraternity of the finest fighting aviators in the world – men who in two wars have proved that, seemingly, overwhelming odds can be overcome, provided you have prepared yourself for the supreme moment with years of painstaking effort at acquiring the highest degree of professional skill and are ready at the supreme moment with all the skill, courage and determination at your command to go forth into battle with confidence and without the slightest hesitation.

I am confident that you will uphold the proud traditions of your forebearers and of the Pakistan Air Force, and add to them a new chapter of heroism should the need ever arise again.

I am sure you all have many adventures ahead of you and I hope you will make the most of all your opportunities. I wish all of you the very best of luck in your future endeavours.

***Address at P.A.F. Graduation Parade, Risalpur on October 7, 1972***

This is my first visit to the Pakistan Air Force Academy in my present capacity, and I have felt today a sense of personal gratification in reviewing the combined Graduation parade of the new aviators of the Pakistan Air Force and those from the brotherly Muslim countries of Iran, Libya and Jordan. I congratulate all those who have earned their flying badges on completion of a rigorous course of basic flying training.

I am sure you know what the Pakistan Air Force Academy means to the nation. It has already produced a brilliant generation of pilots and has set exemplary and uncompromising standards in the field of Military Aviation. The nation, on its part, has invested its life-blood and soul in the establishment and improvement of this institution of national, as well as international significance. We repose great confidence in the proud traditions. Of the Air-arm and expect from the Graduates of today to remember, consolidate and build on what they have learnt here. As has been said, “knowing is not enough: we must apply. Wishing is not enough: we must do.”

Young in body and spirit as you are, you should also remember that we are a nation based on the idea of love, not hatred, love for the Muslim brethren wherever they live, love for our principles and heritage, love for knowledge and wisdom, and love for the greater interests of all humanity, inherent in the faith we possess and profess. Our religion lays great emphasis on tolerance, harmony, generosity and good-neighbourliness. However, the world being what it is, there are times when one has to defend and fight for what one loves and cherishes, and it is for that eventuality that defence forces are organized on a regular basis. Defence is the most sanctified duty of a Muslim and the most inviolable right of every nation of the world.

Modern war, of course, is fought by the entire nation and with the economic resources playing a major role. As you know, this country and its people have never flinched from their responsibility in this regard and have considered no hardship or sacrifice too great to sustain our Armed Forces and to equip them with the best possible weapons and material. I am sure you realize the privation our people so willingly endure to provide you with what you need. We do this most happily and cheerfully, for we consider adequate defence to be the first and foremost colligation of a sovereign state. It, therefore, becomes your sacred duty to devote yourself wholeheartedly to your tasks, to acquire knowledge and skill, to enhance your devotion and discipline, and to stand ready to fight and defeat aggression from wherever it comes. To put it to best use, you not only need skill and professional ability but, also courage, discipline and dedication. Above all, you need a belief in your cause and in the destiny of your country.

The younger states have had difficulty with their economic development and the establishment of sound national structure and institutions. Indeed, these countries – and we are one of them – find it difficult to harness their human resources and undertake collective work in a productive and efficient manner. This is because we fail to strike the right balance between personal freedom and discipline and between rights and responsibilities. To yield best results, our energies and efforts have to be

correctly channelised and we must all fulfill our tasks not only with enthusiasm and vigour, but also responsibility and discipline. I am sure the new officers of the Pakistan Air Force, being commissioned today, will, under the guidance of their seniors, do their best to develop the right blend of initiative and aggressiveness on the one hand and reliability and sobriety on the other. We certainly want your vigour and imagination, but we also need your solid, collective contribution towards your service and, hence, towards the making of a stronger Pakistan.

I would now like to say a special word to the Graduating cadets from Iran, Libya and Jordan. This institution has tried to do everything possible to prepare you for taking your place in the defence of your countries, and I am delighted to learn that you have applied yourself diligently and completed this exacting phase of training successfully and with merit. We have close brotherly ties with your countries and wish to see you prosper and become stronger.

At the end, I would like to congratulate you once again, and also the instructional staff of the Academy, for giving substance and meaning to this ceremony and to make it a symbol of purposeful accomplishment, I wish you good luck and God speed.

Pakistan Painsdabad.

***Message of greetings to General Idi Amin dada,  
President of the Republic of Uganda on October 9, 1972***

The Government and the people of Pakistan join me in extending to your Excellency sincere felicitations on the happy occasion of the National Day of Uganda. Please accept, Excellency, the assurances of my highest consideration.

***Message of greetings to Mr. Salem Robaya All,  
Chairman of the Presidential Council of the People's  
Democratic Republic of Yemen on October 14, 1972***

On behalf of the Government and people of Pakistan and on my own behalf, I extend to Your Excellency, the Government and the brotherly people of the People's democratic Republic of Yemen our warm greetings and felicitations on the auspicious occasion of the National day of the People's democratic Republic of Yemen. I am confident that the close bonds of friendship and brotherhood which so happily exist between our two countries shall be strengthened further in the years to come. Please accept, Excellency, the assurances of my highest consideration.

***Message of greetings to Major-General Gabriel  
Ramanantsoa, Prime Minister of the Republic of  
Malagasy on October 14, 1972***

The government and the people of Pakistan have great pleasure in joining me in extending to Your Excellency our heartiest congratulations on Your Excellency's victory in the nation-wide referendum. Wishing Your Excellency every success, I am confident that the friendly relations so happily existing between Malagasy and Pakistan shall be strengthened further in the years ahead.

***Tributes to Quaid-I-Millat Liaquat Ali Khan  
on October 16, 1972***

This day, 21 years ago, here in Rawalpindi, Quaid-I-Millat Liaquat Ali Khan laid down his life in the service of his country and the people he loved so much.

As a trusted lieutenant of the Quaid-I-Azam, and a selfless leader of the people and as the great patriot that he was, Quaid-I-Millat will forever live in the hearts of the people and continue to inspire them to serve the country with devotion and sincerely.

Today, more than ever before, we need to remember that Pakistan was achieved by our people through unity, faith and discipline. The best tribute that we can pay to Quaid-I-Millat is to make a firm resolve to work ceaselessly, selflessly and with devotion to rebuild Pakistan into a strong and progressive country.

***Message of congratulation to the nation on the occasion of  
Constitutional settlement on October 20, 1972***

I congratulate the country and the people. After 25 years, I think we have come to a settlement on the principles of the democratic people's constitution as we pledged to give to the people, as we promised to the people throughout our struggle for the restoration of democracy in Pakistan.

I am thankful to all my colleagues from all the parties who have participated in these discussions. They have all made a contribution and without their contribution, without their contribution, without their understanding, I don't think we could have brought about a satisfactory compromise. Each one of them has played a part indeed and I am indeed thankful to them.



***Message of thanks to Her Imperial Majesty Farah Pahlavi,  
Shahbano of Iran on October 9, 1972***

I sincerely thank Your Imperial Majesty for the kind message of good wishes sent while over flying Pakistan on your way home from Peking. I warmly reciprocate the kind sentiments.

I wish health and happiness to Your Imperial Majesty and ever-growing prosperity to the brotherly people of Iran under the inspiring leadership of His Imperial Majesty the Shahinshah Yamehr

***Message of greetings to Major-General Gaafar Mohammad  
Nimeri, President of the Democratic Republic of Sudan on October 10, 1972***

On my behalf and on behalf of the Government and the people of Pakistan, I have great pleasure in extending to Your Excellency, the Government and the brotherly people of Sudan our warmest greetings and felicitations on the first anniversary of your assumption of the high office of the President of Sudan. I am confident that the manifold ties of understanding, friendship, co-operation and brotherhood so happily existing between Sudan and Pakistan shall be strengthened further in the years ahead. I wish health and happiness to Your Excellency and ever-growing progress and prosperity to the brotherly people of Sudan.

***Message of greetings to Mr. Francisco Micias Nguema,  
President of the Republic of Equatorial Guinea  
on October 12, 1972***

It gives me great pleasure to extend warm greetings and good wishes to Your Excellency, the Government and the friendly people of Equatorial Guinea on the happy occasion of the National Day.

Please accept, Excellency, the assurances of my highest consideration.

***Message of greetings to Mr. Philibert Tsiranana, President  
of the Republic of Malagasy on October 14, 1972***

The Government and the people of Pakistan join me in extending warmest greetings and good wishes to Your Excellency and the people of Malagasy on the happy occasion of the National day of Malagasy. Please accept, Excellency, the assurances of my highest consideration.

***Message of condolence to Sayyid Qaboos Bin Saeed, Sultan  
of Oman on October 21, 1972***

I am deeply grieved to learn of the sad demise of His Late Majesty Sultan Saeed Bin Taimur. On behalf of the Government and the people of Pakistan and on my own behalf I offer our sincere condolences to Your Majesty, the royal family and the brotherly people of Oman. May the departed soul rest in eternal peace and may Allah grant Your Majesty fortitude to bear this irreparable loss.

***Speech at the Qaddafi Stadium inaugurating the office of the Board of Control for Cricket on October 23, 1972***

Mr. Abdul Hafeez Kardar; my dear friends,

I would not like to take much of your time as play is to start soon. Spectators, too, are waiting to see your performance. Nevertheless, I would like to tell you that this is the one game in which I am deeply interested after the game of politics.

Recently, we have concluded, after many years of effort, an agreement on the fundamentals of the constitution. Many of our friends are wondering as to how, in such a short period of time, we were able to resolve issues with which we grappled for so long. The reasons are many but I think there is also a “cricketing “ reason to it and that is that, like cricket, we too have three stumps in the federal constitution – the central subjects, the concurrent subjects and the residuary subjects. In a Federal Government, concurrent subjects are most difficult to run. The concurrent list is like the googly. It looks to be a left leg when it has come from the off stick and the batsman plays it and sees it when it is coming. That is why there is a great deal of similarity between cricket and the great game and art of politics.

Gentlemen, I wish you well. I know you will do well. You will do well to the country be winning the game. I know that if you put in your very best, you will win many matches. But, as cricketers and as sportsmen, I know that you will perform well not only in the field but also outside the field.

It is very important that we give correct impressions when we go abroad. Winning or losing a match really does not matter. When you lose a game, of course, you feel disheartened and when you win, you feel greatly elated. But, in the final analysis, it is the impression that you leave behind of your sportsmanship, of your being able to take both victory and defeat in the proper spirit of the game. This is most important especially in view of some of the recent events that took place in another game. So, you would have to make up for it and I know that you will make up for it. I know you will not lose your head. It is very bad when promising young sportsmen lose their head and think that suddenly they have become great ones, above the ordinary people. Unfortunately, these things do affect us somewhat, but a sportsman who loses his head has often had a very short innings. I don't want to give you examples of our own people. You know how true it is. Take the subcontinent as a whole. Those who have held their head, those who have taken their laurels modestly and have not felt elated over temporary sensations of being glorified and lionized, their innings have been much longer.

You know in undivided India there was Vijay Merchant, who was a modest cricketer. He took his successes modestly. He had a long and distinguished career. Likewise, Lala Amar Nath never allowed his successes to go to his head. Vino Mankad, for sometime, lost his head and had a very bad patch. But, when he came down to earth, he became “Mankad the Magnificent.” So, do not lose your head. Modesty is a good thing for everybody, above all for a sportsman.

Pointing to Mr. A.H. Kardar, the President said, "I know this gentleman for a very long time. We first met in Bombay when he went there to play cricket. He had made a name in Lahore against the Australian servicemen. In those days he used to wear Australian white cap. He has been an outstanding cricketer. I see other cricketers here also, Fazal Mahmood is here. Gul Mohammad is here. They have all had a good career. I hope and pray you will bring great credit to your country. Thank you very much.

***Message on the 27<sup>th</sup> Anniversary of United Nations  
on October 24, 1972***

As the United Nations observes its 27<sup>th</sup> Anniversary, I would like to convey to it the good wishes of the people and Government of Pakistan.

Pakistan has been a consistent upholder of the principles of international peace and security embodied in the Charter of the United Nations. Like some other member states, however, it has suffered disappointment at the inability of the Organisation to fulfill the purposes originally envisioned at San Francisco. The use or threat of force still plagues international relations. Many vital decisions of the Organization remain unimplemented and unobserved.

Although this disappointment cannot be concealed, yet it remains true that there is no hope for the maintenance of a rational world order except by strengthening the United Nations and making it an instrument of peace based on justice. The principles of the renunciation of force in international relations, of the peaceful settlement of disputes, of non-intervention by one state in another's internal affairs, and the sovereign equality of states need to be scrupulously adhered to. Such adherence is not possible unless member states show due regard to the resolutions of the various organs of the United Nations.

On this occasion, Pakistan pledges its renewed determination to promote the principles of the United Nation Charter.



***Message of greetings to Dr. Kenneth D. Kaunda,  
President of the Republic of Zambia on October 24, 1972***

The Government and the people of Pakistan join me in extending to Your Excellency, the Government and the people of Zambia our sincere greetings and felicitations on the occasion of the National Day of Zambia. Please accept, Excellency, the assurances of my highest consideration.

*Assurance to a delegation of Labour Unions at Lahore  
on October 25, 1972*

President Zulfikar Ali Bhutto talking to a delegation representing various labour unions said that People's Government was determine to do everything possible for the uplift and welfare of the countrymen.

The sole objective of his struggle and the struggle of his Party was to serve the common man, the peasants, the labourers, workers, in fact all sections of the society, with utmost selflessness and sincerity and it enhance the prestige of the country.

The President said that he had given strict instructions to all concerned both in the Government and the Party to see that the supreme objective of the service to the people was achieved at all costs.

The delegation assured the President of their fullest co-operation and support in his struggle to ameliorate the lot of the people.

***Message of greetings on the birthday of Shahinshah of Iran  
on October 26, 1972***

On the auspicious occasion of Your Imperial Majesty's birthday, I extend to you on behalf of the Government and people of Pakistan as well as on my own behalf our warmest greetings and heart-felt felicitations. We wish Your Majesty health and happiness and a long life and are confident that the brotherly people of Iran will achieve ever greater progress and prosperity under your inspired guidance and leadership.

Iran and Pakistan are bound by unbreakable ties of religion, culture, history and geography which are reflected in the very close and brotherly co-operation between our two countries. We have no doubt that this unique relationship will grow from strength to strength in the years ahead.

I take this opportunity to wish health and happiness to Your Excellency and every-growing progress and prosperity to the brotherly people of Iran.

***Message of felicitations to Mr. Franz Jonas, President  
of the Republic of Austria on October 26, 1972***

The Government and the people of Pakistan join me in extending to Your Excellency, the Government and the friendly people of Austria our warm greetings and felicitations on the occasion of the National Day of Austria.

I take this opportunity to wish health and happiness to Your Excellency and continued prosperity to the people of the Republic of Austria.

***Address to the citizens of Lyallpur District  
On October 26, 1972***

President Zulfikar Ali Bhutto said that “Bangladesh” was a basic issue which had to be decided by the people and he would put this issue before them after the month of Ramzan when he would undertake a countrywide tour.

He was replying to the address of welcome presented to him at an Iftar party by Mr. Shamim Ahmed, Deputy Speaker of the Punjab assembly, on behalf of the people of Lyallpur city and district.

The President said the people would have to give serious thought to this issue and during his proposed tour he would explain to them the merits and demerits of the case. He said he would satisfy them in every way and only then extend recognition to “Bangladesh,” provided the people permitted.

He said that the people of Pakistan had to accept the reality of separation of East Pakistan sooner or later which was the only way to win back the people of that wing.

The President said that withholding of recognition of “Bangladesh” would cause further bitterness between the people of two wings and if the people of West Pakistan wanted to bring the people of Muslim Bengal in their fold again, they should try to comprehend the reality.

Explaining the merits and demerits of the whole issue, the president said that Pakistan would gain nothing by refusing to accept the reality of “Bangladesh.” He said if the people of East Pakistan had not wanted separation, India could never have dared to launch aggression against Pakistan. He said that Mukti Bahini and other forces fought against the Pakistan Army in whose support India also came which in normal circumstances it could not do.

The President said that he would not go into the logic of this issue at present but he was certain when the people understood the truth, they would realize that ultimately recognition of “Bangladesh” was in our interest. He said he was not saying this out of political expediency, but as a matter of fact. He said it was his belief and faith that when the people came to know of the real implication of the situation they would accept what was right.

He did not agree with those people who cited non-recognition of Israel by Arabs as an example. He said Arabs and Israelis had long enmity and could never come together. Things had changed considerably and countries like America and China had been even forced by the circumstances to come closer.

The President said that people of Pakistan could not afford perpetual animosity of the people of Muslim Bengal. They have to forge a relationship by which it was possible to establish contacts through exchange of delegations of students, teachers, politicians, journalists and businessmen to win back their sympathy

and make them realize their mistakes of separating from us. If we paid our undivided attention to development of West Pakistan and were able to strengthen the economy, there was no reason why the people of East Pakistan should not have second thoughts about their present state and again turn to us. That was the only way to win them back.

So, he said, the people of occupied Kashmir would be motivated to launch a fierce struggle for their union with Pakistan.

He said that he did not understand the stand on the matter of those who only two months back pleaded for recognition of “Bangladesh” but later reversed their stand. This was not an honest approach. Anyway, he said, he would lay before the people the matter during his tour of all the provinces after Eid before taking a decision because the final decision rested with the people.

Touching the constitutional matters, the President said that the issue had been resolved amicably to the satisfaction of all the federating Provinces and the Centre. He said by mutual agreement brought about through the joint efforts of representatives of all the parties in the National Assembly, Centre-Province relationship, their powers, quantum of autonomy and the Centre’s powers and fundamental rights of the people had been settle.

He said some people who talked of Punjab’s supremacy had to accept the fact that Punjab was a big province and in the lower house its representation on population basis was an undeniable fact. The upper house, he said, would comprise equal number of members from all the four provinces where matters of common interest like railways, water and other subjects could be tackled and there would be no ground of grudge to any Province against the other.

The President said that his distaste of the British type of parliamentary system was obvious because that did not suit our genius. Our system could work successfully only if the Governments were not changed so often at least in the beginning for some years. Some safeguards provided in the constitutional framework were taken in this spirit with the concurrence of all the parties present at the meeting, he said.

The President said that he failed to understand the hue and cry by some people over minor issues like so-called denial of rights of one province or the other.

Such bickerings should end because Pakistan could not afford to squabble over these petty matters forever. Doubts about each other would not help the country. No injustice would be done to any province nor any party would suffer on account of lack of attention to its development, he said.

The constitutional accord reached by the parties, he said, would ensure an effective Centre, desirable autonomy for provinces and happy and balanced development of all regions and safeguard the basic rights of the people.

The Constitution, the President said, must provide checks on frequent change of loyalties by the members to ensure smooth functioning of the Government. In the past the governments had so often changed which led to serve crisis and consequently to promulgation of Martial Law in the country.

The President called upon the people to forget petty differences and give up debates on small issues if they wanted to see the country march forward towards progress and stability. After about 25 years a people's Constitution was being finalized. He said that he had asked the Constitution Committee to prepare a draft of the Constitution for placing before the National Assembly.

Everybody, he said, should devote himself to the task of nation-building and make Pakistan a happy and strong country.

***Message of good wishes to Shaikh Sabah Al-Salem  
Al-Sabah, Amir of Kuwait on October 27, 1972***

I am sorry to learn that You Highness has been taken ill. I wish Your Highness speedy recovery and continued good health. May Allah Almighty grant Your Highness long life to serve the cause of the brotherly people of Kuwait and of the whole Muslim world. Ameen.



***Instructions of Pakistan's envoys abroad  
On October 28, 1972***

President Zulfikar Ali Bhutto directed Pakistan's envoys abroad to maintain close contacts with Pakistanis in their area and to brief them regularly on the momentous national developments and the reforms the country is currently witnessing.

Instructions sent by the Secretary, Ministry of Foreign Affairs, on behalf of the President to all the Ambassadors abroad, stressed the need to receive with courtesy all Pakistanis, be they resident in the country of their accreditation or visitors in transit and to extend to them all possible assistance and consideration.

Pakistani diplomats have also been advised to adopt simple living and dignified behaviour because ostentatiousness may expose them to criticism bringing a bad name to their country.

The President reminded the Ambassadors that "we are now in the process of reconstructing a new Pakistan that will reflect the hopes, aspirations and dignity of our people. In this process we are undergoing nothing short of a peaceful revolution which must find expression not only in words, but in all our actions. An essential prerequisite for re-establishing national dignity and giving a sense of direction to the country is a deeper understanding and closer co-operation between the public and the public servant. It is imperative that this new relationship must be reflected by our missions abroad."

***Message of greetings to Mr. Cevdet Sunay,  
President of the Republic of Turkey on October 29, 1972***

On behalf of the Government and people of Pakistan and on my own behalf I have great pleasure in extending to Your Excellency and to the Government and brotherly people of Turkey, our warmest greetings and heartiest felicitations on the 49<sup>th</sup> Anniversary of the Declaration of the Republic of Turkey,. We share in the fullest manner the joy of our brethren on this auspicious occasion. We are confident that the close ties of friendship and brotherhood which bind our two countries together will grow from strength to strength in the years to come.

I take this opportunity to wish health and happiness to Your Excellency and ever-growing progress and prosperity to the brotherly people of Turkey.

***Interview with Mr. R.K. Karanjia, Editor-in-Charge of the Blitz, Bombay, on October 31, 1972***

**President:** I am sorry for the little delay. How was Europe?

**Question:** *Very interesting. I went to Britain, to Germany, to Beirut to feel the Arab situation and back to Delhi and Bombay.*

**President:** Are you coming from Bombay now?

**Question:** *Yes. Coming from Bombay. Well, I have returned here to continue my efforts to break the deadlock over the Simla Accord. The latest crisis as India sees it was summed up by the Indian Press. May I read out a cutting. That was about three or four day ago. "Highest Government circles here have started wondering who really runs Pakistan, President Bhutto, the Army or the Civil servants. It has become difficult to determine which face of Pakistan to believe – the one projected at Simla and after, the one at the UN in concert with China, or the one in the boundary negotiations between the military commanders." Would the President care to unconfound our confusions?*

**President:** This is a mysterious way of putting it. I suppose all of us are running the country. In a democracy everyone has to put in his weight, and I like to carry the people with me rather than do things entirely on my own. But essentially when it comes to the real decision, I am in charge of affairs and I have been no-one's tool so far. Even in the worst of times during the regime of Ayub Khan I spoke out bluntly. Our people know that I am not to be led by anyone. At the same time no one should expect me to ride rough-shod over the raw feelings and sentiments of the people. That is not possible. It is not in my political temperament. It is necessary to carry people. Actually I am glad you have come at this time. We are badly stuck in this delineation matter. On the delineation question, I gave our military commanders clear directives. I told them that the Simla Agreement says, delineate the line of control where the Armies stood on the 17<sup>th</sup> of December 1971. I explained to them that it was to be a factual exercise to be carried out faithfully. I cautioned them against ticks; I told them not to probe into areas after 17<sup>th</sup> of December. I instructed them to delineate the line according to the letter of the Simla Agreement. I believe they proceeded on that basis. It is a long line to draw, there are areas which have been in the *de facto* control of Pakistan since 1947. you must be aware of it. In 1963, there was some trouble. What happened was that the Indians took the position that the old cease-fire line no longer existed anywhere except when it came to the regions in our *de facto* control. Only at this point they upheld the old cease-fire line. We told them that they could not have it both ways. On the one side to say that the old cease-fire line does not exist, and, on the other, when it comes to drawing an advantage from it, to give sanctity to the cease-fire line and contend that this is on our side of the cease fire line. We got stuck on that for some time.

**Question:** *But I think there was a complete agreement on this.*

**President:** On this I will tell my DMO to brief you fully. I think that will be the best thing. You see our maps, minutes and everything. If you like, you could meet me after that again and give me your honest, objective opinion. Is that fair enough?

**Question:** *Because from both what I have read and heard since I came back from my visit abroad was that the whole agreement was completed, almost signed and sealed, and then you men went backward.*

**President:** I will show you the documents.

**Question:** *Nevertheless, apart from what I have just explained to you, there are other contradictions between the hopes raised at Simla and the realities that have followed. First of all the Simla Pact and subsequent clarifications you gave me in the September interview led to two conclusions. First that Pakistan and India had rejected the old posture of confrontation and war for a new policy of peaceful co-operation, and second, that all problems and disputes will now be resolved through bilateral negotiations instead of the old multi-lateral propaganda which you yourself condemned. Am I right, Mr. President, so far? Now what do we find? Your men at Washington and the U.N. seem to be provoking a renewed confrontation, even talking of war. Your foreign policy appears to have turned its back on Delhi and dropped bilateralism to adopt a posture suggesting Chinese and CWENTO American influences and, finally, your military commanders insist on raising disputes on trivial matters even after the agreement has been reached. How does all this help Pakistan's principal objectives of getting back her occupied territories and prisoners of war as speedily as possible?*

**President:** Our principal objective is more than getting back our occupied territories and prisoners of war. Our principal concern is to live in peace with your country. That is more important. It is over and above the territory which you hold for the moment or the prisoners of war which you hold for the present. The objective is much bigger. Of course, we can't proceed to the next phase until we are over with the first one. As for the hopes aroused by the Simla Agreement, it is to some extent a subjective assessment. The concept of hope, its picture differs from mind to mind. In this way it is a subjective phenomenon. Only mind may conjure a hope resting on peace and not war and the picture it draws will be a long road to genuine peace. Other people might feel unconcerned with the day-to-day developments. For them the hope of new era is coming into being; they hope that Simla has opened new doors for tomorrow. So, the hope aroused by the Simla Agreement is both subjective and objective. The objective fact is that we cannot turn to others for our solutions. We must essentially turn to ourselves for the settlement of our disputes. Now, I stand by that. We all stand by that. Even in our last meeting, if you recall, I told you that the crux of the matter is that we must deal with each other bilaterally. Of course, we are living in a small world. Yet we cannot completely close the rest of the world to us. But we will concentrate on bilateralism, emphasize the bilateral character of our relations. At the same time, if you remember, I told you that we can't be unrealistic and say the rest of the world does not exist. I will tell you how. Now, there have been two or three recurring incidents of POWs being shot. I do not think you will accuse us of taking it to a high pitch. But the world will take cognizance of it. How can that be

stopped? You have not seen a statement from me. It is not that it did not hurt; indeed it hurt us very much. The families of POWs and others were agitated, but the Foreign Office gave temperate and balanced statements only to keep the atmosphere calm. I have made many speeches, since we last met. My last speech was at Lyallpur.

*Question: Oh, that was very encouraging indeed. You spoke on Bangladesh.*

*President:* I told you. We will go forward as I see the openings. I have not referred to India in a recriminatory manner. That also testifies to our effort to break the lockjaw. Things carry their own momentum in the General Assembly. With the pulls and pressures, the spotlight and the press and everything else, it is sort of a public performance. They say the UN does not act. It is acting all the time. But even so the leader of our delegation, Raja Tridev Roy, who incidentally is from Chittagong, made a moderate speech. That is why we want to avoid a debate on Bangladesh. One of the reasons why we want to avoid a debate is that we don't want to get involved in forensics. I have told them to keep in touch with your people and meet them. I would not have given those instructions if our emphasis was not on the bilateralism. But while we are there, we have to put forth our case effectively. We have to project our point of view convincingly. On the whole I believe that we have played it in a low key. This is so because we have an eye on the next meeting we hope to have. I don't think we can ever turn our back to Delhi or turn our back to the critical realities we face. There is the time factor, I told you the last time; things go on in the subcontinent in their own way. Sometimes, they go fast and sometimes slowly. We have to tarry with it.

*Question: Now the objection mainly was raking up so many old issues, Kashmir and so and so. More than the United Nations, your Ambassador in Washington, literally ran amuck while talking about war, tensions, also suggesting that the boundaries were erupted. At least that is how the speech was reported in the British press and also in the Indian Press.*

*President:* I saw a small part of it. But it was not reported fully here.

*Question: I think you should read.*

*President:* Yes, I will.

*Question: The issue of recognition of Bangladesh also is being vitiated by, what I consider, avoidable provocations. Here, of course, your latest bid to mobilize popular consensus for recognition is most welcome. But, since your assurances to my government and myself that recognition was due and coming, there have been irritations, may be minor irritations, likely to upset Sheikh Mujib and his people. You continue to treat Bangladesh as part of Pakistan. The only concession you made to her independence is to refer to her as Muslim Bengal or the Dacca Administration. Even her own legislators are permitted to sit in your Assembly as if Bangladesh was a province of Pakistan. Still you insist on the Sheikh meeting you before recognition. In what capacity? You don't expect him to come here as a citizen of Pakistan or the satellite of Pakistan.*

**President:** No. On the other hand, if we did not do this much then recognition would have taken place. It is a fact that recognition has not taken place yet.

**Question:** *I believe the complex is in your mind.*

**President:** We see these things clearly. We have recently arrived at a constitutional agreement. You can draw your own interpretation from it. My Lyallpur speech was the follow-up of what we have been discussing. First, I spoke to the foreign press on the need to have a realistic approach. But it came in general terms. Then I thought, now, we could move a little ahead. And I did move a little ahead, of course. The controversy exists. But never mind. That is our problem. We will deal with it. As far as annoyance and irritation are concerned, I think our friend, Mujib has contributed his share of it. He keeps talking of trials and makes statements of a nature which, as I told you last time, make our task difficult. After Ramazan, I intend to undertake tours; one of the North-West Frontier will begin soon.

**Question:** *What is the purpose, to get a national consensus on recognition?*

**President:** I must explain to the general people, the common man, the good reasons for recognition and carry the populace with us. Other people have gone around taking a negative line. We have to explain to the people that the only way we can again have good relations with Muslim Bengal, is through contact and through association and by our presence in Muslim Bengal. They will come here, we will go there. There will be trade between us. There will be cultural exchanges and things of that nature. That is the only way we can again come closer to one another. But some of our people here, our political colleagues, are giving wrong analogies, like that of the Arabs and the Israelis not recognizing each other. I have to go and explain that that the analogies are false, because the Arabs and the Israelis don't seek normal relations. If you don't want good relations with East Pakistan or Muslim Bengal or Bangladesh, then don't recognize it. But if you want good relations, you have to consider according them recognition without a sense of coercion or humiliation. You see, I have to prepare the necessary climate.

**Question:** *I noticed you took a very bold step in recognizing the Mukti Bahini as a revolutionary force. I do not know what exactly you said.*

**President:** I said that Indian aggression has taken place. We condemn it. We do not condone it. The whole world has condemned it. But at the same time they would not have dared step into East Pakistan if there had not been a revolutionary situation with the Mukti Bahini operating effectively.

**Question:** *It is said that Pakistan is laying great stress on Maulana Bhashani's campaign against Sheikh Mujib and still entertaining hopes of some links. Supposing the links are reforged or even reunification takes place would it not affect your position in Pakistan?*

**President:** I don't mind that. I have been misunderstood on that before. After the elections I made it quite clear that if Mr. Mujibur Rahman had a federal constitution, we would be happy to sit in the opposition and work in a democratic arrangement. But he wanted a confederal arrangement and, in a confederation, both sides had to have representation in the Government. That is what it is. If at any time Muslim Bengal or East Pakistan chose to have that kind of arrangement, I would be the happiest man in the world. It's a very small price to pay, very small price indeed. After all, in a democracy, you come and go, power in not perpetual. In dictatorship, either you have to shoot your way through or there is to be a revolt. You see, we have a democratic constitution. Democracy is restored. In a democracy Prime Ministers come and go.

**Question:** *But this is a faith of (interruption).*

**President:** But that is different. As far as Bhashani is concerned I know well. He is sometimes incomprehensible.

**Question:** *Well he is. He has gone through extraordinary changes. Now he wants an Islamic constitution. Sheikh Mujib has his difficulties also. He denies having promised to meet you again. But if he did so, may be he took it for granted that recognition would follow his release. Somehow that was the general expectation at that time. He had no idea of the magnitude of the war and the killings and the consequent hostility of his people to Pakistan. He also is talking in terms of that hostility.*

**President:** Yes. I saw the paper. He had a copy of *Blitz* in his hands before he landed in India and he was worked up over it. At this stage, I do not want to say anything which will upset him because he gets easily upset. But sooner or later when you come here again, and you are always welcome to Pakistan, I may give you some concrete evidence of it.

**Question:** *Well, we leave it to the future. However, Mujib's interview in the Dawn is tough. Our difficulty in India is that parts of the Simla package can be opened only if the Sheikh is brought into the picture. That means you have to straighten out your relations with Bangladesh. Then only we can help. Have you any proposal for breaking this deadlock, any new ideas on recognition, apart from what you have just told me?*

**President:** No, I have repeatedly conveyed to him that if we meet, as I told you the last time we met, we can have a dialogue in depth. When I come back from the talks, I will take the necessary steps one after the other to mobilize public support on our mutual relations.

**Question:** *You come back from your tour?*

**President:** No, from my talks with him. I have to put it before the Assembly, to discuss the matter there. I had that conveyed to him. I told him that if there is any other country in whom he has greater confidence, if he likes to trust them we are

prepared to convey to that country some kind of assurance. Although I have got a feeling, not evidence, that he might be coming round to having talks. He says that there must be a basis of equality and that lies in recognition. It does not necessarily lie in recognition. The United States and China have met one another without recognition. And, as far as equality is concerned, if he wants to sit on a higher chair, he can sit on the higher chair. I will be less equal, because the population of East Pakistan is more than the population of West Pakistan. He can sit on the high chair. I can sit on the low chair. These are unnecessary formalities. Obviously, when we meet, we meet as equals, otherwise there is no need to meet. Not only in the legal sense, but also in the metaphysical sense, equality is there; it is inherent in the situation of our meeting.

**Question:** *Could you not possibly find some way out by at least permitting other nations who, I know, would like to recognize Bangladesh but not till you give them the go-signal. May be some other Muslim countries if they were permitted, it will also strengthen your position here, and it will show him that you have not been just cussed about the whole thing. Or may be you send back some East Pakistanis as a gesture.*

**President:** I have sent so many out. I have let them go on compassionate grounds – students, doctors, wives of people, they go to England; from there they go to East Pakistan.

**Question:** *Mujib knows this?*

**President:** Of course, he must be knowing of it. A lot of people have gone there.

**Question:** *No. I was just thinking of some key which could break this deadlock because upon this depends, unfortunately, everything else.*

**President:** Yes. I know, prisoners of war will pose no problem after this.

**Question:** *Well, he has suggested that. It is my reading of his interview with the Dawn where he says that after recognition all problems – “all problems” is significant – will be solved. But whether he should include at least for discussion etc. the problem of prisoners of war.*

**President:** But as far as Mujibur Rahman is concerned, he will remove his veto, so to speak, on the return of prisoners of war. But your government might not take the same position.

**Question:** *No. I think our Government, I am not speaking on behalf of them, but from all that has been said and done so far, in the context of the Simla Agreement, they would take the broadest possible view. Personally I feel that once you extend recognition, may be as a gesture from your side, then all the problems – assets, liabilities and prisoners of war – they all will get settled down.*

**President:** One of your Ministers is in New York at present, Mr. Panth. He had a discussion at a cocktail party with our Minister who is leading the delegation.



From that conversation, he was not being categorical, but he was saying that the question is that there are other matter involved before we can release prisoners of war. We told him that Mujib's concurrence will greatly facilitate the return but it does not mean that the key will be given for an automatic release.

***Question:** From an official quarter, other than the Prime Minister of India, I think this means quite a lot. That is how I will interpret it.*

**President:** Good.

***Question:** Your party's election manifesto calls for Pakistan's withdrawal from the CENTO. Why have you reversed the line?*

**President:** That is a good question. The point is that, as far as SEATO is concerned – we are both in CENTO and SEATO – we have, without hurting our friends, withdrawn and we don't intend to participate in these meetings in the future.

CENTO, it is there. We had made the commitment to withdraw from CENTO to the electorate before the dismemberment of the country. That is one factor. The second factor is that there is no hurry. We have not said that we will permanently remain in CENTO. But once we have resolved some of our more pressing problems we are likely to review our position in CENTO and our general foreign policy. But there are two considerations for CENTO. One is the dismemberment of Pakistan. Second is the Indo-Soviet Treaty. These are the two vital considerations.

***Question:** But do you consider Soviet Russia either inimical or hostile to Pakistan or vice versa, because I know that Russia is deeply interested in the non-dismemberment of Pakistan.*

**President:** Quite right. But the point is that if the Soviet Union can have good relations with Turkey, which is a member of CENTO and NATO, and if they can have good relations with Iran which is a CENTO member and with Western Germany for which NATO was created, then I don't see why only for Pakistan CENTO should be an eye sore for the Soviet Union.

***Question:** No, because Pakistan has now passed under the control of Mr. Bhutto whom we have always regarded as a radical leftist politician, and who would be opposed historically, as a student of history.*

**President:** By and by, we can consider this, but, you know there is also a third consideration which concerns our relationship with Iran and Turkey. They are extremely interested in CENTO. When you meet His Majesty the Shah of Iran, you will find out. Also the Turks; they have been good friends of Pakistan, helped us off and on and there is this other consideration.

***Question:** But that apart, it puts you in a major contradiction with Arab politics.*

**President:** As I told you, subsequently when we settle down in the subcontinent, I will take up this matter with them. Whatever reasons they have for our remaining in CENTO, apart from the sentimental one, these can be covered.

**Question:** *It seems very significant to reason. That is my next question. Our assessment is that America is involved in Pakistan and CENTO politics to serve here developing interests in West Asia. CENTO wants to use non-Arabs disrupt Arab unity and resistance. Why should a forward looking statesman, like the President, get his country involved in this oily racketed psychology?*

**President:** We have not got involved in it. We will never come in the way of any movement to strengthen Arab unity and Arab renaissance.

**Question:** *But CENTO and SEATO, their very origin is to destruct and destroy the Middle East.*

**President:** Original objective have become obsolete, both militarily and politically. But we will never come in the way of that magnificent development in the Arab world.

**Question:** *That apart, you have mentioned Russia and I said that there are many countries who are deeply interested in keeping Pakistan strong, alive and sound – Russia, Britain, I believe the entire European community, whether it is Germany or France. I have discussed this matter at the highest level. In fact, we discussed your interview with the British Foreign Office for almost an hour and they take more or less the same liberal view that India and Pakistan can talk on many subjects. I did not mention them here. Perhaps, what one feels, are you putting all your eggs in the Chinese-American basket. Is it for the good of the country, for the good of yourself, for the good of our subcontinent?*

**President:** As far as the China factor is concerned, I think, I explained the other day when we met, that there are objective considerations and objective interests. We are neighbours. I can tell you that in the future, once this Bangladesh entanglement is over, you will find the situation developing positively.

**Question:** *That means you will turn to our own subcontinent.*

**President:** I think we will turn to the subcontinent and China also, you will find, will appreciate the development. It is not that China would oppose that. I think you have a totally wrong impression of Chinese intentions in the subcontinent.

**Question:** *Well, I was corrected by you on this issue last time and I published fully whatever you said. And it was backed in certain quarters in India. But since then China seems to be ready to make, perhaps every country whether it is America, whether it is Germany, (West Germany), Japan...*

**President:** I told you that. It is my opinion. I cannot speak for them. I think a positive development will follow the implementation of the UN Resolution, in whatever form you like; that means withdrawals and return of POWs.

**Question:** *But barring India, this seems to be a happy thing for every body else. Now, have they not raised extraordinary bogies in the United Nations, for example, the Chinese delegate mentioned – an absolute peace of fiction – that we are helping Dalai Lama to set up a Government in exile. This is not our policy. We have put all kinds of restraints on Dalai Lama. We have tried our very best to befriend China.*

**President:** I am unaware of the situation in Tibet which does not form a part of the subcontinent. I repeat, I cannot speak for other countries but I think there will be positive developments after these two things have taken place i.e. withdrawals and return of POWs. And, as I told you last time, I will speak more on the matter if the situation develops in the right direction.

**Question:** *Somehow it is not only India, in Britain also, and some other places also, the opinion is that China is the spoiler of Indo-Pak relations. It does not suit China's policy to have normalcy and peace in the subcontinent.*

**President:** I have been an admirer of British astuteness and the lucidity of their planning but I think the British are making some wrong assessments nowadays or, perhaps it is a bigger plot I don't know. But this line that they take is not a correct evaluation of the objective conditions.

**Question:** *Your Embassy has replied to some criticism in the London Times. Somehow that criticism is widely shared. You are being accused of breach of faith with the Simla Pact and they think that they derive from your internal weakness. That is the whole trouble.*

**President:** No. Whenever you feel the need to meet me, I will be happy to meet you. So, we leave that part to them as far as the Simla Pact is concerned. Secondly, I told you, and I have told your Prime Minister to please leave the timings of these matters to us, because the difficult decisions have to be taken by us. You are not called upon to take the difficult decisions. There are two extremely difficult decisions. One is the question of East Pakistan or Bangladesh. That decision neither your Government has to take, nor Mr. Mujibur Rahman. We have to take it. The second is peace with India. On both matters it is Pakistan that has to take difficult decisions, and our position, therefore, has to be appreciated and must be appreciated, if we want good neighbourly relations. And, you don't want our back to the wall; if the wall breaks, what happens after that? That is one thing. Secondly, some of these projections are really uncharitable. The man wants to remain in power. So, in order to remain in power, he will go back on the Simla Agreement. Now, the point is that I have never gone back on my word ever in my whole political career; I have honoured whatever commitments I have given. And, I have, of course, asked for time. But that is an ancillary element. Then, which Government wants to commit political suicide? I think it will be silly to say that Mrs. Gandhi does not want to remain in power. After

all she has done a great many things, fought with her own party, did other things, worked compromises for the purpose of holding her Government. In every country if there is a crisis for a Government, that Government makes an effort to retain its position, whether it is a democracy or a dictatorship. What is the unusual phenomenon here? Suppose I have demonstrated that I want my party to remain in power and to consolidate itself. That is the object of every political party. But the way the British press puts it, it is as if something extremely macabre is happening.

*Question:* No, on the contrary, I think, you can remain in power by implementing the Simla Pact.

*President:* That is not the point. If I feel that I am no longer wanted by the people, I am too sensitive to stay there in spite of the fact that they hate my Government and don't want me to stay. Then I would vacate. But this notion that because we want to remain in power we will go back on an agreement, that is out of the question. Secondly, political weakness and all that. I don't know how they think that our internal position has weakened. How does the internal position weaken? It weakens, in a way, when an election is held. Then you know whether you are in or out. Otherwise, there are ups and downs. Now, there are so many ups and downs. Sometimes your Government becomes popular internally, sometimes it becomes unpopular. The internal position is a changing factor, prices go up, the housewife gets upset; then the prices come down or some other thing happens. These things go up and down. Just before the constitutional agreement, there was the question of the London Plan. My people thought, my God, Heavens alone know what is happening to the country. After that we pulled the constitutional agreement and the people felt satisfied and happy. We do not believe that our position has weakened. If it had weakened, we would have said so, and weakening means that the whole country wants you out. That is not the position. If you were here, you could have seen the Lyallpur station, the enthusiasm and the support. I think these prejudicial accounts are given to confuse the situation. I don't want the situation in India to be confused. In India, you must realize that we have made an agreement to honour it and we will honour that agreement.

*Question:* Mrs. Indira Gandhi also, since you mentioned her, has got her own difficulties, just as you have yours. The Accord which was heavily weighed on your side was a difficult and controversial decision for our Prime Minister but she made it. For behind her signature was the vision of a future, of a positive co-operative co-existence between all the nations comprising our subcontinent – a great dream built upon good faith and mutual accommodation. It was in this context that millions like myself backed the agreement, and hailed Mrs. Gandhi and Mr. Bhutto as architects of a new era of Indo-Pak amity. Now, unfortunately this dream seems to be vanishing. It is not vanishing, at least finished. And, people are asking us. These are questions which I have collected from readers' letters to my paper and all the papers. What has happened to Indo-Pak good relations? Was Simla some tactical exercise or strategic gain? Why has the cold war started all over again? Why do Mr. Bhutto and his diplomats keep harping on old conflicts and controversies? How can the Pakistan Ambassador in Washington talk of renewed war after the Simla Accord? If they hit us with the demand for self-determination in Kashmir why do not we retaliate by raising

*similar war cries in support of the Pukhtoos, Baluchs and Sindhis? These are the questions being asked to Mrs. Gandhi, to myse3lf, to others. What reply?*

**President:** In the first place you tell your readers to be a little patient, we can't remove the debris of years of antagonism, suspicion and all that goes with it overnight. There must be first of all a little patience. Secondly, time will show whether it is a good thing to burn one's fingers by putting them in the furnace of another country. These efforts are counter productive. I tell you, Mr. Karanjia, I have given strict orders to my people that they are not to play around with any one in India who claims to be wanting this, that or the other. Strict orders. If India puts her fingers into the furnace of troubles either in sin or Baluchistan or Frontier, I think it does not behove her. It will fail miserably.

**Question:** *Similar instructions have gone to every department in India. For example, we of the Press have been told that after the Simla Pact there should not be any talk of war or propaganda inimical to the spirit of the pact.*

**President:** Not only that I have stopped talk of the South of India going to break away tomorrow, or that the Sikhs are about to. We have turned our backs on that. And those people in India who say, well, if there is talk of self-determination in Kashmir, why don't we then interfere in Pakistan's internal affairs? In the first place, Kashmir is a disputed territory. So when we talk about self-determination of the Sikhs. The analogy is not correct. And secondly, the point to consider is what in the Simla Agreement is broken. There is a mile and half of territory in question. You can turn round and tell me why we don't compromise on a mile and a half. I will answer, why don't you compromise on the mile and a half. You will say why you should compromise on the mile and a half. I will say for the following reasons. In the first place, you are a bigger country. A mile and a half means nothing to you. Secondly, with all this creation of Bangladesh and everything else, your policy objective, whatever they are, have been met. Thirdly, and this point is much more important, you see, our people here, they have felt, over a period of time, betrayed, and this is not because I am running down the previous Governments but dictators don't believe in carrying the people with them. They see decisions appearing logical and put to them by certain countries and they accept them but people regard them to be against their interest. So, there is that cynicism. Well, if it comes to a sell-out, we have been sold out before but never again as long as I am President of Pakistan. I have to lift their morale and make them understand that this will not happen again. This matter is important in the sense that we stand on principles and not because it is a matter of a mile and a half or a hundred square miles, and this issue should be viewed in that perspective. There will be greater confidence generated to strengthen my hands. I wish I could explain this to your Prime Minister. She might say why we are being cussed. It is not being cussed. The situation over the last 25 years and the way it has developed with Tashkent and various other things, has been such, that with each new development our people have felt disappointed with the compromise. If we are right we will succeed. If we stand by what is right, this will strengthen my hands. People here must know that nothing has happened under the table, that we did not compromise, our people will then say:-

DEKHO BHAI – KAISAY KAR SAKTA HEY –JUB AIK DER MEEL KAI LIYE WOH DUT GAYA TO BAD MAIN BHI AISA HOGA YE GHALAT BOL RAHAI HAIN – JHOOTEY HAIN KAI KASHMIR BECH KAR AAYA HAI – YEH KAR KAI AAYA – WOH KAR KAI AAYA.

That is the point. Secondly, if we are wrong and your Government can convince us that we are wrong, we are prepared to review our outlook. Either you convince us of the truth or we convince you.

*Question: How can that be done, through another meeting at officers' level.*

**President:** I think, Mr. Haksar will have to come here, or Mr. Aziz Ahmed or Mr. Rafi Raza will have to go there, like we did last time.

*Question: Why do they not meet immediately?*

**President:** I don't mind. But, you see, we were there in the region of dispute and now I can justify the adjustments by pointing out that India occupied about 250 miles in the northern areas before the cease-fire of December 17. They occupied it in war. They were there on the 17<sup>th</sup> of December. On that basis they have a claim to stay there until there is a permanent settlement. We must go according to Simla Agreement or an equivalent principle.

*Question: Well, could I have a brief from the DMO on this? I will meet him, of course. I will look into the whole thing. But if you can give me your brief I will see that it goes to Haksar.*

**President:** Well, I have told them that you give us some equivalent area, where you were on 17<sup>th</sup> of December, so that we can say, we exchanged a military presence for a military presence. But to ask us to vacate from a place where we were militarily present, it will be untenable for me to justify it without corresponding exchange – otherwise India is having it both ways. She has taken the territory that she held and she has made us leave the territory we had occupied. Only some kind of fair exchange of this one and a half miles will resolve the deadlock. It is not a military threat to you. It does not mean a thing. If you have a point of view we also have a point of view. Precisely for this reason Kashmir is disputed territory. The Simla Agreement says delineation will take place without prejudice to your position and without prejudice to our position.

*Question: You mentioned your difficulties – patience, your people, I mean throughout I see that cold running, that you want to carry national, popular consensus with you and naturally you are worried about the Opposition. But are you taking too serious a view of the extremist elements?*

**President:** I have told you that objective3s are not impaired by their antics. As I said to you on the last occasion, after Ramazan, I will go to the people. I want the

people to understand that whatever we are doing is in their interest and in the country's interest. It is not the extremists that trouble me.

**Question:** *Now, if you can put it to your people, for example, that what you are doing is being done in the bigger interest of the Simla Pact and also in the detailed matter of bringing the lost territories and the prisoners of war. And if the right wing forces dare to obstruct such a sensitive national issue then surely you can set the whole nation against the saboteurs and force the issue.*

**President:** It is not for them. I am concerned about proper modalities.

**Question:** *You are not doing it for them. We have always had a feeling that you are frightened. You see we have the same trouble. Mrs. Indira Gandhi has the same difficulties. Your "mullas" are bearded, ours are clean shaven. That is the only difference.*

**President:** Not at all, I know their strength, I know the measure of their weight. It is for the people. As I told you in the past, disillusioned, they felt left out. We have stood by them. They are the source of our strength. I told them in Lyallpur, I know that you will agree with me because there is no difference between your thinking and my thinking. That means, I know that I will be able to carry the people. We are not going back on any assurance.

**Question:** *No, that is the feeling.*

**President:** Do you mean we double-crossed you?

**Question:** *No. The feeling does not exist in Britain and other places. Two issues, number one that you are somehow frightened of these bearded elements, and secondly, that China is spoiling you.*

**President:** Neither. If I had felt so chicken-hearted, I would not have started a big movement against Ayub Khan. And put Yahya Khan in his place. It is not that at all. It is that, I am sensitive to the feelings of the people simply that, I don't want to give them the impression that I am not consulting them and I am going behind their back. This is my method. China is not at all coming in the way.

**Question:** *What are the findings of Justice Rahman? Because, you see, reports are filtering through in the Indian Press and foreign Press, this enquiry into the September debacle.*

**President:** Nothing sensational. I have set up a high powered committee. I keep reminding the committee to let me know when they are ready to discuss the report. There are a number of people on it. The military people and Ministers, among other high officials. When they are ready, we will consider the findings of the committee and if the committee decides that we should release the report, I will be prepared to release the report. If they think that there are certain sensitive parts relating to foreign policy and such issues then I will give due consideration to their

advice. Personally, I have no hesitation in disclosing its findings. It is only a question of time and vital national interests involving military matters and foreign policy and other sensitive issues.

*Question: Broadly speaking, what is the nature of the report? I want to carry as clue.*

**President:** It is difficult for me to speak on it at present. It pinpoints the debacle on Yahya and his Government. The brunt of the responsibilities has been put on his shoulders.

*Question: Not to the Generals. Finally, Mr. Bhutto, we would like your conception or vision of the future shape of our subcontinent, after these problems are tackled with or about the settled.*

**President:** You asked me that on the last occasion.

*Question: No I don't think. I forgot to ask you.*

**President:** Well, I have told Mr. Rafi Raza but you had left by the time. I can't speak in constitutional terms. Constitutional terms have caused us problems and difficulties in the past. You remember the old days when we were young. The negotiations between Mr. Nehru and the Quaid-I-Azam. Constituent Assembly trying to formulate a plan. These constitutional contrivances, terms like federation, confederation and the like have always conjured up all sorts of feelings. I think we leave it to the political plane, to the political and economic plane. As we progress with our political understanding of each other's problems, with that will follow economic activity. You live on your side of the fence. We live on our side of the fence. No hedge hopping, and we can have very good relations on that basis. It is not that we should tie them down in certain constitutional arrangements or things of that nature. We have got Afghanistan as our neighbour. We will like to have most cordial relations with Afghanistan, the kind of relations you envisage between India and Pakistan. We like to break the barriers, have custom unions and the like with our northern Muslim neighbour.

*Question: Or may be of European Community that we have modeled for us.*

**President:** But that will take a long time because we have to reach their level of industrial development. Today, at least, as far as we and Afghanistan are concerned, I do not know about the Indian economic position, we are mainly exporters of the primary commodities. We have not reached that level of industrial development. When it comes to cooperation, in the agricultural field, it is much more difficult than in the industrial field. Because prices fluctuate; we produce about the same things; we are short of the same things. When there is an abundance of agricultural commodities then we can talk about exchanging those commodities between ourselves. But, today this is not possible. The European Common Market concept comes with a highly industrially-developed base which we, at present, lack. We lack the necessary infrastructure. But, in terms of economic and cultural and trade



co-operation, according to our conditions, with the resolution of political differences- we must make an earnest effort to resolve them on the basis of principles-then we can look forward to that era of greater co-operation. But, within the concept of our own country, within the concept of your own country, and there is Afghanistan, and there are other countries as our neighbours. However, what you said about CENTO, its merits and demerits, we had been in two of these pacts – CENTO and SEATO. SEATO is behind us. I gave the reasons why we are in CENTO. We can review our position with the passage of time. But, we would not like to get involved in any new pacts with super powers and great powers. You ask Pakistanis what they think of pacts. What it means to be in pacts with superpowers and great powers. It is an unequal relationship, and finally in the unequal relationship, you will find that you can't outsmart the super powers. So, we are wary of these arrangements, whatever the terms of these arrangements and whoever sponsors them. If China were to sponsor such a thing we would be wary of it. I think you understand.

***Question:** Our talk leads to one conclusion, that is lack of the pipeline for constant communication. I may come here once or you may go there once or Haksar may come here. But can't we establish some kind of a machinery whereby the obstacles, the difficulties, different points of view...*

***President:** After Simla we thought we could have exchanged our ambassadors and, at that time, I brought with me the man with us whom we intended to post in Delhi. But your Government on it. We, therefore, dropped it. I don't see why we cannot take that action simultaneously.*

***Question:** Sort of diplomatic representatives?*

***President:** Yes. Sooner or later, your man will have to come here, our people will have to go there. Both countries have very big missions, lying vacant. I would desire the missions to be re-opened.*

***Message of greetings to Mr. Houari Boumedienne,  
President of Algeria on November 1, 1972***

The Government and the people of Pakistan join me in extending to Your Excellency the Government and the brotherly people of Algeria our warmest greetings and heart-felt felicitations on the happy occasion of the National day of Algeria. The close ties of brotherhood and cooperation existing between our two countries are a source of great strength to us in Pakistan. I am confident that these ties shall be strengthened further in the years ahead.

I take this opportunity to wish health and happiness to Your Excellency and ever increasing progress and prosperity to the brotherly people of Algeria under Your Excellency's inspiring leadership.

***Interview with CBS Television Team  
On November 1, 1972***

***Question:*** *In Karachi we met a woman who told us that 21 members of her family, were prisoners of war in India, and that 20 of them were civilians. This is not generally understood in the Western world. So we interviewed her and that film is already in the United States. I think what they do with all of the films we make is to hold them until after the elections so that they do not get lost in the election coverage.*

***President:*** Yes. The prisoners include civilians, and many are young children.

***Question:*** *It is an incredible situation when one thinks about it.*

***President:*** They are not just a few. The military prisoners of war are about 70,000 and the rest, just over 20,000 of them, are civilian internees including civil servants and journalists. Did the lady speak to you in Urdu?

***Question:*** *She spoke our language. She spoke excellent English, a very impressive woman and she talked about her family.*

***President:*** Was she the wife of a civil servant or a businessman?

***Question:*** *She was the wife of a businessman and they had been living in Dacca. Her brother-in-law is a Major in your Army. Somehow the brother-in-law was taken prisoner with 20 members of the family, including her mother, father and children.*

***President:*** There are many hard cases.

***Question:*** *Mr. President, you came to power with the first democratically based Government in Pakistan after two Military dictatorships. Of course, you were expected to be a miracle worker. What is happening now? Is Pakistan becoming impatient with slower working of the system of democracy.*

***President:*** I would not think so. We have made considerable progress in the last 10 months. There were many ups and downs, and dislocations but these were inherent in the situation. Now, we have progressed quite rapidly and have arrived at a constitutional settlement. All the parties presented in the National Assembly have unanimously agreed to the peoples of the principles of the Constitution. On the basis of these principles, we will frame a Constitution: And as a result, democracy, will take firmer roots in Pakistan. Of course, at the moment it is a small and delicate plant but its roots are spreading out quite satisfactorily.

***Question:*** *One of the great problems facing you, of course, is the economic situation of your country. You have said that you want to move the country towards socialism. But it is not clear to me what kind of socialism you mean. Does that mean nationalizing all the industries, Sir?*

**President:** Not at all. We have nationalized some of the heavy industries, heavy from our point of view not heavy when compared with your industries or with the industries of Europe. At the moment only about 18 per cent of our total industries have come under the public sector. There is still great scope for the private sector to participate and to expand the economy. In the beginning the industrialists were a little wary. They thought we would sweep the floor clean and nationalize everything. We have seen that happen in other countries. Taking into account their experiences we want to progress gradually towards the goal of socialism, we want to consolidate our gains before moving to the next phase. This is now quite clear to the people, as much as to the entrepreneurs. Already economic activity in the private sector is picking up. We have given assurances to the private sector that for our present tenure of the office we do not propose to take any further steps towards nationalization unless, of course, something unusual or extraordinary takes place – sabotage or something of that nature. The result is that the people are again getting active, the industrialists are applying for sanctions for new industries, and they can have them for units stipulated in the investment schedule. We have nationalized some industries but we hope to maintain an equilibrium and a balance between the competing interests for the private sector.

**Question:** *I have talked with some American businessmen here in Pakistan. They are still a little worried. They wonder what is going to happen to them. You call the present stage<sup>3</sup> an intermediary stage. Are their companies or some of them eventually going to be nationalized?*

**President:** As for foreign investment we have made our position abundantly clear. We do not intend to touch foreign investment, and I have told investors in our country that if they are worried they can get into partnership with foreign investors. There are reasons for giving protection to foreign investment. We need foreign investment. I do not have to make out a case for that and there is no intention on our part to touch any firm or foreign investment which we would sanction in Pakistan.

**Question:** *Were some kind of special circumstances surrounding the nationalization of the American Life Insurance Company?*

**President:** Our election manifesto calls for the nationalization of insurance companies. We have, however, made it quite clear that we will pay adequate compensation. Now this is in accordance with the terms and conditions of the United States investment which have been approved by Congress. We are going to implement the conditions imposed by Congress in these matters.

**Question:** *You are quoted as saying, Mr. President, that you personally favour recognizing Bangladesh. Is that true?*

**President:** I have said this for a long time. It is not a question only of my personal wishes. It is in the interest of our people as a whole that recognition should be given at the appropriate time. I have pleaded for time because it is undoubtedly an issue affecting the sentiments of our people, and naturally so. A part of the country has been separated, people feel strongly about it. But taking the objective realities into

account sooner or later we will have to reckon with the reality of Bangladesh, ugly or pleasant. In my judgment the sooner we do this, the easier it will be for us to restore out links and contacts with that part of the subcontinent, which till recently was a part of our country.

**Question:** *What kind of time plan do you see, Sir?*

**President:** Originally I had thought that, by now, we would get this matter over with. But things do not move according to a fixed mechanism. The dynamics of politics involve many factors. Yes, many interests are involved. Things get out of hand, they get topsy-turvy, so, I cannot say exactly when. I hope I could have a meeting with Mr. Mujibur Rahman soon, and once we meet, the picture will be a little clearer. I can then go to the people, and the National Assembly and make some tours of the country as well to explain to our people the necessity of recognition. But, some new elements keep arising. Certainly I have to take into account what Mr. Mujibur Rahman has said: He has said that he is going to hold elections, and if he holds elections, we would not negotiate with a lame duck government. It will be difficult for us to take up such vital issues with a government which is on the anvil of elections. These factors are outside my control.

**Question:** *And has Sheikh Mujib indicated that he would meet with you?*

**President:** He has imposed conditions which we do not consider to be reasonable. They might be reasonable to him. But we do not think that they are reasonable conditions. He has asked for prior recognition so that we can meet on the basis of equality. Now, state equality is in the minds of men a legal concept. For that matter, Malta and the United States are equally sovereign States. President Nixon went to China without according recognition to the People's Republic of China. I do not think that any such consideration came in the way of the meeting. So, we recognize the equality of our friend. I would say, he is superior and we are inferior because he has got a larger population and we have got a smaller population. But we cannot just recognize a fait accompli without negotiations, without a package arrangement. The purpose of the meeting is to work out the recognition and the modalities that would follow to clear all outstanding issues.

**Question:** *Mr. President, you have over ninety thousand prisoners of war in camps in India or perhaps two hundred thousand. Nobody really seems to know. Bengalis here in Pakistan want to go to their homes in Bangladesh. Then there are Pakistanis in Bangladesh, who want to come here. So here in this subcontinent there are perhaps half a million displaced persons. How can you break this circle?*

**President:** Well, one opening appears to be the Simla Accord and the follow-up of the Simla Accord was that there will be withdrawal of forces. Originally, the withdrawals were scheduled to take place on the 3<sup>rd</sup> of September, then we were stuck up. So I sent a delegation to Delhi and it was decided in Delhi that by the 15<sup>th</sup> of September the withdrawals would be effected. Now, it is the 1<sup>st</sup> of November and withdrawals have not yet taken place. If withdrawals had taken place, an opening would have been made for other developments. The ice has to be broken. Perhaps it

will be broken when the withdrawals take place or when Mr. Mujibur Rahman choose to meet me. As I have told you, I am prepared to meet him at any time and any place, without any condition.

**Question:** *What are the conditions for the return of the 90,000 Pakistanis held in India?*

**President:** The Indians are giving weird legal interpretation to their holding on the prisoners. They say that the Pakistani prisoners of war surrendered to a joint command of India and Mukti Bahini: and, therefore, Mr. Mujibur Rahman holds a veto over their release even if India wants to release them. We are not pressing the point at this stage because I believe we should proceed on the basis of first things first. We want withdrawals to be effected. Once withdrawals are effected we will vigorously take up the question of our prisoners of war. There are the Geneva Conventions and established norms of international conduct known to the whole world. Now, we hope that with the Vietnam war coming to an end, your own boys would be going back to your country which will be a salutary development. We hope that an international climate can be created for the release of our prisoners of war.

**Question:** *Are you holding the Bengalis in Pakistan as a political card to play?*

**President:** It is hardly a political card. The Bengalis are free to go about, they are moving about, they are not in concentration camps, as has been alleged.

**Question:** *No. I have seen...*

**President:** They are getting their salaries but of course they are not getting full salaries because they are not working and we are a poor country. Economically we cannot afford to give so many people salaries when they are not working. There has been some cut in their salaries but nevertheless they are free to move about.

**Question:** *Some who were not civil servants, however, are getting nothing at all and they find it difficult: of course, there is a certain feeling against them, and some of them who are simply poor are living in misery. Why don't you send them back?*

**President:** Yes. I can consider these matters once things start moving. I have no intention of unnecessarily keeping these poor people here. I sympathise with them. They are living in pitiable conditions. But we are a poor country. It is not the poor Bengalis alone who are living in pitiable conditions, there are other people also whose conditions are fairly miserable. It is the question of unemployment, the problem of a backward society. And that's why we want to industrialise: that's why we want to get things moving economically. We have poverty in the subcontinent – one of the worst forms of poverty that exist anywhere in the world. It affects other people as well, not just the poor Bengalis. There are unemployed Pakistanis who are equally destitute.

**Question:** *I have talked to Pakistanis who appreciate the fact that the United States favoured your country in the war with India and Yet I am disappointed because there are some among them who say if the United States had stood by us we would not have lost. How do you feel?*

**President:** I am glad you asked this question. I don't know when you are going to show this film to your audience, but I want to make it abundantly clear – clear beyond all doubt – that the Government of President Nixon did not assist and help Pakistan out of subjective considerations. The Government of the United States took a position on principles. My country was subjected to a naked and brute aggression by India, supported by a treaty which it had concluded a few months earlier with a great Power. India violated all the norms of international relations known to mankind. India violated the norms of International relations as evolved since the San Francisco Conference: in such a situation the administration of President Nixon took a moral position, took a position consistent with the high traditions of the United States and its people. Your country would not have been great if it had not upheld internationally recognized principles. I cannot understand this confused thinking in a part of the United States itself as if, President Nixon's administration helped Pakistan against India. This is not the position. A great power or for that matter any country does not take any subjective or romantic position of helping one against the other. It takes a position on principles and we appreciate the fact that President Nixon was strong enough, bold enough and courageous enough to take a position on principles.

**Question:** *The feeling in the United States against Mr. Nixon's position was perhaps influenced by reports of excesses committed by the Pakistan Army in what is now Bangladesh?*

**President:** Those reports were excesses in themselves. I know Mr. Mujibur Rahman's favourite theme song is that three million people had died. Well, this is not true. Of course, we would not condone the death of even one person. I had protested against some of the things that were being done. Not only I, but many people in this part of the country had protested. But, you know, in war, and this was a civil war, unfortunate things do happen. People get out of control. This has happened all over the world, and in civil wars more than in any other war. Nevertheless, the reports were grossly exaggerated. In any case when decisions are taken they are taken on the calculation of hard realities and emotional elements are not injected into such decisions. Be that, as it may, the fact in the last analysis remains that an aggression was committed against Pakistan. It was an interference in our internal affairs – and a brute interference too. I think that the propaganda of the 1971 war had the better of equity.

**Question:** *how much of that was propaganda? Do you mean that in reality there were no thousands of Bengalis killed by the Army? There were no hundreds and thousands of women raped in East Pakistan?*

**President:** I will say that according to our figures there were about 30,000 people killed. This itself is bad and I am not defending it. But the figure is 30,000, and there is a vast difference between three million and thirty thousand. Our people say

the cases of rape were about 70 and not hundreds and thousands. Well, if there were a hundred that is bad. Even if there was one that is bad. But looking at it from the way it has been projected there was a vast difference.

**Question:** *Mr. President, how do you see the future relations of your country with its neighbours: with China, India, Bangladesh and Afghanistan?*

**President:** As far as China is concerned, we have good relations, extremely cordial relations. Over a period of time, these relations have been consolidated. The relationship is based on confidence and mutual trust because we have seen that China has been a good neighbour and has been helpful to Pakistan in many ways. We envisage future development of our good relations with that country but without getting involved in the quarrels of the summit. We have no intention to get involved in those matters. As far as Afghanistan is concerned it is our neighbour, neighbour to the North. We have many common links with Afghanistan, and we hope to foster these links and increase them. With East Pakistan or Bangladesh or Muslim Bengal, once recognition takes place, we will do everything in our power to atone for the past and to develop positive relations. Relations with India are more complicated. They arise not only out of the legacies of the past, but because we have the fundamental dispute over Jammu and Kashmir with India. We will do everything in our power to resolve it on the basis of principles. But this can be done only if India comes to grips with us in a meaningful bilateral dialogue, and makes up her mind that it is about time that the dispute is resolved. Disputes all over the world are getting resolved. Disputes that came before Kashmir and after Kashmir, but we are stuck up with this dispute. So, on a realistic basis if India undertakes negotiations with us, after the withdrawal of forces and after the return of the prisoners of war, we are prepared to enter into a dialogue with India indeed. We cannot do this before the return of the prisoners of war because it will give the impression that there is duress in the negotiations. This is how I see the future. It can be very bright and it can be more productive to our people who have suffered for so long as a result of the tension and conflicts in the subcontinent. We can put our resources together to improve the lot of the common man but, of course, we must retain our separate identity. We cannot allow our identity to be merged with that of others. There is, therefore, no question of having confederal arrangements. But as good neighbours we can live and steadily improve our relations as well as the living conditions of our people.

**Question:** *Mr. President how do you see your own future? Taking over the country after the last war and picking up the pieces is a thankless job. Your Minister for Labour has called the wave of strikes in the industrial areas a revolt against the Government. How serious are these problems? Are they a threat to you?*

**President:** I do not think so. The labour problem is setting down as far as the whole country is concerned. It is mainly confined to Karachi where the labour is concentrated. It is heterogeneous labour. People from all over the country gather in Karachi far away from their homes. So these are not only economic problems but social problems. The problems of making a home, of settling down to different conditions. It will take a little longer time for the problems of Karachi to be resolved. But I am quite satisfied with the progress we have made. We have overcome many



difficulties. The previous Governments had put aside all the controversial issues. They did not even touch them. They did not touch the question of the constitution, the question of autonomy, the language problem and a host of other sensitive issues. They kept these aside and by doing that by procrastinating over the settlement of these issues, they made them much worse. All these accumulated problems fell on our shoulders. We have to take the decisions. Most of the unpleasant decisions were very hard decisions and have been taken. We now look forward to the period of genuine consolidation.

**Question:** *Can a democracy deal with problems like that – the emotional and traditional problems – better than dictatorship?*

**President:** The only way to deal with these problems, we have seen through our experience over the last 25 years or the last 15 years, is that people alone are the final arbiters and they alone can decide. The Junta sitting far away in its ivory tower cannot take decisions and when it takes decisions those decisions are not accepted by the people. I believe only a democracy can settle these issues.

**CBS Representative, Mr. John Sheahan:** *Thank you very much Mr. President.*

***Message of greetings to the President of the  
Republic of Panama on November 3, 1972***

On behalf of the Government and the people of Pakistan and on my own behalf I extend to Your Excellency our warmest greetings and good wishes on the happy occasion of the National Day of Panama. It is my earnest hope that relations between Panama and Pakistan continue to grow in strength and cordiality. Please accept Excellency the assurances of my highest consideration.

***Message of sympathy to the Prime Minister of Fiji  
on November 4, 1972***

I am deeply grieved to learn of the loss of life and property caused by the devastating cyclone that recently hit Fiji. On behalf of the Government and people of Pakistan as well as on my own behalf I offer our heart-felt sympathies and condolences to Your Excellency and the people bereaved and affected by the catastrophe.

***Message to Pakistan's Cricket Team  
on November 5, 1972***

It is a matter of great pleasure to be sending off the Pakistan Cricket Team on a tour of Ceylon, Australia and New Zealand. This tour is one more step towards the fulfillment of promise that the People's Government had made in all fields of national life.

I hope the members of the team realize individually and collectively that the nation is making a sacrifice in sending them on this tour and therefore is justified in expecting nothing but the best from them. They will not only be sportsmen playing the game but also Pakistanis projecting to the world a nation, a country and a way of life.

The team will be playing in countries with whom we have extremely friendly relations. We expect them to foster and promote this friendship. We expect of them excellence in the game. We expect them to play cricket off the field and on the field.

I shall be deeply interested in the team's performance and shall be following their progress closely. I wish them the best of luck. Pakistan Paindabad.

### *Eid message on November 7, 1972*

Closing off the holy month of Ramzan, Eid marks the culmination of a period of trial, austerity and abstinence; and is traditionally celebrated as a day of festivities. The great mass of Muslims all over the world have successfully braved the temptations of the body to attain purification of the soul and I extend to them my heartiest greetings on this sacred occasion.

But the tribulations of the Muslim world are far from being over; everywhere we are faced with a struggle for vindication of our rights. Thousands of Arab refugees, for instance, are languishing in camps across Palestinian deserts and the toll of human suffering mounts with every raid on Arab lands around Israel.

Eid can bring no festivities to the enslaved, the bereaved and the homeless. Nor can it bring any happiness to the families of over 85, 000 Pakistani soldiers and civilians held as prisoners of war in India. The hostilities ended nearly a year ago and they should have been back home within weeks, if not days. But sadly enough, they are still there, held in violation of all canons of humane conduct, in the isolation of camps, hundreds of miles away from their kith and kin. Are they being held as hostages for political concessions? What political concessions can anyone squeeze out of a country whose women and children have refused to put the love for their husbands, fathers and sons above the love for their country's honour?

I salute the brave families of the brave soldiers and civilians for their patriotism and fortitude and assure them that they are not alone in their suffering. The nation shares their feelings and will not indulge in the traditional festivities of Eid until their valiant sons are back home amidst them.

We shall reserve our rejoicings until then. Whatever is saved through austerity on the present occasion will be dedicated to the welfare of our prisoners of war and their families. This is a measure of our resolve to uphold our national honour, integrity and sovereignty at all costs, in all circumstances.

Pakistan Paindabad.

***Message of greetings to Muslim Heads of States  
On November 7, 1972***

President Zulfikar Ali Bhutto has greeted all Muslim Heads of States and Governments on the auspicious occasion of Eid-ur-Fitr.

In a message sent separately to all of them, the President conveyed his best wishes for their personal well-being and continued progress of the brotherly people of Muslim world.

***Eid greetings to Pakistani prisoners of war  
on November 7, 19762***

My resolute officers, jawans, brothers and sisters, on my own behalf and on behalf of the entire nation, I extend “ Eid Mubarik” to you. May God protect you and help us for your early return.

***Message of greetings to Mr. Richard Nixon on his re-election as U.S. President on November 8, 1972***

It gives me great pleasure to offer you my warmest felicitations on your re-election. Your victory, expected as it was, confirms the overwhelming confidence which the people of the United States repose in your leadership. It has also been warmly acclaimed in Pakistan where you have admirers. The increasingly friendly relations between our two countries spring from the achievements of your first term of office and we look forward to further mutual co-operation in your second term. We in Pakistan wish you success in your initiatives for international peace. That these initiatives are blessed with far better auguries now than when you assumed your high office four years ago, is due, principally to your own steady endeavours.

Over the many years we have personally acquainted, I have come to appreciate deeply your political vision and desire for world peace, which has indeed won universal acclaim. I offer you now, Mr. President, my best wishes and hopes for a future which I feel will be crowned by even greater success than you have already achieved.



*Address to villagers and farmers on November 9, 1972*

President Zulfikar Ali Bhutto exhorted the rural people to continue their untiring efforts for increasing agricultural output.

The President, who drove from Larkana to some nearby villages on unscheduled programme, was talking to large crowds of Haris and other rural people.

He assured them that his government was determined to better the lot of the poor and innocent villagers, who have suffered in the past and have remained a target of exploitation by the feudal lords and the bureaucracy.

The President said that his government has taken special care to see that the rural areas were properly and speedily developed and the basic facilities, which were denied to them so far, are made available to them at the earliest.

He said that the people's government had taken revolutionary measures during past 10 months but it was not possible to do everything in such a short period of time. He asked the people to contribute their bit and allow the government some more time to produce results.

The President told the rural people that more than 30 villages in Larkana district alone were being electrified during this financial year. Similarly, not only the present roads were being re-conditioned but more miles of new roads were being built to facilitate communication.

He said that government had taken steps to meet the shortage of irrigation water and from the next year the agriculturists will have enough irrigation water. They will also be supplied fertilizers and agricultural implements to boost production.

***Message of greetings to the King of Sweden  
On November 11, 1972.***

The Government and the people of Pakistan join me in extending to Your Majesty, the Government and the people of Sweden warm greetings and good wishes on the occasion of Your Majesty's Birthday and the National day of Sweden.

I avail myself of this opportunity to renew to Your Majesty the assurances of my highest consideration.

*Address at the opening session of the  
Conference of Pakistan's envoys in Asia  
on November 12, 1972*

President Zulfikar Ali Bhutto declared that Asia will “remain most important as will be the subcontinent” in the foreign policy of Pakistan.

The President was addressing the opening session of a three-day conference of the Pakistan envoys in Asian countries held at the Presidency under his chairmanship.

Opening the meeting, the President said that this meeting “underlines importance of Asia” in the foreign relations of Pakistan.

He expressed the view that Pakistan could develop beneficial political, economic and cultural ties with countries of Asia especially as the economy of several of these countries were complementary to that of Pakistan.

The President said that this conference was taking place against the background of vastly improved situation than what his administration inherited last December.

Commenting on the recent Constitutional Accord concluded by different political parties on October 20, he remarked “worse days are behind us.”

In the President's view the conference could help the Government in formulating “a clear and logical foreign policy.”

Referring to problems created for Pakistan by hostile propaganda abroad, the President said the expectation that after dismemberment of Pakistan there might be some atonement in attitude of the British and other foreign newspapers had not been realized. While conceding the right of newspapers to comment freely, he wondered whether some of them were entitled to “tell utter lies” as they had been doing with regard to the present situation in Pakistan.

The President referred to a fabricated story of supposed walk-out at a public meeting in Sanghar last March on the occasion of his speech. That meeting, he said, had been as successful as the one in Quetta to honour Princess Ashraf of Iran, but some foreign newspapers had published false and fabricated reports to damage the image of Pakistan.

The President also criticized those British and other foreign newspapers who tried to create an impression that the NWFP and Baluchistan were “on the verge of seceding and that there was turmoil in Sind and the Punjab.” He said the facts of the situation were otherwise and situation in these provinces was well under control. The President was confident that following Constitutional Accord Pakistan would move forward economically and politically.

***Message of greetings to His Excellency Major Mathieu  
Kerekou, President of the Republic of Dahomey  
on November 14, 1972***

On behalf of the Government and the people of Pakistan and on my own behalf, I extend to Your Excellency sincere felicitations on your assumption of the office of the President of the Republic of Dahomey. I am confident that the friendly relations which so happily exist between Dahomey and Pakistan shall be strengthened in the years to come. Please accept Excellency the assurances of my highest consideration.

***Message of greetings to General Emilio Garrastazu Medici,  
President of Brazil on November 15, 1972***

On the happy occasion of the Republic Day of Brazil I have great pleasure in conveying to Your Excellency, the Government and the people of Brazil our warm felicitations and good wishes. Please accept, Excellency, the assurances of my highest consideration.

***Address at the concluding session of the  
Conference of Pakistan's envoys in Asia  
on November 15, 1972***

President Zulfikar Ali Bhutto told Pakistan's envoys in Asian countries that he attached great importance to the voice of the people in relations to all aspects of the country's foreign relations and that applied particularly so South Asia, including Muslim Bengal.

He was addressing the concluding session of the four-day conference of Pakistan's envoys in Asian countries.

The President told the conference that the will of the people of Pakistan would continue to play a vital part in formulating and conducting the nation's foreign policy.

He said it was with the purpose of assessing national consensus on all important national issues that he would soon undertake the tour of NWFP. He also planned to tour the Punjab and other provinces soon after.

He said that the conference which concluded today was "more useful than the Izmir conference." Because of the difficult situation we face, it was essential to formulate a "concrete and clear foreign policy." In that way, the country could avoid groping in the dark.

Reaffirming that Pakistan remained an "ideological state", he stressed the need to give Pakistan's ideology positive and dynamic dimensions.

The President told the conference that Ministerial representatives would be visiting friendly countries as President's special emissaries. For instance, Maulana Kausar Niazi, Minister for Information, Auqaf and Haj was due to visit the United Kingdom but his prime purpose was to visit centers of Pakistan's immigrants.

***Interview with Mr. Walter Schwartz of Guardian, London,  
On November 16, 1972***

***Question:*** *Once the prisoners are back, why should you care so much for the claims Mujib makes. He makes claims, you consider them ridiculous, you don't want them, there is no reason for you to pay heed.*

***President:*** But, for one thing, there is an international factor. Foreign debts are involved. Secondly, a simple answer is that we want good relations with them, we don't want to enter into a new controversy. There should be no new cause for bad blood.

***Question:*** *Another reason which one gathers why you want to meet him was to make a last desperate attempt to get some kind of constitutional, perhaps if not constitutional, some kind of unity so that you can preserve at least the form of unity, a former Pakistan.*

***President:*** I know how event have moved in the subcontinent and I am not ignorant of historical factors. I know, at the moment, this is only a cynical formality. But at the same time I am equally convinced that sooner or later, and sooner than most people think, some kind of association will again emerge between the two entities – Pakistan and Bangladesh. I do not mean in the form of a federation, I do not say in the form of a confederation. But it will be a relationship which the great powers call a special relationship. Now, how that takes shape I can't anticipate precisely. But, I know certainly, I am quite confident that it will happen. That is why the sooner we recognize the cruel reality, the present reality, the quicker will that day come.

***Question:*** *You said cynical formality, I cannot make what you meant by cynical formality.*

***President:*** We have to go through the process. In the future, not distant but near, if we behave sensibly and do the right things, some atonement some moral and political compensation will make my work easier. I am sure this will induce a firm association, not in constitutional terms, but in other ways, for example, through trade concessions, not needing visas between the two and various other measures. I can think of so many methods as a starting point for the special association. Although Mr. Mujibur Rahman will, of course, denounce it but after the elections which he is having, he will move in that direction.

***Question:*** *I want to know whether these elections might push him to hold the trials and once the trials start what you think will happen here. You said that that will be a point of no return. Do you think Punjab will rise and there will be demonstrations?*

***President:*** No, not that kind. It will be a psychological point of no return.

**Question:** *It seems he knows that. He has not started the trails, and yet when one talks to him he seems completely adamant in going about the trails.*

**President:** He is a prisoner of his own complexes.

**Question:** *But you are hopeful that you might get round this trials' problem. You are not going to the question of recognition here and he (interruption)*

**President:** Exactly, I do not see why people abroad are doubtful about our earnestness regarding the recognition of Bangladesh. I would not be making speeches in Lyallpur and addressing the hard core of opposition to recognition, if I was not interested in recognition. It would be political suicide for a person to preach what in inverted commas is unpopular publicly. But the timing must be left to us. We cannot be badgered on this. I will have to be convinced that I have brought public opinion round to the point of recognition.

**Question:** *And in this campaign, which you mentioned today, you referred to the Opposition parties not inside the party or else inside the party?*

**President:** There are the parties which were defeated in last election. They want something to rehabilitate themselves. They want to pick on any plug and they think this is the best one. If they want to play decent politics, I am prepared for that – a dialogue, a discussion and fair debate. But if they start saying Islam is in danger, the two-nation theory is going to be exploded and we will see rivers of blood, then they are asking for metajuristic and extra-legal methods of handling the problem. Then they will be paid back in their own coin. I am convinced that recognition is in the interest of Pakistan. There is no other way of forging links with Bengal. If they can show me better links, as I have said this afternoon, I am prepared to listen to them.

**Question:** *Now this has been a big thing, your border with India. I come from Delhi where I am stationed normally. They give this impression that Pakistani side strangely changed position at the last minute. I have learnt already here this does not seem to be the case.*

**President:** This is entirely incorrect. I have said that Pakistan being the smaller country, we cannot simply abandon the path of principle because then the whole physical weight of the bigger party comes to bear on the problem. Sympathy and support externally and mobilization internally can only be on the lines of a principle; and the principle here is that the Simla Agreement refers to where the armies stood on the 17<sup>th</sup> of December. We stood there much before the 17<sup>th</sup> of December. Now if you want to change that for some reason, and we know the reason, in that case find a new principle which should be that you give us *quid pro quo* and vacate some area along that whole long line, in exchange for this. Then we can go back to our people and say all right if we had to give up some territory where we were before the 17<sup>th</sup> of December, Indians gave us something where they were before the 17<sup>th</sup> of December.



**Question:** *But have you any firm indication up-till now about what sort of meeting they want to have.*

**President:** If you go back to India, you can tell some of them, look, for God's sake, be a little reasonable. Therefore, let us lay off this hook and get on with the progress. Today, to us our relations with India, from the narrow point of view, have a significance more immediate than that of Bangladesh, which is a distance of 1,000 miles away. India is our immediate neighbour physically, and so it is essential that we get moving with the withdrawals and then we can have the second meeting with Mrs. Gandhi and make further progress.

**Question:** *There was a time when they were saying – Swaran Singh told me a few months ago – that they were not interested in another Summit in advance of recognition of Bangladesh. I think they may be waiting for that.*

**President:** There are many advantages, both to them and to us, for a meeting before that. I don't see why they are sensitive to restoring diplomatic relations. The explanation that Mrs. Gandhi gave in today's Dawn does not convince me. Diplomats have a role to play in assessing the situation, in evaluating the internal conditions and also in maintaining liaison.

**Question:** *In fact it will be you who wish to have diplomatic relations because they are holding the prisoners.*

**President:** I took our man to Simla, the man I wanted to appoint in Delhi, I took him to Simla.

**Question:** *I do not quite know why they have opposed it.*

**President:** Some kind of positive contribution can be made by the international Press on this question.

**Question:** *If there is a summit meeting, obviously the first thing you want to raise is the prisoners. Do you think that in case Sheikh Mujib manages to shelve the trials until after his elections, which is also a possibility, there will still be the threat that Indians cannot release all the prisoners? Would you be interested in a partial release?*

**President:** Substantial release. If he judges a particular case as one to be kept aside for the guillotine, he may do so. But there will be retaliation. I am prepared to discuss, without recognition, exchange of substantial number of prisoners of war with the Bengalis from here.

**Question:** *I see that will be a part of the truce.*

**President:** Yes, why should it be a one-way traffic. Of course, prisoners of war should be returned, according to Geneva Conventions and Resolution 307

unconditionally. But if Mujib wants some benefit out of it, we will let him have it. But I cannot say if it will be productive.

**Question:** *Prisoners will be sent from India to here, Bengalis going to Bangladesh. As regards Biharis you are not interested in taking them.*

**President:** It is not a question of being interested. I have the greatest sympathy for them. It is a big human problem. But you must appreciate our difficulties. In the last 25 years, we have almost been killed by being compassionate. We have had millions of refugees. Mine is a Government dedicated to improving the people's lot. We want to clear the slums, we want to clear the shanty towns, we want to bring employment to our people, and hardly do we get moving when we get snowed under. In any case, primarily and morally, the Biharis are Mujib's responsibility. They had made such a contribution to the growth of East Pakistan and its economy. To them East Pakistan is Pakistan. They are poor people, they have left their villages, the world to them is their villages. They are uprooted like that just because Bengalis don't like them or Mujibur Rahman does not like them. It is not fair to them.

**Question:** *Would you say that in the last few months you have been subject to a certain vacillation or hesitation that where you should go now between China and United States?*

**President:** No, there is no incompatibility between our relations with each of them. In any case, it is easier now. In 1962 or 1963 when I was Foreign Minister and in 1965, we managed to hold on to our foreign policy by having good relations with the United States. Now the task is infinitely easier. I see no incompatibility between our good, friendly and normal relations with China and equally good relations with the United States.

**Question:** *Have you given much thought as to what might happen at the end of the Vietnam War, which is in sight in the way that American might have a new set of global friends. Perhaps it might give more importance to Pakistan than ever.*

**President:** I don't know whether the Americans will do that. They have to determine their own foreign policy. I am sure they have determined it already. They have many alternatives, they have many plans, post-war plans. Obviously they are not going to leave Asia, lock, stock and barrel. It would be naïve to think so and in a new role, in a good role they would be welcome.

**Question:** *Why do you say in the new role?*

**President:** A new role means a role not of conflict in Vietnam. You see after France came back to South East Asia in a new role, and not as an adversary, she was welcome to Vietnam. The policy of De Gualle on Vietnam gave an importance to France back in Vietnam. In that new role I am sure, United States would be welcome to Asia. It is in Asia's interest that the United States also have an interest in Asia. I said this soon after the downfall of Ayub and at that time I was taken to task by some

of our red-hot friends. But now even Premier Chou En-lai has said it in this way, you know, that once the war in Vietnam is over, China and the United States can follow a good, correct policy. The Pacific washes both the shores of China and the United States. So I am sure they have a big role to play. As far as Pakistan is concerned, we have to see, we have to watch, we have to wait because, somehow or the other, Pakistan has not been lucky. India was regarded as more important in the past. For a variety of reasons we have heard, and which you know, it is said that Bangladesh suddenly has acquired more importance than Pakistan. Of course, without being Chauvinistic—we have had enough of Chauvinism – I am quite confident that if you see me in this room five years from today, you will find that you are visiting the most important country in the subcontinent in terms of its growth, in terms of its economic progress, in terms of its vitality. At one time we were accused of being the most unnatural state in the world or at least in the subcontinent. Today, at least in the subcontinent, we are the most natural state.

*Question: Why, how do you mean?*

**President:** As far as Bangladesh is concerned, they have Bengal on the other side. That equation has yet to be sorted out. As far as India is concerned she too might have many Bangladesh behind the bushes in her own country. But once we have resolved our basic problems here, the constitutional problem and one or two others connected with it, and we get moving and work hard – we are a hard working people, we are not frightened of work, our people are enthusiastic and courageous, who can ignore the forces of the North on the subcontinent?

*Question: Force of the North?*

**President:** North, North-West in the subcontinent.

*Question: You mean as it was in the past they played a key-role in India.*

**President:** Yes, this region played a key-role, and this I am not saying in terms of conflict. France and Germany both are becoming powerful, both are improving their economy, their technology, that does not mean that conflict is involved. We don't want war with India. We want to live in peace, if possible perpetual peace. We had enough of conflict here. But this does not mean that we should remain poor and dispossessed in order to show that we want to live in peace. And secondly, after what happened to us last year, I think it is the moral duty of the leadership of Pakistan to vindicate national honour. I know that has been misunderstood in India as meaning that we might go to war. No, vindication can come in many ways. Vindication can come in the way that when you come to the subcontinent, you see the difference here, in the per capita income, in the progress of the people, in the lives of the people, in the discipline, in the way the country is ticking, I am quite confident if we get over these two or three problems, we will have a place in the sun. The importance of Pakistan is intrinsic and inherent. This was unfortunately distorted by a regime of myopic, uniformed individuals. We will put it right.

**Question:** *If the West were to come to the war and the things you don't manage with Bangladesh or India and a sort of conflict arises, this is on the back of my mind, would you see in China or would you see in America perhaps the more promising ally.*

**President:** No, I am not thinking in terms of conflict. I can assure you that as long as I am the President of this country or if the constitution goes through, If I am Prime Minister of this country, there will not be a conflict in the subcontinent, of Pakistan's making. If a conflict is thrust on us, that is a different matter. We will be ready to meet it. But we will not promote conflict. Our policy of the future is a vision of peace and accommodation based on principles. I am not thinking in those terms. But if that situation arises, I cannot say what China will do. But with the United States across the seven seas and having new thoughts on what is neo-colonialism and what is activism, with the balance of payments position, with the internal problems on which they have to concentrate more after Vietnam, I think our eyes will have to gaze again across Karakorum. For that reason, among others, our policy of friendship with China is immutable and uncompromising.

**Question:** *This Constitutional Accord I must say seems to me the most hopeful thing that has happened in this country since you took over. Do you agree with that?*

**President:** It has been a good achievement for the country.

**Question:** *There are of course people raising doubts about this two-third majority before the Prime Minister can be removed. Is it something which was at the insistence of NAP or yourself?*

**President:** We had proposed a provision which Mujib has got in his draft. If a member of the party once votes against the party on a motion of non-confidence, he will have to vacate his seat and get re-elected. But now if Mujibur Rahman in Bangladeshis doing that to ensure stability in his parliamentary system after laying claim that Bengalis are politically more conscious than West Pakistanis – if he finds it necessary, how much more must I think it necessary here that there must be, at least for the present, some built-in democratic device to hold the constitution together, to preserve democracy. If, on the other hand, we let it be a free-for-all constitution, I will only be contributing to the forces of chaos coming in again. We have had enough of that. Prudence requires that there must be some temporary adjustment. After fifteen years have passed, institutions will stabilize because we are building the country anew. So I don't think that it is unpalatable or undemocratic or an oppressive provision in the constitution.

**Question:** *The only economic crisis you have been through, India has the same problems, seems to be the crisis of production that the investment is not going into the industry, industrialists are being scared of or being discouraged and so on. Do you think after all you have the socialist regime which discourages business to some extent? Do you want to get some sort of understanding with the industrialists and have you managed to do so in the last few months?*

**President:** To the extent that we have laid down the guidelines. We have given them, so to speak, I don't want to use a big word, a charter that for the next five years we don't intend to nationalize any further or take any other steps that might be considered against them. 80 percent of industry is still in their hands. We are prepared to give them encouragements and other inducements and incentives within the framework of our objectives. Now they should settled down and start contributing to the economy.

**Question:** *Is there any sign that they are doing so already?*

**President:** I think so, yes, they have started. I don't know how long you will be here.

**Question:** *This time on a week's visit.*

**President:** But I think you will find that the picture is not as bleak as it was last year.

**Question:** *Yes, I have already heard that. You have still got a very strong left wing, I mean extreme left wing elements in your party, and in your position which is urging you to take more and more steps.*

**President:** No, I have made it quite clear. If I was going to be at their mercy, then I don't think that I do credit to my country. I will not be at any one's mercy. I won't be dictated like that by any elements. I will, in my good judgment, consider what is right for the country and proceed on that basis.

**Question:** *At your Party's convention on 30<sup>th</sup> November, obviously there are some groups that intend to voice protest against....*

**President:** It is a happy thing. I would be sad if it was going to be a dumb affair.

**Question:** *Talking to some of the critics, not only the extreme critics but more moderate critics, inside your party and among journalists, one trace I do find is that the people who give you credit for all the right objectives, they are disgusted of your style of Government. They find that somehow you use ruthless methods, not so much you but people around you.*

**President:** No, no, I have taken full responsibility for the actions of my government. I am not going to be like Ayub Khan doing all the nasty things and then put them on his Governor. That is not right, it does not do a man any good to pass on the buck. I am fully incharge of the situation. As far as my Government and Chief Ministers are concerned, 4 and 5 times a day I telephone them and I am all the time aware of what is happening. Now, the point here is this. As I said today in my speech, if they want to play above board and if these people want to indulge in true democratic opposition, I would be the happiest man in the world. But if they threaten every now and then the Government with movements, with revolutions with scenes of

blood, if they say that the streets of Karachi are red then we will meet them with blood.

**Question:** *Who said that?*

**President:** Many of them. Any one who comes in front of a mike gets intoxicated. They make all kinds of seditious speeches, and if they expect that I am sitting in Westminster, well I am not sitting in Westminster, I am sitting in Pakistan, and I know how our politics goes. I am not happy when some of these people have to be sent behind the bars of some such thing like that. But you see, to expect in our conditions a kind of politics of lavenders and lace, it is being unrealistic. But at the same time, I would not like to take any ruthless measures. However, if ruthless measures are required, I have no hesitation in taking them. I am not a half-measure man. Democracy wants us to play the democratic game. But if you want to talk about democracy and do undemocratic things, then I am not going to give you that benefit.

**Question:** *So it is only against undemocratic people. I heard, for example, I have no means of checking it, Kasuri resigned and so immediately there was some kind of case against him (interruption).*

**President:** No, Kasuri has been doing silly things but not undemocratic things. I can't vouchsafe for the courage of the man. He went and applied for bail before arrest. I told him we have no intention of arresting him. We don't want to arrest him. But if they whimsically get bail before arrest, I can't help it. But we are not going to arrest him and we did not arrest him. And Altaf Gauhar, on whom you wrote so much, is not a journalist. He was a civil servant. He went to Dawn to find a cover for his misdeeds. Now, some of the things have come out in his trial, the kind of activities he was indulging in. All of them have not come out because of security being involved. Some of them have been given to the Judges in camera (interruption).

**Question:** *Basically he is considered dangerous to the State at the moment.*

**President:** He is not a danger to the State, but his activities were prejudicial to the State. If you put your hands into the fire, those hands will be burnt. He is not a threat, he is not a menace, he has got no consistency but he goes about trying to engineer plots and things like that which we can handle easily. But the fact is that it is illegal, it is against the law for a man to indulge in gunpowder plots. For this reason he was arrested. Actually he sent me apologies without my asking for it, three apologies, one after the other. I was thinking of releasing him because he is inconsequential. But then he said that those apologies were extracted. Some one said they will go to the Court of Law. If the Court had released him well and good. But I knew the overwhelming evidence was against him.

**Question:** *They are still trying to decide?*

**President:** If they release him, heavens will not fall.

**Question:** *He will not be arrested again?*

**President:** No, why should he? You must also appreciate my difficulties. My main problem is to get the colonial mentality out of our people. They still, somehow or the other, are not free in that sense, and I must knock that out of them first. They get easily elated and easily depressed. Gloom overtakes them and they say the economy is battered and they lose control of their nerves, and in that situation, normal procedures would be almost impossible. Looking back on the 20<sup>th</sup> of December, and the year that we have had, really I don't know how we have gone through this nightmare. It has been nothing short of a nightmare. But the one thing of which I am certain is the will to survive, the people's faith that has been manifested. And, secondly, hard work has taken a heavy toll from me. It has been really hard work, right down the line.

**Question:** *And there has been no let-up.*

**President:** I feel some sort of satisfaction. Things are settling down. Who knows there might be an explosion somewhere, at any time. We are prepared for it. But, you know, just this tour of six days, following on almost marathon, nocturnal meetings, is not a simple task. But the driving force, the engine behind it, is that something has to be done. We cannot make a laughing stock of ourselves. We cannot after 1,000 years of living with the Indians in the subcontinent make them smile and say, here lies the carcass.

**Question:** *I must say there has been tremendous appreciation about you and I have been since long time talking to your bitter critics and they all finish up by saying there is nobody else, he is doing better than (interruption).*

**President:** I don't think they have been complimentary. I would not mind if somebody else were there. It would be a little help. If we had someone else there. He would either be in Government or he would form the position that we have inherited was worse than Poland faced. Germany, of course, suffered a lot in the war and the United States came in a big way to help the rehabilitation of Western Europe. Britain won the war. So if the British were without sugar and without bread, nevertheless, they had the satisfaction of having won the war. Here you lose and don't get anything. People say, what the hell, the war is over, to hell with it.

**Question:** *Do you think that when you say that you want peace with Indians and I think your sincerity is generally accepted by Mrs. Gandhi apart from the Bangladesh issue, on the question of India. I do occasionally meet the people here who say, Oh, we fought all the time-*

**President:** Let them fight after I am gone. You know during the war in 1971, when Yahya Khan was in power, I found a perceptible change in the people's thinking and I seized it. For one thing I knew that if there were to be a war we would lose, not because of India's predominant military power but because Yahya had all over him a bunch of fools. They were ignorant generals who ruled by day and night both, they did not know what was happening, and they were incompetent people. So I made a statement. I was the big confrontation man, associated with thousand years'

war. I said, we don't want war and I think the Indians don't want war, and I am sure we can settle our disputes. But when I met Yahya, he said, Oh, what have you said? I said, look, we are to lose. You have made it inevitable.



***Speech at a civic reception at Peshawar  
on November 16, 1972***

Speaking at a civic reception given in his honour by the people of Peshawar at the Services Ground, President Zulfikar Ali Bhutto declared that no decision about Bangladesh would be imposed on the people who would have to decide the issue themselves, but at the same time warned those threatening to launch movements that the elected Government was fully capable of dealing with them with the help of the masses.

The President appealed for a cool, rational approach to the Bangladesh recognition issue, keeping in mind that the host of thorny issues between the separated parts of Pakistan could only be decided after a dialogue made possible by establishment of some kind of contact with Dacca.

A number of major issues hinged on the Bangladesh question, he said, so the people should not take a hasty decision. They should carefully consider every aspect and then give their verdict, which should be realistic and just. There had to be some sort of contact with Dacca, so that a dialogue could be started for settlement of outstanding issues. The nature of problems also called for an early decision. Unnecessary delay, he said, would be harmful.

The President said: this is a democratic era. Those having different points of view on Bangladesh should sit together and discuss the matter. In this way one could prevail upon the other through mutual discussion. This was also the proper and democratic way.

The President said: because no decision would be taken against the will of the people, there was no need to launch any movement. He would go to every nook and corner of the country to talk to the people because he did not believe in closed-door politics. But now a movement was being threatened by some antiquated elements which had opposed the creation of Pakistan and now wanted to weaken it.

“So let them start the movement”, he said.

“We know how to deal with such movements.” Ayub Khan had all the police at this command but he still could not stop the people. “We have not only the police but the people of Pakistan with us. But there will be no need to make use of the police. The people alone will deal with such threats.”

He said that the drawing-room politicians who were threatening to launch movements against the democratically elected Government because it was not doing what they wanted, should not forget that it is a difficult task. Not all movements can succeed. Their success depends on the cause, aim and timing and the caliber of elements behind them.

The President said these drawing-room critics talk big but do not offer an alternative. How could Pakistan hold talks with the Dacca regime without taking basic decisions, he asked.

The President referred to the changing pattern of world politics, with old antagonists and separated peoples coming closer, such as China and United States, the two Germanies, the two Koreas, without compromising on principles. In Pakistan's case, too, there would be no sacrifice of principles. But then merely propagating principles does not solve problems which are aggravated by wrong decisions at the wrong time.

The President declared that he would make every effort to guide the people in the right direction, notwithstanding the critics. This was what he was doing now in N.W.F.P. He recalled that once it had been a fashion to denigrate socialism but he had made the people understand that socialism posed no threat to religion. Now the detractors of socialism cut a sorry figure. Today also he was going to the people to tell them what was in the interest of the country and what was against it.

Turning to a recent statement by the Indian Foreign Minister, Sardar Swaran Singh, the President said that Pakistan is fully prepared to meet any eventuality. He declared amidst cheers that Pakistan could not be cowed down by threats from any quarter. "If India wants to live in peace with us, we are ready, but we are also prepared to meet the threats."

The President said once an agreement had been reached it should be honoured by the parties concerned. But if somebody changed his mind and wanted to go back, on it, it could not be helped.

The President expressed his determination to make Pakistan self-sufficient in defence requirements. It would undoubtedly take time, but without it the nation could never taste real freedom. Self-sufficiency in arms and armaments, he pointed out, was necessary to withstand foreign pressures. Once the people of Pakistan were prepared to make sacrifices. Pakistan could manufacture even tanks. But this should not frighten anyone. There can be no aggressive motive behind the desire for self-sufficiency in weapons.

Referring to the all-parties constitutional accord the President said he would not like to comment a great deal on it because a political party is presently holding meetings to discuss it. He said the agreement has already been signed by all parliamentary parties, but every party is entitled to take decisions of its liking "and we cannot stop them. " However, if they take some other stand, we are prepared for it also, he said.

The President stressed that in the matter of constitution there was no question of personal likes and dislikes. It is the interest of the nation as a whole that counts. He did not want to impose a constitution like Ayub Khan. This was the job of parliamentary parties. He said although one party having a majority in the National

Assembly could legitimately claim the right to frame a constitution, it did not want to do so because “we do not want differences on the constitution.”

The President said if certain people opposed this method of framing the constitution and vetoed it, the responsibility for the consequences would be squarely on their shoulders.

Turning to other domestic issues, the President underlined the need to concentrate on basic industries. The country did not need Coca Cola and Fanta factories, he said. The people can live quite well on simple water and ‘sherbat.’

He earnestly appealed to the working class to extend the fullest co-operation to his Government. “If the people give me more time,” he said, “I would transform the condition of the people of Pakistan.”

The President said that his Government was endeavouring to achieve self-sufficiency in food, because without this, the country cannot be really free. Presently, he said, that there was a gap of ten lakh tons of food-grains. “If we work for increasing production to fill this gap there is no reason why we should not achieve self-sufficiency in food,” he said.

On the subject of landlord-tenant disputes in Hashtnagar, President Bhutto emphasized the need to solve this painful problem through negotiations. Both parties can be called for discussions at which a just decision could be reached. “We have to do a great deal to improve the lot of the peasants who are the country’s main foreign exchange earners,” he said.

The President also appealed to students to devote themselves to studies, maintain discipline and avoid unnecessary digressions. He did not favour restrictions on them, but these would only come if there was a genuine reason.

Referring to the backwardness of the Frontier Province, he said he was fully conversant with problems facing the people here particularly in remote areas. All of us should join hands in fighting poverty, he said, but if we continue to take wrong decisions only the people would suffer the consequences.

***Address at a meeting of labour unions, Peshawar  
on November 16, 1972***

President Zulfikar Ali Bhutto addressed a meeting at the District Council Hall of some 2,000 office-bearers of 140 labour unions affiliated to the Sarhad Labour Federation. He told the trade union leaders that the plank of his party's politics was based on economic progress of the country so that the masses can a better life, free of poverty, economic exploitation and ignorance. His party did not believe in what he called "political politics" but in "economic politics."

The President expressed his distaste for dirty politics which had been the order of the day in the dismal past. "We have come to serve you," he said. He appealed to the working people to extend their fullest co-operation and corruption to the Government in facilitating its task. Past regimes ruled by exploitation and corruption but the present Government has set the pace for politics of the people's weal. Politics in the past was ruined by a slide to self-interest in which national interests were set aside leading to separation of one part of the country. There were several factors behind this, but he would not go into the background of this tragedy at this moment. He would only say that if the past governments had roots in the people, no one could have dismembered the country.

Referring to the question of recognition of Bangladesh, the President said that the people would decide about matters of a fundamental nature, but they should take a correct decision. There is no need for haste, but we should also be prepared to suffer the consequences of a needless delay. Unless an appropriate decision is taken, India would continue to hold our prisoners of war, he said.

The nation, he said, should take one decision. As for "those young men who think their opinion is correct, they should talk to us and convince us or be convinced."

The President said: his Government was not afraid of threats hurled by drawing-room politicians. "We know the nature of their threats and what they can do," he said.

The President referred to increase in prices of sugar, wheat and some other commodities and said it was the result of the last war. However, the Government on its part had spent foreign exchange worth Rs. 60 crore to import sugar so that there was no scarcity of this commodity in the country. In a lighter vein, he advised the people, nonetheless, to consume less sugar because it carried the threat of diabetes.

The President urged workers to display cool-headedness in seeking solution of their problems and to increase production. The Government was not afraid of the slogan of unity of labour, because it had gained its strength from the unity of workers. The Government was equally keen that political consciousness of labour should be enhanced because "it would strengthen us."

Only the governments which are against labour are afraid of their unity, he said. Those who do not want the poor to prosper are lackeys of exploiting forces and vested interest.

The President referred to reforms introduced by his Government during the past ten months and said in the circumstances this was all he could do. Workers can help in economic recovery and progress by increasing production.

The President said his Government was not afraid of slogans of revolution, because his party had ushered in a kind of revolution too. However, there is a time for genuine revolution and it comes only when there is need for it. In China, revolution came 20 years ago. Coups by Ayub and Yahya cannot be termed revolution. They were a fraud because change of government by illegal means cannot be described as revolution.

He said that his Government must be a revolutionary government otherwise Khan Qayyum Khan, Arbab Sikander and Hayat Sherpao would not be sitting in one place.

APP adds: Turning to the question of provincial autonomy, the President said it was a “legal and political necessity” for Pakistan.

He pointed out that provincial autonomy was also enjoyed in China, the Soviet Union and India. But, he said, so far as the question of national development was concerned, there could be no provincialism. A people’s government could not discriminate in this matter and it would spend the money wherever it was needed.

The President recalled that he started his movement against Ayub Khan’s regime from Dera Ismail Khan in the N.W.F.P. as he did not entertain any discrimination. He pointed out that the whole nation was united on ending dictatorship and he could start his movement from any place. If it had not been so, support of any one district or province would not have achieved success.

He said that the N.W.F.P. was the province of not only those living in it but of the whole country.

The President, again stressing the necessity of well considered decisions by labour, said the microphone was a “very dangerous thing” as those standing before it and its listeners could be carried away to create a “storm.” But he added that when a storm is created, “a wall has also to be erected to stop it.”

He said that sometimes labour could be happy with the Government and at times angry. However, he assured the labour that even if they are angry at any time, “we shall not be disillusioned with you.”

Referring to the assurance of labour support of the Government given in the address of welcome presented earlier, the President asked the workers to “support us

until we are with you. When we don't serve you and we don't have that spirit, you don't support us.”

He said that he had not established kingship or dictatorship in the country. “We have laid foundations for democracy.”

The President said that he would not agree that labour was being misled because similar charges had been leveled against him during his movement against dictatorship when sacrifices were needed. But he asked the workers to take decisions after considering the merits and demerits in all matters.

The President asked the workers not to support him at every stage and every time but if he does anything against their interest they had the right to disagree.

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The President referred to increase in prices of sugar, wheat and some other commodities and said it was the result of the last war. However, the Government on its part had spent foreign exchange worth Rs.60 crore to import sugar so that there was no scarcity of this commodity in the country. In a lighter vein, he advised the people, nonetheless, to consume less sugar because it carried the threat of diabetes.

The President urged workers to display cool-headedness in seeking solution of their problems and to increase production. The Government was not afraid of the slogan of unity of labour, because it had gained its strength from the unity of workers. The Government was equally keen that political consciousness of labour should be enhanced because "it would strengthen us."

Only the governments which are against labour are afraid of their unity, he said. Those who do not want the poor to prosper are lackeys of exploiting forces and vested interest.

The President referred to reforms introduced by his Government during the past ten months and said in the circumstances this was all he could do. Workers can help in economic recovery and progress by increasing production.

The President said his Government was not afraid of slogans of revolution, because his party had ushered in a kind of revolution too. However, there is a time for genuine revolution and it comes only when there is need for it. In China, revolution came 20 years ago. Coups by Ayub and Yahya cannot be termed revolution. They were a fraud because change of government by illegal means cannot be described as revolution.

He said that his Government must be a revolutionary government otherwise Khan Qayyum Khan, Arbab Sikander and Hayat Sherpao would not be sitting in one place.

APP adds: Turning to the question of provincial autonomy, the President said it was a “legal and political necessity” for Pakistan.

He pointed out that provincial autonomy was also enjoyed in China, the Soviet Union and India. But, he said, so far as the question of national development was concerned, there could be no provincialism. A people’s Government could not discriminate in this matter and it would spend the money wherever it was needed.

The President recalled that he started his movement against Ayub Khan’s regime from Dera Ismail Khan in the N.W.F.P. as he did not entertain any discrimination. He pointed out that the whole nation was united on ending dictatorship and he could start his movement from any place. If it had not been so, support of any one district or province would not have achieved success.

He said that the N.W.F.P. was the province of not only those living in it but of the whole country.

The President, again stressing the necessity of well considered decisions by labour, said the microphone was a “very dangerous thing” as those standing before it and its listeners could be carried away to create a “storm.” But he added that when a storm is created, “a wall has also to be erected to stop it.”

He said that sometimes labour could be happy with the Government and at times angry. However, he assured the labour that even if they are angry at any time, “we shall not be disillusioned with you.”

Referring to the assurance of labour support of the Government given in the address of welcome presented earlier, the President asked the workers to “support us



until we are with you. When we don't serve you and we don't have that spirit, you don't support us."

He said that he had not established kingship or dictatorship in the country. "We have laid foundations for democracy."

The President said that he would not agree that labour was being misled because similar charges had been leveled against him during his movement against dictatorship when sacrifices were needed. But he asked the workers to take decisions after considering the merits and demerits in all matters.

The President asked the workers not to support him at every stage and every time but if he does anything against their interest they had the right to disagree.

***Address at a public meeting in Saidu Sharif  
on November 17, 1972***

President Zulfikar Ali Bhutto announced sweeping changes in the political, judicial and administrative set-ups of the former states of Swat, Dir and Chitral, and abolished the Frontier Crimes Regulations, Jirga system and 'Riwaj' in one stroke.

He told a cheering, slogan-raising public meeting, the first of his 11-day mass-contract tour of the N.W.F.P, that all labour laws and reforms had also been extended to the Malakand Division with immediate effect.

He said that all prisoners detained under the FCR will be released, and asked the N.W.F.P. Governor to act accordingly.

With the abolition of the FCR, the jurisdiction of the Supreme and the High Courts had also been extended to the Malakand Division, fulfilling a long-standing demand of the people, he said.

The President said that these decisions were a part of his party's pledges, and he had fulfilled many of them during the short 10 months his party has been in power. "All other promises made by us will also be fulfilled in due course of time," he said.

About the judicial set-up in the Division following the repeal of the FCR, the President said that the setting up of regular courts and institutions would take some time, but the Government would try to regularize things as soon as possible.

He said that his Government was determined to completely change the existing social and political order in the country, and had already taken steps to effect improvements in the political field. Democracy has been restored, and efforts were being made to change the economic system.

The President, however, said that the country was under a heavy burden of foreign loans, and unless the country's potentials and resources were fully exploited and utilized, no amount of foreign aid could help.

He referred to the last 25 years during which Pakistan received a huge amount of loans from outside, but no worthwhile development had taken place. "Where is the happiness and prosperity which these loans could bring?" he asked.

The President told the Swat people that all the students arrested in last month's disturbances had already been released, but the remaining three had also been granted bails.

The President said he would not say anything wrong, which could be an interference in the provincial affairs, because "I don't want interference."

The President referred to the educational reforms, and said with the availability of more resources, the number of universities in the country would be

increased, and this would include a university at Saidu Sharif and another at Dera Ismail Khan.

The President asked the people to maintain law and order, and re-marked that the repeal of the FCR should not give them an impression that there was no Government.

***Message of greetings to the Sultan of Oman  
on November 18, 1972***

On my own behalf and on behalf of the Government and the people of Pakistan, I extend to Your Majesty the Government and the brotherly people of Oman, our sincere felicitations and best wishes on the National Day of the Sultanate of Oman. I am confident that the ties of brotherhood and friendship binding our two countries shall be strengthened further in the years to come.

I avail myself of this opportunity to renew to Your Majesty the assurances of my highest consideration.

***Address to the tribal leaders of Bajaur  
on November 18, 1972***

Addressing tribal leaders of Bajaur President Zulfikar Ali Bhutto said that peace would be established if interference in the internal affairs of smaller nations is stopped and their rights recognized. Injustice and strife would end if nations got together and resolve their disputes through negotiation, if Governments attended to the problems of the people and brought them peace and prosperity. These principles symbolized Pakistan's attitude to other nations for peace with all was the cornerstone of its foreign policy.

Pakistan, the President said, is a small country with limited resources. But its people have faith in their destiny and are determined to solve all their problems-internal and external-in the light of this faith. Pakistan is keen to establish peace in the world. If nations are faithful to the U.N. Charter in resolving disputes that plague them, mankind would be saved from the specter of war.

Replying to an address of welcome by the Khan of Khar, the President said that the sacrifices made by the tribal people for the establishment of Pakistan cannot be forgotten. Their role in the Kashmir liberation struggle soon after establishment of Pakistan also cannot be forgotten. He was confident that in future, too, the tribal people would continue to make sacrifices for the solidarity and prosperity of their country side by side with their compatriots elsewhere.

The President said his Government is taking keen interest in improving the economic conditions of the tribal people. It wants to set up industries in their areas to provide jobs to them. So, like in other parts of the country, industries would soon be established in the tribal areas.

He said without fulfilling the economic requirements of the people a progressive and prosperous society could not be established. "We have formulated plans for bettering the lot of the people and we will do our best to implement these projects with our own resources," he said. Turning to foreign aid, the President declared that his Government would obtain only that much foreign aid it could usefully put into vital projects concerned with improving the quality of life. It would not seek to carry a greater burden than the country could afford. The object, he said, was to reduce our dependence on foreign aid and foster the spirit of self reliance.

The President assured the people that his Government had made certain that there were adequate food grain stocks in the country. His party had not forgotten its election pledges. *Roti, kapra aur makan* for every citizen was the aim of the Government and it would exert all its energies towards achieving this objective. The Government had set in motion development plans that would make Pakistan self-sufficient in food, God willing. The government wanted not only *roti, kapra aur makan* for the poor, it also wanted justice and enjoyment of legitimate rights for all sections of the population.

The President called for an end to the politics of mud-slinging and mutual recrimination. It was essential to learn from the past, he said, so that we could all work for a glorious future.

Turning to the future constitution, he said the task of framing it is almost complete and the National Assembly would soon start giving it a final shape. No nation, he said, could be called civilized until it has a constitution to go by. He declared that the Government honoured local customs of tribal people and would not like to interfere in their internal affairs.

### *Address at Dir on November 18, 1972*

Addressing a big crowd that greeted him on his arrival at Dir, the President said that objectives for which the people had struggled so hard would soon be achieved. He was there to meet the poor people of the province, because he had come into power with their help and would continue to fight for them to the last.

On their part the people must forge unity of action and purpose, work hard to raise production because only in this way would they increase the Government's capacity to serve them, the President said. His party had been committed to removing poverty and his Government was working towards that end with grit and determination. The people, he said, had made too many sacrifices for anyone in power to ignore their needs and he would never allow any kind of gulf between the people and their Government.

Recalling his party's struggle for democracy, the President said that *fatwas of kufr* had been issued by certain persons but now people can see for themselves how many mosques have been locked up, how many people stopped from offering prayers. He said after coming into power his Government made arrangements to send 80,000 people on Haj and this is a record for any Muslim country.

The President said that elements who were opposing the People's Party under the cover of Islam really wanted to maintain the system of exploitation. But now a democratic era has begun and steps are being taken to improve the economy of the country. He declared that he would spare no sacrifice for the well-being of the people.

Later, the President met notables of the area. Addressing them he said that he had spent his life fighting against oppressors, he was on the side of the oppressed and would always remain so. His Government would in no circumstances side with the oppressors. He was at war with the oppressors and warned them to behave because the days of excesses and injustices have become a part of the past.

APP and PPI add: The President disclosed that some neighbouring Muslim countries were helping Pakistan develop transport and trade routes to connect various parts of the country. He told the tribal elders that opening of new routes was essential for increasing trade and improving the economic conditions in various areas. His Government was also working for provision of electricity to the remotest areas since electricity was "a pillar of development."

The President praised the work of a doctor serving in Dir. He urged all doctors to serve the rural masses with a humanitarian outlook. The people in rural areas were also brothers and Pakistanis and needed greater attention. But there was tendency for doctors to work in big cities or go abroad. The President said when qualified doctors went out of the country, it was a loss to the people.

***Address at a public meeting at Mardan  
on November 18, 1972***

President Zulfikar Ali Bhutto addressing a mammoth public meeting in the parade ground of the Punjab Regimental Centre declared that the delay in the delineation of the line of control in Jammu and Kashmir was not because of any outside pressure but because Pakistan stood by principles which it would never sacrifice.

He added that all Pakistan wanted was that the delineation issue be settled in accordance with the provisions of the Simla Agreement and international principles. Pakistan, he said, would not be able to defend itself if it sacrificed its principles.

The President categorically declared that the impression in U.N. quarters and in India that perhaps Pakistan was being pressurized by China was absolutely wrong. Pakistan-China relations, he said, were so good that neither needed to pressurize the other or interfere in each other's internal affairs. The two countries believed in good, friendly and neighbourly relations. Pakistan takes its own decisions in accordance with the national interest.

Referring to the Chinese veto in the Security Council on the admission of Bangladesh, the President said that the right of veto had been exercised because certain principles were being violated. What was the justification, he asked, for India to continue detaining our prisoners of war when there was ceasefire in the subcontinent, the Security Council and General Assembly had passed resolutions and the Simla Agreement had been signed. And 20,000 of the 90,000 prisoners in India were women and children, how could India justify that? That is why China had used veto-for the sake of certain principles-and this will continue to be exercised as long as the Pakistani POWs were treated and kept as hostage in India.

Pakistan had asked China, the president said amidst cheers, to use the veto "if you are our friend," and China being a good friend did accordingly.

The President said that when Russia had used the veto during the Indian aggression against Pakistan, it was for the sake of the aggressor, but China had done it for a just cause.

Certain quarters, the President said, were also talking of some "internal pressure", but didn't they know that the present Government was a people's Government, a constitutional Government? It had not usurped power and, therefore, it could not be pressurized by anybody from within or without. How could General Tikka Khan prevail upon him when a Field-Marshal and his successor had failed to do so, he asked. All such canards, he said, were being floated to make him take a wrong decision which will never come from him.



The object of the propaganda about the so-called pressures was to make him proclaim “I am a bold man” and take a wrong decision. “But I won’t do it, “he said, “let them say there is pressure from Nixon and pressure from Qayyum Khan.”

The President explained the “big conspiracy” leading to the separation of East Pakistan. First, he said, India cried out loud about “refugees” from East Pakistan to earn world sympathy and Pakistan could not give a befitting reply. Then it entered into agreements and launched an attack on East Pakistan.

But the relations with India, he said, could start improving from tomorrow if she released the Pakistani POWs. So far as the line of control was concerned it was not a question of the size of an area but that of principles. If India was interested in possessing an area, Pakistan, too, was interested because it had its rights on both sides of the line.

Referring to the threats of a movement on the question of Bangladesh, the President said the people knew how to deal with such elements. But he added that in the absence of a decision there was no question of any movement. The decision, he said, was to be taken by the people and the Assembly and the people must take a correct decision after careful thought. He was duty bound to tell the people about the advantages and disadvantages of a certain decision and so far as Bangladesh was concerned some contact will have to be established with the people there in order to settle the outstanding issues.

He warned that Indian influence in the area will increase if Pakistan failed to establish some contact. But while assuring the people that no decision would be taken against their will he urged them to take the correct one otherwise “how will the work go on.”

The President said that the movement was being threatened by the same old elements who had opposed the establishment of Pakistan and who now wanted to weaken what remain of this country. Unless the basic issues were resolved, he said, attention could not be paid to the pressing problems of poverty, hunger and disease. If after 25 years there cannot be recourse to reason and if we continue to remain entangled in disputes, how can we progress, he asked.

The President said that in politics the decision had to be properly times, otherwise the country was bound to suffer. He recalled that a settlement had almost been reached between emissaries of Pakistan and Indian in Geneva with regard to the fixation of troops and holding of plebiscite in Jammu and Kashmir after the first conflict, but it was all undone because politics at home were moving in a wrong direction. That, he said, only benefited India. The Governments of that time could not take decisions because of an emotional approach engendered by politicians indulging in empty speech-making.

Turning to domestic issues, President Bhutto said that efforts would be made to settle the tenant-landlord problem justly and amicably. An answer had to be found because confrontation was in nobody’s interest. The provincial Government, too, he

said, should make an all-out effort in that direction. Agricultural production had to be increased to ensure people's prosperity and it could not be done without smooth relations between tenants and land-owners.

The President declared that the PPP would always be on the side of the peasants, workers and students if injustice was done to them. The PPP, he said, would never abandon its revolutionary programme. Those who claimed that it would not be fulfilled were the enemies of the people.

The president told the cheering people that in spite of the grave crisis which confronted the country, the PPP Government had done a tremendous job for the people and it will continue to work for them. He, however, pointed out that everything could not be done in one go. But "we have brought you on the right path," he said.

The President, referring to the "revolutionaries" in his party, said that these elements were nowhere to be seen till three months before the general elections. These people, he said, were "July-wala and September-wala politicians" who had been thrown out of Government service on corruption charges. Where were these revolutionaries during Ayub Khan's time, he asked.

There was a politician who had won elections from Mardan and who is also describing himself as a revolutionary. If he were so why did he not make revolution against the British or even against Ayub Khan, he asked.

The President said that it was being pointed out that the Government did not take Pakistan out of SEATO, although it had made a commitment. But now it had been done and it was properly timed. There is a time to do everything, and even a good thing done before its time can cause harm. He appealed to people not to be misled.

The President said that in spite of an emergency of the type not even faced by Spain after its civil war or by Germany after World War II, the Government had introduced revolutionary reforms for workers and peasants. It had given the country an interim constitution and a start to a permanent one. Provinces, too, had got Governors of their own. There was more to come, he said, but it would take time.

The President said that while under past Governments capitalists spent their money in Europe or saved it there, it would now be used within the country. He said this while announcing that a local industrial magnate, Mir Afzal Khan, would be constructing a hospital in Mardan at a cost of Rs. 35 lakh.

The President also got loud cheers from students who, he assured, would get more hostel accommodation and more buses next year.'

The crowd snubbed an old Government pensioner for interrupting the President's speech to complain about unnecessary delay in the payment of his G.P. Fund, but the President called him to the stage, listened to him patiently and assured him that he would get his G.P. Fund.

While the President was talking about the relations with India someone from the crowd said “ we shall fight.” The President did not disappoint him and said that he should be enrolled in the army forthwith.

***Message of greetings to Prince Rainier III of Monaco  
on November 19, 1972***

On behalf of the Government and the people of Pakistan and on my own behalf, I have pleasure in sending to Your Highness, the Princess and the people of Monaco our greetings and felicitations on the occasion of the National Day of Monaco. Please accept, Your Highness, the assurances of my highest consideration.

*Address to workers at Tarbela on November 19, 1972*

Addressing workers of the Tarbela Dam project at Tarbela, President Zulfikar Ali Bhutto said that the country had suffered heavily in the past because of bad decisions and had lost not only Kashmir, Junagadh, Manavadar and Hyderabad but also half of itself. If it kept the “shutter down,” it would not be able to progress and repair past mistakes.

The President said: unless there was contact between Pakistan and Muslim Bengal, trade and traffic could not be resumed and, hence, relations could not improve. Pakistan could not afford to follow a tight policy and strain its relations with all its neighbours.

“If you hold a moth in a closed fist, it would suffocate. But if it is released, it will move about merrily,” the President remarked. If some contacts were not established with Muslim Bengal, “enabling us to talk and embrace each other, “how can we come close?” He asked. “Are we going to conquer them after traveling 1,000 miles? Even if that were possible, there will be Mukti Bahini.”

The President recalled that there was a time when Pakistan’s relations with Afghanistan were ruptured. This political difficulty had its economic repercussions. But when the relations were restored, the situation improved.

Similarly, he said, relations with India stand sealed since 1965 and the same was the position now with regard to Muslim Bengal. Had France, Germany and the United States been placed in this situation, they would not have been what they were today.

The President said: in the situation that existed today, Pakistan would never be able to get rid of foreign debts and it would have to remain at the mercy of others. If America and Japan could talk to the Chinese, there was no reason why Pakistan should not talk to those with whom it had strained relations, he asserted.

The President said: Pakistan would have regained 5,000 square miles of its territory under the Simla Agreement were the conditions conducive to its full implementation; 10 lakh Pakistanis, dislocated from Sailkot and Sind, could have gone back to their homes and jobs. He regretted that even though Pakistan was to get back a large territory, the Simla Agreement was opposed by certain elements.

The President called upon the workers to work hard to complete the Dam on schedule so that the country could start deriving its benefits and become self-sufficient in food.

As for their demands, he said those of an immediate nature would be accepted, and less important ones could be considered later. But he told them plainly that if their demands were found to be unreasonable, they would not be accepted.

The President said that he would never deceive his people and tell them lies; they had already suffered a lot because of lies in the past.

***Address to the combined Jirga of Khyber Agency at Landi Kotal on November 20, 1972***

Addressing a combined jirga of various tribes of the Khyber Agency, President Zulfikar Ali Bhutto said that Pakistan had signed the Simla Accord with India to adhere to it since “we do not believe in going back on our word.” He said even today Pakistan was ready to start negotiations at all levels to settle the outstanding issues but, he added rights and principles would never be compromised.

About Muslim Bengal, he said that he honestly believed that contact should be established with Dacca to help resume trade and traffic and improve relations between the two.

The President said that Pakistan could not afford to reduce the strength of its armed forces. Unless it was militarily strong, it could not negotiate international issues from a position of strength. “One must have adequate force behind him while negotiating on disputes with others,” he said, pointing out that only those avoided negotiations who had a weak case. Once on the conference table, he said, one would have to admit his wrongs and the same yardstick would have to be applied equally to all with regard to the right of self-determination as well. If something was bad for Pakistan, it could not be good for others.

The President said that after the cease-fire and the Simla Accord, the detention of the Pakistani POWs and continued occupation of its territory had no justification at all. Had India shown a little large-heartedness, he said there would have been further progress. But India had always been narrow-minded and that attitude had done tremendous harm to the people of both the countries. He, however, felt confident that the POWs would have to be released and the territory vacated ultimately.

The President reiterated that people must take a correct decision with regard to Muslim Bengal. One could commit mistakes but he believed that contact should be established with Dacca. He said that if anyone had a better alternative, he was ready to discuss it.

Stressing the need for improved relations with all the neighbouring countries, the President said that unless Pakistan was free from international problems, proper attention could not be paid to the internal matters. In this connection, he referred to the relations with Afghanistan and said these could be developed further.

Replying to a point raised by Malik Wali Khan Kukikhel, ex-MNA, that the secession of East Pakistan was the result of political misdeeds, the President declared that no power on earth could separate the four province of Pakistan from each other. He said the four provinces were geographically one entity, while 1,000 miles of enemy territory separated East Pakistan from West. But despite this East Pakistan kept itself associated with West Pakistan for 25 years.

He said Pakistan was the first country whose one part was cut off from the other by 1,000 miles. The United States became the second when it made Alaska-bought from Russia-one of its states. He said the U.S. was spending considerable wealth on the maintenance of Alaska. "Had we resources and wealth matching the U.S. we could have retained East Pakistan."

The tribesmen had in their address demanded increase in their allowances which, they said, had been fixed about 50 years back when the cost of living was not that high. "But then you did not do smuggling either," was the reply from the President.

"There is no smuggling even now," said one of the tribesmen.

"Do not tell me that. I am not Khawaja Nazimuddin," replied the President.

The President said smuggling in all shapes was most undesirable and it had got to be effectively checked in the interest of the country.

He said that one lakh tons of rice had been smuggled out from Chaman alone. In turn, he said, useless items like transistors and tape-recorders were smuggled in.

He said although Pakistan was duty bound to help Afghanistan if the latter was faced with scarcity of food but it should be done in a proper way. A barter agreement could have been more beneficial to both the countries.

The President stressed that while demanding certain concessions and facilities the people must also be equally keen about their responsibilities and extend co-operation to the Government in rooting out evils like smuggling, corruption, lawlessness and adulteration.

So far as problems were concerned they existed everywhere from Karachi to Khyber. Pakistan was a developing country with limited resources, but still a lot of work had been done during the last 10 months. Much more would be done but everything could not be accomplished overnight.

The President declared that lawlessness would not be tolerated and if the Provincial Government failed to control it the Central Government would provide all possible help to it.

Replying to a point raised by the tribesmen, he said that the tribesmen had every right to maintain their tradition to keep a gun with them all the time, but the gun should be used in self-defence or in the defence of the country, and not to browbeat their own people.



*Address at Shabqadar on November 20, 1972*

Addressing a tribal jirga, president Zulfikar Ali Bhutto said that if attempts had been made in this direction earlier, constitutional problems could have been solved long ago.

The president said that the National Assembly was a sovereign body and was empowered to make amendments to the Accord. So far as his party was concerned, it had fully considered all aspects of the Agreement before signing it. Now it would honour the Accord even if it were to prove disadvantageous to it.

The President said that his party, too, could find excuses to violate the Accord. But it would never do so because “if we bring up our personal likes and dislikes in matters of national importance, then no decisions can be taken.”

He regretted that even 25 years after gaining freedom, Pakistan had not been able to frame its constitution and had not advanced one step.

The President expressed the hope that the Constituent Assembly would frame a constitution in keeping with the will and aspirations of the people. With the framing of the constitution, all political problems of fundamental nature would be resolved by March or April, he said, adding from then on we shall be able to devote full attention to improving the economic condition of the country.

The President emphasized the need for pooling efforts to help usher in an era of prosperity. He said that the country had suffered irreparably on account of petty misunderstandings in the past.

The President declared that if no efforts were made to resolve the economic problems facing the country, all attempts to achieve political solidarity would be of no avail, because political problems could not be separated from economic issues. “Both political and economic problems are, in fact, complementary to each other.”

The President said no individual could stay in power forever. “Change is a rule of nature.” If someone dreamed of ruling forever, it would be difficult to run the government. Governments were run for a purpose and in accordance with an ideology, he remarked.

The President said that the country could not afford another crisis. Petty misunderstandings which had caused several crises in the past must, therefore, be sunk.

He said that if he did not take a decision regarding the future it would become difficult to run the Government or solve problems.

Touching upon foreign policy, he said that foreign policy was of paramount importance for political and economic solidarity. “If we continued to follow an independent foreign policy it shall help us in solving problems facing the nation.”

A good foreign policy would have a good impact on the country.

### *Address at Kohat on November 21, 1972*

Addressing a jirga of Orakzai and Adamkhel tribes President Zulfikar Ali Bhutto warned Bangladesh that if it did not stop the so-called trials of patriots, “we shall have to think about our next step.” He said:” We do not want to come to blows with our brothers because it would not lead to fraternization.”

Commenting on the sentence of exile for life passed against former East Pakistan governor, Dr. A.M. Malik by a special tribunal in Dacca yesterday, the president said it was extremely unfair that a man who had made sacrifices for the establishment of Pakistan was being exiled.”

He said” Dr. Malik was a great patriot who had rendered great sacrifices for the establishment of Pakistan. His case was decided within three days and his advocate, Sir Dingle Foot, was not allowed to plead for him.

He warned the people that if we continued to delay taking a decision regarding recognition or non-recognition of Bangladesh, we would go on seeing the consequences of delay. Had Pakistan any contact with the administration of Dacca, it could have exercised some restraining influence on them. Today it is Dr. Malik and tomorrow it will be the turn of other patriotic Pakistani now languishing in jails there.

He said that without a dialogue with Dacca such things would continue to happen. “We shall have to establish contacts with them, otherwise we should be prepared to face such happenings.”

The President said: delay in deciding the question of recognition would go in favour of India as its influence with the administration of Dacca would increase. He said the question would be decided by the people and their representatives in the National Assembly.

“We have left it to the people to take a decision on this matter and under the present procedure the National Assembly will decide whether or not Bangladesh should be recognized.”

The President said that the question of East Pakistan was not solely of nationality, religion, politics or economics. In fact, all these things were inter-related. He wanted that there should be open debate on this and people should go into all aspects of this matter. “I am not the one to say that we should recognize Bangladesh. All that I say is that no wrong decision should be taken because of Pakistani POWs now detained in Indian camps.” He said he did not want it to be written in history that Pakistanis made a wrong decision and bargained their principles.

The President said that there were quite independent reasons for taking this decision. He urged politicians, who lounge in their drawing rooms and issue long statements “not to mislead the people by telling them lies.” He said: the entire nation would be involved in the decision. Debates and discussions were welcome but it was the duty of the people to weigh all things well and not to be misled by false pictures.

The nation should take a balanced view of this matter by taking into consideration all its pros and cons.

The President said that democracy could not flourish amid threats or force. "It thrives on arguments." He held out a warning to those who were thinking of adopting undemocratic means to achieve their objectives that he would retaliate in the same coin. Undemocratic means were not adopted in a democratic system but in a dictatorship.

The President said that it was a matter of gratification that such elements had become sober and now intended to address public meetings to prepare public opinion. It is a good step.

Turning to a statement issued by Maulana Maudoodi in which he had said that the question of repatriation of POWs and recognition of Bangladesh were not interconnected, the President said how could it be said that these issues were separate from each other. Both Mrs. Gandhi and Sheikh Mujibur Rahman had taken the stand that the two matters were related to each other. It is the duty of a Muslim that he should speak the truth and present facts before the nation. "We do not want to bargain on principles but the keys to the jails of POWs are with India and not with us," he said. "Had these keys been in our hands, we could have dictated."

The President said: there were three methods to have the POWs repatriated. First, it could be done by going to war once again, but it was not possible. "If we want to get back our POWs, then there are conditions." Secondly, there is the method of acting through the United Nations, but "we have seen what this body has done for solving the Kashmir problem during the past 25 years." The U.N. had no power to get its resolutions implemented because it merely held discussions and passed resolutions.

In this connection the President referred to Israel which had been continuously disregarding United Nations resolutions with impunity.

The President said that now the third method was of offering prayers. But prayers could not soften the heart of Mrs. Gandhi or Sheikh Mujib. "If the POWs can be repatriated by following the method of prayers, we are ready to follow it."

The President said that all things could be said sitting snugly in drawing-rooms. But those in government were aware of the magnitude of the problem. "If the repatriation of POWs was as easy as our opponents think, then we, too, could have done it."

Referring to the argument that after recognition of Bangladesh, "we would have to recognize Sind Desh," the President said "Sind Desh" could not be formed in a region from where the first resolution demanding the establishment of Pakistan had originated. Could "Sind Desh" come into being because a handful of university students talked of it? He asked and remarked that he failed to understand why such a reference was being made to Sind. What have Sindhis done to deserve such accusations.

The President said that the people of Pakistan had voted a Sindhis as their Head of State. It was not because of votes polled by Sindhis alone that he had become President. The people of Punjab also had overwhelmingly voted for him.

The President argued that Sheikh Mujib regarded himself as leader of Bengalis alone and, therefore, he fought for them only, but his party got votes from all the provinces of West Pakistan.

He said: such talk was more harmful than recognition of Bangladesh. The River Indus passing through the N.W.F.P., the Punjab and Sind tied them together. The people of Pakistan, he said, were geographically and religiously one entity.

President Bhutto said that if the people were happy the country would prosper. But if the people continued to be exploited they would not be happy.

Elaborating his assertion that Sindhis did not want “Sindh Desh”, he said after Yahya Khan’s action against Mujib in 1971, there was an upheaval in East Wing and the Mukti Bahini raised its head. But when the present Government sent the “Mujib of Sind” behind bars, there was no stir at all, because Sindhis did not want separation. He emphasized the need for mutual trust and said if you did not respond with your trust in them, it would not enhance Pakistan’s prestige.

“If you go on hurling accusations against a person he would eventually be forced into becoming that way.”

President Bhutto traced the history of Sind and dilated upon the exploitation of Sindhi Muslims by Hindus. He said after Pakistan came into being, the Sindhis welcomed the refugees. Had Sindhis wanted the establishment of “Sindh Desh” why should they have willingly let lands left by Hindu landlords go into the hands of refugees, he asked.

The President referred to the allotment of lands in Kotri and Guddu Barrage areas to capitalists and bureaucrats at the cost of poor peasants and said justice should be done in the matter of economic well-being of all the people. He said that what led to the creation of Bangladesh was the crisis of rust. Referring to the Language Bill passed by the Sind Assembly he said it had dealt a death blow to “Sindh Desh”.

“Had we not done it, we would have made a wrong decision. And this could have led to bringing into being of Sindh Desh.

This, however, did not mean that the Government was opposed to Urdu. Not at all, “Urdu is our national language.”

Without naming Jama’at-i-Islami founder, Maulana Moudoodi, the President said: in his writings, the Maulana had opposed the creation of Pakistan. Now he wanted to achieve what he had written in his books through the back door.

The President said that there were three lakh Bengalis in Pakistan. “If we were to harm them they would not take the message of good will from our side when they eventually go back to their home. Would they not generate hatred against us when they go back?” This was no way of serving Pakistan or Islam.

“You would have to take correct decisions, taking into consideration and weighing well all facts.” The President said that if he was wrong the people should get hold of him and put him on the right path. He was sure that the people could not be misled by the press-statement-issuing leaders. They had failed in the past and they would fail again.

However, the President warned that if such elements adopted wrong methods their consequences would not be good.

Earlier addressing a big crowd at Church Ground soon after his arrival by Helicopter, the President said all international and internal problems could be resolved by debates and discussions. He said that opposition to Government should be expressed through democratic means by making speeches in assemblies or at public meetings. The government, on its part, was ready to permit such people all facilities for expressing dissent through democratic means. “No one can cow us down into submission by force and threats. Force will be met by force.”

*Address at Parachinar on November 21,1972*

President Zulfikar Ali Bhutto announced that Pakistan welcomed the Indo-Bangladesh decision to repatriate 6,000 women and children of the Pakistan POWs and it would reciprocate by returning 10,000 Bengali children and women.

Addressing a combined Jirga of Kurram Agency shortly after his arrival here, the President said although it was claimed that the decision had been taken on humanitarian grounds, the fact remained that it was a diplomatic move in view of the U.N. debate on the admission of Bangladesh scheduled for next Monday. India, he pointed out, had also taken the step in its bid to create an impression of co-operation. But, he added, if India really meant what it claimed, it should not only vacate Pakistan's territory but also release all the Pakistani POWs and try to settle other basic issues.

The President hoped that the good decision, though it had come quite late, would be followed by more such decisions.

He said contact with Muslim Bengal before recognition was necessary to solve the outstanding problems. Muslim Bengal had been part of this country and Pakistan had no enmity towards it. The contact, he said, could be followed by more steps to improve the relations, but those who were opposed to the process he suggested should come forward with an alternative which he was ready to discuss. Dialogues, he said, were being held all over the world to settle disputes between the nations and there was no reason why it should not be held between Pakistan and Muslim Bengal.

The President held out the assurance that his Government would do justice to all and no party or individual should expect a preferential treatment.

He said nothing could stop him from meeting his people in whose welfare he was very deeply interested. Both the Central and the Provincials Governments would jointly try to ensure better living conditions to all the people. That, he said, would not be a favour to anybody but a duty which the present Government stood pledged to do to its people.

***Message of greetings to Mr. Suleiman Franjeh, President of Lebanon, on November 22, 1972***

The Government and the people of Pakistan join me in extending to Your Excellency, the Government and the friendly people of Lebanon our warm greetings and sincere felicitations on the occasion of the National day of Lebanon. I am confident that the friendly relations and co-operation existing between our two countries shall be strengthened in the years to come.

I take this opportunity to wish health and happiness to Your Excellency and progress and prosperity to the friendly people of Lebanon.



***Address at a public meeting in Bannu  
on November 22, 1972***

President Zulfikar Ali Bhutto said that efforts were being made to give the country a truly democratic constitution. The past constitutions were the works of one man and thoroughly undemocratic. That was why they did not work.

The President said that a democratic constitution was the foremost requirement of the country and the greatest attention was being paid to it. In this connection, he said, an accord had been reached on the basic principles.

The President urged the people to work hard to make Pakistan strong and prosperous. Frequent strikes would adversely affect the production and that in turn will thwart the pace of progress. He said the huge foreign loans received in the past had not been properly used. Otherwise, things would have been much better. The present Government, however, would spare no effort to fulfill the needs of the people. A start had been made in the right direction but since there was no magic lamp, everything could not be achieved overnight.

The President, responding to a petition of grievances presented by representatives of the Bannu Woollen Mills Workers' Union, held out the assurance that an inquiry would be held into the affairs of the mills.

He told the people of Bannu that their demand to convert the military dairy farm into a college and hostels could not be accepted, as the farm was necessary to supply milk to the armed forces. He said a better site would be found for their college.

The president also assured the tribesmen that greater efforts would be made for the development of their areas and announced the upgrading of the intermediate college of the Agency to the degree level. Besides, he said a match factory costing Rs.70 lakh would be set up and a woolen mill was being planned.

The President said: the people and Government would have to put in united efforts to catch up with the fast developing world.

Earlier, addressing a big crowd which had gathered to greet him at the air strip, the President paid rich tributes to the tribesmen and called them the sword-arm of Pakistan.

The tribesmen had rendered great sacrifices for the sake of the country, he said, and hoped that in future too they would make similar sacrifices.

He assured the tribesmen, in reply to their demand, that the constitution would be based on Islamic principles. He said that if the all-party agreement on basic constitutional issues signed recently, had not been Islamic, the representatives, of JUI would not have signed it.

*Address at Miran Shah on November 22, 1972*

Talking to newsmen at Miranshah, headquarters of North Waziristan Agency, during his visit to the tribal areas, President Zulfikar Ali Bhutto, insisted that he and Sheikh Mujib should meet before Pakistan recognized its break-away eastern part.

He said that such a meeting was necessary to thrash out various problems. He said he knew the Sheikh well and if these problems were not thrashed out beforehand Mujib could say “good bye.”

Replying to a question, President Bhutto said: Sheikh Mujib in fact needed the meeting more than we do here.

Referring to Sheikh Mujibur Rahman’s reported statement that Bangladesh would forgive if Pakistan admitted its mistakes, the President said that one should admit one’s mistakes but asked, “What will they get if we admit. Will Sheikh Mujib get a medal if Pakistan did so?”

He said if there were to be talks “then let us sit together and talk seriously.” The delay in establishing contact between the two parts would be harmful to both.

The President said: “Both of us (West and East Pakistan) had committed mistakes and by mutual discussions and talking we will thrash them out and try to rectify them.”

Answering a question from a foreign journalist about the quantum of opposition to Bangladesh recognition in the country, the President said that there was not much of it. The National Assembly, he said, would take the final decision and, therefore, people have no need to worry about an imposed decision.

Questioned on the delay in delineation of line of control in Jammu and Kashmir, the President said that the maps had already been prepared, but the Indians have changed their minds. He asked a foreign journalist whether he had seen these maps because some of them (journalists had been able to see them).

Addressing tribal Maliks and the people of Bannu and Miranshah, the President reminded the people of the losses they would have to face in the economic and financial sectors if a quick decision about Bangladesh was not taken.

He declared if Pakistan recognized the new state today, he would assure the nation that in five years’ time Pakistan would become the strongest power in the subcontinent.

Agency reports add” The President said that Muslim Bengal should not be left at the mercy of others.

He said that he could not develop Pakistan alone. The whole nation had to do this. During the past 25 years wrong decisions landed the country in difficulties. The progress of the country, he said, depended on solution of both internal and external problems.

Pakistan had got to have good relations with the rest of the world because it could not live in isolation.

The President said that his Government was determined to change the whole system in which people did not get due benefits in the past. A new course was being adopted and the people should show patience. Some reforms had been introduced and more would be done but it could not happen immediately.

The President urged the workers to put in hard work to increase production and pointed out that without work they could not be called workers. Nor should they make demands while sitting idle.

He said that after the constitutional accord the Assembly would be able to frame the permanent constitution on its basis. Democracy could work with the co-operation of other parties and they should lend their hand.

The President said that the Government has ensured freedom of Press and expression, but this should not be used for illegal activities.

Those who violate the constitution, law and democratic norms have to be checked as no Government could allow them to carry on their activities with impunity.

Referring to threats of movements, he said that in democracy Assembly, public meetings and the Press were the right channels for campaigning for one's vies.

Bust agitations could be justified only in dictatorship as in democratic conditions they would be a violation of democracy and "we will not allow any conspiracy against democracy to succeed."

Those who talk of movements are known to us. Why had they not launched movements in Ayub's time? The President asked.

He said if recourse was taken to democratic behaviour it would be welcome. If the Government commits any mistake it should be told about it through arguments and "our doors are open for negotiations to all."

The President said that those who were saying some decisions could be taken only over their dead bodies had opposed Pakistan and the Quaid-i-Azam and were those who had used the platform of Pandit Nehru and Sardar Patel against Pakistan.

***Address at a public meeting in Dera Ismail Khan  
on November 23,1972***

Addressing a big public meeting at the Polo Ground, President Zulfikar Ali Bhutto said that unless Pakistan's territory was vacated and the POWs released, the question of Bangladesh's admission to the United Nations could make no progress. He said it would make no difference even if the General Assembly voted in favour of the admission by a big majority as the matter would ultimately have to go the Security council. There, he said amidst cheers, it will continue to be vetoed by China as long as Pakistan's conditions were not met.

Referring to the Yugoslav resolution on the subject, scheduled to come up in the General Assembly on Monday, the President said the purpose of such a move could be nothing but to create hurdles in the way of a dialogue between the two Muslim brothers. He said he failed to understand why an unnecessary interference was being made in our affairs.

The President said while a lot had been done in different sectors during past 10 months, much more remained to be done. He assured the people that no area would now remain neglected.

Regarding distribution of the Indus waters, he said the rights of all the provinces would be safeguarded; no province would be allowed to suffer. He said pending a final decision, a temporary arrangement could be made and for that purpose the Governors, Chief Ministers and engineers of all the provinces will have to sit and thrash out the issue.

The President said arrangements would be made to provide electricity for the 300 tube-wells which at present were out of operation in D.I. Khan. Besides, he said, an irrigation project had also been sanctioned, while a meeting would soon be held to go into the question of power rates.

He also told the Dera citizens that construction of a bridge over the Indus was under consideration.

He declared amidst cheers that every inch of D.I. Khan would be brought under cultivation and he was prepared even to give his blood if it were needed.

About the Chashma Right bank Canal, he said it was an old scheme for which the N.W.F.P. Government had allocated Rs.2.2 crore. According to the engineers 10.720 cusecs of water from the project would irrigate 3.5 lakh acres, while about the Gomal Zam it was stated that 550 cusecs would irrigate 1.5 lakh acres. That, he pointed out, was a major contradiction and must be looked into. The scheme must be prepared in accordance with the requirements.

***Address at the Pakistan People's party reception  
in Peshawar on November 24, 1972***

Speaking at the People's Party workers' reception, the President said he wondered why the Yugoslavian Government had been consistently opposed to Pakistan. Belgrade had followed the same policy of hostility against Pakistan after the 1965 war, he said.

The President said that "even if all other members of the world body pass the resolution, I will not accept it."

He thought that the object of the Yugoslav resolution in the United Nations could be nothing but an attempt to cause a head-on clash between Pakistan and Bangladesh whose people were bound by religion. Yugoslavia knew it perfectly well that even if its resolution was passed with an overwhelming majority, it would have no effect so far as the admission of Bangladesh was concerned. Bangladesh could be admitted only if the Security Council, with the full approval of its five permanent members, including China, supported its admission.

The President said that the Yugoslavian resolution was bound to cause further bitterness between Dacca and Islamabad. He said that he would urge the other countries to let Pakistan and Bangladesh resolve their problems bilaterally without external interference.

The President also appealed to Sheikh Mujibur Rahman to realize the importance of resolving the issues with Pakistan without third-party interference. "We had enough of these external interferences," he said, and added: "Sheikh Mujib wants me to apologise. All that can be done, but first let us sit down together and if then it is considered necessary to apologise, I will not have any hesitation in doing so as a Muslim."

The President recalled that during the 1965 Indo-Pakistan war, Yugoslavia and Malaysia had supported India, but he pointed out that Pakistan and Yugoslavia had been maintaining good relations, including economic co-operation.

He also pointed out that Yugoslavia had differences with the Soviet Union and China, but Pakistan never interfered.

He said: it was being stated that this resolution would also be "in our interest" and added, "we know what is in our interest. This resolution is not in our interests."

He said, if there could be a Bangladesh in Pakistan, there could be Bangladesh in other countries also, and then Pakistan could also bring such resolutions. "I strongly protest to the Yugoslav Government," he said.

***Address at a Public meeting in Chitral  
on November 24, 1972***

President Bhutto assured the people of Chitral that his Government was doing everything possible to develop their region. He said work on the Lowari Top tunnel would be undertaken as soon as the survey, now under way, had been completed.

Addressing a big public meeting at the Polo ground, the President said: he fully realized the importance of an all-weather road to keep this far-flung and under-developed area linked with the rest of the country throughout the year.

Turning to a suggestion made in the address of welcome about linking Chitral with Peshawar through Jalalabad, Afghanistan, the President said that he would consider this suggestion and also consult the Foreign Office. He said since the Afghan Government would have to be involved if any such projects were undertaken, he could not make a commitment immediately.

About power supply to Chitral, he said he would issue instructions to WAPDA to take necessary steps in this connection as early as possible.

The President said that his Government was concentrating its attention on economic development to improve the people's standard of living and to provide their children with basic amenities. Everything would be done step by step, he said.

The President said as agricultural land was scarce in this area and no big industry could be established, his Government would pay special attention to tapping the mineral resources of Chitral, Nagar and Gilgit.

He said there was great scope for establishing cottage industries in Chitral to provide more job opportunities.

The President said the centuries old Cho Bridge, which had fallen some years ago, would be reconstructed and a full-fledged college established soon. Similarly, he said, steps would be taken to provide increased facilities of post offices and telephones.

Turning to the demand for abolition of the *usher* system, he said he have to be taken before it were abolished.

“It takes time even to do right things. We are treading the correct path, step by step.” He urged the people to be a little patient and give the Government some breathing space.

The President promised to visit Chitral again.

***Address at a public meeting in Abbottabad  
on November 25, 1972***

Addressing a big public meeting. President Zulfikar Ali Bhutto declared that the wide-ranging reforms introduced by his Government aimed at strengthening the foundations of Pakistan, for without that “we cannot advance towards our next destination.”

He said: he was trying to establish democracy in the country on sound lines. “All our struggle has been directed towards the achievement of this objective. Therefore, no one can be allowed to destroy the fruits of this struggle for democratic institutions.”

Referring to the recent all-party constitutional accord, he said 25 years after coming into being. Pakistan was at last going to have a truly democratic constitution. He said now the National Assembly would frame the constitution in accordance with the principles agreed to in the accord. After that it was for the people to make Pakistan a really strong and prosperous country.

The President said: for more than a decade a dictator imposed his will on the people and paid no attention to the development of this area or other backward regions. He was selfish and interested only in his own prosperity at the cost of that of the nation’s.

The President recalled that the Ayub Government had revived the state of Amb simply to please the feudal lords. But, the President said, the present Government would take all steps for the development of Hazara district. Small-scale and cottage industries could be established in this region to open up more job opportunities. Similarly, all basic amenities of life should be provided to the people of this region.

The President said that he came to power when half of the country had been lost, national economy had collapsed and three tehsils of West Pakistan were under Indian occupation. But despite such forbidding circumstances, his Government paid attention to the internal problems and introduced several reforms in the field of education, labour and agriculture. It went to the credit of his Government that lands were resumed from bit landlords without compensation. Similarly, the pay scales of police and armed forces personnel were enhanced and the allocation for defence was increased.

The President, however, said he did not possess Alladin’s Lamp to accomplish everything in a day.

The President made an impassioned appeal to students to devote themselves to their studies and urged workers and peasants to work hard and increase production to help bring in national prosperity.

APP adds: Turning to the question of recognition of Bangladesh, the President said the people's decision would be acceptable to him.

“Whatever decision you want, it will be out decision.”

However, he called for a cool-headed approach to the problem and warned against sentimentalism which he pointed out had harmed Pakistan in the past.

The President said he did not want Muslims to have bad relations with each other. He wanted good relations with Muslims in whatever part of the world they were. If good relations with Muslims in other parts of the world were desirable, then “why should we have bad relations with Muslims within this subcontinent who have remained with us for so long,” he asked.

He said the people of Muslim Bengal “are our brothers” who could be angry with the people of West Pakistan temporarily, and efforts could be made for reconciliation.

The President said those opposing contact with Dacca should offer any other way of bringing the Bengalis near. He recalled that when Muslims of the subcontinent demanded a separate homeland, the Congress opposed it. But after the creation of Pakistan, India had to recognize it. It was only after recognition that India was able to bring about a change, he said, obviously referring to the separation of East Pakistan.

Similarly, he said, if the people wanted a change in the present situation vis-à-vis East Pakistan, they would first have to “recognize the reality.” Without recognition no change could come.

The President said: Pakistan's enemies did not want good relations between the people of West Pakistan and Bengalis.

Pleading for Pakistan to have a foothold there, he asked the people if they would accept this. The audience shouted: “Yes, Yes”.

The President said that when he had not bartered away Pakistan's interests in Tashkent, how could he disgrace himself as President of the country.

He told the people that if they had confidence in his leadership, they should accept his decisions.

Referring to the Yugoslav resolution for Bangladesh's admission to the U.N. the President said that Pakistan did not want outside interference as “we can settle our issues between ourselves.”

He said, he had been criticizing the resolution for the past two days but today he would not say anything more on this because there were reports that a compromise was being worked out.



***Address at a Public meeting in Peshawar  
on November 26, 1972***

Addressing a mammoth public meeting at Jinnah Park, President Zulfikar Ali Bhutto said that unless Pakistan recognized the reality of Bangladesh, changes in the Subcontinent could not come. Pakistan could neither shut her eyes to the changing trends of the world nor could it deny the realities and live in isolation.

We attacked the opponents of recognition bitterly and said they were enemies of Pakistan who opposed its creation tooth and nail. Unless we establish contact, accept them and meet them, how can we proceed to establish good relations, the President asked.

He said even Big Powers were pursuing the policy of a dialogue and Pakistan could not ignore the biggest Muslim State of the Subcontinent.

PPI and APP add:

The President said that if Pakistan did not recognize Bangladesh, they will not lose anything. Neither will their country be eradicated from the map, but the wide gulf between the Muslims of the Subcontinent would remain intact.

He said that it was strange that those who claimed to be the sole monopolists of Islam did not want brotherly contact with the biggest Muslim State of the Subcontinent.

The President said that unless we meet and embrace each other, apologise for our mistakes in the past and start afresh as Muslim brothers, a change in the Subcontinent could not come.

The country, he said, will have to swallow this sour pill first and then we would be able to establish our lost links and live as brothers once again.

The President said that Pakistan could not take wrong decisions and added, had the contact between Bangladesh and Pakistan been made earlier, we could have saved many patriotic Pakistan from being tried and jailed, including old Dr. A.M. Malik.

He said an early contact was essential to stop any further trails of civilians and even troops. He said our enemies wanted that our influence in Muslim Bengal should be completely eliminated and no Pakistani could shut its eyes towards this fact.

He said that unless Pakistan solved its external problems she would have to continue spending huge amounts on its defence, which in turn would delay economic amelioration of the poor masses.

The President said that it was not uncommon that even big nations had to bow their heads at one time but they had to do it to rise and become a respectable nations again.

He stressed the need for thoughtful and cool-hearted approach to the problems facing the nation. He did not mean that the people should have no sentiment but there should be show of sentiment only on right things such as the struggle for democracy. Sentimentalism in wrong things would only bring damage, as happened in the past when Pakistan lost so much.

The President said that India and Bangladesh were saying that Pakistan POWs would not be repatriated unless Pakistan accorded recognition to Bangladesh.

Pakistan, he said, was opposed to bargaining and it wanted a just solution of the issues.

Referring to the assertion by an Opposition leader that he had recognized Bangladesh when he took oath of office on December 20, President Bhutto said much had been said about this and he wanted to give a detailed reply.

He said when he was called to take the reins of Government there was no single member of the majority party (Awami League) in West Pakistan to whom he could hand over power, as asserted by the Opposition leader.

In those circumstances, taking the wheel of the country's sinking ship was a challenge and he felt it his national duty to accept it. Otherwise he asked, what other course was there for him to adopt. He could not let Yahya Khan continue as the entire nation had stood up against him in revolt.

The President said criticising other was easy but it was difficult to do justice with a man in a difficult position.

He, however, reminded that even if his Government had undertaking many bad things as claimed by the Opposition leader, it was he who lifted the ban on his (leader's) party on the day he took over office.

Then, he said, he gave this party provincial Governments in the Frontier and Baluchistan in view of its majority, though small, although in the past despite big majorities they had been denied power. He cited the example of Dr. Khan's Government.

The President said that after all these steps he could not understand the cause of threats of violence and using guns hurled at him repeatedly.

“Why do you threaten to use the gun, when we do not want to flight you? We want to co-operate with you and seek your co-operation.”

The President declared that Pakistan's permanent Constitution will have to be framed in accordance with the principles contained in the constitutional accord of all the parties in the National Assembly and said now there could be no question of "ifs and buts."

After the decision of the majority. "Ifs and buts will not work."

The President said the constitutional accord was not his personal decision but of "all of us." He added: "We cannot go back on this. This is the accord of gentlemen."

The President said after the accord, there was no scope of any opposition by the signatory parties. Now it was the job of the National Assembly to accept or reject it.

However, he expressed his confidence that the permanent constitution would be made and it would be "Awami", democratic and federal, ensuring provincial autonomy.

So far as the constitution is concerned, "we have brought the nation to its goal," he said, and hoped that after its framing "our system will be stronger."

The President said that during the past 25 years Pakistan saw "three and a half constitutions, " and congratulated the people that a "great thing" had been achieved by arriving at a constitutional accord.

The President said that the Central Government would co-operate with each provincial Government for the success of democracy in Pakistan.

He observed that success of democracy depended on co-operation between the Centre and provinces. He said if the people wanted success of democracy, "Awami Raj" and safeguard of their right, "we will have to keep patience."

There would be a lot of people to create misunderstandings, and very few for friendship and brotherhood, he remarked.

The President said that he would not like misunderstandings and estranged relations between the Central and provincial Governments.

He said that he would never object to visits of leader of any party to a province on the plea that they had no representation in the Assemblies from there. In democracy, it was the right of every party and every leaders to visit any place in the country.

But, he said, no Government could allow lawlessness. "So far as we are concerned, we will extend full co-operation in this (curbing lawlessness). We have done it in the past and we will do it in future also," he said.

***Address to Indian prisoners of war at Lyallpur Camp  
on November 27, 1972***

The decision to release unilaterally all 617 Indian prisoners of war, captured during last December conflict with India, was announced at Lyallpur by President Zulfikar Ali Bhutto who, while addressing them in the vicinity of their camp, said: “You are all free from this moment and could return to your homes happily.”

The President said that his Government had decided to release them unconditionally according to international agreements and the Geneva Convention.

The President who had specially flown in to Lyallpur to announce this decision told officers and jawans of the Indian Army and Air Force held prisoners to carry the message to India that Pakistan had no enmity towards their country.

The President, however, regretted that while Pakistan had no animosity towards India, India still considered Pakistan as its enemy. This, however, would be decided by history, he said.

As the President rose to address the Indian prisoners of war, he said: “Officers and men of Indian armed forces, my name is Zulfikar Ali Bhutto and I had been elected by the people of Pakistan during the last general elections. Our party got majority of seats in the National assembly and with a mandate of the people’s verdict I took over as President of Pakistan after the war between India and Pakistan had ended.”

After a brief introduction, the President said that this was not the first war between Indian and Pakistan; since partition of the Subcontinent they had fought three wars.

He told the Indian POWs that he had not come here to give them a political sermon but at the same time asked them to think that if Pakistan had committed aggression against India, then which Indian territories were under Pakistan’s occupation. In fact, India committed aggression against Pakistan thrice and history could very well vouch for his claim.

Referring to peaceful intentions of Pakistan, the President reiterated that Pakistan had no aggressive designs. The Subcontinent was divided so that the two nations could live in peace and co-operation with each other, he said, and added that the people of both Indian and Pakistan were poor and efforts should be made to ameliorate their lot.

He expressed his grief that disturbances and animosities had started taking shape from the very beginning although the partition of the Sub-continent had taken place on the basis of right of self-determination.

The President pointed out that although Muslims were in a large majority in Jammu and Kashmir state and they wanted to live with Pakistan, there were two wars on the issue of Kashmir. However, the third war between India and Pakistan was the outcome of an international conspiracy, he said.

The President said that Pakistan wanted to live in peace with India but it would not compromise on principles.

He said that Pakistan's decision to release Indian POWs was in accordance with the Geneva Convention and United Nations resolutions. Pakistan did not want to flout the verdict of the entire world.

He said that if India wanted to keep Pakistani prisoners of war as hostages, it could do so. Pakistani soldiers were brave men. They would suffer anything for any period of time.

He said the ceasefire had taken place, followed by the Simla Agreement but India was still detaining Pakistani POWs.

The President asked the Indian prisoners of war to go home and tell their Government and people that they, too, should see the line of justice and principle. If India took the right and just decisions then Indo-Pakistan mutual problems could be solved without any foreign interference and both the countries could live in peace, he said.

He said that the foreign powers always had their own vested interests in their minds.

Referring to the Yugoslav resolution being moved in the General assembly, the President said that it was an uncalled for interference "in our affairs."

He asked if America and Canada and various states of Europe could live peacefully together why could Pakistan and India not live together. But Indo-Pakistan disputes must be settled before a lasting peace could be achieved.

Mr. Bhutto said that he wanted to meet the prisoners of war before they left Pakistan but had not come here for their "political education." "But they must not carry the impression with them that Pakistan had suffered a defeat. "No one can defeat the Pakistani nation." Only certain persons in Pakistan and the prevalent system in the country had "let us down," he said.

He said that India was fortunate to have had the right political system and also the correct leadership of the Nehru family. Pandit Moti Lal Nehru and Pandit Jawahar Lal Nehru provided India with best leadership, and now Mrs. Indira Gandhi was trying to give a correct lead to her country. He deplored that after the death of the Quaid-I-Azam and Quaid-I-Millat, political atmosphere of Pakistan was polluted.

***Message of greetings to Mr. Moktar Ould Daddah, President  
Of the Islamic Republic of Mauritania, on November 28, 1972***

On my own behalf and on behalf of the Government and the people of Pakistan. I have great pleasure in extending to Your Excellency, the Government and the brotherly people of the Islamic Republic of Mauritania our heartiest felicitations and best wishes on the auspicious occasion of the National Festival of the Islamic Republic of Mauritania. I am confident that the brotherly relations so happily existing between our two countries will continue to be strengthened in the years ahead. Please accept, Mr. President and dear brother, the assurances of my highest consideration.

***Address at the inauguration ceremony of Karachi Nuclear Power Plant on November 28, 1972***

Mr. Speaker, Mr. Chairman, Excellencies, distinguished delegates, members of KANUPP staff, ladies and gentlemen:

It is a matter of immense pleasure for me to be present here today on this auspicious occasion. I am happy to see a large number of distinguished representatives from fraternal and friendly countries from all over the world who have come to join us on this happy occasion. I am glad to see that eminent public figures, educationists and others representing different walks of life in the country have converged from different parts of Pakistan to attend this ceremony.

The inauguration of KANUPP is a historic occasion for Pakistan. It symbolizes our people's determination to keep pace with modern technology. The discovery of atomic energy 30 years ago has profoundly affected our lives as it has changed the world politically, economically and scientifically. We want to be part of the nuclear age and in harmony with the march of time. We believe that in order to accelerate the economic and social development of Pakistan, to overcome the poverty of our people and our backwardness we must use the latest technology and techniques available to the modern epoch. Nuclear energy fits into this pattern. I will remember the struggle we had to go through to get KANUPP sanctioned and to launch other atomic energy activities in the country. The powerful vested interests opposed it. If they had their way, we would not be inaugurating this nuclear plant today.

As you remember, Mr. Chairman, since 1965. I have been in close touch with you and we have had many occasions to discuss how atomic energy can help in the development of our country. This is why soon after assuming this office I not only placed the Atomic Energy Commission under my direct control but asked you to return to the country and serve the nation. I am glad that this Commission is on the move with a well defined programme for the future. I want this programme implemented in the speediest manner. I believe that Pakistan's survival lies in using nuclear research, nuclear technology and nuclear power for the betterment of its people. The Government will give the fullest support to the programme of the Atomic Energy Commission and this country will make the necessary resources available to bring the promise of the atomic energy to the people of Pakistan at the earliest possible time.

I affirm, what Professor Salam has said, that our support for atomic energy is a part of our overall policy to promote science and technology in Pakistan. I affirm my continuing support for the Ministry of Science and Technology which I established earlier this year. I think this Ministry has a gigantic task. We will give its requirements the highest priority and our attention. To implement any programme of scientific and technological development the country needs to train scientific manpower. In this the schools and the colleges and universities have to play their role. I desire that vast number of people of Pakistan should acquire technological skills. I

want first-class science in Pakistan because nothing less is acceptable. And I wish Pakistan to be increasingly self-reliant in all aspects of technology. For this reason I welcome the broad-based atomic energy programme which the Commission has chalked out and which my Government enthusiastically supports. Pakistan is irrevocably committed to the creation of an egalitarian society which is free from poverty, ignorance, and economic and social injustices. This society is in the making. It calls for a ceaseless action on the part of every citizen. We are to wage a relentless struggle against all evils that are retarding our progress. I want to achieve results in the shortest possible time. We are, therefore, utilizing all those means which can hasten our progress.

Pakistan believes in using atomic energy for peaceful purposes and as an instrument for development and progress. We have placed our nuclear facilities under international safeguards of the I.A.E.A. We would like to see other countries in our region do the same. The most menacing problem in the subcontinent of South Asia is that of poverty and misery of its peoples. For our people atomic energy should become a symbol of hope rather than of fear. For this reason we would welcome if the entire subcontinent, by the agreement of the countries concerned, could be declared a nuclear-free zone and the introduction of nuclear weapons banned.

The credit for building this plant goes to the workers, technicians, engineers and scientists of the Atomic Energy Commission, past and present, who have worked with great dedication over the last seven years. I want to tell them that the country appreciates their good work. As a token of appreciation I am happy to announce that all employees of KANUPP will receive an honorarium equivalent to one month's basic salary with a minimum of Rs.200/- and a maximum of Rs.1,000/-. In addition, those scientists, engineers and technicians who have made special contribution to the success of this project will get awards and other acknowledgements for their achievements.

While I extend my congratulations to the staff of KANUPP let me remind them that this is not the time to relax their efforts. A great deal has to be done to complete this project in a true sense. Remember, KANUPP is only the beginning of our determined objectives. There is a long road ahead of us to bring power and nuclear power to every home and factory in this country. Our people must be ready to work even harder to achieve this goal. I know they are ready. The whole nation is geared for the glory of this heroic struggle.

I would like to join you, Mr. Chairman in expressing our gratitude for the generous aid which we have received from the Canadian Government to complete this project. The Canadian General Electric Company (CGE) which supplied this reactor deserves our sincere thanks for its co-operation and the hard work done by the Canadian scientists and engineers in completing this plant. They have been working ambassadors of goodwill from a great and friendly country.

I also take the opportunity of acknowledging the generous help received from Japan in supplying turbo generator for this plant. The I.A.E.A. has also given us



valuable assistance in the planning and implementation of this project and in training of manpower.

With our friends from other developing countries, we shall be most happy to share our limited experience. We shall welcome their scientists and engineers to the atomic energy establishments we have created in agriculture, medicine, nuclear research, nuclear power to work with our scientists.

Pakistan wants to forge new and everlasting ties with our friends abroad and our neighbours based on equality and justice in all fields-cultural, economic, technological and scientific. We believe that the most effective way in which the advanced countries can help the developing countries is through sharing their technology with them. KANUPP is a splendid example of such help. We would like to extend the scope of these agreements to include all of science and technology.

Ladies and gentlemen, before I close I would like to say that we have made a modest beginning in the field of nuclear power. But I feel the way our friends and distinguished guests are sitting here, it seems that we have made greater advance in solar energy. I am sorry for the inconvenience that is caused to you because of the full glow of the sun on you while these proceeding have taken place. We did not expect the day to be so warm because by December our climate becomes quite salubrious. But unfortunately it seems that the winter has set in rather late. So please do not feel discouraged and disappointed that you have come here this afternoon. If you suffer from a headache we will make up for it by this evening.

On behalf of the Government of Pakistan and on my own behalf I welcome you. We are happy to receive you in our land. We know that you have traveled long distances to be with us and we are grateful to you for the encouragement and support that you have given us by participating with us on this occasion. I thank you.

***Message of greetings to the President of People's Republic  
Of Albania on November 29, 1972***

The Government and the people of Pakistan join me in extending to Your Excellency, the Government and the friendly people of Albania heartiest felicitations and good wishes on the happy occasion of the National Day of Albania. I am confident that the friendly relations so happily existing between Albania and Pakistan will continue to grow further in the years ahead. Please accept, Excellency, the assurances of my highest consideration.

***Message of felicitations to Marshal Josip Broz Tito,  
President of the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia  
on November 29, 1972***

On my own behalf and on behalf of the Government and the people of Pakistan I have great pleasure in extending to Your Excellency, the Government and the people of the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia our heart-felt felicitations and good wishes on the National Day of Yugoslavia. Please accept, Excellency, the assurances of my highest consideration.

***Message of greetings to Mr. Norman E. Kirk, Prime Minister  
of New Zealand, on November 29, 1972***

It gives me great pleasure to extend to you warm felicitations and good wishes on your steering the Labour Party to victory in the recent elections. As you assume office of the Prime Minister of New Zealand, I, on behalf of the Government and the people of Pakistan and on my own behalf, wish you and your colleagues every success in your endeavours as well as continued progress and prosperity for the people of New Zealand. It is my Government's sincere hope that during your tenure as Prime Minister the close ties of friendship that so happily exist between our two countries would be further reinforced and expanded.

***Message of greetings of Mr. Salem Robaya Ali, Chairman  
of the Presidential Council of the People's Democratic  
Republic of Yemen on November 30, 1972***

On the happy occasion of the Independence Day of the People's Democratic Republic of Yemen, I have great pleasure in extending to Your Excellency, the Government and the brotherly people of the People's Democratic Republic of Yemen heartiest felicitations and best wishes. I am confident that the brotherly relations between Pakistan and the People's Democratic Republic of Yemen will continue to be strengthened in the years ahead.

I take this opportunity to wish health and happiness to Your Excellency and ever-growing prosperity to the brotherly people of the People's Democratic Republic of Yemen.

***Message of congratulations to Raja Tridev Roy,  
Leader of Pakistan's Delegation to the General Assembly,  
on November 30, 1972***

President Zulfikar Ali Bhutto in a congratulatory message to Raja Tridev Roy, leader of Pakistan's delegation to the General Assembly, described as this country's "diplomatic triumph" United Nations endorsement of Pakistan's standpoint that admission of Bangladesh to the world body should depend on implementation of the UN resolutions and the Geneva Conventions concerning prisoners of war.

The President's message, *inter alia*, said: "The authoritative declaration of interdependence of the two resolutions relating to desirability of admission of Bangladesh and mandatory necessity of release of prisoners of war constitute complete vindication of our standpoint. We have scored this diplomatic triumph because our position is based entirely on principles which must receive the whole-hearted support of all peace-solving peoples."

***Address at the Pakistan People's Party Convention  
at Rawalpindi on November 30, 1972***

Addressing the delegates to the People's Party Convention, President Zulfikar Ali Bhutto said: "We want to establish Islamic socialism – the socialism of Quaid-i-Azam."

He said: "We will not take directives from outside" and added that he had never told any of his colleagues in the party that he was a Communist.

"I was born in a Muslim family. I am a Muslim and will always remain a Muslim," he said.

He also said that his party would not allow anyone to use the fair name of Islam for exploitation.

The President said "we are at war also with those who want to such the blood of the people by exploiting religion."

He said that there should be no misunderstanding about his party's programme which stands for Socialism, and not Communism.

He asked if resumption of 30 lakh acres of land without compensation, nationalization of insurance and take-over of 20 categories of industries were not steps in pursuit of socialistic ideals.

He said that the pace of reforms could have been accelerated but it has to be slow in our case because we have to combine the parliamentary system of government with our socialistic ideals.

The President deprecated the tendency among party members towards infights and squabbles. We should be prepared; he said, to listen to criticism which is reasonable and fair.

Talking about the charges against the party of deviation from party ideals, the President said that the party was wedded to scientific Socialism, not Communism. He said extremists of the Left could also be accused of opportunism like big landlords and industrialists who joined the PPP during the election.

He castigated the bureaucracy for trying to create rifts in the political leadership at all levels. He said his prime mission was to put bureaucracy in its proper place. It has its role as people's servant and not its master. It was the bureaucracy, he added, which was mainly responsible for the misdeeds and undoing of past governments.

The President charged some reactionary parties with trying to create misunderstandings between the Armed Forces and the political Government. He

assured the Armed Forces that “we wish them well” and said that his Government had enlarged the Defence budget.

“They have plenty of work of their own to do,” he added, but even then if some Generals “might be having different ambitions,” they had better get rid of them.

The President referring to the issue of Bangladesh recognition, reiterated his view that the people have to take a decision in the matter. However, it has to be a correct decision, for if they took a wrong decision, they had to be prepared for the consequences.

He then paid a tribute to China for its continuing firm support to Pakistan in its stand. He also said that he would lead the welcome to Raja Tridev Roy when he comes back. As an East Pakistan, the Raja had performed his duties with great devotion despite numerous pressures on him.

He said that he also wanted to pay a tribute to the Soviet Government for the helpful decision in the UN General Assembly.

The President paid tributes to the Rawalpindi-Islamabad PPP for the fine arrangements made by it for the Convention.

The President spoke for about two and a half hours and his speech continued till well after midnight.

He was loudly cheered several times and the speech was punctuated with loud slogans.



***Message of greetings to General Jean Bedel Bokassa,  
President of the Central African Republic  
on December 1, 1972***

The Government and the people of Pakistan join me in extending to your Excellency greetings and good wishes on the National Day of the Central African Republic. Please accept, Excellency, the assurances of my highest consideration.

***Address at a public meeting in  
Rawalpindi on December 1, 1972***

President Zulfikar Ali Bhutto, addressing a public meeting, said that the decision on the recognition of Bangladesh had to be taken by the National Assembly though, he pointed out, Baluchistan, Sindh and N.W.F.P. by and large supported the recognition move.

He emphasized again the need for a correct decision on the issue but said recognition would come only when the people had approved it and the leaders of Dacca and Islamabad have had a meeting to discuss their future relationship.

He emphasized that he would not like to see Muslim Bengal go entirely under Indian hegemony.

The President said that Pakistan had to take a realistic view of things and only then could the country overcome its internal and external difficulties.

There could be no development if wrong decisions were taken, he added.

The President said that in his humble opinion the restoration of links with the seven crore Muslims of East Pakistan was essential. Only then the bitterness could be removed and relations improved.

He said that the Muslims of East and West Pakistan had lived together for 25 years and struggled for the achievement of Pakistan.

The President urged the people to have confidence in their Government's leadership, assuring that he would never compromise on principles and national dignity while dealing with the Bangladesh question or any other matter.

He asked the people to realize the advantage Pakistan was able to secure through the Simla Agreement with India and said it was no mean success to have persuaded India to restore over 5,000 square miles of Pakistan territory. He pointed out that nearly one million displaced persons from Indian-occupied Pakistani villages were living virtually like indigent population.

The President dealt at length with the role of certain reactionary parties which were now fanning hatred against his Government on the Bangladesh issue and other matters. He said it should not be forgotten that these reactionary political elements had conspired in the past with the dictatorship of Ayub Khan and Yahya Khan to maintain them in power so that the will of the people could not find its due place in the affairs of the country.

He said the elections had demonstrated that these reactionary elements enjoyed no support among the toiling masses.

The President said that these reactionary elements had joined hands with Ayub Khan at the time of the round-table conference in Rawalpindi to secure release of Sheikh Mujibur Rahman who, he said, had been guilty of conspiring with India for the so called independence of East Pakistan, according to conclusive proof Ayub Khan had got against him (Sheih Mujib). If Mujib's trial was allowed to reach its natural end, the President said, the was sure Mujib would have been found guilty and would have been prevented from carrying out his secession plan later as he did last year.

The President recalled how Pakistan was able to persuade China to veto the admission of Bangladesh to the United Nations. He said that he pleaded, through his two envoys, with Chinese Prime Minister Chou En-lai to exercise China's right of veto in the Security Council on the Bangladesh issue in the interest of both countries and peace at large.

China's veto, he said, had thrown cold water on Sheikh Mujib's hopes of walking into the United Nations without any real opposition.

Lately, he pointed out, his Government was able to persuade UN General Assembly to adopt interdependent resolutions on Bangladesh's membership and repatriation of prisoners of war which can be regarded a truly great diplomatic triumph of Pakistan in that body where it looked a few days ago as if there were only two against 130 and odd members opposed to the entry of Bangla Desh.

The President also paid handsome tributes to the Vietnam struggle and said he hoped peace would be restored in Vietnam soon sparing further blood-letting. He said it was indeed tragic that while disputes over phrasing of peace agreement were consuming unduly long time, blood of many more innocent people was being shed in Vietnam.

The President said that he had sent congratulatory cable today to China for its resolute support to Pakistan in the United Nations and sent another cable to Raja Tridev Roy expressing people's happiness over the role he played in the United Nations.

He would receive hero's welcome when he returns home, the President said and added as an East Pakistani and non-Muslim he surpassed many in the distinctive role at the United Nations.

The President said that despite limited resources his Government was paying full attention, on the basis of priority, to the defence of the country. He pointed out that India had expanded its military strength.

He said that the nation could not afford to ignore defence. "We have already suffered a lot on the question of Kashmir, Junagadh, and lately on East Pakistan. We could not afford any more losses. The country has to be defended."

Agency adds: The President said that only the other day one Pakistani Captain Niazi was shot dead in a POW camp in India. Such tragic incidents, he said, would go on repeating if correct decision were not taken at appropriate time.

He said: Pakistan does not want any bargaining for the repatriation of POW's but Pakistan would have to take realistic steps keeping in mind the national interests.

He said the feelings of separation existed in East Pakistan since long. The people there wanted to live separately and solve their problems themselves. Even the large amounts of funds spent there had not removed this feeling and they remained adamant.

Reviewing the economic situation in the country, the President said that given some time, he would change the entire economic complexion of the country. He said that the PPP was a revolutionary party and its Government was also revolutionary.

The PPP, he said, was capable of waging a revolutionary struggle and at the same time it was also prepared to face the elections. He stressed that the country needed complete, tranquility, good relations with neighbours and adherence to democratic practice for development and prosperity.

For more houses and more jobs the people would have to put in more work and rely on the leadership at the helm of affairs.

***Message to prisoners of war on their return to Pakistan  
on December 1, 1972***

My dear brave Mujahids:

On my behalf and on behalf of the people of Pakistan, I extend to you our warmest welcome on your return to the sacred motherland.

The nation recognizes the prolonged privations endured by you in the cause of Pakistan. It deeply appreciates the services rendered by you against overwhelming odds and grave hazards which confronted you. The inspiring resoluteness displayed by you has been a source of great strength to us and is gratefully acknowledged. You have now returned to a new Pakistan, a vibrant Pakistan imbued with the urge and determination to forge ahead and carve out its rightful destiny. The pain and anguish is over, having given way to an era of hope and faith in our future.

In your absence, Your Government has taken all possible measures to look after your families and dependents. You will now be proceeding home on leave to reunite with them and to return to duty with renewed zest. Let us, therefore, bow our heads before Allah in all humility for His benevolence seeking strength and guidance in rededicating ourselves to the glory of Islam and to the rebuilding of our country.

***Message of thanks to Mr. Chou En-lai, Prime Minister of  
the People's Republic of China on December 1, 1972***

It give me immense pleasure to convey to you the deepest appreciation of the Government and people of Pakistan for the firm and resolute stand on principle taken by your Government on the question of the admission of Bangladesh into the United Nations. This stand has been vindicated by the authoritative declaration of the interdependence of the admission of Bangladesh and the implementation of Resolution 307 of the Security Council. It has now received the unquestioned endorsement of the entire membership of the United Nations. This is a victory for the co-operation of China and Pakistan, for peace-loving neighbouring States, mutually committed to end hegemony and exploitation. In taking this stand, your Government has supported a pre-eminently just cause and imperishably strengthened the bonds of friendship between our two countries.

*Address at the Pakistan People's Party Cultural Show  
on December 1, 1972*

At the conclusion of the show, the President, addressing the audience, said that the people's struggle would go on undeterred and expressed the hope that "we shall, Insha Allah, carry the people to the destination." He told the audience that he would not take any decision himself and added, "it is the National Assembly which will take decisions on important national issues because that is what democracy demands."

The President said that we will have to go the rescue of the people in East Pakistan. The reactionaries, however, he said, did not want us to do so.

The President said that his Government was determined to wipe out poverty and ignorance and it was possible only when we take correct decision which are in the interest of Pakistan and its people.

***Message of greetings to His Highness Shaikh Zayed Bin Sultan Al-Nahayyan, President of the United Arab Emirates, on December 2, 1972***

On my own behalf and on behalf of the Government and the people of Pakistan, I have great pleasure in extending to Your Highness, the Government and the brotherly people of the United Arab Emirates our warmest greetings and heart-felt felicitations on the first Independence Anniversary of the United Arab Emirates. The close bonds of friendship and brotherhood which so happily exist between United Arab Emirates and Pakistan are a source of great strength to us. I am confident that these bonds shall be strengthened further in the years ahead. I take this opportunity to wish health and happiness to Your Highness and every-growing progress and prosperity to the brotherly people of the United Arab Emirates



***Message of greetings to Mr. Gough Whitlam, Prime Minister  
of Australia, on December 4, 1972***

Excellency, I warmly felicitate you on your leading the Labour Party to a notable victory in the just concluded general elections in Australia. As you assume the office of Prime Minister, I on behalf of the Government and the people of Pakistan extend to you our sincere good wishes for your success in achieving the objectives of your new Government. I take this opportunity to wish you good health as well as continued progress and prosperity for the people of Australia and express the sincere hope that in the coming days our two countries will work in close co-operation to further strengthen and expand the ties that exist between them.

***Interview with members of Iranian Press Delegation  
on December 4, 1972***

**President:** Welcome to Pakistan. I hope your stay in Pakistan will be comfortable. I will be leaving for Karachi today. I think the best thing is to ask you to put any question you want me to answer.

**Question:** *First of all, we are extremely grateful to you for sparing your time for us despite your heavy engagements. We will always remember this meeting with you. The personal relations between you and the Shahinsha of Iran are known to all. Pakistan and Iran are brothers – we are friends. That is why the Government of Iran has sent a very important delegation which consists of four journalists, three of whom are Members of Parliament. We have come with a message of brotherhood and goodwill from Iran as also from 55 editors, who are also members of the ruling party, as well as Members of the Parliament. Mr. Muhandis Riyazi, who is the chairman of the Iranian Parliament, has extended warmest thanks and congratulations to you. He has also sent friendly ‘salam’ to you and to the people of Pakistan on behalf of the Iranian nation. He himself would be visiting Pakistan soon. Sir, I will ask only one question.*

**President:** Of course, yes.

**Question:** *I have great respect for Iran Pakistan relations, and I have written a number of books on Pakistan. I am so much impressed by the relations of the two countries that I am going to start an Urdu section in my magazine. What other contributions can be made to strengthen the cultural bonds between our two brotherly countries?*

**President:** Good. That’s very good. I am very happy to hear that. In the first place, as far as we are concerned, I am not the first Head of Government or Head of State known to His Majesty. When Pakistan came into being, His Majesty paid a visit to our country. At that time, Mr. Liaquat Ali Khan was the Prime Minister. So, His Majesty had dealings with Prime Minister Liaquat Ali Khan. After that, with Khawaja Nazimuddin. Then with Mr. Ghulam Mohammad. After that with President Iskander Mirza, then with Mr. Hussain Shaheed Suharwardy, then with Feroz Khan Noon. After that Ayub Khan, then Yahya Khan, and now with me. On the other hand, all of us have had closest contact with His Majesty. This shows that whoever is in power in Pakistan, His Majesty has made efforts to maintain and enhance relations with Pakistan, and every Government in Pakistan has, likewise, sought to maintain the friendliest relations with Iran. Of course, there is always the distinctive contribution of each Government because of the personal factor. Some Governments can make more contribution, other can make less, but the basic fact lies in geography, history and culture and not in personalities. It is true that personalities can sometimes spoil matters. But even if some personality tried to spoil relations between Iran and Pakistan, the effort would not succeed because it would be reversed by history, geography and culture and by religion. Our relations are immutable, and only such persons as are not aware of these strong forces will try to spoil them. So we give

genuine credit to His Majesty for recognizing these forces and no matter whether former Governments in Pakistan were democratic or dictatorial, His Majesty has kept in mind these higher forces.

I have had the pleasure of knowing His Majesty since 1958. I was then Commerce Minister in the Government. After that, when His Majesty came to Pakistan with the Queen for a long visit, I was the Minister-in-waiting. At that time, I was Minister for Fuel and Power, meetings. I, therefore, have first-hand knowledge of His Majesty's statesmanship, and I can assure you that my Government will make every effort to further consolidate our friendly relations.

As to the question of what new contribution we can make in the cultural field, your culture and our culture have venerable traditions. We cannot improve on Firdausi and the other great poets like Rumi. But what we can do is to strive for the expansion of our cultures and for enhancing their appeal. The obvious means for this is contacts in the right field and among the right people. We can improve our communications. There can be a great flow of people coming and going between the two countries. We can have exchanges of scholars and of Parliamentarians. At present whatever contacts we have are restricted to the winter months. During the long summer months, the Iranians go to the Caspian and our people spend their time in their rooms under the fans. But with better communications, with better roads, small hotels for the common tourists. I think even in summer, there can be greater contacts.

***Question:** Sir, by your speech in the People's Party Convention (we were present that night), we were very much impressed, because for the first time we saw a President talking to his people in that way.*

***President:** Thank you.*

***Question:** We want to know your opinion about the White Revolution in Iran and especially about land reforms in Iran. Is it possible that such revolutions can be brought about in other countries also?*

***President:** Every country has its own historical experience and is influenced by a variety of internal factors. Of course external influences also play a part. But the decisive contribution is made by the internal situation. While comparisons can be made, they are not entirely accurate. Iran has undoubtedly made very great strides under the leadership of His Majesty, especially in the last decade and we have observed the reforms that have been made, taking into account your population, your resources and other connected factors. Now, we cannot have identical reforms in the agrarian field because here the pressure of population is much too great on the land. It is not a question of our reforms being more radical than yours, or vice versa. Each country has to examine the net results according to its own internal conditions. The criterion for judgment is the equity of distribution, increase in production and the per capita income and an improvement in the social order. From that point of view Iran's reforms have undoubtedly made a great contribution to her social advance. Our reforms will show results in the future. Regarding other countries adjoining Pakistan and Iran it is difficult for me to say anything. You can see yourself.*

**Question:** *I am very proud of being in your audience today. Besides being a Parliamentarian, I am a journalist. I am also an artist. You are very familiar to the people of Iran, and that is why we have been encouraged to ask you questions very freely. You have just said about contacts in summer and winter between Pakistan and Iran. I am the editor of the humorous and satirist magazine. I prefer Pakistanis should go to Iran in summer and Iranians should come here in winter. We have already close links with Pakistan and whatever is happening in Pakistan, we always look at it very carefully. As I know, there are 146 Members in the National Assembly of Pakistan and afterwards, according to the new Constitution, another 60 Members will be added. To add these 60 members, would you dissolve the National Assembly or adopt some other methods?*

**President:** This is a very good question, so I would like to answer it fully. We have not had a Constitution approved by the people since the inception of Pakistan. This is one of the reasons why we faced so many difficulties. That our Constitution should be drawn by the people is our major and prime objective. On the 20<sup>th</sup> of October, we arrived at an all party unanimous agreement on the basic principles of future Constitution. Now the National Assembly of Pakistan has to fill in the details. And this being a truly representative Assembly of the people, the task of drawing a Constitution of the people is well within our grasp. We cannot be unmindful of past experience. We recall that in the fifties, the Constituent Assembly failed to draw up a Constitution because the Members were told that they would cease to be Members as soon as the Constitution was framed. I am not certain, therefore, that the framing of the Constitution by the Assembly should lead to the Assembly's immediate dissolution. That is a practical problem for a political party to consider.

There is no question of our being afraid of elections. We have won every bye-election with a thumping majority. Early this month in Sialkot, we won by about 35,000 votes. But the more important question is that if we are going to have general elections again, so soon after the last once, all the emotional questions, all the hatred, all the wild allegations will be let loose, and this cannot but hamper our reconstruction and impede our effort to repair the material and psychological damage that was sustained last year. How will this serve the interests of the common man? In 1970, we had the first general elections in 22 years of Pakistan's existence. What happened-East Pakistanis started blaming West Pakistanis, West Pakistanis started blaming East Pakistanis. The result was the division of the country. So, if we again go for fresh general elections, before resolving the basic problems and removing the ground of all recrimination between one province and another, I know what will happen. Punjabis will start blaming Baluchs. Baluch will start blaming Pathans will start blaming Sindhis, and there will again be bad blood. Now that we have had general elections recently, our duty is first to mend the national fabric and then hold the next elections in normal course. The present Government has a legal span of five years, during which period we can consolidate the national framework, and the democratic set-up will take root. Then there will be plenty of room for a democratic competition. But none for mischief-makers and secessionists and people who uphold parochialism and are heedless of the interest of the common man.

**Question:** *The Iranian nationals from the north to the south and east and west have great love for Pakistan, and they have watched with close attention the affairs of Pakistan. They will always be happy over the happiness of Pakistan and sorry at her sorrows. They have very close links with the people of Pakistan and they equally share their destiny. They will feel happy if we carry good news from Pakistan. Would you please tell us what plans do you have in future for our dear Pakistan?*

**President:** Well, we have actually spelled them out in our convention very clearly. We have also taken some steps in the past 11 months according to the manifesto to our party. My party's main objective is that we clearly spell out these things so that the people can see them like a picture and not remain unaware of our social and economic goals and efforts. Through the system of mixed economy, we are making efforts to improve the lot of the common man. We are prepared to offer incentives and encouragement to the private sector, but we are not going to permit these incentives to result in the exploitation of the common man. As I said, every people must act according to their own conditions. Our population is too big and our resources are too limited. We must avoid any wastage. This means a lot of planning which in turn means centralized direction. We are striving for a socialist pattern, but this should not frighten anyone because we have made it very clear that this does not mean Communism. We believe this is one way to combat Communism in Pakistan.

**Iranian Press Delegation:** *Thank you very much. Khuda Hafiz.*

***Message of greetings to the King of Thailand  
on December 5, 1972***

It gives me great pleasures to convey to Your Majesty on my behalf as well as on behalf of the Government and the people of Pakistan warm greetings and felicitations on Your Majesty's birthday and the National day of Thailand. I avail myself of this opportunity to wish health and happiness and long life to Your Majesty and progress and prosperity to the people of Thailand.

***Interview with Mr. Loren Jenkins, Correspondent  
of Newsweek, on December 5, 1972***

***Question:*** *What is happening here now? One hears from all sides – from Dacca, Delhi and from here – great expressions of wanting to find a peaceful solution and a lasting solution to the situation here. It is now a year since you were inaugurated almost immediately after the war.*

***President:*** I am not pessimistic at all. I think things are going like on a sleepy lagoon, the way they go on in the subcontinent. But the direction should be right; for a change it is. There might be sparks flying off here and there; tempers will rise and fall. But, basically, I we are still committed to the Simla Accord and what it connotes. We have neither deviated from it nor said anything which would foul up the atmosphere. We have taken reverses with a sense of serenity. Even over the deadlocks there has been sobriety and rationality which in itself is a contribution. Now for instance, I will give you an example of the delineation business. In the first place, the Simla Agreement did not link up the delineation with the withdrawals from the international border; and there was nothing in our discussions which gave that impression either. On the contrary, there was talk of withdrawals taking place without difficulty within a certain period of time, although the delineation might take much longer because it is difficult terrain to delineate. Conversation of that nature clearly indicated that there was no connection between the two. But when India started connection the two-the withdrawals and the delineation-I felt little disturbed; but I thought that instead of going to the Press or screaming hoarse on the Radio or making speeches, it would be better to send our people across to Delhi and ask them why they had this after-thought. So I sent our people to Delhi and they met the Indian Government officials, including the Prime Minister and they came back satisfied. It was again made clear to the Indian Government that there was not going to be any linking between delineation and withdrawals and they gave a date for the withdrawal. Originally it was supposed to be the 3<sup>rd</sup> of September. Eventually there were many changes. The funny part about this whole exercise is that when this line was fully delineated, there had been 20 maps that were exchanged and signed and the only formality that was to be complied with before delivery was the approval of the Senior Military Commanders. That was a mere formality. But when they went back to Delhi, and returned the following day they said that they did not agree with the 20<sup>th</sup> map. I made it clear that the question which was of 1½ miles would not prejudice our claim or their s with regard to Kashmir. By that stunt, you don't resolve the Kashmir dispute. The strange thing about this whole thing was that the area was offered by the Pakistani Commanders to the Indian Commanders and three times they rejected the offer.

***Question:*** *What would you then consider the next priority after normalization of relations?*

***President:*** Of course, there is the question of prisoners of war; there is the question of resumption of diplomatic relations between India and Pakistan and other

connected matters. There are quite a few problems we can discuss. We can discuss trade also.

**Question:** *The Indians have said, and I felt, you have gone strong after the Simla Agreement because they think at least there was some understanding that you will recognize Bangladesh after Simla. You have not yet. Why not?*

**President:** He said that trials would take place; that come what may, Pakistan would have to recognize Bangladesh and that three million Bengalis had been killed and a million Bengalis raped. You see such things appeared and the opinion here hardened. It would have been absurd of me to take the problem to the National Assembly in that situation. For all sorts of doubts and difficulties were expressed, both by my party and outside. But the main thing is that I have not reversed my stand on the question of recognition. I genuinely believe that recognition is the only way for us to have good relations restored. Dialogue is the only method. This is our independent opinion. We don't have to be influenced by the Indians or the Russians. If I believed that recognition was harmful to Pakistan I would not mind if Mrs. Gandhi screamed hoarse or if the Russians thumped the table and said all sorts of things. I have gone through that before as a Foreign Minister. If I could go through it as a Foreign Minister, now that I have got charge of my whole country I can go through it again. I genuinely believe that recognition should come.

**Question:** *That is why you are attaching the conditions to meet Sheikh Mujib Before recognition.*

**President:** Yes, not for any personal pride. There are valid reasons for it: We have to discuss a totality of problems; the question of foreign debts; the questions of assets and liabilities; the kind of relationship we should have. There are all sorts of conjectures that Bengalis are dying to become part of Pakistan again. You know the people might say: Oh, you have only to wait for a few more months and you will see that the anti-Indian feelings have become so strong. This is the argument advanced against recognition. Anti-Indian feelings have become so strong and if you just patiently wait for a little time the Bengalis will come begging to join Pakistan again. Any little news that comes from there that on some wall in Dacca are written the words 'Pakistan Zindabad', people say, look, there you are. We have to tell our people that this is not so.

**Question:** *You don't believe in all this.*

**President:** No, I know that is not so. I have got my feet on the ground. The people have to be convinced that it is a wrong impression. We offered the Bengalis a special relationship including special trade relations. We could also set aside the formality of visas between each other, and so many things to show that we are not unmindful of our past links. These problems have to be discussed; the problems of foreign debts. We are up to our necks with foreign debts. This is to be resolved; otherwise they will say it is the liability entirely of Pakistan, which it is not. I know Mr. Mujibur Rahman well. He wants Bangladesh to be recognized first and says that everything else will be settled. When I met him he told me here, 'You have only to



release me and everything will fit in its place. I won't be ungrateful. You just release me; you would be saving my life a second time. At first, he said, 'You have to accept only this that the Assembly will hold its session in Dacca.' Now, after doing that, he went back and demanded recognition, whereas he had told me here twice that the moment he went back to Dacca, he would take charge and meet me immediately because he agreed with me that we had to meet to thrash out our problems and after that we could live as brothers. Now he says, 'You have only to recognize Bangladesh.' But I know exactly what he would do after that. 'We are impoverished,' he would say. 'You take the whole foreign debt and you owe us so much in terms of our share of the assets.' Again we will be involved in another controversy. So I want a package deal.

***Question:** And if you cannot get a package deal as one Chief of State to another; do you want it before the recognition?*

***President:** We want a package deal; I will take the problem to the people; and I will carry the people with me. I am quite confident that I will exhaust opposition on the question of recognition because opposition to a right decision cannot be sustained. I can already see, here and there, that opposition on this issue is bound to wilt. I have made a long tour of the Frontier. I am going to undertake similar tour of the Punjab. I will go to the people and tell them that they should suggest a better method if they do not want recognition. I know they will start nodding their heads except a few cranks standing on the corners who are paid by these orthodox parties. I would not be going to the people and making these speeches if I did not want to recognize Bangladesh. Who wants to commit a political error of this nature and go to the people with something ostensibly unpopular? There is no need for anyone to be suspicious that I want to pull a fast one. We have told the Great Powers and our friends about this—the British, the Russians and the Americans; and I believe that this is the only right decision. We should have time because the decision has to be taken by us and not by them. Since the decision has to be taken by Pakistan is not fair for either India or Bangladesh to tell us when should we take the decision. We must be prepared for it at home. If they had to take a difficult or unpleasant decision, I would not tell them that they must take it today; or otherwise the whole applecart will be upset. The timing of a difficult decision should be left to us. Yes, I did tell them that I would take the issue to the National Assembly. But I found that the situation was going to be explosive, therefore, I postponed it. But I am not going back on recognition. This is my grievance with the people in Delhi, you see. I am prepared to recognize their difficulties, straightway, but they should recognize our difficulties too. We were dismembered by them and we were the ones who had to face all the privation, humiliation and the sundering of our country. Whatever the reasons were, the follies of Yahya Khan or whatever else the sentiments of our people are raw. We have to talk to the people. We have to recognize that half of our country is gone and we have also to face the problem of living with India in a changed situation. We hear expressions which upset our people, make them mad as hell. I don't know why the Indians call themselves the dominant power in the subcontinent. The moment they do so there is a reaction. Our people say, 'Oh, really they think they are the dominant power now, just because the other half of our country is gone, which was sort of a deadweight on us,' Are they the dominant power really? Why should they use that expression? Did*

the Americans ever use it in NATO? If they are dominant then their strength will be intrinsically known and measured. Such things come as a grave provocation to a part of the subcontinent, which has been far from subservient to the other part historically and which the Indians always regarded as the terrible people from the North. I went on tour to the Frontier and I have seen the mood of the people.

*Question: Do you feel that this feeling is so strong that there is every possibility again of Pakistan confronting India?*

*President:* I don't want to encourage confrontation. I think we would like to live in peace and we should not have that sort of relationship. But they also must contribute to it. Politics do not belong to a historical vacuum. There have been historical factors in the subcontinent and in East Pakistan's separation we have lost our national unity and lost in many ways. But there are other problems. India cannot put her fingers into the fire without burning them. The point is that these are avoidable irritants, specially those which stem from the feeling of having become so mighty. Those who are really mighty don't show off.

*Question: You feel that India is trying to rub Pakistan's nose in the dust?*

*President:* I don't know whether she is doing it deliberately. But a power does not emerge as dominant merely through the pranks of last year when it has terrible food deficits and draught and poverty and misery. A great power does not do small things like this. We returned all their prisoners, each one of them. They returned us only those they had captured on the western front. They should not use these expressions. They used to get angry with me for using the expression of a thousand-year war. But that was a metaphorical expression, used to mobilize my people in time of war. When you are at war, you don't demoralize your people. You mobilize your people in every way you can. The British had to do it, the Americans did it and we had to do it. That was the word they caught on. But they have been dangling it around and it is brought out every time I or any foreigner sees them. Now this expression 'dominant power' is exactly the obverse of the expression 'a thousand-year war'. Does it not imply, without being a metaphor, a constant threatening stance? How can United States take the position that India is the dominant power in this region? We don't regard India as a dominant power, even after the separation of East Pakistan. India's friendship we are prepared to accept but India's leadership we will never accept. Indian hegemony we will never accept.

*Question: Do you have any choice?*

*President:* Of course, we have. We are not down and out. We mobilize our people against any form of hegemony. When I was Foreign Minister, we had the best of relations with the United States but when the United States wanted to have overbearing control over Pakistan, then the people, who believe in their national destiny and independence, did not say, 'Well, all right we have no choice but to get kicked in the teeth.' I told them that our people would not accept a position like that. We had strains for some period. Our relations are excellent now, and if the Russians tried to dominate us, even though they are much bigger than the Indians, we won't

permit it. Why are our relations with China so good? Because at no stage have they tried to do that. So, we would have the best relations with India but it must be a friendship not based on the concept of dominant power.

**Question:** *Going back to Bangladesh, I was there last week and spoke to the Prime Minister, Sheikh Mujib and he is still very adamant on trying some prisoners of war. Do you feel that under any circumstances you will accept that or you think the Pakistan people will accept that?*

**President:** It is not for me to accept that. The prisoners are in his custody. It will send everything up in smoke here and take us to a point of no return. We have seen the kind of trial they held of Dr. Malik. Moreover, in principle, it is wrong if you wish to have an overall settlement. If Dr. Malik's trial is a fore-runner and if he tries these people of Pakistan's Armed forces, it is going to hit the people very hard. Feelings are very hard everywhere in the country. In the Punjab people will naturally be very upset and they have a right to be upset.

**Question:** *It can hurt your position.*

**President:** It can hurt any one's position to the extent that it will create problems. It is not that the problems cannot be faced, but these are the problems which can be avoided. We have suggested so many ways of overcoming these problems. We can try these persons here and award them punishment. Why should we want to protect people who have committed excesses? In a civilized society, you don't protect savages. If there has been savagery and carnage by individuals, we condemn it. We are prepared to bring them to exemplary punishment here to the satisfaction of world opinion. But to hold these mock trials in Dacca causes provocation of the gravest magnitude.

**Question:** *He also complained that one of the problems right now with Bangladesh is lack of trained people and they maintain that enough of their trained civilian people are here held as hostages and not allowed to leave. Will you allow, if in an agreement, the Bengalis will have freedom to go home?*

**President:** I tell you, I have closed my eyes to so many people's going. I think it is again being very unfair. Every application that has come to me on compassionate grounds, I have treated sympathetically. So many have gone, so many of them who said that their parents were in Canada or in England-there are so many of Bengalis living in England-and I have allowed them to go. I let the Bengalis Law Minister, Mr. Kamal Hussain's mother-in-law go. Three days ago I let so many students go. They crossed the border and went to Kabul. Do you think we were so inefficient that we did not know that they were going? We have allowed officers, too. On the other side, they are holding on to our prisoners. Of war against the Geneva Conventions, against the U.N. Resolutions. They are threatening to hold trials. As far as we are concerned, we have to either consider how to look after the Bengalis or what do to about them. Now it does not mean that I have no blood hounds here. The moment he starts talking about trails and all that, immediately our people start saying, 'Well, why don't we retaliate.' Retaliation comes so easy. People don't think of consequences when they retaliate.

But I have not retaliated and I have not made any statement that I am going to try the Bengalis here. There are Bengalis, it can be said, who committed acts of sabotage and anti-state activities during the war. They can be tried; there can be more than trials. We will wait and see how it goes. I have no intention of keeping them as hostages here. I hate the word hostage and I hate the concept of keeping hostages. If he is prepared to take the whole lot-lock, stock and barrel-he will have to stop these trials.

***Question:** That is you are attaching a condition for returning all the Bengalis?*

***President:*** I am not the divine ruler of Pakistan. I am running a new democracy after 15 years of arbitrary rule in the country. I can't close my eyes to public feelings on this matter. He talks so much about his public opinion. I don't make it an issue. I don't say 'my people' the way he keeps on saying 'my people, my people', as if he has given birth to all of them. But I can't be oblivious to public opinion, when it is found to be reasonable and just. When he has kept our prisoners and wants to try them our people will not take kindly to the Bengalis being allowed to go.

***Question:** What about the Biharis? Every Bihari to whom I have talked in Bangladesh still strongly believes that he is a Pakistani citizen and believes in Pakistan and they want to be repatriated. Will you accept them?*

***President:*** As time passes, with the economic problems of East Pakistan, Bangladesh, getting more complicated, many Bengalis will also start calling themselves Pakistanis. The point is this that here again Mr. Mujibur Rahman arbitrarily decides that he doesn't want these people. There are about a million or more, how many, I don't know, sometimes they say, five hundred thousand, sometimes three hundred thousand and sometimes a million. Now the question is that these people are his citizens in principle. They have lived there, they have migrated there, they went from Bihar; they too are Bengalis. To them East Pakistan has always been Pakistan; they contributed to its economy. They were in the railways, they are hard-working people, they built and they have made their contribution. To take them lock, stock and barrel, means to kill this country by compassion. In 1947, we had three to four million refugees. We keep getting them. We have got unemployment. Wherever I go, people catch me and tell me about unemployment, food, shelter, clothing. Now we are just getting to settle down. We are just about to resolve some of the basic problems, like the language controversies, the constitutional problem of autonomy, some sort of a forward movement on national integration. The texture is beginning to be woven together. On top of that, we cannot superimpose the problem of 300 to 400 thousand people. Again and again we see new slums new shanty towns. Have the people of Pakistan no other right except to see slums and shanty towns. Since the creation of Pakistan, we have been facing refugees, migration, unemployment, poverty, all this will add up again immediately. However, I am prepared to accept those Biharis who are from divided families, whose families are here and some others in the bargain. But just to categorize them and expel them because they have been anti-Awami League or he has got some grievance against them, is manifestly unjust. Today he says all the Biharis are Pakistani agents.

Tomorrow he might turn on the Chakmas because the Chakma Chief is here as a Minister. He might decide that all the Chakmas should be thrown out.

*Question: But the Biharis want to come here.*

**President:** As I said, as time passes, you will find more and more people wanting to come here. Some of the Bengalis, who have gone over to Burma have also asked for repatriation to Pakistan. In principle, he must accept the responsibility of all the people living there, and if he does that, then we are prepared to discuss them. This is another problem we have to discuss.

*Question: You mentioned your constitutional agreement. I gather there was a lot of debate about it and lot of concern about regional feelings cropping up again. Are you quite satisfied with the agreement as it was reached?*

**President:** It is an all-Party Accord. All the parties in the National Assembly have put their signature to it. They congratulated the Government. They congratulated themselves. They appeared on the television. I am morally bound by the Accord which is an all-Party Accord made voluntarily. I will proceed with it now in the National assembly on the basis of those principles.

*Question: Once the new Constitution is passed will there be new elections?*

**President:** There are two ways of looking at this problem. If we are going now to tackle some of our basic problems – constitutional, economic and political – then there is no need for Pakistan for another elections. There is need in East Pakistan for another because they have created a new country. We have not created a new country. A part of our country has been severed. Since they have to evolve the rationale of Bangladesh, there is a justification for them to hold elections or a referendum. Here in Pakistan after 25 years we had one election and we ripped each other apart, Bengalis, Punjabis, Sindhis. Now, we have just begun to crawl and walk again with our four provinces. The language problem, as I said, has been settled. But if you have an election, all these problems will tend to crop up again. Again there will be riots over questions like language, the distribution of water between the Punjab and Sindh which has not yet been settled and again the sectarian feelings and all sorts of things will raise their head. Again we will be attending to those problems and not to the basic problems of survival. We are today still in the process of ensuring our survival. Where we to hold elections, we would have to put aside Kashmir, the Simla Agreement, and relations with India and we would have to make strong speeches also, because that is what they like. All that business of who the hell is India will come up in the election campaign. If the people think that that's a good thing for Pakistan, I am not afraid of it because in every by-election that we had, we have won by a long margin. When I was out of Government and all the military people were opposed to my party, we still won with a thumping majority. Now, we have done nothing against the people, we have saved the country, we have given them a constitutional accord. We have brought about the end of this language controversy. We have brought about fundamental reforms in the field of education which everyone accepts, in the agrarian system and the labour laws. Why should I be afraid of another election? I might get

rid of some of the people who are thrown up on my band-wagon and who are unnecessarily creating problems.

**Question:** *Recently some members of your Government and your Party have accused you of abandoning some of the principles of your Party, mostly they accuse you of not being socialist enough and not adhering to leftist party platform, going against labourers and favouring business.*

**President:** I will tell you, I have explained this at the Convention. I made our position quite clear. Those people who say that I am not a Socialist, they mean that I am not a Communist because Socialism is a catholic term. Socialism comprises social democrats, the Scandinavian type, Tito's type, the Romanian type, the Chinese type, the Albanian type and the Soviet type. But to me, Socialism does not mean Communism. And I have told them this before and I tell them that now. So I have got the position stated very clearly that we believe in democratic Socialism. We will give reforms which are socialistic in character. Nobody appropriates land to the extent of 300 to 400 thousand acres without a penny as compensation to the land-owners if he does not believe in Socialism. Nobody takes over 23 odd industries and gives no compensation. Do they think this is not socialistic? I think they are wrong. If they want me to be a Communist, they have to join some other party and I will be able to deal with them. Don't think that they are a problem. They never were a problem. They will now have to come out in their true colours. So that's the position.

**Question:** *One of the problems of your economy, as it is in India, is a problem of lack of business confidence, lack of reinvestment of capital. It seems to be the major problem in your first year although it looks now to be turning. Is it turning because you have made overtures to business?*

**President:** No, I had clarified that long ago. Our businessmen, as I have told you earlier, are not the real entrepreneurs who make the system of free enterprise work. The entrepreneur of the United States is prepared to take wholesome risks. Our entrepreneur take no risks at all. He is terribly chicken-hearted and he makes no real contribution. Since there is State control to some extent, he gets a permit and he sets up his industry. Capital formation has not been brought about here by the private sector. In India, more capital formation has come from the private sector than in Pakistan. In India you have the Birlas and Tatas who really, put in their capital. Here what our businessmen have done is that they have really put in State money and they have become the managers and the owners. They get the permits. On that basis they import their plants. They convert it into local currency and use it for their local capital. They go to insurance companies, they go to PICIC, they go to I.D.B.P. – these are our financing institutions – they also go to NIT. They take both internal government rupees and external government foreign exchange. The capital formation is taking place here all the time through the State. If, therefore, they don't want to invest, I do not intend to go to each of the 22 families and ask them to invest. Once your project starts going, the Consortium takes over. They are welcome to invest. We are telling them that 80 per cent of our economy still belongs to the private sector. They can go for fertilizers, cement, textiles, indeed for a variety of units. But I can't hold their hand and tell them that, as long as God is in the heavens, all is going to be

well in the world. Who can guarantee anything for the future? They must take the risk which is inherent in the 20<sup>th</sup> century. I don't think they will be sufferers because so many of them have stacked away so much abroad in any case. I don't see why – they cannot apply their genius or their skill to the growth of Pakistan. Because they have a role to play. I don't deny their role. But I am not going to strike a deal with them compromising principles. There is no need for me to compromise because I don't expect that kind of a golden age which you have secured from the vast contribution that your big business or your private capital has made to the growth of your economy. We are prepared to help them within the limits laid down. If they are not forthcoming, we will proceed ahead ourselves in the public sector. What is stopping our economy from really proceeding ahead is that project aid has not yet come in. Once we get commitments from the Consortium, mostly from the World Bank or the United States, we will be able to make our economy move much faster. Even this year, I have sanctioned three sugar mills in the Punjab, another two or three in Sind, one more oil refinery, one huge fertilizer plant, and we are going to have a second subsidiary port in Phitti Creek. The steel mill is going to come up, another small steel mill is also to be set up with Chinese assistance then we are thinking of a second port in Baluchistan. It is not that we have remained immobile. We have gone pretty fast in the passage of one year to be able to sanction all these projects. If you travel to the interior or even in Karachi, you will see the amount of road-building that is taking place now. The road-building is going on at a pace much accelerated from the one at which these roads were built in the five or six years of Ayub's regime. You see the Karachi Airport, you go to Sindh, you go to the Punjab where we have started low-cost houses; roads are being built, the lands are being distributed. I am traveling all the time. Only a week ago, I was in Chitral meeting the White Huns in Kalash. Today, I went to the Municipal Hospital in Nazimabad. All the time we are on the move; all the time we are bringing our full energy and vitality to bear on the effort, catching the lazy one, shaking him up, motivating the people So we are doing our best.

***Question:** Recently civil strikes were halted down, I gather, with the lot of strength in the Government's power. Many people with whom I have talked saw that as a change of policy.*

***President:** Not a change of policy. But you find this happens everywhere in the world where enlightened or progressive or liberal regimes, whatever name you give them, come and introduce reforms. What happens is that the Communist cadre goes and tells workers that reform are not enough. When a regime which is not communist, but yet progressive, takes over then the Communists have to show to the people immediately that such a regime is not the one they sought. They accuse it of having deviated from that road. They mislead the worker until the reforms become tangible to him in terms of relief , in terms of better benefits. There are Communists who are Utopian in their thinking. They have their big grandeur notions, finding oil and tapping the minerals, gold and all that is supposed to be hidden somewhere in Gilgit, and the rubies and diamonds supposed to be somewhere in Chitral. We have heard these stories. But until we discover all that wealth, there is no gold or minerals or oil in our hands. Jute is gone, we have got cotton. We are trying to do our best, we have now also started exporting rice. But they are both agricultural commodities. We have got Sui gas but that is for our internal use. We are not exporting it. We have got*

water-logged lands, we are trying to reclaim them. We have a pressure of population which has to be relieved. We have to provide education to the people. In these circumstances, taking the whole picture into account, we have literally gone to the edge of the precipice at this stage to accommodate labour. If I could do more for labour toady, I would be very happy to do it. I have exhorted workers to increase production and to work hard. A worker must labour; otherwise he ceases to be a worker and has no claim to a worker's rights. We are going to do our best in the future also. But this trouble was not unexpected. It was anticipated by me. I told my colleagues. 'No' they said, 'we have done all this for labour.' They did not asses that there would be forces who would mislead workers because it was in the interest of their dialectical creed to do so. This has happened historically everywhere that reforms have come. It has happened in our times. But we did not go back on our labour policy; we will never go back on it. It is not possible. If we believe in democracy we cannot turn our back to the poor man. There is no question of having any unholy marriage with the industrialist class or others. If they misbehave, they will be taken to task. But why should I allow myself to be criticized for running an inefficient government? We overcame the labour trouble efficiently. Finally, they should know, that people have reached the end of their tether. I waited for the people to feel disgusted. We had to be lenient tactically; and they took that as a sign of weakness. It was not. I wanted the people to realize that his kind of thing was being unreasonable. When, according to my asse3ssment, the people get fed up, then I have to give workers the warning that eh nation is tired of these antics. I say to them, don't get misled by these forces because they want that kind of turmoil, although it does not serve their interest also. When the warnings were not heeded than we had to act sharply and quickly. We should not be criticized for being efficient.

**Question:** *You can't say what you said about establishing democracy here, because you have also arrested several political leaders and I understand you have cracked down on some newspapers.*

**President:** In which democratic society have arrests not taken place in times of crisis, in times of trouble, in times of chaos? You can't run a democracy by putting paint on your nails. I am not a blockhead running the country. We have to be firm. People have a right to speak. They have a right to make speeches. They have a right to go out and express their point of view even on Bangladesh. When have I arrested people who said that we should not recognize Bangladesh? But when they say that they will overthrow this Government, break down the walls of the President's House, well, that is something you can't do democratically. That you can only do undemocratically. And if these people then expect that under the cover of democracy they can violate each and every law of the land and get away with it, they are wrong. Don't for4get our country was known as West Pakistan. How did you run the wild West? We have partly a tribal society. Just now two days ago, Marris got into their heads that they can raid Quetta, and go and eat cakes and all that sort of things. Now what should I do? Proclaim Jeffersonian edicts there? We have to tell the tribesmen, 'young chaps, go back to the mountains' don't go and raid Quetta.' We have highlanders, all these people who are happy with the gun. They have that wild West mentality. You went to the West and gave them democracy. But you had to sometimes carry the big stick. In the democratic dispensation, the courts are open; the



assemblies are there; public meetings are permitted and the most sensitive issue today is Bangladesh. If I don't arrest people on that, then you know I am arresting people for violation of the law of the land.

**Question:** Your country having been cut in half after a long period, when East and West Pakistan were one and there was a balance of power between Pakistan and India, do you believe that this concept of balance of power has been shattered with the dismemberment of Pakistan?

**President:** No, if I had believed in that, I would not have said to you that we find it a provocation or an irritant in the use of the expression 'dominant power'. Then I would have felt that it was correct and we need have no complex about it. I know there were two States in the subcontinent, which were regarded as equals but today they think that there are three. I know Pakistan is a reduced country. We are no longer the holy Roman Empire. But I am confident that, given time, we will emerge stronger than we were before 1971.

**Question:** *In what terms?*

**President:** In terms of our economic growth, in terms of our *per capita* income, in terms of the difference that you will see when you come to Pakistan and then go to India and to Bangladesh. We will be ahead of them. I am not talking in belligerent terms. I am talking in terms of what I want to do, the great dreams, seeing roads being built, schools coming up, beautiful cities being built, people getting education free to the extent possible, getting medical treatment free, building hospitals. Our people are study, they are very hard working, they are not afraid of work; they can use the tractor; they can use the machine; they are innovators. So we have first class material. At one time we were called the most unnatural state in the subcontinent. Today we are the most natural state in the subcontinent. Bangladesh in an unnatural state now, because half of the Bengali speaking population is in India and the other half in Bangladesh, as Mujibur Rehman has set up a kind of a racist state in Bangladesh. There is a fascism there on a narrow ethnic basis which compels the throwing away of non-Bengalis. But half of that ethnic group is on the other side. India has so many Bangladeshes behind every bus. As you sow, so shall you reap. When you will come back, as I told some other friends of mine a few years from now, if I am still around, I will show you the difference.

**Question:** *This means that Pakistan has a very great role to play in the subcontinent.*

**President:** Yes, a big, constructive role to play.

**Question:** *Do you see Pakistan playing a role in the international affairs or in the subcontinent?*

**President:** As we grow, yes. Ideas can be thrown out by the smallest of states. Any country can throw up an idea, make a suggestion, make a proposal, suggest a formula in the United Nations. When people get stuck on something some Malta can

get up and point the way out. That is the kind of role we visualize. I think that without industrial and agricultural growth, with our foreign exchange earnings going up, with our economic power, we can play a role. Japan plays a role. I am not comparing Pakistan with Japan. She is an economic giant. I have been criticized for two expressions. One is the thousand-year war which I have discussed. The other was calling the Japanese an 'economic animal! Originally a metaphorical expression. I must go and apologise to the Japanese one day because I did not mean any disrespect by it. Japan and Germany have started playing a political role. First, we have to emerge as an economic power. We are striving to do so. The greatest potential is provided here. We have to be a little lucky if we find a little bit of oil. Everyone says there is. And also we have got minerals. We will make all out efforts exploit these deposits.

**Question:** *Still being hurt very much by the burden of an army which was built up for both wings, do you envisage whether it should be cut down as you are trying to develop your economy.*

**President:** If we had no unresolved problems with India, if we had settled our problems with India. Talking theoretically, if tomorrow we could make a big reduction, we would not just make a jump into progress. We would catch it by the throat. This wheat problem which we are facing I wish, I could give free wheat throughout to the people in the cities. But I can't do that. We are on the horns of a dilemma where we have to reconcile the needs of development with defence. But I hope one day we can settle our relations with India on an amicable basis. That of course is a distant dream toady. But we must not abandon it. The vision of peace with disarmament in the subcontinent must guide our objectives. But in that disarmed subcontinent the Taj Mahal of tomorrow will be built in Pakistan.

**Question:** *Are you saying that you will not try to cut the army without India doping it also?*

**President:** Without the settlement of disputes with India.

**Question:** *You think if disputes with India are settled you will not have the problem of keeping a big army.*

**President:** On second thoughts, may be if Mrs. Gandhi is around, we might see that day come sooner. She did display courage and vision at Simla. But if it was left to some others, it never would have happened.

**Question:** *Do you envisage, after the Simla Accord, a settlement coming from them in the coming months?*

**President:** The Indians say it also, so that they can pressurize us. They say the Simla spirit is finished. But it has not evaporated; it is there. It will come through. A second round of meeting with Mrs. Gandhi will take place.

***Message of greetings to Mr. Kaleva Kekkonen,  
President of the Republic of Finland on December 6, 1972***

It gives me great pleasure to extend to Your Excellency, the Government and the people of Finland warm greetings and good wishes on the auspicious occasion of the Independence Day of Finland. Please accept, Excellency, the assurances of my highest consideration.

***Message to PAF personnel repatriated from India  
on December 7, 1972***

My dear brave Mujahids,

On my behalf and on behalf of the people of Pakistan, I extend to you our warmest welcome on your return to the sacred motherland.

The nation recognizes the prolonged privations endured by you in the cause of Pakistan. It deeply appreciates the sterling services rendered by you against overwhelming odds and grave hazards which confronted you. The inspiring resoluteness displayed by you has been a source of great strength to us and is gratefully acknowledged. You have now returned to a new Pakistan, a vibrant Pakistan imbued with the urge and determination to forge ahead and carve out its rightful destiny. The pain and anguish is over, having given way to an era of hope and faith in our future.

In your absence, your Government has taken all possible measures to look after your families and dependents. You will now be proceeding home on leave to reunite with them and to return to duty with renewed zest and determination to serve the country. This indeed is a moment of gratitude. Let us, therefore, bow our heads before Allah in humility for his benevolence seeking strength and guidance in rededicating ourselves to the glory of Islam and to the re-building of our country.

***Address on the occasion of the opening of the natural gas pipeline extension at Peshawar on December 8, 1972***

While inaugurating the Rs.22 crore natural gas pipeline extension, President Zulfikar Ali Bhutto said that coming of Sui gas to the N.W.F.P. heralds an era of development which will bring many economic and social benefits.

The President said that the gas will release bagasse, presently being used as a fuel, to serve as a raw material in the paper industry. The gas may also be used as feedstock for petro-chemical industries.

He said that the Government was committed to bettering economic conditions of the people in under-developed and far-flung areas. If the gas could not be made to reach such areas by the pipelines it would be supplied to them in liquefied form “so that the benefits of the gas may be enjoyed by all.”

The President appreciated the cordial relations existing between the management and workers of the Company.

At the conclusion of the ceremony, the Managing Director of the Company announced at the behest of the President one month’s bonus for all the workers in token of appreciation of good work done by them in completing the task ahead of schedule.

The President declared that his Government was determined to remove invidious and unjust inequalities in the country, and to bring up the economically under-developed regions of Pakistan (including the tribal belt.)

He said that no stone would be left unturned in bettering the lot of the people of the under-developed areas of the entire country.

The President said that for the amelioration of the economic conditions of the tribal areas the tribal Development Corporation had already been set up and he had recently visited the far-flung areas in N.W.F.P. and the tribal belt to apprise himself of the prevailing conditions.

Expressing pleasure at the extension of natural gas to N.W.F.P. the President hoped that this would bring with it many economic and social benefits. It would provide clean and inexpensive fuel, ensuring fully reliable supply, without any artificial scarcity.

He, however, expressed dissatisfaction about the rate of utilization of the gas and called for maximizing our efforts to increase its utilization in order to save hard earned foreign exchange being spent now on import of oil.

The President said that though our efforts for search of oil have not so far been rewarded adequately, large reserves of natural gas had been discovered and efforts

were afoot to search for new oil and gas reserves both on land and in the off-shore areas.

He said that Oil and Gas Development Corporation and some other prospecting companies were carrying out geological studies in D.I.Khan, Bannu, Kohat and North Waziristan with the object of locating possible oil and gas reserves.

The President was also pleased at the progress of the institution since its inception in 1964. The Company has extended its transmission system from 301 to 1,183 miles after an investment of over Rs.57 crore.

This Project brings gas to Daudkhel and Gujranwala in the Punjab and to Peshawar, Nowshera, Mardan, Charsadda, and Takht Bhai in the Frontier.

A large number of people including the representatives of the World Bank witnessed the inaugural ceremony. The World Bank contribution to the project is nearly half of the cost.

During the ceremony, Sui Northern Gas company presented President Bhutto and representatives of the World Bank with souvenirs which were replicas of well-known 'Bab-e-Khyber', Frontier's emblem done up beautifully in silver.

The President, noticing that bigger replicas were given to him and smaller ones to the guests from abroad, reversed the position by handing the larger replica to Mr. McNamara's representative and said it was in the tradition of this country to give most honoured place to the guests.

***Message of greetings to Mr. Julius Nyerere, President of the United Republic of Tanzania, on December 9, 1972***

The Government and the people of Pakistan join me in extending to Your Excellency the Government and the people of Tanzania our warm greetings and sincere felicitations on the happy occasion of the National day of the United Republic of Tanzania. I am confident that the friendly relations existing between Tanzania and Pakistan shall be strengthened further in the years to come. I avail myself of this opportunity to wish health and happiness to your Excellency and ever-growing progress and prosperity to the friendly people of the United Republic of Tanzania.

### *Address at the Sargodha Air-base on December 9, 1972*

President Zulfikar Ali Bhutto called for an integrated approach to solve the problems facing the country.

Addressing officers and men at Sargodha Air-base he said that there must be a fundamental objective before us. He said that he wanted the growth of society by a collective approach and understanding. There should be completed unity of thought and action, he added.

About relations with India, the President said that Pakistan did not want confrontation with India, but a just and equitable settlement of his disputes and to live in peace.

But, he said, that the choice was not ours alone. The other side should also realize the situation and act with a spirit of accommodation and understanding.

The president, however, said: “we must be on guard to save the honour of the country.”

The President assured that the Government would do its best to promote the interest of defence. He said defence and development, like anywhere in the world, were co-related.

The President said if the nation was advanced in development, it would be advanced in defence. This was what had happened in all prosperous and strong countries. They had got formidable defence because their development was considerable and colossal, he added.

The point was, the President said, that the two must go hand in hand and we would try to strike a balance, and that balance could be struck more readily with the common understanding and common approach.

“Both eyes must be open, the eye of peace and the eye of defence. Both hands must be active, the hand of peace and the hand of conflict.”

The President stressed the need for giving particular attention to the weakest factor, the weakest force and the weakest person of the social order as the success and strength of the nation really was to be determined where the weakest person or the weakest link in the chain was.

“We should see how weak the weakest is: from there we start gaining strength. If we see how strong is the top, the bottom will become hollow,” the president said.

The President said that the nation could vindicate its honour if it puts its house in order. “I am confident that we can put our house in order, if we can discipline



ourselves, if we can work harder, if we can become a little less lazy, read more and learn a little more.”

If the people, the President pointed out, put all efforts and their shoulders to the wheel, at least in theory, they would be able to find the correct answer to all issues. Once a correct answer had been found in theory and there was no conflict among the people, he had no doubt in his mind that the national honour could be vindicated and that must be done, the President added.

The only way for the nation to move forward and progress, the President stressed, was the complete agreement of the people on the fundamental common denominator.

He said that an agreement, a genuine agreement on the fundamental objectives and the fundamental methods of achieving the objectives would enable the nation to progress its objectives both in time of peace and in time of war or crisis.

The nation, therefore, must arrive at the common point of agreement as to how it had to move forward in time of peace as well as in time of war, he said.

The President said that we want the growth of society and for that purpose the contribution of different sectors of the population in the form of a collective approach could lead us to a clear understanding of our society's problems.

***Message to President Marcos of the Philippines  
on December 9, 1972***

We were shocked to hear the news of the attempt on Mrs. Marcos's life and now feel relieved that she is out of danger and is making satisfactory progress. On behalf of my wife and on my own behalf, please convey to Mrs. Marcos our sincere good wishes for her speedy recovery, good health and long life.

***Message of greetings to Mr. Sangoule Lamisani,  
President of the Republic of Upper Volta  
on December 11, 1972***

The Government and the people of Pakistan join me in extending to Your Excellency, the Government and the friendly people of Upper Volta, greetings and felicitations on the National Day of Upper Volta. Please accept, Your excellency, the assurances of my highest consideration.

***Message of felicitations to Mr. Kakuei Tanaka,  
Prime Minister of Japan on December 11, 1972***

I send you my warmest felicitations and good wishes on behalf of the Government and people of Pakistan and on my own behalf on your leading the Liberal democratic Party to victory in the just concluded general elections in Japan. I sincerely hope that your new term of office as Prime Minister of Japan with a renewed mandate from your people, will give greater momentum to policies of peace and reconciliation in Asia which you have initiated with statesmanlike foresight and pursued with unswerving courage and determination.

Relations between Japan and Pakistan have always been friendly and cordial, I feel confident that our two countries will further expand the scope of their mutual co-operation during your new term of office.

***Message of greetings to Mr. Jomo Kenyatta,  
President of Kenya on December 12, 1972***

On my own behalf and on behalf of the Government and the people of Pakistan, I convey to Your Excellency, the Government and the People of Kenya cordial greetings and felicitations on the National day of Kenya.

Please accept, Excellency, the assurances of my highest consideration.

***Message of felicitations to Mr. Moosa Shafik  
Prime Minister of Afghanistan on December 14, 1972***

On behalf of the Government and people of Pakistan and on my own behalf I extend to your Excellency warmest felicitations and best wishes on your assumption of the High Office of Prime Minister of Afghanistan. I wish Your Excellency every success in your new Office. I am confident that the manifold ties binding Afghanistan and Pakistan shall be strengthened further during your tenure of office. I wish Your Excellency health and happiness and ever greater progress and prosperity to the brotherly people of Afghanistan.

***Translation of President Zulfikar Ali Bhutto's interview with Mr. Mahmood Shan on December 14, 1972, published in Akhbar-e-Jehan of December 27, 1972***

***Question:*** *Do you think the country is now out of real danger?*

***President:*** The extent to which it is free from danger, you can answer better because you have been in contact with the people. As far as I have examined the situation, I mean the present situation, I think that we have to a very great extent overcome the crisis. We have left it behind now and as the time passes, I am sure, the nation would be more firmly rooted.

***Question:*** *Are we fully prepared in our defence keeping in view the Indian threat?*

***President:*** Yes, we are prepared, but we shall have to make more preparations against any possible aggression. Whatever preparations we are making and whatever has been done during the last 11 months was done with this objective in view that we should be able to defend our frontiers. No country in history has ever lost so much of territory as Pakistan has lost to a nation which is our neighbour and which has never accepted Pakistan whole-heartedly. Our duty first is to strengthen our defences so that that nation is not able to resort to aggression again. But when we prepare our defences, the Indian Government starts making a lot of noise and says that Pakistan was receiving armaments from such and such sources. On the one hand, Mr. Swaran Singh says in the Loke Sabha that they were trying to improve their relations with America, on the other hand, they make allegations against Pakistan receiving armaments from them (USA). America will have to recognize the existing realities, they say, and the existing realities according to Sardar Saheb is that even if India is not the only country in the subcontinent she is at least the only dominant power there, the only power of the subcontinent. Now they want themselves to be called the only power in the subcontinent which simply means that they want to bring us under their domination and they want Pakistan to accept their hegemony and thus they want to expand their area of domination. If they are themselves talking like this and want to have an upper hand in other countries, naturally we will have to make preparation for our defence. All our preparations are for our own defence, for the protection of our own territories. You shall see that with the passage of time our preparations would be in top gear and the nation would have full confidence in them.

***Question:*** *Don't you think it is necessary for Pakistan, for the prosperity of the people of Pakistan, that our relations with Bharat should be cordial and peaceful?*

***President:*** Quite right. That is what should be done. That is the way to improve our economy. But in this context I must make it clear that the decisions should be based on justice and fairness. Without that whatever relations we have with India, even peaceful ones, would be very temporary. On the other hand, if there is a just settlement then there can surely be lasting peace in the subcontinent. Such peace

would allow them to attend to their problems and we would also get time and opportunity to attend to our progress and development.

**Question:** *Whatever success your Government has achieved is well-known but can you point out the failures of your government and the factors that contributed to it.*

**President:** One of the factors is the lack of political stability. Despite the fact that we did everything to bring about a compromise and we did make certain adjustments which were more than are expected normally. We even took chances. Even then the political stability of the standard we wanted to have could not be achieved. We have made every effort in that direction. Whatever accord we succeeded in achieving with the NAP and the JUI we have given more and taken less. But even if we gave more we were giving it to the parties of our own country, to our own people. I do not grudge it. You would recall that although there was already an agreement they wriggled out of it by giving one interpretation after another. Later, we had some other agreements. We gave them Chief Ministership, the Governorship and did not even ask that assembly to elect its own leader of the House but assumed that they were in the majority. You know the type of majority they had even after the coalition not been issuing statements against them and whatever doubts or suspicions they had we tried to remove them. I did not insist on any fixed timings to meet them. Whenever they wanted to meet me I postponed all other engagements to meet them so that they might not think that we were not co-operating with them. We also went to tour their areas and were careful not to do or say anything which might create misunderstanding. At the same time the other parties too were approached by me. Those who are the so-called opposition. I tried to consult all of them, meet their various delegations and wished to meet their leaders and showed them great respect; consulted them before leaving for Simla and did not issue any statements. It was alleged that they were being referred to as defeated politicians which made them very unhappy. I, therefore, issued a press statement that they should not be called 'defeated politicians'. Perhaps you would recall that statement. Well, that was what I did and I talked to them openly. And yet the type of political stability which is needed at the time of crisis has not been achieved. But that does not matter. We would be able to bear with it. Of course, had there been greater degree of co-operation particularly in our present atmosphere of freedom, we would have been able to make progress with greater speed. But as I told you, it does not matter. We can face the present difficulty also. I only wish that in this crisis all that we have been able to do should have been objectively seen and we should have been given greater co-operation and thus a greater degree of stability. But that did not happen.

Now the second thing is that as far as the gentlemen of the upper middle class of the cities are concerned whom I call people with sashes and waist-bands, those who indulge in cynicism and in giving adverse interpretations to the world and tell every foreigner who visits this country incorrect things, narrate a completely incorrect story that the country is now going to be destroyed and that the country is not there any more. That now it is not one country. That its economy cannot go very far because this government is resorting to nationalization. All these right steps which we are taking are well-known to the world. The whole world knows that these things were



long overdue. So they laught at these tales. But in the presence of those who listen to these things, these (upper middle class) people shed tears. It is all very sad and wrong. These people do not care for the good of the country nor do they have any respect for the truth. Their mentality is half colonial and half non-colonial. This segment of society has not made any contribution at all and has played no (positive) role whatsoever except that they have given people a depressed outlook. Besides, as I told you, they are giving a pessimistic interpretation of the present situation and allege that there is no democracy in the county. Now, who says that there is no democracy in this country?

The courts are working, the newspapers are being published. After all ours is still a tribal society. Half of our country is tribal. Even in Punjab and Sindh the tribal system exists and there are tribal territories and tribal regions in Baluchistan and Sarhad. Then there so many evils prevailing in our cities. There are so many people outside this country who do not want that this country should exist or if it does exist it should have a (proper) shape and complexion. We have to face all these elements. We certainly are not sitting in a situation which can be called a normal situation. Anything can happen. I met an American journalist the other day. He said that your opponents think that you are always adopting a hard line. I denied that and said that I don't adopt a hard line. Didn't I talk to leaders in Simla and didn't I hold meetings round-the-clock? Didn't I explain the policies of my government? Now if there are incidents like the one which happened the other day that tribal bands, astride their horses and fully armed with rifles and machine-guns came out to attack then it is not possible (for me) to sit idle. If we take action which is not legal and which is unconstitutional then we have to be answerable. We cannot beat our brow like the late Khawaja Nazimuddin and says, "Where should we go? What should we do?" We cannot sit helpless. Something has got to be done. It is our duty. We have to protect the society and the country and those who are working for it. Those who are delivering speeches, criticizing and doing all sorts of things they are free to do so. Now let me give you an example. The most important issue today is the issue of Bangladesh. Do you know anybody who has been arrested for having said that we should not recognize Bangladesh? At the moment the main issue is this, people may keep on talking against the recognition; we do not interfere with them. But they resort to stoning and brick-bating, indulge in rioting and illegal activities which are unconstitutional and make provocative speeches and think that no action would be taken (against them). Well, that is not democracy. It is important to understand what is democracy. We are facing very difficult conditions. When the British won the 2<sup>nd</sup> World War they did not have a glimpse of sugar for four or five years. They did not eat bread. They were getting eggs only once a week, in spite of the fact that they had won the war. This is what war means. I shall not say that we (really) lost a war. There are people who still say that we have not been defeated and if they are under such illusions let them please themselves and live with their illusions. I would not say that we have been defeated but I will also not say that we have won the war. But what happens after the war ends? The entire world knows, even a child knows that an economic crisis is bound to come and inflation is a natural outcome of war. We have spent 60 crore of rupees on importing sugar, even beyond our resources. These are the consequences of war. The market which we had in East Pakistan about which everybody says we were using as our market, well we do not have it any more. The word market of course was being

incorrectly used. After all even here we have our market. But it is a fact that it was a place where our goods were being consumed. It was one country and all those markets which we have in Punjab, Sind and other regions, they are all our national markets. There were six crore of our people who were living there and who were receiving our textiles, rice and so many other things. Now we have lost them. At the same time trade with India has been closed and smuggling is going on. In this crisis, therefore, it is not too much to expect from the people to have some national feelings and not to indulge in smuggling and endure some hardship for a year or so. They must give some political co-operation and show some discipline and work hard. We have to build the country. This is the only way we can build the country. We cannot build the country merely through my speeches and all the things which I keep saying. Every challenge must have a response. I think there could have been greater response. Perhaps we are to be blamed that we could not motivate people to that extent although I think we have motivated people to a great extent. However, people easily lose their heart and tend to forget too easily. On the 20<sup>th</sup> of December when I returned from America and Rome, I saw such hopelessness. A number of people came to me and said that I must reach a settlement quickly and forget everything because we would not be able to defend ourselves and that if India took such and such a step the next day we would be helpless and would not be able to do anything to counter it. It appeared as if it was the doomsday. They were all responsible people who came to me. They were not people of no consequence. But now you can say that in these 11 months things have improved a great deal so far as our national status and national situation is concerned. We have achieved great success in the United Nations. We have reached a constitutional accord on the basis of which our permanent constitution would be framed. Economic activity is in full swing. You are seeing all this. I do think that we may not have done all that we wished to do because it needed a lot of money and we are already spending more than ever on our defence. We do not have East Pakistan any more with us. The resources of East Pakistan are no more available to us. Even then my Government is spending far more than what the governments of Ayub Khan and Yahya Khan were spending (on defence). Over and above this expenditure we are implementing the Education Policy within our development budget. We are giving free education upto eighth class. Towards the Labour Policy too whatever we could do we have done. We would also give ownership of land to the farmers. Then there is the Health Policy, the Industrial policy and the wage and salary increase for the class-III, Class-II, class-I and Class IV employees. In addition to that we have brought Law Reforms and given the Interim constitution.

You will have to make the balance-sheet because if I make my balance-sheet I would start praising myself which is of no use. Everyone can praise one's own self. But the shortcomings can only be observed by other people. I do not say that we have not committed mistakes and there have not been some failings. But only you can observe them and your failings can similarly be observed by me. So this balance-sheet has to be prepared by you on the 20<sup>th</sup> December. I am not aiming to present anything great on 20<sup>th</sup> December because it is not a particularly important day. 20<sup>th</sup> December is an ordinary day. The way 11 months have passed the twelfth month would also pass. I do not want that there should be any illuminations nor should there be recitation of national songs etc. on radio and television. This I have already said but I am sure, since they are such sycophants, they would celebrate it under the impression

that this would please me. Although I have given clear instructions that this is a very ordinary day like every other day. But then there are newspapers who will make their assessments like you are making an assessment in your Akhbar-e-Jehan. There is no harm in that, but there is no need for celebrations. Of course if on the next 20<sup>th</sup> December we are able to achieve some great victory and if we are able to climb the high mountain peaks then it is a different matter. At this moment, however, I do not want to say that we have done anything great. Saving the country was enough. I say to the people that we have been able to rescue the sinking boat and have brought it to the shore. We had seen a corpse lying in front of us and we have put life in the corpse. That was enough. I take no credit for that. I am not a magician. I am confident of my nation and I knew it all the time that people would be responding to me. The poor people did respond; farmers, workers, students, all of them responded but as far as the other political parties are concerned, that is a different story. There may be splinter groups here and there but by and large the students, farmers, labourers, middle-class, lower-middle-class, shop-keepers, upper –middle-class, all of them have responded. Not that the people do not have the realization of the gravity of the situation. The majority does realize and a big majority did. But there are some elements who could have extended greater cooperation to us and allowed this machinery to work with greater speed.

**Question:** *Don't you think that the present public unrest can be stopped if a conference of the leaders of all parliamentary groups is called and an agreement on the question of the recognition of Bangladesh is reached in the same manner as was done in the case of the constitutional accord?*

**President:** Quite right. It can be done. But you must not forget about the timing of the negotiations for the constitutional accord. They were done when I felt that it was time that we should discuss the constitution and reach an agreement. So I called the meeting in October. Had I called it in July or June it was possible that we would not have succeeded in reaching an accord. Everything has its own timing. When we are yet to reach the water where is the point in taking off our shoes in preparation for river crossing? Well, when I would find that we were about to open talks with Mujibur Rahman or if there is some other such development then I would perhaps find it necessary to call the leaders for consultations, or if I find that it is time for everyone to offer his views, as one leader has suggested, that time should be allowed to them on the television. But everything has its own timing. I have not yet started any negotiations on this issue and have merely said that in my humble opinion it is necessary to recognize Bangladesh. I have not even said that that was my party's decision. I have not even said that it was the resolution of the Central committee of our party. When we would reach the point or the stage where such a thing would be necessary then quite a few things would be possible and would be done. But if you think that these demonstrations are because of the issue of Bangladesh you are sadly mistaken. These people only want to play their last card which they would certainly not be allowed to play. Earlier too when the Simla Agreement was signed, and it was a big achievement indeed, these people at once created the language issue and fanned all kinds of agitations. Things have now settled and you can see if Urdu was at all or really threatened? You have already seen the compromise ordinance on that issue. So whatever happened was a kind of game they played. This time too the situation is the

same and all this is because the delineation of the control line has been finalized and the troops were about to be withdrawn. Five thousand square miles of territory was being restored to us and is now being restored to one million of poor people who were thrown out from (their land) and had become beggars, seeking refuge and were wandering from place to place. It is also a big achievement, because you would recall that even after the second World War and even earlier occupied territories have never been restored within such a short time nor the troops were withdrawn (so soon after the war). So it is a new phenomenon and it was all favourable to this nation. The credit for this was going to this Government. It is for this reason that these people (opposition) came out with a new plan under the cover of Bangladesh. We have already said that we would take the issue of Bangladesh to the Assembly and before that quite a few other things would be done. Besides, I have told a number of things to the foreign correspondents. All of those things have been published in our press too. Now, that gentleman (Mujibur Rahman) is holding elections in March so that it is not possible to meet him before March, until the election there are over. And when we find that Mujib's party wins the elections, we would see what we were supposed to do. There are still about three months for that. Why should I be in a hurry. All that has happened, therefore, was a mere excuse.

***Question:** Is it not advisable that in order to keep the Kashmir issue alive and to maintain activity at the diplomatic level a campaign should be started to get the Azad Kashmir Government recognized as an independent and sovereign Government?*

***President:*** Well, people keep saying that it should be done. Every Government had examined this issue and every Government came to the same conclusion. It is not a matter which is new. Perhaps Quaid-I-Azam did not examine this issue in this light although I tend to believe that Quaid-I-Azam must have done so. I do believe that Quaid-i-Azam must have given some thought to it and as I have already said that every Government did examine it and having evaluated the merits or otherwise of this case they all came to the conclusion that this policy would not be favourable to our interests so that the problem would not be solved as we wanted it to be solved. I know that there are some such gentlemen who keep suggesting this but it is the opinion of my Government that this is not the way to keep this issue alive. God willing, this issue will remain alive. The issues of this kind cannot die. Of course, sometimes it does appear that this issue had died and that it would not crop up again or that one would not be required to face it again. But things don't happen, like this. These are such issues, such national issues, people's issues, where it is important to know how much has been spent (on them). (It is important to realize) that India has spent on this Kashmir issue a great deal and what have they got out of it. They (Indians) have done a great deal towards (building up) the economy of that area when we have not done much for the people on our side (of Kashmir). No reforms have been introduced. When I went there I learnt that the excuse was that nothing could be done until the final settlement was arrived at. Are they not supposed to live like human beings? Are they not human beings? Even on the question of crime and punishment should that not be governed by law and must they always be governed by FCR? If there is dearness it has to be only for these people? If there is the scarcity of salt, it has to be only for these people? The Political Agent should be all powerful?

Yes, these issues cannot be solved like this. Although on the Indian side people have made considerable progress even then I am quite sure that if plebiscite is held people will not be voting in favour of India. Now although nothing has been done for these people (on our side), but they still keep raising slogans in favour of Pakistan because it is natural for them to feel that there is no difference between them and us. That we belong to the same race and our history is one, our faith, belief and religion are one, our geography is one. These poor people whom we have not allowed to move and who have not been granted these little benefits of the 20<sup>th</sup> century which Pakistan enjoys today. Even so, these poor people are loyal to us. As a matter of fact they have made very special efforts and have served this country and co-operated with us. Now therefore, it is evident that these issues cannot be solved like this and have to be tackled like all other issues of the world.

**Question:** *Are you hinting at the Resolutions of the United nations?*

**President:** Well, you know I have great respect for the United Nations. It is the United Nations which represents, all nations of the world but as far as Pakistan is concerned U.N. has not crowned us with any glory or favour nor is it expected that they would do so.

**Question:** *At present there are people speaking various languages in Pakistan particularly those who have come from India as refugees. They are expected to get assimilated with the local population. How much time do you think they would take in getting culturally, linguistically and socially assimilated as a complete unit with the local population? What is the programme of your Government in this regard?*

**President:** How can I give you a clear-cut answer to this question. If our policies remain correct and if we dispense justice to everyone and if we have an economy based on justice and fairness and if we sincerely eradicate the prejudices which people have against each other and if we do not laugh at each other and do justice to each other in the economy and, with full regard to the pattern of population, if we allow everyone his rights, then in a very short time there can be a complete and consolidated unit. On the other hand, if we pursue a wrong policy, keep exploiting the various regions and only talk of brotherhood and unity without really meaning what we say then perhaps we would not be successful. We have only four Provinces and in these four Provinces there are various cultures such as Punjabi, Sindhi, Pathan, Baluchi, Muhajirs and the Muhajirs are from U.P. or Bihar or Delhi but they are all Urdu speaking. Then there are Gujratis from Kathiawar. There are Memons. So that our problem is confined only to six or seven elements whereas in India there are innumerable problems. What a difference! If you go from Madras towards Western India or from there if you move upwards towards Eastern India and then look at Central India, Southern India and Northern India, then you would find not only different cultures, but different nations (living) there. In spite of that they carried their political affairs on correct lines because their politics remained in the hands of politicians. Besides, at a time of crisis when the basic work of a free nations is supposed to be done, the politics there was controlled by a personality like Nehru. Here the Quaid-I-Azam died and the Quaid-I-Millat was assassinated.

**Question:** *What is your Government doing about this issue at cultural level?*

**President:** We are doing a lot. First, as I told you we are doing justice with every region-not verbal justice but practical justice. We are making efforts to do that. Many people are saying (contemptuously) that a lot of work is being done in Lyari and that a new Islamabad is being built in Lyari. But this is incorrect. If the accusation is that we are doing this because we got the largest number of votes from Lyari then which was the place where we did not get a large number of votes? Look at Punjab and Sind. From various areas in these Provinces we got large number of votes. We are not serving Lyari merely because we received lots of votes from there. Look at Liaquatabad where during the language troubles the market was burnt down. We are building there a grand market, a very good new market. We have issued orders for proper water supply there and for cleaning the roads in that area. As far as Lyari is concerned I think I have never seen so much of insanitation and poverty in my life as I have seen in Lyari. Ever since I was a student and was not yet in politics I used to feel very bad about it. At that time I did not know what would be my destiny, whether I would be a politician, an engineer or a doctor, but I remember very clearly that, whatever my career, I knew that I must do something for them. I must personally serve them. When I became a Minister I did speak to Ayub Khan about these poor people that they could not live like animals. It was better to put them in a zoo and tell the world that this is Pakistan's Zoo. Remember that there (in Lyari) too the people who are living are Pakistanis. It is not merely Sindhis who are living there. We are not doing it for Sindhis alone. Baluchis and Mekranis are also living there and it did not matter who was living there because we have to serve everyone, all Pakistanis. Look at Baluchistan where we do not have the Government of our party. We have doubled the budget there. Even before the present Government came to power we had doubled the budget of Sarhad and I have ordered that whatever proposal or project is received from Baluchistan and Sarhad it should be given priority. I examined it myself sympathetically, the question of their medical college and the new sea-port which they need. We would do everything to help them in these projects. I also want that the tribal areas of Sarhad should become open and there should be new roads. Recently when I had gone there on a tour I announced as many grants as I could. The Ministry of Finance was very unhappy about that but I said, after all, whom was I helping? I was helping Pakistan. We would do something for the University in D.I. Khan and other schemes which are for the rest of the country. The majority of our population lives in the Punjab, those who are serving the country. Now those who live in the majority areas they also feel the pinch. After all it is human to feel pain or relief. It is human to weep, eat, die, sleep or live. All those are human activities. We have to serve the human beings whose majority in this country lives in the Punjab. Majority has its own rights and whatever the rights of the majority it must get those rights. We do not have the wealth of America to spend on going to moon and see what sort of dust one gets on moon, whether it is red or yellow or black. They have such resources that they can spend in whatever manner they like. But whatever limited resources we have, we must spend them on our people. This has to be done in the light of the principles of justice. Now which is the most backward area? The basic needs of that area without which a man cannot live have to be taken into consideration. In that area where there is no water, no electricity, there are some basic human requirements which we must grant them before anyone else and we also must maintain an

equilibrium. Every government has to maintain an equilibrium – a balance and see whether the scale is going up or going down. If the scale is going down you have to put more weight on the other side. Now, if we serve the people like this then nothing would remain hidden and nobody would say that it is a fraud. Suppose there is fraud in all this or if we are deceiving people it would not last long and we would be exposed very soon. Every Government says that they would do justice to everybody. But it is enough to look at their actions so that one can easily know what they had done. I would not say that it should not happen like this or that. That I don't belong to such and such place and that I belong to such and such region. I am not going to damage the people of one region merely to prove that I am doing justice. That would be a very strange way of proving that one was doing justice and, therefore. I am not going to allow unjust advantages to anyone. Now, let me tell you frankly that in Larkana some works programme is taking place and therefore some people are likely to say that it is being done because Mr. Bhutto comes from Larkana. But that is not correct. I have told the Sindh Government that first there should be construction work in Karachi, then in Hyderabad, then in Sukkur. That is as far as the cities are concerned. As for the districts or the Mufassil areas I have told them that it should be in Thatta, Dadu, Jaccobabad and Larkana because they are backward areas. As far as Larkana City is concerned, it has always been a political center. The MNAs and MPAs of that place have always been asserting themselves. They know how to assert themselves. Of course I keep stopping them to do so. I would do everything within my means not to let this happen. But then there is the question of electricity in the villages and wherever it is needed. That also has to be attended to. All those people who live there and who love their area, love their country, they consider each other as their brothers and for them every house is like their home. No matter whether they are in Dera Ismail Khan or in Bannu, whether they are in Multan or in Bahawalpur whether they are in Sheikhpura or Lyallpur, whether they are in Karachi or Thatta, whether they are in Baluchistan, Quetta or Kalat. If people are happy with you, you go there and they would receive you with warmth. Naturally you feel happy to realise that the whole country belongs to you and that is the reason why you want that every place throughout the country should prosper. And wherever you raise a garden that would be a part of Pakistan.

***Question:** In your opinion what are the chances of army or bureaucracy interfering in politics? Are there any chances or are they now finished?*

***President:** I am not a prophet. I cannot prophesize. So far as our Government is concerned, this is a democratically elected government. The party which forms the government has received overwhelming support from the people. In spite of all this the Yahya Government used its maximum power to damage us and the bureaucracy under the order of Yahya tried to harm us. You would know it very well, because you have been my companion and fellow worker. We have not come to power from the back-door. We have not taken any action like a usurper. We have therefore, come to power constitutionally. This is an interim constitution and Inshallah we will have a permanent constitution very soon. Now the constitution under which we have taken oath would be defended by us and democracy for which we have made efforts we would protect it and in protecting it we would be doing our duty. Until the next elections, whenever they are held, and Inshallah they will be held in time, so that if in*

a democratic elections we are defeated and another party wins the elections and gets the majority we would welcome the decision. Not only shall we be requesting that Government to take over and take the chair because they were elected by the people but we would also leave the Government, leave the offices for them and having seated them comfortably in the House, we would pick up our hats and leave. This is the democratic system and we are going to reinstate this democratic system. If there is anyone who wants to adopt undemocratic means, whoever he may be, we are going to fight him out. We shall not be coming with parched lips and a hoarse voice to announce on the radio that now, sir, I am handing over the Government to the Army. No, we would fight. We would give our lives. We have faced these things earlier. We cannot tolerate any undemocratic activity. If in the name of democracy undemocratic means are adopted then they would be dealt with in the same style. Democracy will be responded to by democracy and undemocratic means would be counteracted by undemocratic means. Let no one have any doubt about it. If there is anyone who is trying to be clever and thinking of resorting to such methods then I must tell you that there would be such colossal damage in this region that perhaps even the Himalayas would weep. Come, let us work out this democracy and work it out in democratic method. We have not been high-handed towards anyone. If some people want to make public speeches it does not matter how inciting and strong their speeches are, so long as they are talking politics and economics. If they say that we should not recognize Bangladesh, let them make speeches with pleasure. If they say that our party has not acted according to its manifesto and that we were liars and that we have not eradicated poverty, they are welcome to say that. We have never interfered with them. We have never said anything to them. But if people come to the public platform and use abusive language and make personal attacks and create chaos and say that blood would flow in the streets, then surely, in democracy blood cannot be allowed to flow in the streets. Agreed, that in the days of Ayub Khan, we were also making such speeches. But those were not democratic days. Now, there is democracy where there is freedom to every one. We do not say why people are saying such and such things. They are welcome to say whatever they want, but all within the bounds of law. Because even within the bounds of law one can make excellent speeches. If these people think that telling lies, black lies and speaking in a vulgar fashion is to be allowed, they are wrong. That is not permitted in democracy. You were with us when we were opposing Ayub Khan. Did we ever make personal attacks on him? Or did we ever use abusive language for his family? Of course, we did say that he was corrupt, because he was and the entire world knew it. We did say that he made his sons millionaires, gave them industry, and that was true. But we would not allow them to indulge in these undemocratic methods and talk things which are undemocratic. We are not such helpless people. We are not orphans. After all we have a political party and the members of our party are likely to feel bad about these things and they are likely to get provoked. I mean all the people who belong to our community, who belong to our fold. Don't you think they would feel provoked? Now, these are not democratic methods. So in this situation what democratic response do you expect? In a situation where tribesmen astride their horses are going towards Quetta and armed with machine-guns, surround the secretariat and demand resignation from a Minister? Do you expect that in such a situation I would sit with folded hands and receive them and say that gentlemen, you have resorted to very democratic methods and, therefore, I would also resort to democratic methods? If they don't carry machine-guns, if they



do not surround the secretariat like this, if they don't resort to such undemocratic methods, then it is all right with me and I would say that if you want resignation from a particular Minister you are welcome to demand that. But while they are doing all these undemocratic things they complain too that we are using force against them. In which country force is not used to curb such activities? In which democracy strong action is not taken against such lawlessness? For one thing, in a democratic country such things do not happen but if they do happen and if demonstration takes place then you see what happens in Britain, Northern Ireland, Germany, Japan and France. There too people are arrested. In India too people are arrested. Now, if we want that democracy should flourish and if we want that democracy should work then whoever wants to speak in the opposition he is welcome to do so and we would up with that. But all this has to be done within the limits of democracy. So, in reply to your question can say that at least the Armed Forces have the wisdom to know as to what would be the result of any undemocratic action in this country and as far as the bureaucracy is concerned it dare not indulge in politics. So that if any such thing happens it would be a very sad decision with very dangerous consequences.

*Message to Pakistani prisoners of war on December 16, 1972*

My dear gallant and resolute officers and men,

On behalf of the entire nation and on my own behalf I extend my appreciation for the dauntless spirit, courage and patience you have shown during the last one year of isolation, hardship and ordeal in the detention camps. We cannot forget your sacrifices and sufferings to uphold the honour and prestige of the country.

No sacrifice is too great in this sacred task. A Muslim is never disheartened by his trials and tribulations. It is encouraging to know that your morale is very high and all efforts to break your will and shatter your self-confidence have totally failed. You, as true Muslims have mained firm and resolute in adverse conditions. We are looking for the day when you will be able to take your rightful place and serve your country with even greater zest and zeal.

Do not worry about your families. They are being well looked after and provide with all the facilities. You will be happy to know that your sacrifices for the country are looked upon by your families with pride. We are doing our best to get you back at the earliest. You are indispensable to the nation and to the country, and by the grace of Allah, we hope that you will be with us soon.

Pakistan Paindabad.

***Message of greetings His Highness Shaikh Isa Bin Sulman  
Al-Khalifa, the Ruler of Bahrain on December 16, 1972***

The Government and the people of Pakistan join me in extending to Your Highness, the Government and brotherly people of Bahrain our warm greetings and cordial felicitations on the National Day of Bahrain. The close ties of brotherhood and co-operation so happily existing between Bahrain and Pakistan are a source of great strength to us in Pakistan. I am confident that these ties shall grow further in the years ahead. I avail myself of this opportunity to wish health and happiness to Your Highness and ever-growing progress and prosperity to the fraternal people of Bahrain.

***Message of greetings to Elhadj Diori Hamani,  
President of the Republic of Niger on December 18, 1972***

The government and the people of Pakistan join me in extending to Your Excellency the Government and the people of Niger our warmest greetings and cordial felicitations on the auspicious occasion of the National Day of Niger. I am confident that the friendly relations existing between Niger and Pakistan shall be strengthened further in the years to come.

I avail myself of this opportunity to wish health and happiness to Your Excellency and ever-growing progress and prosperity to the friendly people of Niger.

***Message of greetings to Mr. Richard Nixon, President  
Of U.S.A. on the success of Appollo 17 Mission  
on December, 19, 1972***

On the successful completion of the historic voyage of Appollo 17, I have great pleasure in conveying to the American people specially to the devoted group of scientists, technicians and the distinguished members of the crew of Apollo 17, who made this historic voyage a success, our heartiest felicitations. We in Pakistan share with you Mr. President the joy and pride of this great achievement which, we are sure, will benefit the whole world. Please accept, Excellency, the renewed assurances of my highest consideration.

### ***Interview with Radio Pakistan on December 20, 1972***

President Zulfikar Ali Bhutto said that the recognition of Bangladesh will facilitate the return of the Pakistani prisoners of war.

In his exclusive interview in Urdu with Radio Pakistan, the President said that he would ensure that these prisoners of war were repatriated immediately with the recognition of Bangladesh.

The President emphasized that the final decision in respect of recognition had to be taken by the people and by the national Assembly for it was the only democratic way to settle issues. According to his assessment of the situation, it was in the interest of Pakistan to accord recognition to Bangladesh. He, however, was in no hurry in this regard because a time would come when the people themselves would realize that there was no other alternative. Such vital issues, he pointed out, could not be decided in an emotional manner in class rooms or colleges. These must be decided in the National Assembly which was a proper forum for them.

The President said that he was neither a military general nor a political adventurer. Nor did he have any veto power. He would respect the wishes of the people and whatever decision was taken, would be acceptable to him.

The President said that he was the elected representative of the people and the people had reposed their trust in him. He, therefore, felt it to be his duty to guide them on right lines. He made it clear that he had never acted against the national interest. But it was strange that those who opposed Pakistan were now in the forefront against recognition. Their pleas was that recognition would militate against the two nation theory. He referred to the documents of the Quaid-I-Azam and Allama Iqbal, the book of Chaudhry Rehmat Ali and the talks between the Quaid-I-Azam and Mr. Suharwardy and said a study of these would repudiate this assertion.

He said that direct contact could be possible with Muslim Bengal only after recognition of Bangladesh. This would be in our interest, in their interest and in the interest of the Muslims. We could exchange visits and have trade which would minimize the Indian influence. Non-recognition was deepening the Indian influence and those who were opposing recognition were only serving the cause of India and they did not favour links with Muslim Bengal. The President said if the people did not want to meet and talk to the people of Muslim Bengal, how could links between the two be established and fostered.

Answering a question, the President said, as regards the admission of Bangladesh to the United Nations, it had been made clear by the People's Republic of China that till the resolution of the Security Council No. 307 was implemented and prisoners of war repatriated, the Chinese would go on using their veto. He said they would have to search for peace in the subcontinent itself. The people must be aware of the past experience during the last twenty-five years. Referring to the interdependence of the two resolutions, adopted by the General Assembly regarding the repatriation of

the prisoners of war and the admission of Bangladesh, the President said it had indicated Pakistan's stand. It was our suggestion that the two should be inter-dependent.

Replying to a question about the next Consortium meeting, the President said we were now paying the debts of Bangladesh because we have not recognized it. They say we have to pay. All right, we are paying and we would go on paying if there is a possibility of a Unity between the two. The President said he was not opposed to sacrifice but this sacrifice should be for a right cause and should not go waste.

Answering questions about the prices of essential commodities and the economic situation in the country, the President said when large scale reforms were introduced there was bound to be some dislocation. These reforms could not yield immediate results. Land Reforms had been introduced and land was being distributed among the landless and the results would be visible within a year. He said that the wages of workers had increased by forty per cent as a result of labour reforms. But production had gone down by forty per cent because of hartals.

In the field of education reforms, the Government was spending four hundred million rupees so that the children of the poor workers and peasants got free education. They were also building quarters for workers.

The trend of rising prices, he said, was there all over the world. The shortage of foreign exchange, devaluation, suspension of foreign aid and the after-effects of the War have had their effects. During the war, no attention was paid to the economy. Those who talked of war, and said they were prepared to lay down their lives, should know that the biggest sacrifice was in the field of economy, because its effects were to be felt by future generations. He said that we were trying our best that the flow of foreign aid was resumed and this was being done slowly. But this would take time. We were trying our best to make the country self-sufficient. The expenditure on defence and other non-developmental expenditure affected the economy.

In addition, five thousand square miles of Pakistan territory were in enemy hands and ten lakh people got uprooted and unemployed. The Government was spending three hundred million rupees on these people.

The people belonging to Shakargarh and Sialkot could have cultivated their land and contributed to production.

These were some of the reasons which made the prices rise. There was also large scale smuggling of rice, wheat and sugar. The President said that Government was trying their best to ensure that the country became self-sufficient in wheat and sugar in a year's time. They were also setting up two or three textile mills in the public sector in order to compete with textile mills in the private sector and to bring down prices at a reasonable level. With the rise in production, many of their problems would be solved and in this regard, he needed the patience and co-operation of the people. He said that with people's co-operation, they could reach any height and bring down even mountains.

Asked about making the rural areas attractive in order to check the flow of people to the cities, the President said, this was an international phenomenon. He thought this could be checked in Pakistan. Work on three or four Tehsils of the Punjab and Sind had begun on the scheme of agrovilles and this would improve the situation.

About the transport problem of the people, particularly the students, he said all efforts were being made to solve them.

In reply to a question about socialism, the President said as far as economy was concerned their socialism was scientific socialism. But they had their own faith and culture and these could not be abandoned. He said that the elections at the proper time are a must in democracy, he would give a programme and a manifesto to the people to march ahead.

His party, he said, was a revolutionary party and would remain so.

About the mixed economy, the President said, that could for the time being function in the country and it was their intention to give it a fair trial.

Speaking about the respect the people had shown to democratic institutions, the President said that during the last twenty-five years, they had respected them but they had scant regard for the substance of these institutions. Even a constitution could not be framed. But he hoped with the constitutional accord reached on the twentieth of October, he would be able to give the people a Constitution. Now the democratic institutions, including the National and Provincial Assemblies, were functioning in the country. The Judiciary was independent and the Supreme and High Courts were free to give judgments. There was full freedom of the press and platform. And every attempt had been made to maintain it in compatibility with democratic principles. That freedom of the Press and the platform which ran counter to democracy could not be given. Those people who wanted to create chaos in the country through undemocratic means, would be resisted.

The President said that the issue of Provincial Autonomy would not have assumed a serious turn if the country had a Constitution from the very beginning. The issue had now been resolved. Different parties had been allowed to form governments in the Provinces and to have their own governors. This was unprecedented in the history of the subcontinent.

In reply to another question, he said that the Assemblies – National and Provincial – would sit for longer sessions when there was a permanent constitution. He said that he had full respect for democracy as he had fought for it.

About bureaucracy, the President said that the Government servants should realize that they were not rulers but servants of the nation. He said that there should be greater consciousness among the people so that they could think and ponder what was in their best interest and what was not. The President emphasized that he believed in peace. He wanted time to solve internal problems, give a just administration to the



people, implement the reforms in order to march forward. It was necessary to set their institutions in order and to raise the standard of living of the people and to make the country a prosperous state.

**Television interview with Mr. H.K.Burki and  
Mr. Safdar Qureshi on December 20, 1972**

**Question:** *Mr. President, when you assumed the office on December 20 last year, Pakistan or what remained of Pakistan was gravely threatened externally. What steps did you take to ensure the security of what remained of Pakistan?*

**President:** Pakistan was threatened externally undoubtedly. It was also threatened internally and the internal threat was as serious, if not more serious, than the external threat. However, since you asked about the external threat, in the first place, as you know I tried to mobilise the people, rally the people and that is the most effective method in my opinion to meet any crisis. The deeper the crisis, the greater the need for mobilization. We sought that and I think to some extent we succeeded. Also you may recall that I made unscheduled visit of Afghanistan to know how our friends were thinking of our future relationship and I think that visit also contributed to a better understanding of the threats and the attitude of our northern neighbours which I must say was good and positive. In addition to the I went to Moscow and I think that was an extremely important meeting and we held long discussions. Also you would recall that I went to China before I went to Moscow and that was also most important, very necessary. So we tried to reactivate the support of our friends. Mellowed the opposition of our opponents and those who were doubtful, uncertain, to assure them that all was not lost and that we were going to make a great new beginning.

**Question:** *You made it, Sir, that there were internal threats also and very rightly they were major threats. What would you say were the most prominent of those threats when you took over?*

**President:** It is the mood, it is the attitude of people as to how they rally around a crisis or a cause and in our part of the world they say *Chalti Ka Naam Gari Haey*” and it works in the reverse and that was the mood that we saw and I must tell you that there were some extremely intelligent and capable people who came to me in sheer despondency feeling that all was lost and there were opportunists, and we have our full measure of opportunists, who came to me with wrong conclusions and wanted to take advantage of the situation so that they could say that we were acting on principles. Thirdly, there were those who have always opposed Pakistan and thought it was a mad concept, unworkable concept and they were smug and went about saying that we told you so. Slogans were raised in Quetta and other places which I don’t want to repeat now since 12 months have passed. And many leaders, true and so-called, made statements which were completely contrary to the law of treason, the law on secession. They did it with impunity or so they thought. They must realize that Indian orders are very close to the Pakistan border and even if there is a cease –fire, there is no war, activities can take place both physical and psychological, in the field of propaganda. In the state of despondency and defeat people tend to despair. Despair plus the machinations added to that, the diehards who say they do not eat their words and say that others eat their words; all these factors put together. You remember that when I was in London on my way to Pakistan, I did not know what was in store for us but I, nevertheless, did say that it was like the first chapter of genesis and really we

have been through a nightmare. I would not like any other country, even our worst enemies, to be so placed or any other government, even the one we don't like, to face a situation that we faced.

***Question:** Could you perhaps, Sir, list the major problems apart from this one, the other major problems which stared you in the face when you took the responsibility?*

***President:** Of course, this was the most important one and with our army on the borders facing the Indians, you saw the mood of the police in the strikes in Peshawar and in Punjab. These are all basic problems, total problems but, nevertheless, in spite of their totality, the economic issues did get our serious attention. I can tell you now that a year has gone in normal conditions. I think it would have been much more but at that time it was impossible. We inherited ashes. Very often I have said that it was a sinking ship because that is the expression that is used but really it looked like a dead body and it needed blood transfusion, it needed electric shock to make the heart tick again.*

***Question:** To get you back to these problems more precisely, Sir, you have talked about the demoralization of the people at that time, shattered economy that despaired despair, then you had no government established. Would you like, for our viewers, to say how did you move about dealing with these problems?*

***President:** Again I go back to what I said earlier, basically faith in the people, knowing that the man in our country has always sacrificed, trusting the rural population, trusting the intelligence and capability of our labouring classes, of our youth. Basically they are terribly sound. Faith in god, faith in the concept of Pakistan, all these were the factors. Then good men, and you know when you are talking about good men you cannot talk in terms of hundreds, you have to count them on your fingers. That is true of every society. Good men working with me who had gone through our struggle, who knew my mind, opposed these problems. A nucleus of hard core of devoted people who believed in do or die concept, and then we were right, we were dismembered. There was a conspiracy, people had worked against us and whatever our faults, we were lacerated; all these factors put together. Our administration is also basically sound. Our Journalists, and you are two journalists, will basically respond to our clarion call and there was a clarion call if ever there were a clarion call. So I think all these factors put together really sandwiched us.*

***Question:** But you did find there were difficulties of the kind that you found in the beginning between different parties and those were political difficulties that were not easy to overcome.*

***President:** Difficulties there always will be. Society cannot function without difficulties. There will be more and more difficulties, that is with mode and temperament of every upheaval, of every revolution and the central theme, central motive of Asia is that of revolution and upheaval and change. So from that point of view, of course, there have been problems there have been people who have tried to be nasty, difficult. We do not expect co-operation from people who have had negative*

approach, people of steep prejudice who do not have respect for historical forces, who have always been really the torch-bearers of reaction, who have thrived on exploitation of the people, who have always used diabolical and insidious methods to achieve their objectives, who really have no other objectives, who really have no other objective except self-perpetuation and self-aggrandizement. Those people there we had to contend with them before, and we will deal with them effectively and properly in any future crisis.

***Question:** But you did bring about some kind of, to begin with, interim understanding between various parties and established the Governments in four provinces and eventually an overall understanding on the Constitution. How did you go about this, Sir?*

***President:** There were many reasons for it. We were active and energetic, we worked hard, we talked to them, we had Marathon sessions, we discussed problems. They also had their interest, they wanted to take charge of the affairs of the provinces, there was interest in their need for limited co-operation. So we threw a dictum play of forces. What is this about. In this connection I am not talking about those who think progressively or relatively progressively, those who are enlightened, those who have some concept of the way the world moves. There we have differences with them and deep differences in certain respects, but we can deal with those later. There are those negative forces, those dire forces and the diluvial forces who know that they are fighting a losing battle. They become more desperate and we have to use certain doses for them also. It is not that was done without a plan, it is not that it was done without some effort and that was necessary. I knew that we know how to deal with their strategy and their tactics. What they are doing today. Since they are really devoid of imagination, bankrupt of principles and lack a moral concept in their direction, it was but obvious that we could checkmate them, so their co-operation we got through by checkmating, by politically putting their back to the wall. On the other hand, we appealed to the concept of autonomy in which we believe, we believe in autonomy, autonomy with a rational framework, and various other factors, the democratic traditions, Parliament, national Assembly, so a variety of methods and moods came into play. This is the way it is necessary for a Government, a political regime Government, I do not like to use the word regime; regime is for those we are not politically supported; so we did put two ends together and brought about a situation which I think has been in the interest of the whole country, and in the interest of the parties of one side and the party from the other side.*

***Question:** Sir, so by establishing, by allowing the parties which were in the opposition to your own, by allowing them to form their governments in the provinces you have tried to establish democratic traditions. Would you say that you have had the same kind of response from the country generally and from some of the political elements other than the PPP; I am asking this because there have been many efforts, many attempts, perhaps you would recall the language riots in Sind or the current agitation from provoked students, have you had the kind of co-operation that you expected in a democratic set-up?*

**President:** No, not really. It should have been much more taking into account the national crisis, taking into account the difficulties that the country as a whole was facing, that was lacking, that is my disappointment. But you see you go back to the major premise. We have to deal with people who did not believe in this whole experiment. We have to deal with other elements who would believe anything if it came about and who would not believe if it did not come about, so that has been unfortunately a great drawback, great disadvantage. If we have had a mode of cooperation that you have in mind we would have been able to move much faster.

**Question:** *Was it due to, did you think that this was due to the fact that we have been under a military rule for the last fifteen years or so, that this democratic response had not developed in the country?*

**President:** Well the point is even if we had been under military rule for fifteen years and, perhaps, democratic institution had not been established to bring that about, the patriotic urges, patriotic responses, I think, to some extent these patriotic responses and urges of one to bury the hatchet, forget the differences, forget the animosities, if that had been done we could have been way ahead. Today our production would have gone up, today our Constitution would have been resolved, today we would have gone much faster. Actually I do not understand because if these very forces that have always opposed us, they were there to cooperate with Ayub Khan at Round Table Conference. They were opposed to Ayub Khan at one stage, so they claimed, but when Ayub Khan called the Round Table Conference, they were the first to march into the Round Table Conference to try and salvage him and his system and his people. They co-operated hook, lie and sink with Yahya Khan. I think all of you know, Mr. Burki certainly knows and I think Safdar too, that Yahya Khan regime was hell packed on destroying us and we were supposed to be collaborators with Yahya Khan. In this very room where I am sitting I had a nasty meeting with him one day after he took action in East Pakistan and he called and threatened me that he would do the same thing to me that he did to Mujibur Rahman. I absolutely gave him very hell in reply and I came back to Intercontinental and I think you were waiting for me. And one of his Generals came running out after me when I had just walked out and they arrested our people and that sort of thing. So these people are his collaborators, they were collaborators and dictators, they were collaborators of military Juntas, they collaborated with people whose hands were not only full of blood but full of blood upto the elbow and now they talk about democracy. Of course, we believe in democracy because we struggled for it. They did not, they called him Mujahid, they accepted the Constitution, his Interim Constitution, not only that they praised him and one of the leaders of the political parties after fifteen-minute interview or half an hour interview with him without seeing the Constitution left and held a press conference and said that he is fully satisfied that this is an Islamic Constitution. They have the audacity and they are faltering now to talk about democracy. They have the affrontry to talk about saving the country. What party they played in saving the country? If they had not set up all these randles against the people of East Pakistan, who looted the shops, houses and homes of East Pakistanis? Do you think that we reckon to this past? They are responsible for the debacle and now they try to be sanctimonious and I think they are fully exposed, terribly exposed, and if they think they are not exposed, we will expose them, for we have defeated

them when the power of the Government was on their side. Now that we have the authority of the Government, you think we cannot tackle them? We cannot deal with them? All their Press, all their foreign supporters, all the vast, enormous sums of money they spend? We know how to deal with them. If Yahya Khan and Ayub Khan did not know how to deal with people, we are not going to get dray lips like Ayub Khan got, when he had to face crisis and armed struggle and ran to the Radio station to make a broadcast that he was going to quit. Well, we will quit happily and gladly, democratically through elections, through the National assembly, we will not only quit, we will be happy to vacate our seat and place the successor democratically on our seat. We will be happy to leave this house democratically, but if you use undemocratic methods as the Governor of Punjab has rightly said today, you should choose the field. If they want to choose the field, we are prepared. If they want to choose democratic field, we are prepared for a democratic field. If they want to choose a non-democratic field, we are masters in dealing with situations in that also. So, there has not been co-operation, the kind of co-operation that patriots should have given, by some of these elements who talk about patriotism. That is the irony of it. They opposed Pakistan, tooth and nail; they abused Quaid-I-Azam. I do not know why people have such a short memory. They called him names, they called him Quaid-i-Kafir. You read their books and their writings. If they profess and shed crocodile tears for Pakistan, at least somebody should get up and say that you are the last people to talk about the interest of Pakistan.

**Question:** *To revert to the earlier remarks you made, Sir, about the shattered economy of the country. Now, you had one year of the Government, how do you look at the progress or otherwise of our economic development since you have taken over?*

**President:** I would say otherwise we have progressed and we are not despondent about it. I have only recently concluded a four-day conference, making a detailed review of all that has taken place and I think that now we are ticking, we are going ahead, production is going ahead and things are returning back to normal. When I said normal, I do not mean the normality of the 'Danda', coerced normality: that is no normality, that is abnormality looking as being normal but we are now returning to a normal normality, a natural normality. We are moving ahead with our mixed economy. Some people say that there can be no such thing as a mixed economy. I ask you the question. Where in the world do you find a place where there is not a mixed economy. You might turn on at me and say yes in China there is not a mixed economy, in North Vietnam there is not a mixed economy, and in North Korea perhaps there is not a mixed economy. But then otherwise in Yugoslavia there is a mixed economy, in Romania there is a kind of a mixed economy, in Czechoslovakia there is a kind of mixed economy, in Poland there is a mixed economy. I would say that in soviet Union, to some extent, there are the incentives, the initiative, and factors of trying to encourage the individual participation and individual contribution is taking place. In America they brought about mixed economy in the time of Frankin D.Roosevelt when he came to save the American society and American economy, American society could not have endured the strains of the depressions and the crisis that faced a free market economy. In other words, there is no such thing as a free market economy, there is no such thing as a tight regimented, computerized, state economy. There has to be a mixed economy, there is mixed economy in France, there

is mixed economy in Germany, and there is mixed economy all over the world. So I do not think we have done something unusual. To bring a larger participation of the public sector which is necessary and we will keep on enlarging the public sector, but side by side the private sector can make its contribution and can go ahead provided they make the contribution, provided they do not sabotage, provided they do not play tricks because we are not going to tolerate monkey tricks. I have given a commitment that we will not nationalize any further for the tenure of our office till the next election. After next election, perhaps we will in our new manifesto, go ahead, but till the time of the new elections whenever they are held, and they will be held at proper time, we will want this to go ahead, and they must contribute, they have to contribute. If they do not contribute and if they think because I have said in three places that we will not nationalize any further, that this is now cast-iron, Quranic law which it is not and that they can play hell and do all such things, then they are sadly mistaken. My commitment is dependent on good behaviour and on participation, co-operation not on defiance, not on smuggling capital out of the country, not on establishing such rosa banks abroad. So if that happens, then I am afraid it is a different situation, but otherwise we have now taken the road ahead, we are going ahead. There are new applications coming in; people are wanting to invest, people are wanting to make contribution. Public sector is expanding, private sector is expanding. Together we will go ahead, but we have had our difficulties. Those difficulties have been that the business community, the so-called twenty-two families have not really had any firm roots in people. They have come here as if like soldiers or mercenaries, they come as if they are mercenaries of economy. That is a wrong approach and they must get roots to the people, they must come to love the country, they must come to like, they must go out, they must fan out, they must go into the interior, they must see how the people live, they must readily get down to the task. If they do that I think that will be all right, but otherwise, we are going to remain vigilant. We are not going to allow the economy to collapse because people do not want to co-operate. There is again to some extent flight of capital taking place. That is a serious matter. That means they do not have confidence in the country, because you weather the storm. We weather the main storm and no Indians are going to sit in Lahore Gymkhana, that they know, we all know. Why then should the flight of capital take place? You must not forget we had asked for declaration of assets and those declarations of assets, they have not been made according to the commitments. If anyone thinks that I have forgotten it, then they do not know me. I would not forget. So they must co-operate fully, we will give the fullest co-operation on our side, but basically we will not allow any further sabotage, we have not overcome the initial set-backs of problems, no segment of society is strong enough now to challenge what is good and what is ethical and what is right. We stand by our commitments. They must also participate fully and totally. I do not care for the stock exchange crisis. These things do not alarm me, the right things have to be done and the right decision will be taken.

*Question: Sir, when you say that you had given them a commitment, on the other hand, we find that they manipulate the market particularly where the basic commodities are concerned. We had a sugar crisis recently. How are you going to tackle this, because obviously, black marketers and smugglers, all kinds of people are involved in this and questions are being asked by the people how is the Government*

*going to tackle this problem which concerns the basic requirements of people generally?*

**President:** Quite right, are quite right, and you know that today prices have gone up. There are a number of reasons for it. Number of reasons, not only this, other factors also but this also contributes, that is why I spoke at such length. I would not have wasted your time or the time of those who are bored with listening to me but this is very important. It is essential that I must make it abundantly clear, crystal clear that there is a limit to our patience. There is a limit to our spirit of accommodation. We must now, all of us, collectively put the shoulder to the wheel and bring about a new situation. I have really answered your question. With the passage of time, I think you will find that there will be no deviation from our point of view. At the same time I do not make commitments in a hurry. If I make a commitment I stand by it. My commitment is: play clean and until the next general elections whenever they are held, we hope they are held and we expect they will be held, under normal times whatever the tenures, till then we stand where we are and together we contribute. If that does not happen, if they do not do that, then my commitment cannot be made in the abstract.

**Question:** *There is the other side to it, Sir, the new programmes, how much importance are you going to give to the public sector in the new venture, in the new schemes, the plans that you are making particularly in the major industries?*

**President:** A great deal and a great deal more as the time passes. I have never believed that public sector is inferior to the private sector. Who runs the public sector, who runs the private sector? Individuals, human beings, we do not get men from the moon with orange soil to run the public sector. It is one of the biggest farces, one of the biggest frauds of Pakistan's past projections, public sector is terrible, private sector is very good. I do not say, look! How National Shipping Corporation has failed. But if you put the wrong man incharge of PIDC and you put the wrong man incharge of the National Shipping Corporation then the public sector will fail as much as the private sector will fail in a socialist country. If you put the vagabonds and the scoundrels incharge of the private sector and say that look here that private sector has failed, the public sector in Pakistan was made to fail so that it could be shown that only the private sector can succeed. It was a conspiracy against the public sector. It was a conspiracy against the people. It was a conspiracy against the socialistic economy. Our public sector will receive set-backs. When we took over these industries we did not have financial institutions to finance them. But we are now quite confident after this four-day conference. Yes, there have been drawbacks, difficulties but we have to get out of the woods, much quicker and much faster than any one can expect. Public sector will receive primary consideration. Yes, if the private sector wants to co-operate in certain fields, we are prepared for that but we are not going to wait for that. We are not going to allow the end to dry. Applications are there. If fertilizer factories are to be made, we don't mind if the private sector comes. One of the industrialists wanted to set up a fertilizer factory with the assistance of the Japanese. I said go ahead; if another one comes I will say go ahead, because we need fertilizer factories. We are very short of fertilizers. I don't want to import fertilizers. We want to be self-sufficient in fertilizers, so there is room for public sector, there is



room for the private sector. If the private sector feels shy and expects that we are going to make all sorts of overtures, they must come otherwise we can't run the country, then they are not indispensable. It is a question of management.

**Question:** *Reverting to the earlier questions, Sir, on the Constitutional Accord that you have reached for the permanent constitution which is now being drafted. This is a question which has been eluding us for the last 25 years. As certain doubts are being expressed again in certain quarters that this Accord has not been reached through proper means, do you anticipate any difficulties in getting the constitution through in spite of all these doubts which are being expressed now?*

**President:** No, I do not think so at all. I am quite confident and what were the improper means. There were no improper means used. I did not even invite them for lunch if that was supposed to be like Ayub Khan who gave to Mujibur Rahman 'Gajar Ka Halwa' in 1969. I did not give them 'Gajar ka Halwa.' We had a voluntary discussion, a free discussion, a complete discussion and they put their signatures on it. We are honour bound to fulfill the accord in letter and spirit, if they claim to be leaders, if they claim to represent public opinion, if they claim to represent constituencies. It was as voluntary as it counts. They made statements themselves. After the agreement they came on television and made pronouncements in support of the agreement. If anyone wants to rescind out of the agreement, we are morally committed to go ahead with it. I will go ahead, they know that, but I do not think that we should be so despondent, because I would like to tell you and I would like to tell the nation, through this means, through your courtesy, that the discussions are going extremely well. I think before the month is out, we will have the report of the Constitution Committee, which should be a big achievement. I am quite confident that we will have this report. Once the Committee's report comes through a consensus, the rest of the question of going through the mechanism of passing the Constitution clause by clause takes more time but it is the mechanism. In any case we have a comfortable majority. If there is some element of disagreement on small points then we will invoke the majority but where the basic principles are involved, we will go along with the agreement. If someone rescinds out of it, and I think a very small person or a very small party will opt out of a firm commitment. You do not do the same every day, you do not enhance the prestige of the country or your own.

**Question:** *Sir, to go back you said you do not enhance your country's prestige but politician and others have been enhancing our country's prestige for twenty-five years as Mr. Safdar pointed out. What was the magic formula, how did you manage to bring this about now after all those twenty-five years.*

**President:** Well! We caught them at the right time. We had exposed some of their machinations which put them also on the defence to some extent, we have appealed to the others' sense of patriotism and we have to do a lot of hard work. We worked and worked and I would say that as far as the constitution is concerned, both the objective conditions and efforts put in by all our colleagues helped us a great deal. Although some of the ironical speeches of some of our colleagues cause us difficulties or try to cause us difficulties, I do not want to go into that now because I do not think it is an appropriate moment.

**Question:** *Sir, you will agree that during the last twelve month there have been periods of agitation, as you mentioned earlier, of the police, the labour, and now this is a new situation which is arising, about the agitation, about the recognition of Bangladesh to recognize or not. I would like to ask you this question how did and why did you allow the discussion to come out into public rather than being decided by the National Assembly itself?*

**President:** I am glad you asked this question. Let me tell you quite clearly as far as East Pakistan or Bangladesh is concerned, we have no personal commitment or personal approach to it. We are out to pledge it, to recognize it. And I may tell you that in my mind, according to my thinking there is no other way to again restore links with the Muslims of Bengal. Either we go across India, defeat the whole of India and capture East Pakistan and again unite the country. If we do that again there would be turmoil. However, I do not see that we can do it by those means. The only means whereby we can again restore links with them, bring them closer to us, establish goodwill, is by the methods of diplomacy, political means and if there were another method, I would extend them my hand to try that method. I will jump with joy because I have been searching and searching, I do not want go against public sentiments. I do not want to force people. If they do not want to recognize Bangladesh who am I to say to hell with it, I will never say that. I never said that no much smaller things, why should I say that on such a big thing. If the people want to destroy themselves by negative approach, by fanatical frenzy, I am not in a position to say that you are destroying yourself because you see in our country unfortunately till the knife reaches the bone, we do not appreciate that the knife is on the chest, till the knife causes the pain and blood comes out, till then we do not realize that this has happened. You remember that in Hyderabad who in his right senses could have thought that Hyderabad could either become independent or a part of Pakistan. But at that time who was that who dared to have said that you cannot agitate on this but now is there a soul in the country who talks about the question of Hyderabad. What is the plight of the people of Hyderabad? I could go on and on, for the history of the last twenty-five years has shown either the leadership has not the courage to go directly to the people or there has been something wrong in the way things were being run. I will never by-pass the people. I know many people have suggested to me that I have a comfortable majority in the National Assembly, a thumping brute majority but the Governor of Baluchistan yesterday gave a statement to say that the problem should go to the National Assembly that we should not take to the streets that we should not take to the public and he met me after that, I told him that he had given the statement and he could not understand why I have gone to the people and why I have not gone to the National assembly and got the matter decided. First thing that I have not a personal stake, no crown is going to be offered by Mark Anthony to me that I should recognize Bangladesh. A number of factors are involved, country's interest, Pakistan's interest, our people's interest, their interest, seven crores there, six crores here. Interests of Muslims in India. India does not want the recognition of Bangladesh. In their hearts they are very happy that we have not recognized Bangladesh. Why they are saying that you should recognize Bangladesh, because Bangladesh is insisting on them to take such position and they do not want to give the impression that they exercise hegemony over Bangladesh. So they are doing lip service to tell Bengali Muslims

look you told us to say, we are saying but yet they are not doing that, what can we do. It is not a genuine demand. Why should that be. They wanted to take over the control of East Pakistan. Slowly, day by day they are cutting out the roots, cutting out Pakistan's feeling, cutting out feeling of Muslims there. Professors and other teachers are all going in more and more and that Marwaries are going more and more, they want to exercise their complete control over Bangladesh in East Pakistan and not give us a footing. We must have a footing. Ordinarily we put our foot there by the peaceful means so that our mission is established, we get in touch with them. We start our contracts again, get back into a reasonable frame of mind. The hate campaign comes to an end and that is the only way whereby we can win over East Pakistan again. The only way you can win over East Pakistan again is to win over their hearts. You cannot win over their hearts by bullets or by browbeating or by invasion. So you have to solve a bit of it. I give an example. When Pakistan was created what happened at that time. There were some people who said, never, over our dead bodies, so we created Pakistan. After the creation of Pakistan some said do not recognize Pakistan. Nehru said no, we must recognize Pakistan and Pakistan was recognized and this is how the Indians came into Dacca, into Rajshahi and this was how the message of Tagore replaced the message of Iqbal. In the Universities and colleges this is how our student community was turned against us; they came, they recognized us and they spread their tentacles to turn the people of East Pakistan against us. Is that not so, since they had recognized us we did not spur it for the prescribed influence that is Protocol. I, therefore, want to make it quite clear to the people that I have no personal interest. If they want amiable terms with the majority of the Muslims over there, that is the decision of the majority. We were in minority. The Indians were in majority in India. They were opposed to Pakistan but the minorities said we must have Pakistan and we got Pakistan. Now the majority wants to opt out. If they do not want it how can a minority force them a thousands miles away to have it. Now the point here is this that why I am taking it to the National Assembly? Because I believe people are supreme. Of course, the National Assembly represents the people. I know what I am advocating is the right decision in the interest of Pakistan so why should I shy away from it. Why should I shy away from going to the people and telling them that they ought not to be silly, not to be emotional for once, take charge of their liabilities and that is why I am going to the people. You know many people are saying how East Pakistan went apart. Some people say because they are a thousand miles away. They were the majority. Different languages, different factors, well I do not want to go in history, but past history also, you must not be oblivious of it. Quaid-I-Azam himself had said that if Calcutta is not to be a part of Pakistan we much rather have a united Bengal or a separate Bengal. Allama Iqbal in his Allahbad address did not mention and apart from that Rehmat Ali Chaudhry coining Pakistan did not bring it into it. But I leave those arguments aside. The moment you took two decisions in Pakistan that day you brought about the separation of East Pakistan: One was the One Unit decision and the other was the Parity decision. One Unit made one state here which you called a province and one state there which you called a province and parity brought about equality. The concept of equality of states is sovereign equality. You created sovereign equality in 1954 or 1953. Those two decision were taken in the national Assembly. They were not taken continue to go to the people; I have no qualms about it. I have complete confidence. Why should I do anything against the people and the creator of the people. You want that I go down in history as opposed to the people of

Pakistan. I would never like to go in history like that. But I would like to go down in history that I was one of the few people who told the people of Pakistan what was right and what was wrong, and I believe that they will calm down. A struggle can only be sustained if the cause is right. It can be everlasting, brilliant, and magnificent provided the cause is right. If the cause is wrong, if it is macabre, if it has some ulterior motives in it, then it cannot be sustained. These people, who are now brought, I am glad they have done it now, and we know how to deal with them because we are spousing a right cause. How can people who opposed Pakistan, be interested in Bangladesh. How can the two-nation theory be compromised. Are they not a Muslim majority area? Are they not a Muslim majority state? Have they abandoned Islam? Two-nation theory will get compromised not if we recognized Bangladesh but if we keep getting more and more into the quagmire of poverty, misery and injustice. If we are given the opportunity to attend to our problems, give full attention to the internal problems of Pakistan, develop our people, we will consolidate and unite the people. The constitution we have given, the interim one, now permanent one, is that not a great achievement? I tell you that I will get to the National Assembly. I will have to go to the National Assembly. National Assembly represents the people but why should I shy away from the people themselves. I said during my elections also one leg will be in the Assembly and one leg will be outside the Assembly. I would never run away from the people. Even if they guillotine me I will accept that but I will never run away from them.

**Question:** *In your by-elections, Sir, which are being fought I think the last one was in Narowal and this question has been discussed as an election issue. Do you think this kind of result gives you an indication of the feeling of the people on Bangladesh-recognition of it or otherwise?*

**President:** Of course, it does in a way, some people have tried to suggest some proposals to embarrass me. Somebody has suggested that there should be a referendum. I do not mind a referendum. I can carry a referendum. Look here, three provinces apart from certain exception, are basically in favour of recognition. Two or three important parties or four important parties are basically in favour of it. I believe that we can carry the majority with sufficient preparation. Although the results of by-election have shown another way, but referendum by a minority cannot be the basis of the decision. If a referendum has to be held, it has to be held in Bangladesh. That is why they are holding elections. For that reason alone, how can the minority decide the referendum because the minority's decision in a referendum is rejected. It is the majority's decision in a referendum that is accepted. So let them hold their election. That will also be another factor in the situation. If we had gone ahead sensibly, properly, by now these trials would have been avoided, by now our prisoners of war would have come back. By now we would have many other factors in the situation that I cannot mention, but leave alone those things. Either 90,000 POWs are to be sacrificed, provided their sacrifice leads to the unity of the country, but if that sacrifice is not going to lead to unit of the country then certainly at the Day of Judgment God will ask me and ask us that why did you treat them like monkeys in a cage because they are living in a zoo. Is that not a great humiliation of Muslims and Pakistanis that our brave soldiers who fought for on motherland, should now be behind bars and foreigners should go and see them sitting there, see them get killed in

cold blood, where has our conscience gone. Do we not think properly, where is the moral content gone of these people who preach negative philosophy only to do down the Government. I can tell you quite clearly that I did not sleep over their detention because it is an immoral detention. There is nothing more sublime, there is nothing more sacred, there is nothing more supreme, than sacrifice for a cause but there is nothing more degrading, nothing more humiliating, nothing more disgraceful than a sacrifice without a cause, that is barbarism, that is cannibalism. I would like to ask these friends of ours that why are we sacrificing these gallant brave people, who were sent to East Pakistan, under overwhelming odds, impossible odds, to fight in East Pakistan, a part of Pakistan, and perish if they perish, I will ask the whole nation, not only 90,000, then million, five millions, should perish, but they are not going to bring about, their detention in India, their remaining hostages in India will not bring about the unity of Pakistan. That is a much bigger problem, the biggest moral problem. We are not the most prosperous country in the world. We are not the richest in the world. You know how we are paying today for the fiction of the country still being wanted, because the foreign debtors say when you do not want to recognize Bangladesh you say that it is still a part of Pakistan, then you must pay the foreign debts. Now the total foreign debts of this very rich country of Pakistan which has abundance of sugar, which has no scarcity of wheat, which has all the wealth of the world, we have a debt of 3½ billion dollars, and out of that East Pakistan's share is a billion point two dollars. This is not our calculation. This has recently been calculated by the World Bank, and the World Bank has arrived at this figure after having consultations with all the creditor countries. The whole consortium has now come to the conclusion, that out of 3½ billion dollars that we owe to the Consortium countries, East Pakistan's share is 1.2 billion dollars which means that every year we have to pay for East Pakistan who claims to be a separate State and who are a separate State and the whole world has recognized them as a separate State; we are paying 90 crore rupees a year, for this. I do not mind if we have to pay the whole three billion dollars. I would not mind to pay five million dollars, I would not mind paying two hundred crores. I would not mind paying hundred and eighty crores provided that brings us together, a united Pakistan but this country is too impoverished there is no blood left in the flesh of common man, Poor man. The poor man sleeps on the streets. In the winter of this country he is going about in tattered clothes in Chitral, Dir, Nagar and all places where snow falls and yet 90 crores of rupees, 90 million dollars he has just to give away because you want to say that no we won't recognize Bangladesh to the end of time and Bangladesh is saying that well Pakistan has to pay that and this is what Pakistan has to recognize but you see the point is if people want to kill their dead bodies and you know you can kill a dead body, who said you cannot kill a dead body, you can. Then it is all right, that is their decision. I cannot stop it.

***Question:** Sir, you have already talked about foreign relations, your efforts to secure the Frontiers. One of the things which is also related to the issue of Bangladesh indirectly because of the POWs, are our relations with India. Since the Simla Agreement what kind of developments have taken place to bring about some kind of normalization on the basis of justice?*

***President:** Well! Justice must always prevail. We will never abandon a just cause. And if you abandon a just cause, you do not settle a cause. Now as far as the*

Simla Agreement is concerned, it is a broad agreement of the mode of negotiations which are to be essentially bilateral and you know, Mr. Burki, I have always believed in bilateralism much before this happened. But the main feature of the Simla Agreement is tangible terms was the withdrawals which is a very big thing. I do not think you have the case of withdrawals within a year, since the end of the Second World War. There is one exception, that was Tashkent, because we gave so much that they were prepared to withdraw. Here without giving that we have secured withdrawal within a year whereas Israelies are still sitting in chunks and chunks of Arab territory and I give you many more examples; so withdrawal is no mean an achievement. Ten lakh people, a million people, are going back to their homes, becoming productive again and they can make contribution to the economy. We are on the verge of withdrawals. I think by tomorrow, by 21<sup>st</sup> there will be withdrawals and after that we will again meet. There are so many things to be discussed. We live in the same subcontinent, but we always uphold our principles. These cannot be compromised in the name of peace because that is not peace, it is capitulation. We want peace.

***Question:** this Thako Chak, the territory involves about 1.7 square miles or something and the withdrawal was delayed for about four months. What was the significance of this that we had to postpone the withdrawal and prevent the return of our own displaced persons to their homes.*

***President:** Well! I would end this long discussion on a lighter note and you know that in the course of the discussions the Pakistan side, the Pakistan Commanders who were dealing with negotiations, they offered Thako Chak to Indians three times, and three times Indians refused it. These are the anomalies that take place when people are suspicious of one another but since it turned out like this, I could not expect or accept an arrangement without a yard-stick – a criterion and after it has been offered to them three times and they rejected three times and then they came and said we wanted it. It is all right if that is the position you will have to give something else in exchange. The exchange took place. Now that vindicates our position, the exchange took place firstly, territory for territory. If we were in possession of Thako chak and they wanted it we took another territory from them which they were in occupation of, secondly, it also shows and sort of vindicates the disputed nature of the territory involved because you do not exchange territory which is part of your country. If an exchange takes place it is of disputed territory. In any case, the Simla Agreement quite clearly says that without prejudice to the recognized position of the two sides. As far as recognized is concerned, it has to be objective, internationally recognized. But, however, we will talk about these things when we meet but for the time being it is quite clear that in spite of very adverse conditions, in spite of the fact that we had not won the war, I do not want to use the word we lost the war, because there are people who say that you must not use that word so I would not use that word, but we did not win the war. We did not win the war, half of the country fell and half of the country went apart; 5000 square miles in Punjab and in Sind together, more than 90000 POWs, a collapsed and a bankrupt economy. You are talking about the economy. Even in Yahya's time when he was President just before the election or some other time after the election I think when he went to Dacca, he said, well my successor, is going to get a bankrupt economy, an economy which they cannot work.*

You remember that I really felt about the state of economy, you can imagine what we really got. And so with the economy destroyed, with people coming with all sorts of wired notions, with people predicting in world chanceries that Pakistan has three months left or Pakistan has two months left. Now with all that we went ahead we got this Agreement. We did not compromise the Kashmir dispute. We did not compromise, we made it quite clear, without prejudice to Kashmir dispute and the right of self-determination, and Swarn Sing has admitted that the delineation line is the ceasefire line, another ceasefire line, a temporary line pending settlement. I do not think it is humanly possible to do more and how has this happened. This has happened not because we are terribly intelligent, we are no Einstein and no great giants, the people have been kind, the poor man has been kind, the good man has been kind, the poor man has been kind I repeat, and we have mobilized them. We have their confidence, they have our confidence. God has been kind in His infinite mercy and we have tried to work hard.

***Question:** Sir, the final question I would like to ask. One year is too short a period for any government's performance to be evaluated. Could you, perhaps, very briefly look ahead and tell us what are kind of hopes you foresee for Pakistan in the year to come?*

***President:** Yes, one year is too short a period. But in this one year we have achieved political cohesion, institutionalized our Governments and given provincial autonomy to the satisfaction of the people, brought about reforms in the field of education, labour, land, health, various other things, administrative reforms, tried to cope with the question of corruption, evil of corruption, tried to tackle with smuggling which is on the increase unfortunately; all these problems we have dealt with, and we will give a shape and direction to our foreign policy, and reinvigorate the spirit of the people so much so that now they can go about again burning buses and stoning things. I am glad that there are muscles in their flesh, because to have muscles is good but I hope they use it more productively but now, a year from now, again, is too short a period for a nation. We can hope for tomorrow, we might be there we might not be there. A year is too short a period but I think that by the end of next year. If we are still in charge of the situation and from the point of view of our democratic mandate, we have every right to be, I think the picture will be much happier, there will be many strides, we are going to move much much faster. Now we have started, you see, the momentum is there, now we have to pick up the momentum. I remember Nehru once told me when I met him, he said it was much more difficult to get rid of a bullock-cart than to get the aeroplane. So the beginning is always slow, especially after such a big collapse, after such a trauma, so now that we have again begun, we have again started off, the thing is ticking again, and you can hear the sound of music in the distance, and I think now we have got to that pace we can gallop. Insha Allah, I am confident that we will gallop and become the most prosperous and powerful State in the subcontinent and I do not use these words in the aggressive sense.*

***Burki:** Thank you very much, Sir, Mr. President.*

***Safdar:** Thank you, Sir.*

*President:* Thank you.



***Message of greetings to Soviet Leaders  
on December 21, 1972***

On the occasion of the 50<sup>th</sup> Anniversary of the founding of the Union of the Soviet Socialist Republics, I extend to you on behalf of the Government and the people of Pakistan and on my own behalf sincere greetings and best wishes for the progress and prosperity of the people of the Soviet Union.

The Soviet people have a proud record of achievements both in times of war and peace during the past 50 years. Their accomplishments in various fields of human endeavour and particularly in the field of modern science and technology are truly spectacular. We have no doubt that they will make bigger strides in the years to come and make valuable contribution to the advancement of mankind.

We in Pakistan look forward to the establishment of closer relations with the Soviet Union. It is my sincere hope that co-operation between our two countries will be further strengthened in the days ahead and will serve cause of peace and amity in the world.

***Inaugural address on the occasion of commissioning  
of permanent T.V. Centre at Lahore  
on December 21, 1972***

While it gives me pleasure to be here today to commission the first truly professional television Centre in Pakistan, I should like to say at the outset that I come with a certain sense of disappointment in what I have seen in the last twelve months. The urgency and priorities of national reconstruction have not found as eloquent an expression on television as the hour demanded. I know there have been reasons for the short-coming –lack of technical resources, and trained manpower, and finances. But the disappointment has persisted, and the lesson we must all draw from this fact – not only those in television but in every area of life and endeavour in Pakistan – I that somehow, very soon, this nation must learn to use its talent for innovation and enterprise to overcome difficulties and problems, in spite of the lack of resources. Sixty million minds, thinking concertedly, can solve the most intractable problem. Sixty million pairs of hands, pulling together in concert and harmony, are the best natural resource that any nation can ask for.

Look around you at the kaleidoscopic world of today, and you will see that rapid change is in the very nature of progress. The old and reactionary concept of “gradual development” has been overtaken by events, and rejected by oppressed people everywhere. There can be no change without impatience. There can be no progress without urgency.

Not just today, not only when I took upon myself the responsibilities of Government twelve months ago, but ever since, as a young man, I become aware of the social and economic plight in which millions of my countrymen have lived, I have had a vision of the Pakistan which one day we must build, and which we can build.

I have a vision that one day the fields in our countryside will blossom with abundance. The rolling fields and orchards and village squares will ring with the songs of happy children, children with the colour of blood in their cheeks and with books held proudly under their arms. In the streets of our great cities, we will no more have to live with the shame of children in rags, with sunken eyes and hollow cheeks, children debasing their parents and their society by begging, to keep themselves warm and fed. I have a vision that this day will come.

The day will come when the sixty million people of Pakistan will no longer be as beggars in the streets of the world. They will work within a system which gives to each because of his rights as a human being and not because of the circumstances of his birth. They will be strong in their faith which brought them together in one nation. They will be proud of their identity, and confident in their ability and strength to shake the foundations of ignorance, poverty and disease. With their own endeavours, our people will redirect the flow of history.

We will build a society in which the old values of greed and self-advancement will be replaced by a common concern for the welfare of the whole community. We

will build our monuments to our contemporary civilization. Institutions of learning, factories and dams, atomic reactors and television centers – these will be our Taj Mahals of the 20<sup>th</sup> century.

I have a vision that this day will come, and I have a programme whereby this day will come soon. For my part, the programme consists of ensuring that the economic, constitutional, social and administrative conditions are created within which human endeavour has the opportunity to be transformed into productive and creative endeavour. My part, my Government's role, is to provide secure unshakable foundations for the building of a prosperous future. But the nation-builders will still have to be made by people themselves. Too long have we lived with the fatalistic and superstitious belief that prosperity is a butterfly which one day will come to rest of its own accord in our immobile laps. These attitudes are the attitudes of people who live in a state of despair. I say to you that, in spite of the ordeal and the trauma through which our people have lived in the recent past, today there is no call for Pakistanis to exist in despair. The dangers to our identity and to our progress no doubt continue to surround us on all sides and from within. But this nation has endured in these last twelve months. I say to you that, if you so decide, this nation will endure also for the next twelve centuries and more.

Therefore, I have a vision in which I want my fellow countrymen to share, so that when each one of us is asked the question, he may say: "we have a vision."

In coming here today to commission this handsome and professional Television center, if I do so with a certain sense of disappointment from the past, I also do so with hope in the future. The young men and women who work for Pakistan Television as Producers and Engineers and the rest, are not ordinary people doing a job and earning a livelihood. They are the missionaries of this age. They are the people who must carry the message of work and hope across the land. They have volunteered to bring up a nation of educated men and women, to teach the neglected manhood of our villages and our slums to read and write, and thereby to learn to lead a better life. They have volunteered to communicate to all our countrymen a sense of purpose for the future. To help drive and motivate and guide our nation into the vanguard of the modern age.

You who wield the cameras today and transmit the message beyond these studios, are the catalysts to progress. You above all must share in the vision for the future, because you have to reproduce the sounds and pictures of this vision on your Television screen, to inspire our country men to ever more exalted endeavour.

This nation needs many thousands of trained teachers to man schools and colleges throughout the country. Training them will take time. You in Television can take their place today, and one teacher in one studio can become the guide and mentor for school-children on whom the sun never shone before.

This nation needs many thousands of experts to teach better farming, to tell our mother how to bring up healthy children, and to show our people how to share in the people's works programme. Producing the thousands of expert cadres will take

time, but you in Television can carry the same message into every village community. You have the capability to bring our people into one common fold to participate in the great experience of building a vibrant nation.

I am particularly pleased and proud to hear that this permanent Television Centre has been built entirely by Pakistani engineers, and that all the sophisticated equipment which I have today been shown has been installed and commissioned entirely by young Pakistani specialists trained in our own Universities. I am proud that in the last eight years we have had to rely on no outside expertise. If during these years you have made mistakes, there is a virtue in such self-reliance and in learning from you own mistakes. But still you have created only the facilities for good Television. I would like to see you develop your capabilities to create good and purposeful Television for the people. You must apply your minds to telling us how the benefits of your programmes can be made available to those who still cannot afford to buy a T.V. set. Television must be for the whole community, and especially for those who have in the past been deprived of all the fruits of progress, or else Television will have failed in its value, no matter how good the programmes.

My Government is impatient to move forward, because I am a man who is impatient when confronted with the manifestations of human misery. Therefore, my Government will encourage and support any activity which contributes to giving my countrymen their place in the sunshine. Pakistan Television must grow with all speed into a truly mass medium. I am particularly glad to note that when this has been achieved, the old priorities will be reversed, and general purpose entertainment will give place to an increasing emphasis on educational television and the social education of our people.

I am also interested to hear, as you will have been that tomorrow Pakistan Television enters the era of Satellite Communication. First, this is evidence of the increasing emphasis which we are giving to harnessing the benefits of technology to create a better society. But my second reason for being pleased is more significant in the context of our place in the world society. In some ways our people do not seem to share in the common experience of mankind in social, cultural and technological advancement. It is a virtue to be self-reliant, but it is not a virtue to deny oneself the benefits of the experience of other peoples and cultures. It is my hope that the introduction of satellite transmissions on Television will become a symbol of our increasing interest in the cultures of other lands. If we wish to teach other peoples about ourselves, we must be equally willing to learn from what they have to offer.

The lesson of history is that there is no such thing as uneven progress. If any sector of our society or our economy is neglected, the entire front of national development will be retarded. Therefore, my fellow countrymen, my fellow nation-builder let us march forward together in unison, and with confidence.

***Translated text of an interview with Mir Javed ur Rehman and  
Mr. Shorish Malik, representatives of the Daily Jang,  
published on December 21, 1972***

**Question:** *Of all the reforms which you have introduced during this one year which are the areas where progress has been according to your expectations and where it fell short of your expectations.*

**President:** This is a long story. If you look at the situation as it obtains today we have succeeded to a great extent in our education policy, although in other fields also there'll be progress with the implementation of the reforms. At present the land is being distributed. Soon you will see a basic change., Similarly our labour policy also has benefited the workers to the extent of 40% You only have to calculate it. Of course, the increase is not in the wages alone because if the wages are increased too much it enhances the prices, but the workers have been given increased wages plus facilities which are now about 40% more than ever before. As that is at a time when our production has decreased by almost that much. After the war our economy was badly damaged. You may perhaps recall that when, after elections, Yahya Khan went to Dacca and he announced that Mujibur Rahman would be the Prime Minister, he said at the Dacca airport that he was willing to transfer power but that he was not sure whether any person can tackle the economic chaos which the country was facing at that time. Now if conditions were so bad in 1970, you can well imagine how much worse the economic situation must have been when we formed the Government. Under these trying condition it is no ordinary matter that we have been able to bring about so many reforms. But there may be people who would say that we have done nothing. Well, there are always such people in every country, Nevertheless if the nation takes correct decisions and makes objective evaluation it would be seen that a lot has already been done in the country. There is nothing final in this world, we have to go a long way. If we take the right road we would reach the destination in quick time.

**Question:** *Is it not possible that exactly in the manner you obtained a consensus of all parties on an agreed formula to settle constitutional disputes an agreement is obtained, for whatever limited period, on some guiding principles about the national politics so that the national issues are not settled in the streets?*

**President:** We do wish such an agreement and every government would wish it, but it has to be decided by the Opposition. My approach from the very first day has been this! We negotiated patiently and listened to whatever they said. Before I went to Simla I met people of every shade of opinion, the Ulemas, the lawyers, the labour and other leaders. At that time too we did not have one opinion, but we did talk. We did discuss. Democracy was restored at the center and also at the provinces. Interim Constitution was introduced. Principles of a permanent constitution have been worked out. Now did we not struggle for democracy? We struggled because we wanted democracy. Wince we ourselves wanted freedom we have allowed freedom to everyone else. There is freedom of speech. Newspapers are free. But with freedom, in every country there are certain laws also. Lawlessness is not democracy. Even so if our friends want to go to the streets we too know every lane of the country.

***Question:** Do you think that after the decision on the Control Line and after the forces are withdrawn and the prisoners of war return to their homes there can be a possibility of a settlement with India on all other disputes, including Kashmir?*

***President:** These matters cannot be decided in one day nor in one year. They cannot be decided in a hurry either because earlier also they have taken a lot of time. They have already taken twenty years. I'm not a simpleton. I understand full well that these are problems that cannot be settled in a hurry. First, let the after-effects of war wear off and matters be straightened out, let our prisoners of war return and then we can easily hold discussions and meetings on the question of Kashmir in a settled atmosphere, then the problem can be solved. But it would take time. We can wait. We are in no hurry. As far as we are concerned, the Indians know it and the world knows it, that so long as we are in the Government, there can be no compromise on principles. Of course we are prepared to talk and we shall talk, Why should we be afraid of talking? Had our point of view been wrong, our objectives been against the international law and conventions we would have perhaps avoided talks. But when our stand is justified and the entire world accepts it – and when even India herself had been talking for quite some time of self-determination – we would not be afraid of talks. We would talk and negotiate. We would not commit the same mistakes that were committed by Mr. Manzoor Qadir, Ayub Khan and others. It is one thing to make foreign policy and be a Foreign Minister but it is another thing to run a foreign policy, so that we are not going to make such mistakes and we are always ready to talk. It would take time. We would negotiate coolly and with patience. You know that China and America have been talking. You also know the number of meetings held on the question of Berlin between Russia, America and Germany.*

***Question:** What additional steps are you taking for the release of POWs and to what extent is their release related to the question of recognition of Bangladesh?*

***President:** You must have seen the statements of Mujibur Rahman and Indian leaders. POWs are not in our hands. They are in the hands of India. India says that the POWs had laid their arms to a joint command of Bharat and Bangladesh. You have also seen in these 25 years as to how strong and effective the UN has been. This problem cannot be solved unless we talk to India and Bangladesh and give serious thought to their claims and they seriously consider ours. The decision of the recognition of Bangladesh will have to be taken by the nation. I have said nothing more than that in my humble opinion Bangladesh would have to be recognized by us. I have not said that that was the decision of my Government or my party. I have only said that the decision will have to be made by the National assembly and that I shall obtain the will of the people and I am sure that, God willing, the people will take a correct decision. Why should the people take a wrong decision. It is not the law of nature that only our government and people should make wrong decisions. After all some day the right decisions will have to be taken by this nation and I am sure that when we will go to the people and tell them what are the advantages and disadvantages and ask them to weigh them on the scale of objectivity, because it is not my person that is involved, it is a national question which is to be decided by the entire nation, well I'm sure the nation will then take the correct decision and our*

POWs, will then return. Besides, the trials that are taking place in East Pakistan will then not be held. Had we negotiated earlier we could perhaps have saved these people. Then there are certain decisions which are to be taken regarding certain economic matters. They have some claims and we also have our claims. There are local and foreign loans on which some honest agreement has to be obtained. After all both of us, they and we have lived together. We must seek friendly relations once again. Let us first have friendly relations and then we can get still closer. After having been united for so long if we can get separated we can also get reunited. But so long as you would not recognize Bangladesh and keep your eyes shut, other influences would continue dominating and you would be completely eliminated from the scene. Moreover, other organizations which are there will continue creating hatred against you and you would not be there to counteract it. Now if you do not have your feet on that soil and you have no contact with them how do you propose to redeem the situation? A member of a political party said to me in Peshawar, I do not know what is the solution of this problem, but leave it to God to solve it. All right. We all have faith in God, but God only helps those who help themselves. If we would just sit with folded hands and hide ourselves in our rooms and shed tears and do nothing else we don't think that much good would come of it. If mere crying could solve problems then let us sit down and weep and see what all we can achieve by crying.

***Question:** On the question of Muslim Bengal while your approach is flexible and positive Mr. Mujibur Rahman's is rigid. How in your opinion can this deadlock be broken?*

***President:*** Now if the nation takes a decision I do not think we would find any difficulty in it at all. As for Mujibur Rahman it has been his nature. Had it not been so where do you think was any difficulty in arriving at some kind of a settlement on six points? After all the disagreement was on one and a half or may be two points, and even on those one and a half points we did say that let us get together outside the Assembly and talk it over, like the accord on the constitution which we have now reached. Had Mujib agreed to this suggestion, I think, every thing could have been straightened out. And there were many other alternatives too. But these members of the Opposition parties who used to say one thing now and another thing later, it is because of their non-cooperation that we have suffered this loss. Whatever happened in the Paltan Maidan was very well-known to them and yet they are saying that the majority of Bangladesh was not in favour of secession and that they all wanted a united nation. Now you have seen for yourself what all they did. They welcomed the Indian Army and co-operated with them. When Tikka Khan was the Governor they were not co-operating with Dr. Malik. You could not even get candidates for elections. Don't we know all these things? And now they are celebrating the first anniversary of Bangladesh with a lot of funfair and splendour. Are they doing all this for nothing? At the same time there is such appalling poverty there. It has further increased. In these conditions I do not know what would have happened if people were not told that they were now free and independent and should give more sacrifices. Had this not been the case the worst would have happened there. At present what is holding them back from doing the worst is their belief that they have won their rights and that their Bengali nationalism has succeeded. Still we have people who deny this. I know that some people have come from Bengal. They are sitting in

London. They have suddenly become avid Pakistanis, I know why this happened with them. I do not want to unfold the story of their vested interest which makes them such zealots. Some of them belong to your profession too and you can imagine what vested interest they must be having.

**Question:** *Don't you think that the recognition of Bangladesh would amount to condoning the Indian aggression and that now for any aggressor this would be a precedence for similar action?*

**President:** The answer is very simple. If the nation is on the road to progress, if it is gaining in strength, its people are happy, if there is a constitutional government, a just Government, if economy is improving, if there is free education available then no one would dare intimidate Pakistan. Every nation is built like this. If, on the contrary, the youth of the nation is lashed, the result would not be different from what happened with us. For the last fifteen years our government has been behaving like that. This is how nations are destroyed. Now what do you mean by precedence? First, do not forget that they are a thousand miles away from us. Then you must also examine the proceedings of the meetings of the Quaid-I-Azam with the Cabinet Mission. In England nothing remains classified after 25 years. You read the proceedings of the meeting of the Quaid-I-Azam with the Cabinet Mission and see for yourself that they had talked in very clear terms about East and West Pakistan. According to these talks there was a situation when the Quaid-I-Azam said that if Calcutta did not become part of Pakistan it did not matter. It is on record and you can go and examine it. Then you may also examine the concept of Pakistan as conceived by Allama Iqbal. What was his idea of Pakistan? What was the concept of Pakistan which Chaudhry Rehmat Ali had in his mind? It was all different from what emerged as Pakistan. Now forget all that and recall for a moment that the decision for separation was taken when the Government, their Government and ours, the Central Government took the two important decisions, I had even then said and wrote about that. The first decision was the creation of One Untied and the second was the principle of parity. Now while you are already at a distance of one thousand miles from each other and you decide to create a nation here and give it the name of a province and give the name of another nation to the other province, when you create two nations and give them the equal status on the basis of Parity, you are at once accepting the parity in sovereignty. If Pakistan was one nation then why were you afraid of giving representation to the majority population in the assembly on the basis of population. These people who are now shouting and demanding an answer why did they not say about Bengalis, that they were their brother and that they should not be treated with suspicion? When did you give them (Bengalis) the Government. When did you say that yes, you are in a majority, you may come and take over the government. The parity formula was the formula of equal sovereignty. The opposition keeps saying that it was I who raised the slogan of your country for you and our country for us. Although it were the leaders of the Opposition who had said 'you are 50% and you be there, and we are 50% and we shall be here.' Separation was the result of parity and of One Unit. Then there were various decisions (and policies) of Ayub Khan which further led to separatism. Why should Ayub Khan have divided the Railways? Railways were part of communication. Where was the necessity of the division of PIDC or keeping only the Bengali government servants in Bengal? No one



was pressing for it at that time. At that time there was no disgruntlement of that kind. Then the disloyalty of Sheikh Mujibur Rahman resulted in Agartala case. We were not in government in 1967. Ayub Khan had seen all the documents and all the proofs were in his hands. These things are now in our possession. There was enough proof then that compelled Ayub Khan to release Mujibur Rahman? Why nobody ever questioned Mujibur Rahman when in 1966-67 he first propounded his six points? Didn't they sit and talk in 1969 at the Round Table Conference? I had said as early as 1966 that that was the opportune time to expose Mujib politically and to let people know that six points were a wrong thing. They were neither good for the Bengalis nor for Pakistan. We should have made all the political leaders in the country agree that six points were pointless and meaningless. They were damaging the interest of the nation. They were a wrong move. But they threw Mujibur Rahman into the jail and removed and Yahya Khan arrived on the scene. Why did not Yahya question of provincial autonomy? After all we also obtained consensus on the question of provincial autonomy after we came to power. He too could have said that all right let us first decide as to the type of autonomy and that elections would be held only after it is decided as to what would be the correct (and agreed) approach to the question of provincial autonomy. He could have refused to hold elections and not done away with the One Unit and the system of parity until they had signed an agreement on the question of provincial autonomy. But Yahya Khan did not do so and held elections and when elections were held Mujibur Rahman had already created enough bitterness and hatred and had already established very close relations with India. A point of no return had already been reached. But now it is all over. Things in West Pakistan are different now. We are a compact region and a nation. Although East Pakistan was a thousand miles away even then if wisdom would have prevailed situation would have been saved (at least) for sometime. West Pakistan is an organized country. We shall give people a constitution here and they would live a happy life. Social justice would be done to everyone. Such a Government which grants all this does not fall. But if we are unjust to the people and treat them with high-handedness and exploit them and only talk of justice (without importing it) then in that case a country cannot last for long.

No in India Nehru had made a constitution for the country and settled the provincial demands. And you know what the provinces there had been demanding in those days? Language demands in Maharashtra and so on. But they made adjustments and after a compromise they carried on the business (of the state). They shaped their country. That is the way nations are built. I say, if we also start agreeing with each other most of these disputes would end and we could concentrate on making our country the strongest in the subcontinent. We settled the language problem and it is incorrect to allege that we are enemies of Urdu and are perpetuating Sindhism. What we did was after a careful study of history. It did not damage the interest of Urdu and the people of Sind are also happy that we are not out to destroy their language. Now you can see that it is all calm and quiet there. But these (the Opposition) were sending us (long) telegrams and were alleging all sorts of things. Now even if Mujib would have stayed (with Pakistan) you would have witnessed that the atmosphere here would have been completely spoiled and everyone would have started talking of sovereignty for himself. This was not our concept (of politics). We shall build Pakistan. We shall live in Pakistan and our language and culture would not be allowed

to be destroyed. If you take correct decisions and run the Government properly where is the question then of any loss? But what can one say if a mad man becomes President of Germany or America. I can only say that America would lose at least Alaska and perhaps Hawaii too.

***Question:** Does Pakistan not feel the need to have a pact with some power similar to the Indo-Soviet Treaty?*

***President:*** I know what you are hinting at. But it is not the policy of those people to enter into pacts and treaties. I did tell my friends that all these young men who stand up and say that we must enter into such and such pacts must be told that pacts are not in our hands. We can not compel anyone to enter into pacts with us. You must also take into consideration their national policies. I said that since you are making such a noise about it I would talk to them about it (pact) when I go there but when I opened this subject with them they said, "Well we have a treaty with Russian and look what has come of that treaty? Look at the number of disputes we have between ourselves and Russia? Look at the pact you have with America and what has come of that pact? So long as we have common interests we do not need pacts." And they said that their policy was not in favour of pacts. "If we continue having good relations like we have had so far and if we continue like this, improving our mutual relations and having more and more confidence in each other, we would not need pacts. We have seen so many pacts broken and so much of loss incurred by us because of that. But of course we must have confidence and mutual trust and friendly relations and above all Common interest." If we lose another nation also loses, the nation with whom we have a pact. So if we believe in joint losses too the pacts may then have some practical utility and one can render some sacrifice for such pacts. But if the interests are different, their interest being different from our interest then there would always be a way of wriggling out of such pacts.

***Question:** Does the present unrest of the youth not a proof of the failure of the second line of leadership of the People's Party?*

***President:*** Various forces had been preparing themselves for agitation for quite some time. Infact, I told my party friends that these people would resort to agitation. Their action is wrong because it has been taken at this time, after the Simla Agreement. This Agreement is in a way Pakistan's victory, but these people said that since it is the success of this Government, (Precisely for this reason) something must be done to discredit it and they were trying somehow to divert the attention of the people. So they created the language problem which made people overlook the merits of this Agreement through which Pakistan is to get back 5,000 sq. miles of her area and as a result of which forces would be withdrawn to their respective territories. They wanted to put a cloud over all this. That is what they tried. And when it was decided to withdraw the troops. I did tell my friends that they should be ready to witness yet another attempt of that kind. I am glad that they have come out in the open and are exposed. Now the truth is that there are many reasons for these agitations. One is that defeated political parties are very unhappy and are trying to find an occasion to avenge their defeat. They are all the time dreaming of a coup d'etat. In the beginning they used to say that they were against military regimes and could not

tolerate any army man (heading the Government). Then Ayub Khan whistled and they all rushed to join the Round Table Conference. And when Yahya Khan took over then they welcomed him and praised him also. Now they say that they were against a military regime and that they believed in democracy. But they keep dreaming all the time as to how they could get rid of this government, the very next morning. Why do they want to get rid of this government? This government has not damaged them in anyway. It is not that they want to liberate the nation from this Government as they claim. Infact they want to somehow avenge their defeat. Their attitude is negative. I must tell you in clear terms that if an attempt of that kind is made at this time the result would be such that even the Himalayas would shed tears. We are not like Ayub Khan whose lips were dry out of nervousness and who announced on the Radio that he was withdrawing and that he was running away. We who are in the Government today have not come to power through the backdoor or by shedding other peoples blood or by forging our way illegally. We have come to power democratically, although Yahya Khan's Government had opposed us and tried to destroy us. Now ours is a democratic constitutional government and it is our right to build this country exactly as we have saved it. We have now advanced beyond the first stage. By the grace of God we have saved the country. Now it is our democratic right to be able to build this country, during our tenure. If they interfere and resort to undemocratic methods then they would repent it. As I have already told you that we know every lane in this country and we are aware of everything. We have taken the beating and have known what lathi charge means. We have seen the use of tear gas so that they should have no illusions about us. By merely bringing out one or two processions they cannot overthrow us? It can be done only through elections. And when the elections would be held (in time) we would very willingly vacate our seats and tell them that now, sir, it is your right to occupy the chairs with all the pleasure. We would tell them every thing about this Assembly and show them round every room of this Presidency and we would pick up our hats and leave. That is the way it is supposed to be in democracy. There is no other way. If we have spent 25 years like this let there be another five years. Now if our government did some wrong things, if we had not served the people, if we had betrayed the people, if the youth had gone against us then they would naturally join them as their workers and act as Mujahids. I don't say that the younger generation or students have much reason to go against us. It is a fact that I have still not allowed my party to have inroads into the Universities to do that is to insult a University. They (the Opposition) give scholarships (to students) in every field. I have said that we would not do that. But now if the Central Committee decides otherwise I cannot say that it would not be done. So far, I have resisted it. We would not like to start this kind of patronage. We are only supposed to give a general line and we would give a general line if people like it they would support us and if they do not like it then even if we have these branches, it would make no difference. So far as students are concerned it should not make any difference as to which party of students wins because it is said that all over the world they are Communists as long as they are students and when they get employed they cease to be Communists. But here it is different. Here the students are rightists when they are in schools and when they are employed they become leftists. In other countries in the schools, they are leftists and when they go out and join the service etc, they become rightists. Our so-called young Communists have tripped here too while they are delivering speeches they think that they are being popular although they do not even know what Communism is. They

brag that this world is not created by God. That this universe does not belong to God. They say that there is no God? (They question His Existence) and ask who has seen God? When these so-called young Communists deliver such speeches the general body of students go against them and of course it must go against such people. So they go and cast their votes in favour of others. That is why we did not interfere with the politics of the students. I do not say that students should not be in politics. There is student politics and it should be there. But I have never been in favour of our interference with the students politics. Now some of our Central Committee people recommend that we should also have our own groups amongst the students. So the problem of leftists and rightists among university students is simply this – on the one hand we have not interfered with them because our objective has been nationalism, the Pakistani nationalism, not Communism, but Socialism as I had declared in the Convention. This is the line which we have given clearly and openly and not secretly. Moreover, those who are the so-called Communists, their attitude in the University is such, their speeches are such their behaviour is such that the general body must go against them and thus they get a negative vote.

***Question:** What behaviour do you expect from the Opposition for the establishment and advancement of democracy in the country?*

***President:** I say, let them do their work as the opposition. Make public speeches. Let them also not accept Bangladesh if they so desire and speak about it with all the passion. Let them also say that this party has done nothing for the people; that so much was said in the manifesto; that all that was a fraud; that a wrong foreign policy is being pursued; and why don't we come out of the CENTO? And so on. Let them also say that we must not talk to India. Well, all this is all right, We do not stop them from doing or saying this because it is their platform. We also had been fighting for a platform. But sir, when they stand up and start shouting all kinds of abuses at us and do all kind of dirty things and then ask people to come out in the streets and remove us from the Government and pull down the walls of the Presidency, then what do you expect the army to do? Must it sleep? These are not democratic speeches and they would get a similar response. This is very simple. You cannot deny that violence is not democracy. We do not call it democracy. After all there is something known as law in this country.*

***Question:** Ever since the Pakistan People's Party has come to power it has introduced several reforms. It was regarded as a leftist party and it is a leftist party. But now you are tilting towards the right which gives an impression that now you think that if it is in the interest of the country to advance towards the right you would be a rightist and if it is good for the country to be a leftist you would go towards the left. Is that so?*

***President:** Not at all. That is what the Communist friends are doing. I have already told you that first we saved the country and at the same time introduced reforms. I have always said that first examine these reforms and see where things have not gone right and where we have been successful. Let the wrongs be corrected so that some more reforms are introduced. Which rightist Government could have introduced such land reforms as are introduced by us- land to the farmers without any*

payments, not even a small price, and over and above that they would also get seed, fertilizer and loan? Which rightist Government would take education out of the private sector and transfer it to the state sector? Which rightist Government would take over so many industries as we have taken over? Every step that we have taken has been in accordance with the concept of Socialism and the logic of Socialism. Not one has been against Socialism, not even our foreign policy, such as getting out of SEATO and other similar decisions, for example the recognition of North Korea and North Vietnam and so on but we do not want to be applauded for that. We do not need it, because people would see for themselves the difference as the labourer has seen the difference. It is not the same any more. He has more cash in his pocket. The same would be with the farmer and others. Prices would be controlled through increased production. We devalued rupee because it was necessary. But if production does not increase prices are bound to increase. If there would be strikes and the production falls by forty per cent who would you blame for that? If people become so callous as to smuggle food and then if the prices go up who would you blame for that? War too has its repercussions. At least ten lac displaced persons could not till their lands and their lands could not produce anything. These people went out begging like orphans. This again was a pressure on us. Now if we increased the price of wheat by double in the villages, the villagers got more money and with that money they want to buy more things. Then population is also increasing. And yet if the production increases, and indeed it would increase because that is what is our endeavour, then with this increase we would have increased our resources. Our project aid has not yet been resumed. Let the project aid also be resumed, the commodity aid has just been resumed. Of course, I don't say that this aid would appreciably bring down the prices. But we would be able to control them.

*Question: When would the Hamudur Rahman Commission Report be published?*

*President:* I would be very happy if we decide something about it soon. As soon as I received his report I appointed a high powered committee which included the three chiefs of Staff, Secretary-General of Foreign Office, our Ministers, Special Assistants and the Attorney-General. The report is rather lengthy. I have even reminded the members about it once or twice and have asked for their views. As soon as the Committee decides that the report be published in full it would be done. If the Committee finds some sensitive portions such as are related to the foreign policy which should not yet be made public we would go by the Committee's recommendations. (As far as we are concerned) we have nothing to hid.

*Question: Would any action be taken against Yahya Khan?*

*President:* This too depends on the Committee's recommendations.

*Question: that is if the Committee so recommends?*

*President:* That recommendation is already there in the Hamudur Rahman Report.

*Question: What role Pakistan would play in West Asia?*

**President:** Pakistan would play a very important role. If we get down to business and do not chase shadows and do not resort to day-dreaming, accept the reality and having accepted it we start using both of our hands and do hard work with zeal then I can say it with full confidence that we would make a lot of progress and would prosper. At least in this subcontinent we can become a model state.

At the end of the interview when the President was requested to give a message to the nation through the daily Jan, he said:

“My message is that, God willing, our future would be bright. We are making untiring efforts to secure that future. We pray to God almighty for the happiness of our people and may all their troubles be over. Of course all our troubles cannot be over at once but the basic problems such as unemployment can be overcome. People may not remain without employment. I wish that we may not see people hungry or see them half clad braving the cold weather or facing the rigour of hot weather. We are trying to overcome all these problems. Our objectives are, bread, clothes, house and employment. You can say that we have not succeeded in this as yet. I say it has only been eleven months. We had to face many national and international problems. After all what was the shape in which they handed Pakistan to us? Think of it for a while. In the light of these facts you may say that we have not succeeded in these eleven months I would say that eleven months is not a long enough time. We stand by our promises to the nation. We have just embarked on our programme of making the nation prosperous in which we shall Insha Allah succeed. This would be a country where every citizen would feel secure and respectable. Not that he would only be respected if he is big and affluent. Government servants would be kept in their places because without that the citizens would not acquire respect. Petty Government servants would be required to meet people as men meet men and keep in touch with the people. People need security. I know that incidence or crime has increased because now every body owns a gun. We are therefore, increasing the police force. We have done a great deal to check and stop dacoity on the highways. We have give jeeps etc., to the police. Cases of dacoity appear to be decreasing now. People would not feel secure. We are building houses for the workers and the poor people. Work has already started in Karachi and you must have seen it in progress. We are starting it in Lahore too. God willing, Pakistan shall be strong and prosperous and respected in the world. It would be a Pakistan which would be heard in the International world. A Pakistan which was sought by people who struggled for it under the leadership of Quaid-i-Azam. Had that not been the concept of Pakistan people would not have struggled for it. But we could not see Pakistan of our dream after 25 years. Now one year had passed. We are diverting people from the wrong to the right direction and would lead them to the right path and Insha Allah reach our destination.”

*Address to Policemen in Larkana on December 23,1972*

President Zulfikar Ali Bhutto reiterated that his Government stood for justice and peace in every sphere of national activities.

In this connection, he said, the Police force should do their best to achieve this objective.

The President was addressing the Police officers and men at the local Police Lines.

The President warned that now no injustice to the poor would be tolerated. Now the Waderas and Zamindars would not be allowed to perpetuate repression on poor and innocent people. All would get justice, he added.

The President told his audience that his Government wanted that Police force should be used for keeping peace in the country and curbing crimes.

The President said that when he said that police should be used for peace, he did not mean that police should sit idle. The police force, he added, must deal sternly with thieves, anti-people and anti-social elements.

The President said that times had changed and that great changes had taken place all over the world. Times, he added, had changed for every person.

He said that those who did not keep pace with the changing times would be left behind in the race for prosperity and progress. In this context, the President advised the Police force also to change their outlook with the changed times and treat the general public politely and with courtesy.

The President said that conditions throughout the world had rapidly changed during the past years and great awakening had taken place everywhere. “Just see the difference in conditions which prevailed in sixties, fifties, forties and thirties that had brought gradually changes in the world.”

The President said that the times even for the Zamindars had now changed. Previously, he said, they used to have great pomp and show but now those were the bygone days.

The President said that now Zamindars could not perpetuate “zulum” on the down-trodden and innocent people. In case anyone of them resorted to injustice and “zulum”, he would invite wrath of law.

The President, during his speech referred to violence and unnecessary demonstrations staged in the streets on one pretext or the other and said that was not the democratic way of achieving objectives.

The issue of recognition of Bangladesh, he said, would be decided by the National Assembly and as such there was no need for the people to come out in the streets, threatening the Government and force the people to stop work. In such events, he said, the poor people generally suffer.

The President said that in a democracy, Assemblies were the proper forum where speeches on national issues could be delivered and if the Government does something wrong, the position could be changed through ballots. The President said that vote was a valuable 'Amanat' which should not be wasted.

The President declared that with the setting in of an era of democracy in Pakistan, the dark shadows of dictatorship had vanished.

Explaining the difference between democracy and dictatorship, the President said that while the tenure of a Government in democracy was definitely fixed, it was not so in dictatorship. Elections, he said, are held every five years in democracy and if the Government loses at the polls, it relinquishes power.

He told the Police officers and men that on his visit to the Police Lines he had found that the dispensary and the school in the Police Lines were not properly equipped.

The President announced a grant of Rs. One lac and expressed the hope that this amount would be appropriately utilized by the Larkana Police for their welfare.

The President assured the Police force that with the increase in the resources of the country they would be given more facilities.

Earlier, on his arrival at the Police Lines the President was given a guard of honour by a contingent of the local Police.



***Message on the Birth Anniversary of Quaid-I-Azam  
on December 25, 1972***

The birthday this year of Quaid-I-Azam Mohammad Ali Jinnah is of exceptional significance to the people of Pakistan, for it marks the completion of a quarter century of the nation's Independence. On no other occasion during the past 25 years was it so necessary for us to rededicate ourselves to the ideals of the Founder of Pakistan as it is today.

Pakistan was brought into being by the successful mass movement of Muslims in the subcontinent led by the Quaid-I-Azam. Through their verdict in the 1946 elections, the Muslims demonstrated their unity and determination for an independent homeland.

Today we need not only to revive active faith in the ideals which inspired the Quaid-i-Azam but also to recreate national unity and resolve with equal force to ensure the survival and greatness of Pakistan.

Those who never took kindly to the concept and creation of Pakistan have been at work for years to divide and destroy our country. It is my hope, it is my belief that our people have learnt a permanent lesson from the treacheries and mistakes of the past. They are now determined and united to ensure that Pakistan shall not only emerge with honour from the conflict and humiliation of 1971, but that it will soon reclaim its rightful place on the political horizon of the world. We owe it to the Quaid-i-Azam as much as we owe it to the posterity to build a new, united and strong Pakistan in which there is no discrimination between man and man, and a Pakistan which can rekindle the light which inspired the Founder of Pakistan.

***Interview to the French Daily, Le Monde,  
released on December 26, 1972***

***President:*** I know that some questions are asked repeatedly and we have to answer them repeatedly. One cannot avoid such important questions even if one has to answer them every day. After all, many years ago Shakespeare said, all the world is a stage and everyone has to keep up his performance. I can anticipate some of the questions that are going to be asked.

***Question:*** *Is that true that after the agreement on the troops withdrawal, the Kashmir problem is solved?*

***President:*** Not at all. The Kashmir problem is not solved because the Simla Agreement itself states quite clearly that the new Line of Control would be delineated without prejudice to the recognized position of either side. This is expressly stated in the document itself. The disputed status of the state of Jammu and Kashmir is thus recognized in the document. Moreover, if the Kashmir problem were to be resolved in this fashion, then it would not be called the Line of Control; it would be called the international border. There is a manifest difference between the international border and the Line of Control. This is the second point. The third point is that when we were deadlocked over this little bit of Thaku Chak, we said that we must have some other territory in exchange. We got it in exchange. Now, this kind of exchange does not take place over recognized international frontiers. It was only in a disputed territory that it was possible to make an exchange of this nature. Fourthly, the Indian Foreign Minister and the Indian Government have also made statements to the effect that this is only a new cease-fire line and the question of Jammu and Kashmir is not settled by it. We have made our position abundantly clear on this matter.

***Question:*** *What could be the next step according to you, Mr. President? As far as I understand, the Indian position is that you should recognise Bangladesh first and then you should agree on non-aggression pact or something like that. What should be the next step according to you?*

***President:*** The next step, according to us, and indeed objectively is this: if you look at the Simla Agreement, it calls for officials of the two countries to meet and to work out the modalities of the meeting between Mrs. Gandhi and myself – the second meeting. We have signed the Simla Agreement and we want to honour it. In its terms, that is the next logical step to take for both the countries – India as well as Pakistan. We hope that, after the withdrawals take place, we can approach the Indian Government, if they do not approach us before that for our officials to meet either in Delhi or here. The officials can discuss the procedure, and the items for the next agenda. There are many items we can discuss, the most important being the return of our Prisoners of War – 90,000 of them – 20,000 odd civilians with women and children and journalists. About 70,000 of our armed personnel are kept in cages as in a human zoo. And the world has got no tears for them. The world had plenty of tears for the so-called atrocities in Bangladesh when the civil war was taking place. Civil

wars are always horrid, worse than wars between nations. It was a fratricidal war like the Spanish civil war, which left a very deep scar on human lives. There was also the American civil war; there has been a civil war in Nigeria. Ours was also a civil war and our object was to preserve the country's unity. I am not an advocate of military Government. But basically the object was to preserve the unity of the country. The methods and means adopted might have been deplorable. But Pakistan's unity had come into being, 25 years ago, through the joint struggle for freedom of both parts of Pakistan. It had not been imposed by colonialists on the country. The colonialists indeed had resisted the integration of the two territories in a single state. When Pakistan was fighting for existence as one united state, people started talking about the self-determination of Bangladesh. Where was the question of self-determination? Pakistan was one State, united through a common struggle. The case was one of outright secession. They called it self-determination and said that poor Bengalis were being butchered. Why should they have been butchered by our own people. Much was said about uncivilized and savage people, but it was forgotten that it is a sovereign duty of every citizen of every state to try to preserve the state's integrity. If tomorrow, the people of Brittany attempt to leave France, we are not going to say that any French action to prevent it is unjustifiable; and we are not going to send our Andre Malraux from here to give a lecture on it. We will say: no, this is a matter within the internal jurisdiction of France and they have a right to try to preserve their national unity. Indeed, we will sympathise with their efforts to maintain their national integrity. Now this State of Bangladesh has been brought about by an act of aggression by India. We do not know how this precedent is going to affect future relations between states. There is a saying in the Bible, "As you sow, so shall you reap." If one country puts its fingers into the furnace of another, those fingers will be burnt. So those people who thrust their fingers into the fire, those fingers are about to burn, they might be already burnt. If you go to Dacca, now, you will see a different attitude towards the Indian "liberators" – the so-called liberators. But we will see what kind of a pattern will emerge. The result of this precedent, which was sanctioned by many countries of the world, Western European countries, Britain and some others is to be seen in future. Many countries have recognized Bangladesh and are trying to make it a member of the United Nations. However, thank God, there are still States which believe in the principles of an international order and they prevented this unholy entrance without the fulfillment of United Nations resolutions. The war ended one year ago. There has been the Simla Agreement. Now, as a result of the Simla Agreement, the withdrawal of forces will, we hope, be completed by the 20<sup>th</sup> or 21<sup>st</sup>. What justification is there now to keep these POWs as hostages in Indian cages, the Indian human zoos, as if they are animals? What is the justification? India achieved its objective by armed aggression to create Bangladesh. That state is today celebrating its first year of independence. War came to an end one year ago. There was a cease-fire. As I said, the Simla Agreement was concluded on the 2<sup>nd</sup> of July. Now on the 20<sup>th</sup> or 21<sup>st</sup> of December, withdrawals are taking place. There is no reason for keeping our prisoners in India. Once you effect withdrawals, you assume that relations are going to be peaceful and there is no possibility of war; otherwise you do not withdraw your forces but stay on in the occupied territory. In Israel and Egypt, the prisoners of war have been returned, even though withdrawals have not taken place. It is more logical for prisoners of war to return before the withdrawal of forces. But here the cart has been put before the horse. I repeat there is absolutely no justification for the

Indians to keep our prisoners, both civilians and military. You know five or six incidents have taken place where they have been killed in cold blood. We did not hear any one crying or any one protesting. The most important point is the existence of the three Geneva Conventions. Is there any thing in these Conventions which says that they apply to the whole world except Pakistan? Pakistan was made an exception in the world's reaction to its dismemberment. If any other state in the world had been dismembered like that, there would have been international protests. Why is it that we are made an exception to the application of international law and international norms? Where is it in the Geneva Conventions that only Pakistani prisoners of war will not be returned after the cease-fire? Where is it in the United Nations Resolutions that United Nations Resolutions will not apply to Pakistan? This is a very important moral and political question. We are doing our best but we do not see the sympathy which was shown for the secessionist cause being around for this human problem also. On the contrary, you find a callous indifference to such a basic human problem. So, of course, this is the most important problem – the problem of the prisoners of war. Let me tell you that, as long as prisoners of war remain in India, we cannot even talk about Kashmir because that would be holding discussions under duress. Moreover, we do not like bargaining. If we believed in it, I would not have unconditionally released Sheikh Mujibur Rahman on the 7<sup>th</sup> of January. I did it because I tried to look into the future. I wanted a better future, I wanted to establish a good climate for resolving all our problems sensibly and at an early time, so that we can engage our attention in other matters. But there was no response to our releasing Sheikh Mujibur Rahman, no reciprocity, no quid pro quo. I do not want a quid pro quo in the narrow sense. What benefit do we expect from recognizing Bangladesh unless there is full and complete adjustment of all problems. Today Mujibur Rahman will tell you that if Bangladesh is recognized, everything will be all right. We heard before that, if only Mujibur Rahman is released, everything will be all right. As you know, there is a saying, "Once bitten, twice shy." We cannot again go by these fairy tales. We hear the world is not interested in us. They are interested in everyone else. They are interested in people on the moon, they are interested in Mars, they are interested in Malta, they are interested in Le Monde, they are interested in Singapore. But this nation of 60 million people, still bigger than most of the states in Europe, adjoins the Indian Ocean. The Indian Ocean becomes important when it touches India, not important when it touches Pakistan. The Persian Gulf becomes important when it touches the Emirates, not when it touches the Mekran coast. It is not known that we are neighbours of Afghanistan, the Soviet Union and China. Who can deny the importance of Pakistan? But this is how the world looks at it. So we can't listen to fairy tales anymore. We must now have hard discussions for settlement. We are prepared to consider the recognition of Bangladesh at the appropriate time provided we get our prisoners of war back, and there is full and complete guarantee, and a mechanism for their repatriation. We are not going to allow our prisoners of war remain there. That means tomorrow they will link up the prisoners of war with some other problem and after that with yet another problem. As I have said, we have had a bad experience. We have acted in good faith; the other side must reciprocate. We must be perfectly assured, first, that our prisoners of war will come back; second that no trials will take place – the so-called trials that Mr. Mujibur Rahman is contemplating in East Pakistan and third, that all questions of foreign debts, the assets and liabilities between Pakistan and Bangladesh will be settled satisfactorily. The legacy of the past must be removed before we can take the

step of recognition. In other words there will have to be a total bilateral undertaking – nothing unilateral. It will have to be in the totality. That is as far as the question of prisoners of war and recognition is concerned. With India, we can discuss so many other problems. Since 1965, we have had no trade between the two countries, even though we are neighbours. They have suffered, we have suffered. We are prepared to discuss the resumption of trade, civil aviation agreements, restoration of communications, posts and telegraphs and of diplomatic relations. All these are quite substantial things specially after war having taken place a year ago and the most morbid methods having been used to dismember our country. India split our country into two. India has grown very big at our cost. It took away Hyderabad in 1948, Junagarh and Manawadar and a part of Kashmir and now East Pakistan. So the point is, it is not pleasant for us to do even these things, you understand. That is why you find our people reacting in certain way. We believe it is rational and sensible to establish neighbourly relations between Pakistan and India. We cannot leave each other; I can't cut out Pakistan and take it to Europe or to America. We should have the interchanges of neighbours. But our people in the last 25 years have been subjected to so many traumas and tragedies that they are not in a mood to be rational. That is why I have been having this problem. I go the them and tell them that they must put their feet on the ground, control their emotions, build Pakistan again into a powerful state in the subcontinent, not for aggression. You do not fight Germany. You want strength in the scientific society and strength for your people. You are proud of the fact that your economy has progressed better than some other countries. In the same sense, we can make Pakistan the most prosperous state in the subcontinent. We have got resources. Our biggest asset is our manpower. You must not judge it by the experience of last year. The 1971 battle was a terrible blunder from beginning to end. The country was in an abyss. We lost not because of any lack of our people's ability to safeguard their interests. If you leave everything to a mad man, a situation like this might arise anywhere in the world. It was stupidity. You could see from the outside that it was an invitation to disaster. So, leaving that aside, you can see that our manpower is one of the finest, at least in Asia, very hard working, devoted, and fond of the machine. They can master the machine. You go to small little huts in Sialkot and you find them producing surgical instruments which are bought even in Europe. And they are good farmers. Secondly, our agricultural resources are such that with a little more effort and a little more co-operation from the more prosperous countries, we could become self-sufficient in all our requirements. You have made Bangladesh an international basket. A vast amount of assistance has gone to Bangladesh, economic assistance, food, and every thing else. But you know that they are not touching their foreign exchange. With American assistance, Western European assistance, they are keeping it at home. If we had got one-third or one-tenth of theirs – after all we were dismembered and we should have been the recipient of that kind of assistance – we could have achieved a lot. But while our talks with the Consortium have to start in March next, we devalued heavily; we were given to understand that there would be positive responses. I have yet to see the positive responses. With your country, I mean, now we have to negotiate again after one year of negotiations. If we had some international responses, we would have been jumping today. Our foreign exchange earning is now 830 million dollars. This is more than it was with East and West Pakistan put together. We had labour trouble; all sorts of problems. But now we have got relative industrial peace and our production is picking up. Our exports are

also going up and our people are at their jobs. As I have said, if we were not short of fertilizers, we could have become self-sufficient in wheat. We are going to make a war-effort to set up more fertilizer factories and we will become self-sufficient in wheat, I am quite confident, if not next year, the year after that. Then in sugar also we are going to be self-sufficient and we have taken some drastic steps. We are already exporting rice. We are exporting cotton, raw, semi-manufactured and manufactured. We will try to ensure that we export more of the manufactured and semi-manufactured than of the raw cotton. In hides and skins and leather also we are doing extremely well. I think we are mobilizing our resources very well. Now the point is that we have got a dual responsibility of defence and development. If defence was not of slightly more importance than development, we would have been able to clear the slums within two years, to electrify all our villages, to build all the important roads and projects, and to build low-cost houses. We have already started on that in a rather big way. We have rural Works Programme and we are building agrovilles. But then of course we have to take into account our defence needs as well for the reasons I mentioned to you. Our burden is very heavy, taking into account both our defence needs and our development requirements. In Bangladesh, they don't have a big army. They don't need one. If we had that sort of position, you would have seen a vast difference.

***Question:** But do you mean Mr. President that India is really a challenge for Pakistan or is it an expansionist power?*

***President:** You can see for yourself what it has done during the last 25 years. In 1947, Junagadh and the Kashmir war; in 1948, Hyderabad then Goa; in 1960, I think, Pondicherry. And then, of course, there was the Sino-Indian conflict; everyone knows who started it. The forward policy of India and the threatening attitude towards Ceylon, not settling boundary disputes with Burma for such a long time, the hegemony over Bhutan, Sikkim and then trying to keep Nepal in their grip. And then the 1965-war with us, then again the 1971-war. Now all this in 25 years is something which should make even Chengiz Khan blush. They call themselves peace-loving with a straight face. They call us the aggressors and say they are worried about Pakistan's aggression. What inch of Indian territory are we occupying? Then why don't they hold plebiscite in Kashmir, if they think they are not occupying it against its will? So we have to be on our guard. As I told you earlier, 'Once bitten twice shy.' We can't take any risks with what is left of us. We do not want war but we cannot take risks. As far as Indian expansionist policies are concerned, I have just told you that past history speaks more eloquently than words. Now, recently the Indian Prime Minister and Foreign Minister are reported to have stated that America should recognize the reality that today India is a dominant power in the subcontinent. We do not accept that for a variety of reasons. In the first place, it violates the principle of the sovereign equality of states. Secondly, it carries an overtone of threat and hatred. We can't accept the hegemony of any country even if it means further sacrifices. We can't accept their hegemony, or dominance. Equal sovereignty, yes we are prepared for coexistence as equals, as friends, as good neighbours, on a basis of non-interference in each other's affairs and honourable settlement of disputes. That we are all prepared to accept, good friendship, peaceful co-existence, co-operation whenever necessary, both in the subcontinent and international forums. That is all right, that we understand. But*

that they should be a dominant power, with their shadow over us, we will never accept. It would be better if the Indians did not talk in those terms, because it comes as a provocation to our people. The power of a state is not measured by its bigness; Britain was not all that big itself when it had the biggest empire in the world. How can India call herself a dominant power? She would be facing famine if the United States did not pour out food to her. The strength of a country does not lie in the trickery and deception and in committing aggression. The strength of a state really lies in the prosperity of its people in the final analysis. And when the per capita income of India is the same as that of Pakistan and when the Indian farmer of Indian citizen is more dependent on food from foreign assistance than the Pakistani, how could we accept any position of subservience? When the people of Calcutta sleep on the streets, why should there be the urge to be called the dominant power? When the Americans entered into NATO, did they tell the States of Western Europe to accept them as the dominant Power and only then they would forge the alliance? Certainly not. In fact, even when America refrained from doing so, a big man like General de Gaulle said that he was not prepared to accept the American hegemony. So the point is that India must learn to live as a peaceful neighbour without arrogance. They should not talk in terms of superiority to us. We don't talk in those terms. We should meet and live as equals.

*Question: Do you still believe in one thousand years of war?*

**President:** That is for the people to decide. You see, if I had given the people a wrong expression, they would have rejected it. Why did it linger on? Two expressions have lingered on and on, but don't we remember other words? We say hello also. Why don't people ask me whether I still believe in hello. We say good-morning. People don't ask whether I still believe in good-morning. But two things stuck in memory because they went to the heart of the problem. The expressions lodged in the ear and the soul. One is the thousand-year war, which I didn't mean physically. I meant it metaphorically. I meant it in terms of the whole historical process in the subcontinent. After all, the confrontation has lasted for a thousand years in the past. Now, if there could be a past of thousand years, there can be a future of a thousand years also. You see our countries are very old. They are five thousand years old. So a thousand years for us is like a few decades for the Americans. Evidently, it was a figurative expression. No it is for the people on both sides to abandon that concept. I would like abandon the confrontation. If you ask my personal opinion, I would not have used that expression, if India had not attacked us. If India had not adopted a forward policy, we would not have adopted the policy of confrontation. What do you do when a State adopts a forward policy? Capitulate? If tomorrow, God forbid, the Germans want to march into France, what will you do? Would you choose confrontation and resistance or capitulation? So it is really for the other side to determine whether the policy of confrontation or of co-operation should prevail. If they had not wanted to commit aggression, if they had not wanted any more of Pakistan's territory if they are now reconciled to living in peace, not as a dominant power, well we will like to co-operate. But if they think that now they can employ some subterfuge rather than use violence, people will choose confrontation, whether or not I want it. The point is that if you can't commit aggression, you don't hear such expression. Perhaps it was an expression in war. Why had Churchill had to say, we

shall fight them on the beaches, We shall fight them on the streets, but we shall never surrender. If the Germans had not committed aggression if they had not come to Dunkirk and if they were not on the verge of invading the British isles, such language would not have been necessary. Likewise, it was because we were subjected to aggression, the Indian commander-in-Chief Chaudhry was saying that the next day they would be sitting in Lahore, having scotch and soda. Then I had to pour it full. In such situations, leaders have to rally the people. So that is the expression everyone keeps repeating to me and I have explained to everyone. I did not say that for 1000 years you stand by machine-guns and keep shooting; nobody has got ammunition to keep fighting so long.

**Question:** *Mr. President do you suppose that the Simla Agreement could lead to a condition of permanent settlement and thus be a historic turning point of peace with India?*

**President:** Yes, I have said that repeatedly as far as the Simla Agreement is concerned. I keep saying this to the Indians but it takes two sides to bring that situation about.

**Question:** *Do you see, Mr. President, some sign from the Indian side?*

**President:** I might be mistaken because it is hard to tell from one encounter, but at Simla the attitude of the Prime Minister of India appeared to be sincere for peace on the basis of equality. I do not know what has prompted that attitude in her mind. I found her sincere, she seemed to have vision of peace. This is my impression as a politician who has to be an observant person. I recall that whenever Ayub Khan used to tell a lie, he would pull off his socks; when he did that, I knew that he was telling a lie. You have to observe the responses and reflexes; you have to quickly turn and see how people react to a certain point. Now I did see – of course, I might be wrong and it might have been very good acting that she wants a future of peace for whatever reasons. Who knows if someone from Pakistan had gone and attacked Delhi, he might have felt that after 30 or 40 years, Lahore would be ransacked in revenge. As I said, whatever the reasons, the Indian Prime Minister did seem to want peace. I have not mentioned it before. But I don't see the same kind of vision in some of her Ministers. Not that I want to create the impression that she is for peace and so is for war. The Simla Agreement is a fact and I would be the last person to try that kind of diplomacy. A government/s point of view is collective. In the subcontinent, they used to say even in Ayub's time, Oh! The Foreign Minister of Ayub Khan is very bad. Ayub Khan is very good; I do not say that kind of thing. But after all there is the human element also in a collective decision. In your own country in France for instance, there may be some of the people in the Government whose approach to the question of having special links with your former African colonies is different from that of others. This is, after all, why Cabinets are formed. Only from that point of view I would say that there were some who did not seem to have caught the breath of fresh air. They seemed to be still in the past; they were older names and their reflexes and responses at Simla were not exactly jubilant. They belong to the 1947 to 1950 era and that determined their reactions. But a whole new generation has now come up there are new thought-processes, an entirely new style, and a new approach to



contemporary politics. It may be I, too, am getting a little ancient because, after all, I have been dealing with international affairs since 1958. During this period, so many men, big men, have gone. I had to deal with Nehru, de Gaulle, Macmillan, Eisenhower etc. Only Premier Chou En-lai is still there and I hope he lives for a long time. You see mainly the new ones now. I was fortunate to be young when I became a Minister. But a difference in approach has occurred even in my own experience. I first entered the United Nations in 1957 as a delegate. The attitude and methodology was different in 1957 from what one saw in 1965 and 1971. In India, there are some men who attended the Congress Sessions before Partition, sitting then in the third or fourth row behind Gandhi, Patel, Bose and Nehru. They have heard those speeches, which proclaimed to the whole world that only over their dead bodies would Pakistan be established. There might even be a new leadership in India which has not heard those speeches but which might still be busy in secret sessions, with thinking of other methods of undoing Pakistan, though openly they might say, well, Pakistan has come into being, it is a reality. Some in the newer generation of people may be sensitive to the qualitative change in the times but they may yet be living in a half-way house, not fully rid of the past not fully reacting to the present. The Indian Prime Minister was close to the scene with her father and his colleagues but not as an active decision-maker. In a sense, therefore, she also has come into this phase, the one that we are in, with a potentiality of approach not entirely different from ours. Perhaps a decade from now, the freshness of approach might be clearer. I don't say that principles and basic ideas will be abandoned. But things might appear in different colour, and be looked at from a different angle. Personal commitments might not be so tenacious, but principles, for instance, those involved in Kashmir, cannot change, The Kashmir question was there in Liaquat Ali's time; it is there in my time. It is not settled. In 1948-49, every one here jumped for joy that they had got two resolutions passed by the United Nations, and the Pakistan Government felt that the Kashmir problem had been solved. There were many inbuilt catches in them but everybody expected the plebiscite to be held. If such a resolution had been passed in 1971 or 1969, our reaction would have been different because we would have realized that it was only a resolution. We have understood a little more how the United Nations works. We know that, unless there is unanimity of the Great Powers the Security Council cannot implement its resolutions, and that the General Assembly is only a recommendatory body. But at that time we thought that the resolutions would resolve the Kashmir dispute. One Prime Minister said that he was not going to attend the Commonwealth Conference unless they discussed the Kashmir problem. Their reply was that they would discuss the Kashmir problem but, though there was a big riot, nothing happened. In those days that might have been the right thing to do, not now. But the point is that, though the conditions change, one doesn't abandon the dispute and the principles. Of course, one feels that change has come and different methods may be employed to achieve a solution. A break-through might come.

**Question:** *Does that mean it is a question of delineation?*

**President:** I think we could have ended by saying that a break-through might come. It can come in our time but if it does not, we are not going to spoil the atmosphere. That way we suffer also. A country must have confidence to stand by principles, even if there is no progress. Ayub Khan's problem was, and I asked him

very often, that he somehow felt that it must be solved while he was President. I am told that his predecessors felt the same way. Feroze Khan Noon, who was our Prime Minister might have said, 'It must be done in my time, because I know Nehru and Nehru knows me.'

I know Ghulam Mohammad felt the same way. I don't feel that way. I don't think that God has ordained that it must be done today under so and so's Government. These matters are linked with the historical process. My duty firstly is to see that our position is not weakened or compromised as some time in the past. Some of the former governments weakened our position morally with the kind of statements they made. They did not hold on tenaciously to self-determination and plebiscite. By offering to consider methods other than the plebiscite, you sometimes discover that you have come no nearer to a solution and that all you have done is to make a hole in your own position. So we are not going to do that. But we are not going to say, "if that does not happen we are going to have a fight, we are going to war, we are going to break our diplomatic relations." Sometimes, if you hold on to your principles, may be with the passage of time new factors come into play, a new situation arises and new attitudes are engendered. To repeat, we cannot abandon our principles; if we abandon one we might abandon all. Moreover, we are the smaller country. We are supported not because Pakistan is prettier than India but because we stand on the right principles. If we give up the right principles, then the weight of India which is bigger and larger will keep falling on us. Isn't that so? You may ask what is the principle. If I go to France and ask you to support us on Kashmir, notwithstanding your friendly relations with India, I do so on the basis of the principle of self-determination which you conceded to Algeria which de Gaulle accepted even against metropolitan France. This is a principle we cannot abandon. But this does not mean that we mean to ignite the atmosphere. If I am a victim of aggression, I will seek your support and if you extend it you will be supporting not Pakistan but the principle of non-aggression.

**Question:** *On Bangladesh may I ask you, Mr. President, what kind of relations you would like to establish after recognition?*

**President:** The most fraternal, the closest possible. They and we are one in heart. A situation arises, when enmity is born and brothers fight. But I think when the dust settles down, they will want to come here and see the Indus again; and we will want to go there and see the Ganges again.

**Question:** *You have made some basic reforms and you have come forward. But there is some trouble in Karachi. Do you think that people are not happy with reforms?*

**President:** People are very happy with the reforms. But there is the internal politics of those defeated parties who want to rehabilitate themselves on the emotional issue of Bangladesh. Of course, the Bangladesh issue is laden with emotion. But, if I were in the Opposition, I don't think that I would have done what they are doing. I would still have wanted to have good relations with East Pakistan – with Bangladesh. But these people are arousing the emotions of the people simply to embarrass the Government, to weaken it, to make unpopular. That is their main object. They want the students to come out into the streets, to stage demonstrations and start violence

because they don't like the PPP; they don't like Mr. Bhutto because he defeated them in the elections very badly. They want to take revenge. There is a morbidity in this last effort of theirs; it is pathetic and it has to be pitied. I pity them because they are really hollow men. They are derelict, senile, completely decrepit and now they are trying to administer the last kick. They are doing it badly. I know them. You see I have worked with them. I know their outlook. I know their courage. I know in what waters they can swim and in what they cannot. I know the moles on their face. I knew how they were going to react. I tell you why? Immediately after the Simla Agreement, they wanted to divert public attention by trying to create language trouble in Karachi. I knew that when the withdrawals take place, they would try to obscure the success by some diversionary tactics. But we have dealt with them most effectively. Effectively does not mean by violence. Wherever demonstrations had to be halted, well we naturally stopped them. In all countries you have got to put a stop to rioting and violence – in Britain, in France, everywhere. When tribesmen start coming on horseback with machine –guns to invade Quetta, I could not ask people whether I should paint my nails green or red. I had to stop them. The whole of Baluchistan is a tribal society, so is at least half of the Frontier. There are tribal societies in Punjab and in Sind. We have democracy but, like you people in France, we find it difficult to establish the form. In substance, we also are independent minded and freedom-loving. However, we have now arrived at a constitutional settlement, which is a very big thing. Incidentally, at one time, we had a thought, just a thought, why not look at the French pattern. It is rather strange that, in 1947, even the Quaid-i-Azam said that the French system might work in France, the duality between the President and the Prime Minister would cause difficulties here. I think you too are having some second thoughts on this matter. I have seen certain trends in your Parliament and in your Press after the disappearance of the tall figure of General de Gaulle. Even when de Gaulle came on the scene in 1958, there was so much comment in France about whether he should be the President or Prime Minister. Remember that time you also were wondering whether he would take the Presidency or the Prime Ministership. Realizing that duality at least will not work in Pakistan, we have concentrated the executive authority in the hands of the Prime Minister. Our President will be a ceremonial one, more or less on the German pattern.

**Question:** *Is it a fact that disagreement on the distribution of subjects between the Centre and the Provinces has been resolved?*

**President:** We have resolved the question of autonomy. We have adopted an Interim constitution and now we are on the verge of having a permanent Constitution. We have restored Assemblies in the Provinces and at the Centre. We have established Provincial governments. We have moved fast on the political front on the basis of democracy, and we have moved rapidly towards projecting a more balanced and more organized economy. In the field of foreign affairs also, we have our achievements: the Simla Agreement, the withdrawals, the fact that many states have still not recognized Bangladesh and the Chinese veto on the admission of Bangladesh into the United Nations.

**Question:** *May I ask you Mr. President what kind of Pakistan do you want to build?*

***President:*** A people's Pakistan, prosperous, towering in its progress and strength, having a viable economy vital as a social entity, a model for the subcontinent. A state which should be humming with activity, where there is social justice, where there is a flowering of all our cultures in pluralistic society.

***Address at the Bahawalpur Bar Association  
on December 27, 1972***

President Zulfikar Ali Bhutto said that the politics of agitation and violence must come to an end as the nation badly needed a breathing space to concentrate on the more pressing problems.

Addressing the Bahawalpur Bar Association at the Central Library President said that agitational methods were necessary only when there was no other course left to change a Government. The country now had a democratically elected Government and a democratic Constitution which ensured a tenure for a Government and a method to change it.

He said that democracy meant negation of violence. There was a qualitative difference between the objective conditions prevailing in 1969 and those existing today.

Everybody now had the freedom to exercise his constitutional rights to oppose the Government, but if there was any attempt to violate the constitutional methods, the Government would deem it as its duty to defend the Constitution, he added.

The President said: “We have to have a moratorium. If breathing space was needed, this country needed it more than any other in the world.”

He said: “We have to choose the weapon of democracy and not of violence as it would be the people who would ultimately suffer from politics of agitation and violence.”

The President said that the people of Pakistan had experienced abnormal conditions during the last few years, and underwent tremendous tensions.

This was too long a period for an under-developed nation, he said, “We must now have some measure of normality.”

The President referred to the student trouble, and said that this had been a world-wide phenomenon which was not confined to any particular country or continent.

The younger generation gets more emotional and has reacted to shattering of hopes and frustrating objective conditions of their time, he said.

He, however, observed that over the past few years the student trouble had receded in most of the countries, and it was no longer a world phenomenon.

“The conditions prevailing in our country at present also demand a change. We cannot afford to make the students’ agitation a permanent feature,” he added.

The President said that his Government was determined to tackle the problem of price hike against which there was a general outcry in the country.

He said that every effort would be made to make the country self-sufficient in wheat, sugar, fertilizer and other essential commodities.

“We are fully aware of the difficulties being faced by the people and would do everything possible to resolve them,” he said.

The President dwelt at length on the cause of rise in the prices, and added prices of essential commodities had risen all over the world.

“However, we don’t want to satisfy our people by merely analyzing the cause and terming it a world phenomenon. We are doing our best to check increase in the prices,” he said.

The President said that in war sacrifices had to be made not only by soldiers but also by the civilian population.

The present day wars were total wars in which the whole nation had to make sacrifices, he said.

Even the victorious European countries, he said, had to make tremendous sacrifices after the two world wars. For five years, people in Britain could not have bread, or meat or sugar, he said. This was in spite of the fact that they had all the resources of the Commonwealth and a massive aid from the United States.

The President said that although Pakistan had only 17-day war, the resources of a poor country like ours were limited to withstand its consequences. In relative terms, this 17-day war was as devastating to Pakistan as the World War to the European countries.

He said, besides the world-wide inflation and the war, another factor in price rise was separation of East Pakistan, which brought about a swift and sudden dislocation in the economy of Pakistan. That part of the country produced jute, which earned most of the foreign exchange till recently when the cotton exports matched that earning.

Besides, it was a market of 70 million people for commodities produced in this part. He said that our country had a closed market. Borders with our neighbour, India, remained sealed. The commodities which Pakistan could get cheaper from there had to be imported from other markets at a bigger cost. Similarly, exports were also affected. After the separation of East Pakistan, Burma, Malaysia and other such countries are no more our neighbours. Our internal market too is much smaller, he observed.

The President compared Pakistan’s position with that of India and said that India had a bigger internal and external market. It had favourable balance of trade

with East European countries. It had markets in neighbouring countries like Nepal, Burma, Bhutan, Ceylon, etc.

He, however, observed that according to information available it was evident that prices of various essential commodities in Pakistan were 100 to 200 per cent cheaper than those prevalent in India.

The President also mentioned increase in population, heavy expenditure on defence and the curse of smuggling as other major factors in the rise of prices.

He said that his Government was taking every measure within the limited resources available to curtail smuggling.

“We have to make watertight arrangements to stop smuggling of cash commodities like fertilizer, wheat, sugar, etc. The people could also help in this effort in the larger interest of the nation.

The President said that his Government had to take the unpleasant decision of devaluation which should have been effected in 1966. This was a painful surgical operation for our economy. The consequences would have to be borne for some time, he added.

The President emphasized the urgent need for increasing production. He said industrial production in the country had dropped by 40 per cent. There had been so many labour strikes, legal or illegal, which adversely affected the production. The ultimate sufferers were the labourers themselves as the economy had been badly hit by these strikes and prices had increased, he said.

His Government, the President said, had full faith in the labour class for whose cause it had waged a struggle. When a section of labour took to lawlessness we did not take very strong action. Their demands were met, but they put forward more demands. The Government gave them a long rope, but there had to be a limit to all that.

He said that giving a sense of security to the common man was the most important factor, as only then he could make effective contribution in the reconstruction of the country. He must have security against unemployment, crime and lawlessness.

The President said that the difficulties being faced by the nation at present were a passing phase. His Government, he said, was devoted to the concept of serving the people and rebuilding the country into a strong and prosperous Pakistan. The people should also see to it that their energies were not dissipated in agitational politics.

He said, they country needed total concentration on tackling the pressing problem being faced by it. These included price rise, law and order, development, increase in foreign exchange earning, rise in agricultural and industrial production,

etc. A massive national effort, he said, was needed for this task which would ultimately change the face of the country.

Referring to his invitation to the foreign envoys to spend some time in Bahawalpur, the President said that such gestures were necessary to promote understanding and co-operation. He said that personal factor had its own place in diplomacy. It was a world-wide practice to have informal gatherings of diplomats and to allow them opportunity to see the country and the people.

The first Prime Minister of Pakistan, Khan Liaquat Ali Khan, had also arranged for such a gathering at Moenjo Daro. The President said that he had chosen Bahawalpur for inviting the diplomats as the people of this region were very hospitable.



***Message of condolence on the death of Mr. Harry S. Truman  
former President of U.S.A. on December 27, 1972***

We are deeply grieved at the sad demise of the former United States President Mr. Harry S. Truman. The world has lost a great leader and an elder statesman and the United States one of its most distinguished citizens. History will remember Mr. Truman for his courage, vision and determination in helping to evolve a new structure of post-war peace in the form of the United Nations Organization.

As we mourn this irreparable loss to the United States and indeed to the whole world, our sympathies go out to the members of the bereaved family and to the American people.

***Message of greetings to His Majesty Birendra Bir  
Bikram Shah Deva, the King of Nepal on December 28, 1972***

On behalf of the government and the people of Pakistan and on my own behalf I have great pleasure in extending to Your Majesty, the Government and the people of Nepal the warmest felicitations and cordial greetings on the occasion of Your Majesty's birthday. I am confident that the friendly relations and co-operation which so happily exist between Nepal and Pakistan shall continue to grow in the years to come. May I add my best wishes for the good health of Your Majesty and progress and prosperity for the friendly people of Nepal.

*Message of sympathy to the President of Nicaragua  
on December 28, 1972*

I am deeply grieved to hear the news of the terrible earthquake which has brought death, destruction and immense suffering to the people of your country, the people of Pakistan join me in expressing their profound sympathies for the tragic and unprecedented loss of life and property caused by this natural disaster of gigantic proportions. We hope and pray that your people with the help of the international community would be able to provide immediate relief to the victims of this calamity and also undertake the task of rehabilitation and reconstruction with determination.

Please accept, Excellency, the renewed assurances of my highest consideration.

***Message of condolence on the death of Sir Leonara Williams,  
Governor-General of Mauritius on December 28, 1972***

It is with deep sorrow that I have learnt of the sad demise of His Excellency Sir Leonard Williams, Governor-General of Mauritius. On my own behalf and on behalf of the Government and the people of Pakistan I offer our sincere condolences and sympathies to the bereaved family and to the government and the people of Mauritius.

***Message of condolence on the death of Mr. Lester B. Pearson,  
former Prime Minister of Canada  
on December 29, 1972***

Excellency, we are deeply grieved to hear the sad news of the death of Mr. Pearson. Mr. Pearson was one of the most illustrious sons of Canada, a renowned diplomat and scholar and statesman of world repute who played a leading role in the cause of the world peace and international co-operation.

On behalf of the Government and the people of Pakistan I offer our heartiest condolences and sympathies to the bereaved family and to the people of Canada.

***Message of greetings to Mr. Nicolae Ceasescu, President  
of the Socialist Republic of Roomania on December 30, 1972***

On the occasion of the 25<sup>th</sup> Anniversary of the founding of the Socialist Republic of Romania, I wish to convey to Your Excellency, on behalf of the people and the Government of Pakistan and on my own behalf, warm felicitations and good wishes for the progress and prosperity of the Romanian people.

The people of Romania have made significant achievements after the establishment of the Republic. We are confident that they will achieve greater successes in the years to come under Your Excellency's wise leadership.

I also take this opportunity to extend to Your Excellency on the eve of the New year my sincere greetings and best wishes for your personal well-being and happiness. May the New Year which shall so happily begin with Your Excellency's visit to Pakistan further strengthen the manifold ties binding our two countries.

***Statement on the Vietnam situation  
on December 30, 1972***

The world heaved a sigh of relief when in October this year an agreement in principle was reached between the Representatives of the United States and of the People's Democratic Republic of North Vietnam to end the hostilities in that war-ravaged land.

Two months have passed and that long-awaited end to a long savage war for which mankind had fervently hoped has remained elusive; instead of the cease-fire the United States has resumed the bombing of North Vietnam with increasing ferocity.

We, in Pakistan, were hoping that better counsels would prevail to overcome the difficulties that have suddenly arisen after the announcement of the basic agreement. In Pakistan we are still taunted for the alleged atrocities committed by us over a year ago to keep our country together. Who will find the word to describe the calculated devastation done to make a civilized part of humanity return to the Stone Age?

The people of Pakistan deplore and condemn the resumption of hostilities and we earnestly pray in the name of humanity that the peace agreement be re-prepared soon to put an end to poignantly long chapter of senseless bloodshed and destruction in Vietnam War.

***Interview with Mr. Cornel Raducanu and Mr. Ilie Ciurescu  
on December 30, 1972***

President Zulfikar Ali Bhutto said that he has been able to keep Pakistan together and make it survive as a nation. He listed this as one of his biggest achievements during the course of an interview given by him to the visiting Romanian journalists, Mr. Cornel Raducanu of “Lumea” and Mr. Ilie Ciurescu of T.V.R. in Karachi.

The President said, when he took over, the major part of the country had been taken away by aggression and the circumstances in which the fall of Dacca took place had its consequences on the whole country. Cease-fire had taken place but a large part of the territory of West Pakistan was in Indian occupation. A great deal of activity was also taking place on the Western border; and more than that, there was a great deal of subversion and subversive activities. People were depressed and demoralized and without any sense of direction. The military Government had collapsed with the defeat suffered at Dacca and there was a political vacuum. The economic conditions were not happy as a result of the war and the policies pursued by the former Governments. It was in this state of utter confusion and turmoil that he had to find ways and means to stabilize the situation.

The President said, “We have restored democracy after a long period of military Government. My Government is seeking to frame a constitution based on the wishes and aspirations of the people.”

He said that our main concern now is improvement of the economic, social and cultural levels of the people. For a number of reasons, both historical and otherwise, but basically on account of the ravages of colonialism under which the subcontinent suffered for so long, we have had difficult times and a late start. He hoped that from the experience of friendly countries and with their collaboration and, above all, with the efforts of the peoples themselves, we will make Pakistan march progressively forward on an enlightened road.

Asked about the main objectives of his Government in economic and social fields, President Bhutto said, “The first question I had to address myself was to lift the morale of the people. The second task before us was to give political directions both internal and external.”

The President recalled the number of visits he undertook to countries with whom Pakistan has special interest and relationship and said that in a way these visits contributed, to the reshaping of Pakistan’s foreign policy on new lines. As a result of these visits, an overwhelming majority of those countries had not yet recognized the part of our country that had been dismembered by force, although one year had passed. The fact that we were able, with the assistance of our friend and neighbour, the People’s Republic of China, to prevent entry of this secessionist part of Pakistan without the fulfillment of UN resolutions and return of our POWs and withdrawals from occupied territories is also a matter of satisfaction to Pakistan. The withdrawals



have now been completed. The Simla Agreement with India provides the future framework of our relations.

The President told the journalists that the achievements on the external front had helped rebuild the morale of the people.

He referred to the all-party agreement on the fundamentals of the Constitution, convening of National and the Provincial Assemblies and formation of Provincial Governments on democratic principles.

The President then outlined the measures taken by his Government to restore the country's economy and the reforms in various fields of national life. He said, we have introduced educational reforms, making education free from primary to matriculation standard. We have also nationalized all the private educational institutions. There are a few left which, too, will be nationalized in a year or so.

In the field of labour, he said, within a period of one year, his Government has increased by 40% the industrial wages in cash and kind, although correspondingly production has fallen by 40%. This was only the First step in this direction; and once production gets increasing, we will do much more for the labour.

The President said that we have also nationalized what we regarded as basic industries. On the fiscal side, we have made a massive devaluation of the Rupee which no Government in the past was prepared to do. The national budget has been oriented towards the socialistic side and the common welfare of the people. We have also introduced land reforms giving land to the peasants without any cost and with no compensation to the land-owners. In Punjab and Sind, the two major provinces 6,00,000 acres of land, if not more will be distributed among the peasants.

Health reforms have also been introduced. We have done away with the brand names of medicines and are now operating generic names to make medicines cheap for the common man.

“Let me tell you quite frankly”, the President emphasized that “if we had not found ourselves dismembered and had not inherited a completely chaotic situation, we would have been able to do more.” Now that normal conditions are restored, we will be able to make the economy move forward. We also intend to establish co-operative farms.

Asked about prospects of co-operation between Romania and Pakistan, President Zulfikar Ali Bhutto said, economic collaboration can be increased between our two countries. There is a big scope for co-operation in the field of oil prospecting. He said that when the President of Romania comes here we shall discuss this aspect of collaboration. We have found natural gas in large quantities and there are signs and positive data that oil is available. We are making a search but, I think, Romania's vast experience and knowledge can be of use to Pakistan.

The President said that there was also big scope of expansion of trade between our two countries. We can have tractors and bull-dozers from Romania for the development of agriculture and we can also have road-building equipment for building our roads and other means of communications. A machinery can be evolved whereby Ministers can meet periodically and discuss specific fields of collaboration.

In the political field also the President said, we can co-operate in the UN in so many matters. "The world is the entire time facing one test after another and every time there is opportunity to respond to the challenge collectively in the interest of peace."

The President said, "We have paid a heavy price for adhering to our principles," when he elaborated the main directions of Pakistan's foreign policy in reply to a question by the Romanian journalists. He said in 1965 when there was war between India and Pakistan one great Power wanted to 'punish' Pakistan. And in 1971, another great Power wanted to punish us for following our foreign policy. He said whether it was a punishment or not, history will tell. But we have paid a heavy price.

The President said if you look at the broader picture of the foreign policy of your own country and the foreign policy of my country you will not fail to see many common features. For instance, Pakistan's foreign policy, at one time, was regarded to be expedient, pragmatist or opportunistic. These were labels given by countries which are unfair to principles. He said Pakistan was also, at one time, greatly misunderstood by certain countries for having established very cordial relations with China. It was said, how it could be possible that Pakistan, on the one hand, was trying to have good relations with the Soviet Union and on the other with China and also with the United States. These were considered as "conflicting dichotomy." But, the President said, we did not see any conflict in them. Our foreign policy stands for principles of sovereignty of states, equality of sovereign states, good neighbourly relations, non-interference in each other's internal affairs and no imposition of one's point of view or ideology on another. The Soviet Union is our neighbour. China is a neighbour of Pakistan and has been a friendly country. We want to have good relations with the Soviet Union because of our neighbourly association and because it is a great Power. United States is also a great Power and has world-wide interests. So, we do not see any conflict in our policy of maintaining friendly relations with them. He told the correspondents that their country also, to some extent went through the same process.

Asked to elaborate the policy of bilateralism, the President said, we have many important countries surrounding us. On the one side, we have the Soviet Union. We have also 400 miles of border with the People's Republic of China. Afghanistan is also our neighbour which has its own requirements and needs. Then we have India which has its own ambitions. We have, as much as possible, direct relations with each of them separately on bilateral basis. Iran also is our neighbour but with Iran we have no problems. He pointed out that each of these states has different conflicting requirements. It was not like Western Europe where the Western European countries have come to some common understanding on basic matters. Here there are many

built-in rivalries, conflicts and disputes. So the much safer and much better course is to proceed on bilateral basis. So the much safer and much better course is to proceed on bilateral basis. But in this 20<sup>th</sup> century one could not be completely bilateral. The world has become too small to be entirely bilateral.

In the end the President acceded to the request by the Romanian TV correspondent for a message for the Romanian people. The President said: “I wish your people happiness and prosperity and success and happiness to their children. I have seen the brave efforts that the people under their enlightened leadership have made to bring about progress of their country. My last visit to Romania, which incidentally was my only visit, has left a deep impression on my mind. I made the visit in 1965 when I was the Foreign Minister. I know your Foreign Minister well and we are looking forward to his visit with the Romanian President.”