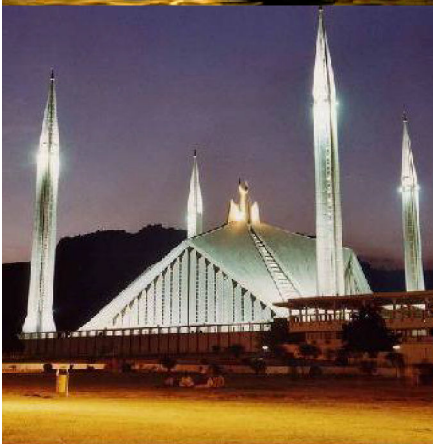


Zulfikar Ali Bhutto

The Falcon of Pakistan



By
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Zulfikar Ali Bhutto

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FOREWORD

Pakistan first democratically elected Prime Minister Zulfikar Ali Bhutto was executed at the age of fifty by a military dictator. The constitution was suspended and a reign of terror unleashed. Young men were tied to stakes and whipped. Others were hanged. Still others tortured.

Prime Minister Zulfikar Ali Bhutto, the Father of the Pakistani Constitution, founded the Pakistan Peoples Party in 1967. a charismatic, intelligent and popular leader, he gave the people hope and dignity. He saved the country in 1971 after it disintegrated following the genocidal policies of military dictator General Yahya Khan

Known as Quaid-e-Awam, Zulfikar Ali Bhutto was a world statesperson. His vision, will and presence inspired a generation of political and diplomatic leaders across the the world.

Bhutto's Pakistan Peoples Party swept to power after winning a landshide victory in then West Pakistan. Such was his popularity and program, that unknown personalities toppled political gainsts. Under the PPP tricolors flag, his message of "Roti, Kapra Aur Makan" galvanized the people. It frightened the power brokers and the elite. His policies of nationalization broke the monopoly of a group of 22 capital barons who exploited the land and its resources. It enabled the building of Pakistan's infrastructure as well as opened the doors to a middle class.

Modern Pakistan was built by Bhutto. He reduced land holdings to about 150 acres to abolish feudalism and Jagirdari system. He introduced the article pertaining to Habeous Corpus in the Constitution. He emancipated women, gave job guarantee and workers welfare to labour. The right of universal passport came with him. He was a nationalistic Pan Islamic leader who tirelessly tried to unite the Muslim world. He was the father of Pakistan's nuclear program, the first in the Islamic world. Zulfikar Ali Bhutto governed from December 1971 to July 1977.

He saved Pakistan from General Manekshaw's threat of further division. He was a strong supporter of the Kashmiri people and a fearless fighter against colonialism who wrote the book, "Myth of Independence". His other works include "The Great Tragedy" which began as a letter written to his daughter.

His third book was "My Dearest Daughter" written from prison. His other writings are found in judicial documents as well as prestigious magazines of the world. He captivated the international audience with his powerful intellect and his unmatched oratory. His speeches in the United Nations were listened to in spellbound wonder.

Bhutto was imprisoned many times. He was held at Kot Lakhpat Jail, Mianwali Jail, Sukkur Jail, Rawalpindi District Jail, and Karachi Jail. He was killed in the Rawalpindi jail. The whole world mourned his murder with heads of state and government openly condoling with the Bhutto family. Many had sent delegations to General Zia to spare the life of a man who united the Muslim Ummah and was the pride of the Muslim world and the developing nations.

General Zia offered the PPP that he would work with it if it agreed to his minus Zulfikar Ali Bhutto formula. The PPP refused South Asia then witnessed its most barbaric period. Young men were lashed for shouting "long live Bhutto" by military courts. They were tortured by the Inter Services Intelligence which Zia used as his political party. Many were sentenced in summary military courts to death by hanging. The case of Martyr Naser Baloch because a clear case of murder when it was revealed that the death sentence was approved by General Zia before it was announced by a military court. Many young men burned themselves alive in front of main business centers to protest the arrest and murder of the great Quaid-e-Awam. It is said that South Asia never witnessed such a brilliant and charismatic leader before nor would it witness it again.

Prime Minister Zulfikar Ali Bhutto was murdered on April 4, 1979 after General Zia refused to comply with an unanimous Supreme Court request that the death sentence be commuted. Shaheed Bhutto refused to plead for his life even as the hour of the gallows approached. He said that he was afraid of God and no one else.

After his martyrdom, Shaheed Bhutto loomed over Pakistan's political destiny. Young men took up arms to fight General Zia and military rule. The situation was defused to the election of Shaheed Bhutto's daughter Benazir.

Both of Shaheed Bhutto's sons were killed.

Zulfikar Ali Bhutto was the son of Sir Shahnawaz Bhutto, the prime minister of Junagadh and the man who separated Bombay from Sindh thereby paving the way for Pakistan. His Mother was Lady Khursheed Bhutto.

Zulfikar Ali Bhutto graduated from the University of California at Berkeley as well as from Oxford. He was called to the Bar from Lincoln's Inn in London and taught Law at Southampton University for a while. He was the youngest delegate to the United Nations for his time as well as the youngest cabinet minister and youngest elected chief of state. He was admired by leading members of the world community including the philosopher Bertrand Russell, President Bush Senior, Dr. Henry Kissinger, Secretary of State and National Security Advisor, President Giscard of France, Saudi Arabia's Shah Faisal and many others.

Prime Minister Zulfikar ali Bhutto was described as the bestdressed man of his time. The young people in particular supported him. His struggle began from the halls of students in colleges and universities across the country. When he was killed, the whole world mourned him. Even the troops in Kharian, then the leading military corp, did not eat food for three days despite the fact that Zia came from that corp.

On April 4, the name of Prime Minister Zulfikar Ali Bhutto reverberates throughout the world. His martyrdom is commemorated across Pakistan, the Gulf, Europe and America.

His supporters still shout, "Zinda Hai Bhutto, Zinda Hai". And indeed he is.

BENAZIR BHUTTO
April 4, 2002

PREFACE

***"A preface being entrance of a book, should invite by its beauty,
An elegant porch announces the splendour of the interior."***

Disraeli

History writing is indeed an onerous, delicate and difficult job, Even for a man of profound knowledge of history with an unbiased mind, it becomes a matter of trial to portray and paint a true picture of the personalities who have been makers of history and have remained immortal in its annals. But in spite of failings and follies, the subject of history continues to remain all important, for it is the only source which throws light on the life of the great men who have been guideposts and landmarks in the world. It is truly said. "History is a voice forever surrounding across the centuries the laws of right and wrong. Opinions alter, manners change, cruds rise and fall, but the moral law is written on the tables of eternity." History is a mirror through which the past of mankind is reflected.

I have undertaken the task of writing the biography of Zulfikar Ali Bhutto (1928 - 1979), the most outstanding personality and Prime Minister of Pakistan from 1972 to 1977; it has been named "Zulfikar Ali Bhutto - the Falcon of Pakistan" keeping in view his high historical and heavenly soaring especially in the political horizons of his country and the Muslim World. True, he was quite a controversial statesman and was ultimately executed by his own country men ignoring the weeping and wailing of the masses of Pakistan, turning down the earnest appeals from the Muslim World and discarding the voice of the World. Great men have always been controversial, but these controversies do not in any manner detract or mar their celestial loftiness, and Z. A. Bhutto is certainly one of them. The Superior Courts of his country held him guilty of murder and he died as a result of those verdicts. But the people of Pakistan deeply and universally mourned his death, exonerated him honourably from the charge of murder and held him as their hero, their emancipator and martyr. I think that judgement of the people is never fallacious and it is the voice of God. Even today, in spite of the tirade of slanderous propaganda, he is reckoned as the most powerful force in the politics of Pakistan. The historians have held the judicial courts destructive wars fought throughout world by the "highly cultured and civilized class - the cream of the intelligentsia" in the name of peace and tranquility. Even Holy Prophet Christ was crucified under the verdict of the court, according to history; Socrates, the greatest Greek philosopher, benefactor of the world, was murdered under orders of the same forum forcing him to gulp the deadly poison. I feel that this predicament will continue vigorously so long as the world I there.

Mr. Muhammad Ali Jinnah, Asia's greatest man of his time, was the founder of the largest Muslim State in the world, in spite of the tough and tortuous opposition of the British Government and the All India National Congress composed of the Hindu leadership. After his death, Pakistan has not produced such a dynamic, charismatic, capable, courageous and strong willed statesman. Thereafter the history points out only to Zulfikar Ali Bhutto and none else. And it is a most remarkable coincidence that both these barristers belonged to the soil of Sindh, a province of Pakistan. Apparently not very devout Muslims had inherited the identical political and economic ideas, concept of Muslim Brotherhood and the unification of the Third World countries, understanding of the most hostile Indian attitude to cripple and liquidate Pakistan forever. Thus they were two sides of the same coin.

Jinnah did not live long after the achievement of Pakistan; and the time he was alive passed in agony and pressures; on one hand Indian aggression was threatening and on the other, barring few; his colleagues indulged in conspiracies, internal feuds and merry-making. Bhutto was martyred at a young age and innumerable obstructions were placed in his path by the internal and external forces. Prior to that, H.S. Suharwardy an able politician and an adroit administrator was not allowed any chance by the "big guns" of Pakistan to serve his country. It is my emphatic contention that in case nature had provided them even a quarter of century to run Pakistan; they would have changed the destiny of the nation, and the present state of affairs in which this Country is languishing and lingering- like a "sickman" would never have been witnessed. It is to the great misfortune of Pakistan; that these who knew the mysteries of rise and decline of the nations and could act patriotically with promptitude, could not get adequate opportunity to make Pakistan a developed, progressive and prosperous land of the world. It was an avowed objective of Bhutto to revive the glory, glamour and greatness of Granada and Cordovan Karachi and Lahore.

The undeniable fact is that the laws of nature are similar and impartial for all; God has made no discrimination amongst His creatures. Those who understand and follow the innumerable laws of nature will grow strong and happy, and those who flout with impunity and impudence, are bound to suffer the buffets of nature. Bhutto played his memorable part not only for Pakistan but also for the Muslim Countries and the Third World that were being politically and orchestrated economically by the sharp cutting wheel of the powerful and callous countries. But in this process, he himself was physically cut in pieces. However, that did not matter much with him politically and spiritually, he made himself an immortal hero in the world history and this is what he wanted. He did not believe in compromises in the matters caring little for the consequences. He never feared death; while he was bravely facing the throes of the Generals and Judges. But after him; Pakistan has ceaselessly suffered and its people have never heaved a sign of relief after his martyrdom. The physically dead Bhutto still wields tremendous political influence in Pakistan, more than any after living leader despite the passage of more than

two decades of his decline and demise. The Islamic belief is that martyrs don't die.

There are Pakistani writers who penned the life of Bhutto in fragmentary style, some are fair and appreciative, they have tried to do justice to this political giant. After the exit of Z.A. Bhutto from Ayub cabinet, some army generals, who were already participants in the power politics of the country, and in lesser number some civil bureaucrats who had their special role to play in the dictatorial regime, overnight became politicians, thinkers and writers. But it seems that they have tried to defend and justify their own actions and behavior. They have made exculpatory statements, shifting the serious charges to others. Some generals went to the extent of forming their own political parties and bringing their professional friends into the political arena, though they ultimately proved total failure. However, this strange admixture aggravated, confused and spoiled the political situation to the detriment of the country.

The more important aspect to which I would like to refer is the unsympathetic attitude of foreign writers to Z.A. Bhutto, with due deference I must admit that they are professional and hardworking in their writings, but their approach is not free from prejudice or rancour. This attitude is not based on any personal malice or motive, but it is the result of traditional and historical perspective. Most of the western scholars and journalists think in terms of West versus the Muslim World. Since Bhutto was a profound champion of the cause of the Muslim World and proposed to bring back the greatness and glory of Islam when the Muslims had their sway over the world for centuries, and strongly pleaded the cause of the Third World in the paramount interest of World peace, justice and coexistence.

With the advent of independence, Gandhi had virtually retired from political life, and he had nothing much to do with the Government affairs. But Jinnah could not afford to sit as spectator, he had to bear the brunt of the pressing problems of his new born country – his own baby that was struggling for survival and was seriously threatened by India from the date of birth. Moreover, Pakistan was penniless. India had withheld almost all the assets to the exclusion of Pakistan's own share; and the politicians who had worked with Mr. Jinnah had failed to come up to his expectations. As such Mr. Jinnah had to resort to extraordinary measures and literally worked himself to death. After his demise the conditions worsened further, and problems went on multiplying, the sense of deprivation and frustration was prevailing everywhere, and more so in East Pakistan. This attitude of the vested interests from the West Wing finally culminated in secession of East Pakistan in December 1971. The dismemberment created more complications, thus the confusion was more confounded. When Bhutto took over the reigns of Pakistan, it was simply in shambles. The army and the civil bureaucracy were deeply demoralized. And the common man seething with discontent, was in excruciating agony. Nobody was prepared to take charge of a torn and humiliated Pakistan when none

could predict about the tomorrow of this country. At this precarious stage. Bhutto was called upon to take over when the very survival of Pakistan was doubtful. In spite of all the limitations, the dearth of efficient and dedicated politicians in the country, total political isolation and economic bankruptcy, he grappled with all the burning problems manfully and successfully, fighting a lone battle of an empty handed warrior, against the heavy odds arrayed against the country. The political vultures were hovering in the expectation that they would soon make a feast of Pakistan's flesh, for which they were anxiously waiting the past decades. The critical hours were the test of Bhutto's abilities.

Pakistan was achieved by ballot, by democratic means, and certainly not through armed conflict and conflagration, therefore it had to be administered democratically. But the leaders kicked the ladder of democracy by which they had ascended to the goal of Pakistan, and introduced oligarchy in the country. It was no system, as such the situation drifted to naked dictatorship. But the experience and events of thirteen long years proved this fact conclusively that the 'ballot was stronger than bullet'. After the long pitch-dark unendurable night of Martial Law, there appeared dawn in the political horizon of Pakistan; and the democratic rule was established in Pakistan under the leadership of Zulfikar Ali Bhutto. Perhaps, men at the top had not yet learnt any lesson from the catastrophes that Pakistan and its people had suffered in the past. They advanced and once again throttled the process of democracy. Pakistan plunged again in the abyses of dictatorship and till today it has not been aqble to recover from the calamitous situation.

It is an irony of fate that those who imposed Marital Law, abrogated the constitution, destroyed democracy, patronized the blood-sucking capitalists and corrupt dismembered the country, committed treaon and treachery and made Pakistan a laughing stock in the eyes of the whole world, were not taken to task and they went scot-free. But the man who picked the pieces, awakened the masses from slumber, gave them self-respect, unified the Muslim World all over, was, however, rewarded with death sentence, Bhutto was the symbol of Pakistan's federation. He firmly believed in Pakistan's nationalism, and he subordinated all the "isms" to the Islamic principles of "equality and fraternity of mankind." It was no mean achievement, indeed a revolution in the Muslim World: Muslims first and Muslims last, and anything else thereafter.

I have lived to see the epoch-making era of the Quaid-e-Azam (the great leader) Mohammad Ali Jinnah, and the Quaid-e-Awam (the people's leader) Zulfikar Ali Bhutto, and also rest of the period when Pakistan had to pass through miseries and misfortunes. Mr. Z.A. Bhutto belonged to Larkana and I have lived all my life in Larkana. I must point out that I opposed him when he joined Martial Law Cabinet but I am his admirer also for he saved and consolidated Pakistan. By his extraordinary talents, genius, courage, he rendered unforgettable services to his country, Muslim World and the Third World.

What impelled me to write this book was my visit to Singapore, where I met a non-Pakistani Muslim in a restaurant. He asked my friend and me whether we were Pakistani Muslims. On our reply in affirmative he said, "you are the people who killed your benefactor, the hero of the Muslim World and the Third World countries, "We marked tears rolling down his cheeks. Out of shame we were tongue-tied and dums. This book is the result of those tragic tears.

* * * * *

CHAPTER 1

Leader of the People

"True statesmanship is the art of changing a nation from what it is into what it ought to be"

W.R.Alger

By all political canons, Zulfikar Ali Bhutto was the falcon of Pakistan, he soared very high in the political skies and none else could be compared with him. No Prime Minister of Pakistan, or Head of the State with the exception of Quaid-e-Azam Mohammad Ali Jinnah, was so popular and dynamic, as Zulfikar Ali Bhutto. The invaluable services that he rendered to his country that was on the brink of total effacement from the world map from a golden and unforgettable chapter in the history of Pakistan. After the humiliating debacle of East Pakistan when more than ninety thousand army and civil personnel, including Generals, Brigadiers, other officers and soldiers, had abjectly surrendered before General Jagjit Singh Aurora, there could be no greater ignominy for the people of Pakistan, and besides that, considerable area in West Pakistan was occupied by the Indian forces. Indira Gandhi proposed to occupy the "Azad Kashmir" area also but she was effectively prevented through diplomatic measures, and if that had been accomplished, it was the end of Pakistan. The army, which has to look after and protect the geographical integrity, stood defeated and degraded, and no strength was left in the beleaguered army of Pakistan to protect the country. No other politician of West Pakistan could claim to represent the remainder of the country and save it from total annihilation as designed by the Indian adversaries. The courage and fighting spirit of the Pakistani Generals and officers was totally exploded internationally, economy of the country was completely shattered, intrigues were afoot in the provinces to exercise the right of self-determination, it was another device to break the remainder of the country into pieces like East Pakistan. In fact the Pakistani nation did not exist; all other political leaders were of provincial stature and cadre, unable to rise to the national level. At such a serious and critical juncture, when the question of life and death was involved, who could dare save the country! The reply was "Zulfikar Ali Bhutto" and only "Zulfikar Ali Bhutto", who was known as Quaid-e-Awam (Leader of the People) in the Country.

At this critical Juncture, he picked up the pieces, he was a young energetic, charismatic, patriotic, orator and politically a versatile genius with vast potentials. His voice was the voice of Pakistan, later on it became voice of the Muslim World and the Third World.

A GREAT LEADER

He was a gifted orator, untiring worker, a very high ranking politician and statesman of lofty caliber. He saved Pakistan under such strained and exacting circumstances that it would be no exaggeration to equate him with Abraham Lincoln, the greatest President of the U.S.A. Just as Lincoln saved his country when it was plunged in civil war, he owned the black population of U.S.A, and gave them civil rights like other whites and ultimately sacrificed his life for his country. Similarly, Bhutto saved the remainder of Pakistan from extinction or effacement, he was busy making Pakistan an egalitarian State, he gave courage and confidence to the masses to speak out their grievances, their sorrows and sufferings boldly without caring for the erstwhile demi-gods, raised their moral courage and improved their economy to make Pakistan, a truly democratic and Islamic Socialist State. He had virtually abolished the baneful, "Sardari and Nawabi" system which had corroded the society like cancer. And like Abraham Lincoln, he was assassinated mercilessly. It looks indeed very tragic and most unfortunate for the country, but how and why it was done? Many great men and benefactors of the world have died such unnatural and cruel death and the history is replete with such tragic tales. But there is always a conspiracy and condemnable intrigue behind the scene.

DENIAL COMES TO JUDGMENT

Mostly the Justice done in courts is "paper justice" and sometimes even the judges send the innocent to the injustices wrought on gallows, in the name of justice and fair play, believing the cock and bull stories, relying on the tainted testimony of criminals, whose word carries absolutely no evidentiary value. It is very truly said that the courts come next after the injustices wrought on the battlefield in killing the innocent. The Holy Prophet Christ and Sage Socrates were the victims of courts, which had announced verdict of hanging against them. Bhutto is called a "martyr" throughout Pakistan by an overwhelming majority of young and old, men and women, literate or illiterate and it is simply not preventable. The title on Zulfikar Ali Bhutto is conferred by nature and nobody can deprive him of it. It is an unstoppable voice of nature.

In Pakistan's politics, Zulfikar Ali Bhutto could alone be termed as the political heir of Mr. Jinnah. It was trick of the time, or the will of the nature, that there was a generation gap between the Quaid-e-Azam Mohammad Ali Jinnah and Zulfikar Ali Bhutto, otherwise if he had succeeded the founding father, the Kashmir problem would have been solved, the army would have been away from political field, Pakistan would not have been the victim of intrigues by political usurpers, the country would not have been dismembered and the political party that had given birth to Pakistan, would not have collapsed and divided into factions and rendered unfit to look after Pakistan. Incidentally, both of them belonged to Sindh, the "Gateway of Islam", one created the largest Muslim State of the world and the other saved the remainder of Pakistan with his extraordinary skill, efforts and exceptional

ability. Though Jinnah seemed to have died a natural death, but the people whom he had trusted and raised from earth to sky, never took his care, he was sadly neglected, when he was suffering from the pangs of serious ailment after independence. He lived alone, suffered alone, as if he had nursed and elevated Brutus type people. Was it not the same case with Mr. Zulfikar Ali Bhutto, who too was alone in his political life though he was popularly called Quaid-e-Awam (Leader of the People), multitudes of people had raised the slogans of "Jiye Bhutto". But while he was in jail, how many leaders of his party proved really loyal to him? Was it not on that account, that he nominated his wife as Chairman of the Party, though she was not a high-ranking politician. From the very beginning of his overthrow, Zulfikar Ali Bhutto was clearly expressive of this serious apprehension that the Generals would not spare him, but did the Central Executive Committee, which comprised the most prominent leaders, former Ministers and persons who had made fabulous fortunes in the hey days of Bhutto government, could start an effective and decisive movement for his release or even loyally stand by him? On the contrary, it is said that many of them were friendly with Martial Law Generals and some of them left the country to avoid any serious situation. The party workers, hundreds and thousands in number, suffered the rigours of Martial Law and were rotting like criminals in jails throughout the country. Some young men even committed suicide and brought end to their precious life, but many of the big leaders of the Party perhaps wanted to get rid of him and are said to have assured the Martial Law Officers about their connivance and implied consent. After Mr. Bhutto's assassination, some of the ace leaders deserted the Party and formed their own Party, but ultimately met with their waterloo. It was his young and brilliant daughter, Ms. Benazir, alleged to be immature in politics who waged a relentless war against the dictatorship, suffered immense hardships for years together, and ultimately succeeded in her mission to overthrow the dictatorship.

Bhutto rose to very great heights in the international politics, his knowledge of the global affairs and role in the foreign relations were unequalled by anybody; every Pakistani, every Muslim and every person of the Third World could legitimately feel proud of his historic performance. He had many friends and foes in International politics, which proves his worldwide fame and name that he had acquired in a short span of time on account of his extraordinary ability. King Faisal of Saudi Arabia, Sukarno of Indonesia, MaoTse-Tung and Chou-en-Lai, the most progressive and highly illuminated leaders of China, Hafizul Asad of Syria, President of Libya, Shahinshah of Iran and Yasser Arafat of Palestine were his close friends, but his adversaries were also very strong and important. Due to the death of his powerful friends, who could exert decisive influence on Zia-ul-Haq, it became an easy affair for the ruling junta to assassinate him. The assassination of Zulfikar Ali Bhutto was the happiest news for his political adversaries, inside and outside Pakistan. It was a fatal blow to Pakistan; and entire populace of Pakistan was plunged in grief and mourning, with the exceptions of his worst opponents who made no secret of their happiness. No dignified person would make merry over his adversary's

death, but his popularity was not in any way diminished by his physical death. Even up till today his name is on the lips and in the hearts of even those who had not even seen him. In fact his assassination was mourned throughout the Muslim World and Third World.

WHY CALLED QUAID-E-AWAM

Why was Jinnah called Quaid-e-Azam and Bhutto Quaid-e-Awam, when both were very controversial, edicts of being infidel were hurled against them and they were branded as the enemies of Islam? Jinnah organized and united the Muslims of India in 1935 and onwards, when they were hopelessly divided into factions and were on the verge of political, economic, religious, social and educational extinction. At that time of advanced age, he was with a very fragile physique and dwindling health and was warned by the doctors not to work so hard, otherwise he would soon be visited by death. To them, Jinnah's blunt and determined reply was that nothing could deter him from achieving his mission except the grave.

Bhutto was made out of the same metal by nature, and big leaders are always of such stuff; their will and determination are unshakable. They believe in reasonable compromises and adjustments, but where a matter of principle is involved, where interest of the people or country is in jeopardy, they would not budge an inch. Life is very precious and very dear, for the sake of saving his own life, a man can go to any extent, a drowning person even tries to catch straw for saving his life. Even the very imagination of the hour of departure from this world is very terrible and dreadful. It requires extraordinary courage, bravery and faith to face death. Bhutto had all in abundance. When he was asked to file mercy petition to Martial Law Administrator Zia, he refused point blank. Like Tipu Sultan of Mysore, he preferred a moment's life of lion rather than 100 years of jackal. It matters not how long we live but how we live! To him honour was more precious than life, he possessed paramount sense of honour and determination. Zulfikar Ali fulfilled his promise of sacrificing his life for Pakistan that he had made as a student in 1945, with his leader Mr. Jinnah. He was therefore called Quaid-e-Awam by the people of his land, and very rightly too.

EDUCATION

Zulfikar Ali Bhutto was a genius, he had the best of education. He was the dearest child of his father, Sir Shahnawaz Khan Bhutto, who arranged the best possible education for him. Initially he received his educational qualifications in Bombay (now called Mumbai), but thereafter he was sent to American University of Berkeley in California. After completing his education there, he went to England in 1950 where he did his M.A. and Bar-at-Law. His teachers had a very high opinion about the brilliance of this young man from Lincoln's Inn. He was also appointed a part-time teacher in the Faculty of Law in Southampton University, and he returned in 1953 to Pakistan. But his studies

had overstepped the customary courses. In his young age, he thoroughly studied the causes of rise and progress of the West. He was fully acquainted with the past history of the Muslims, the present degeneration and dependence of the Muslim countries on Europe and America; and the plight of Indian Muslims. He had also studied the exploitation of the Third World by the major powers of the World. He had therefore made up his mind to unite the Muslims of the world, drag them out of decadence, stop the inhuman exploitation of the Third World including Muslims and usher an order of peace, justice and equality in the world. He came out as a citizen of the world.

JINNAH'S INFLUENCE

Zulfikar Ali was politically influenced, mainly by the thoughts of Mr. Jinnah who had died in 1948. Both were handsome, dashing political giants and powerful speakers, and Zulfikar Ali Bhutto, while a school student in Bombay had acknowledged him as his leader. He basically followed the same line of thought though in a different style, keeping in with the change of times. He tried his best, in fact his very best to transform Pakistan as one of the most powerful and progressive countries. However, educationally Jinnah was not even a matriculate, he belonged to a family of moderate means, therefore he had to work day and night to make up the deficiency. In the beginning of his career after finishing his education, Zulfikar Ali Bhutto joined the Bar at Karachi, and looking to his genius, extraordinary personality, hard work and full command over the English language, he would have eclipsed every other advocate and proved to be an eminent jurist of his time. But the destiny drew him to political life as he was a born politician, thus he had to abandon the legal profession shortly; whereas Mr. Jinnah continued his legal practice as a very shining star in the firmament of legal profession. Bhutto belonged to a wealthy family and Jinnah to a family of moderate means, therefore legal practice was his need, but his exceptional talents in profession enormously helped him in politics too. Like his leader Jinnah, he was the most popular and powerful leader of West Pakistan. In his capacity as Foreign Minister, opposition leader and Prime Minister of Pakistan, up till today no leader has proved as popular as charismatic as Bhutto. Jinnah had tremendous influence on him, as we will see later on.

A COMMONER

Though Zulfikar Ali Bhutto belonged to a feudal family, he had totally identified himself with the common man. In fact, he had inherited the wealth of politics from his father, more than any thing else. On occasions he danced, sang and clapped with them. As a young, handsome, energetic and hard working leader, and as Prime Minister, he had visited all the important villages of Pakistan discarding all the protocol snags and false ostentations of a high dignity powerful personage. No Prime Minister in Pakistan personally knew as many citizens of his country as he did; he called the poor 'haris' or

downtrodden neighbours by name. He was intensely interested in the problems of common man and abhorred the idea of intermediaries between himself and the common man, which was customary in Pakistan. He read every application and every letter that he received, he sent the replies invariably and tried to help the needy and the poor as far as possible. He was undoubtedly conversant with every political philosophy and system but in my opinion, he was more of a practical politician than a mere idealist, abstractly talking about, propagating and trumpeting his ideals without any concrete results. He proposed to make Pakistan an egalitarian state, where everybody could get justice and equal opportunities in life, therefore he was accessible and available to the common man. Many a time, he thronged freely amongst the vociferous slogans of "Jiye Bhutto, Jiye Pakistan" (Long Live Bhutto, Long Live Pakistan)

STAUNCH NATIONALIST

Bhutto did not believe in parochialism or provincialism, he was a true Pakistani like Jinnah; therefore the curse of narrow mindedness was considerably diminished during his regime. He had got overwhelming majority of votes from Punjab and Sindh, in the National Assembly, but he treated all the provinces on equal level, he served every area without discrimination. For him the provinces of Frontier and Baluchistan were as important as Sindh and Punjab, he equally served those provinces. But he was very cautious and serious about the solidarity and integrity of his land. In 1971, Russia had played havoc with Pakistan, Afghanistan was not friendly, the dispute over Durand boundary line and Pakhtoonistan was continuing, the Sardars of Baluchistan were bent upon making Baluchistan an independent State. Zulfikar Ali did his best to be friendly with them, he gave them Provincial Ministries but still their attitude and behaviour remained unfriendly and haughty and they were always seeking confrontation. They were working under this false notion that Bhutto was afraid to them, therefore he had given them the two Provincial Ministries of Baluchistan and N.W.F.P. He tried all conciliatory and friendly means with them, but they took it to be his weakness. He was therefore, constrained to dismiss the Baluchistan Ministry when arms and ammunition were discovered from Iraqi Embassy for Baluchistan. Mr. Bizenjo who was a seasoned politician in N.A.P., had done his best to impress them not to adopt the path of conflict and quarrel, but they did not listen to him and motives were imputed to this selfless leader. In protest, the Frontier Provincial Ministry also resigned. Some of the Baluchistan Sardars incited their followers to create lawlessness and disorder. This resulted in lot of bloodshed on both the sides, the Sardars left Baluchistan, lived luxuriously outside and left their people in lurch. Bhutto was very stern in the matter of solidarity of Pakistan, he would not show any mercy or leniency to such elements. He was never happy with the behaviour of sardars towards the common man.

It was Quaid-e-Awam who alone could save Pakistan after the humiliating defeat in 1971 at the hands of India. It was nothing short of a miracle; so from the ashes of national humiliation, the fearless young Quaid-e-

Awam (Leader of the People) had launched his own People's Party aimed at restoring, resurrecting and rebuilding Pakistan as a truly "self respecting nation". Zulfikar Ali Bhutto had given blood, sweat and tears for his beloved country, he had never indulged in luxuries and merry making, the whole aim and objective of his life was to make Pakistan a very powerful country and regain the lost prestige, rights of the people, banish the poverty and build it according to the dreams, notions and concept of the Quaid-e-Azam. He was madly in love with his country and fully realized that this task could be accomplished by him and none else.

Preservation of Pakistan was the aim of his life. He deemed his dear motherland, more precious than his own life. He declared "I believe that I am among the few who have the capability and connection to hold this country together and make it march to progress and glory"

AMAZINGLY CONFIDENT

Bhutto was very confident about his capabilities, though far away from self-conceit. In 1958, he became Minister in General Ayub Khan's Martial Law and was the youngest Minister in his Cabinet, but soon, he rose to be one of the most important Ministers of his Cabinet and in early 1963, he was appointed as Minister for Foreign Affairs, a portfolio which requires very efficient and experienced person with vast knowledge of global affairs, but this young man was more knowledgeable about foreign relations than his senior colleagues and even the President himself. He was in fact the architect of Pakistan's foreign policy. When he met John F. Kennedy, the popular and powerful American President, in October 1963, the latter was deeply impressed by his knowledge of politics and global affairs. Kennedy had yet to see such a young Minister from the Third World, who could be entrusted with such delicate responsibilities. Bhutto was not only one of the most efficient politicians, but also a brilliant and convincing conversationalist with ready retorts in his repository. During their conversation, Kennedy expressed "If you were an American you would be in my cabinet". To the utter surprise of the President, the new Foreign Minister replied: "Be careful Mr. President, if I were American, I would be in your place".

In 1971, on the occasion of dismemberment of Pakistan, he made a very historic and powerful speech which strongly evidences his love for the country, his erudition, his knowledge of history and the confidence with which he spoke in the World forum before the most important capable diplomats and permanent members of the Council and others.

"Time is running out, I am not indulging in glib rhetoric or semantic contrivances because the situation is far too serious. The fate is in fire and time has come for us to act..... We have made mistakes. Man is not infallible. Mistakes have been made everywhere..... by the Roman Empire, by the British Empire by every state in the world. But states are not penalized for their

mistakes..... We are prepared to rectify those mistakes in a civilized spirit, in a spirit of understanding and co-operation..... Pakistan is an ideal, it will last even if it is physically destroyed. We are prepared to face that physical destruction, we are prepared for decimation of 120 million people. We will then begin a new era and build a new Pakistan". He further shouted. "We are prepared to die. We are not afraid to die. Our people are brave..... Believe me, Mexico might occupy United States, Denmark might occupy Germany, Finland might occupy the Soviet Union but Pakistan will not be occupied by India in any circumstances. Remember that..... we shall fight and we shall fight for 1000 years as we fought for years in the past.... We can continue." It reminds one of the thundering and fighting speech of Maulana Mohammad Ali in the first Round Table Conference in London for the independence of India; or was the famous speech of William Pitt "The Great Commoner" in British Parliament in 1766 regarding American Independence.

It was a speech from a great Foreign Minister of a small country, a country which had been destroyed for more than two decades by the unscrupulous rulers of Pakistan, Martial Law dictators, by the atrocities of Army in Bengal. After all who else was there to represent Pakistan besides Bhutto to narrate the sorrows and sufferings of his people and represent the country in the best possible way? none!

He relentlessly and bravely fought for Kashmir with his fierce and thrilling rhetoric. No other leader from Pakistan could suitably deal with wily and cunning Indian diplomats, but it was Bhutto who was listened very attentively by every member of the Security Council. But the fact is that even India's inequitable defender had no logical arguments except the blind "veto". It was 22-23 September when he made his lengthy speech cutting the Indian arguments into shreds. He said "we have always known that India is determined to annihilate Pakistan. Jammu and Kashmir was not now and had never been an integral part of India..... The people of Jammu and Kashmir are part of the people of Pakistan, in blood, in flesh, in life, in culture, in geography, in history, in every form. We will wage a war of thousand years, a war of defence."

"The whole world believes in the right of self determination. Must it be denied to the people of Jammu and Kashmir, merely because power must prevail over principles? Power shall never prevail over principles..... The will and spirit of our people can never be destroyed".

"This is the last chance for Security Council to put all its force, all its energy, all its moral responsibility behind a fair and equitable and honourable solution of Kashmir dispute. History does not wait for councils, organizations or institutions, just as it does not wait for individuals..... Let me tell the Security Council on behalf of my Government, that if after this last chance that we are giving to the Security Council, Pakistan will have to leave the United Nations..... within a certain period of time, if the Security Council is not able

to act in accordance with responsibility, placed on it, in accordance with its honour under the charter which believes in self determination, Pakistan will have to withdraw from the United Nations”.

“When Pakistan a country much smaller than India was invaded by India, the sufferings of both Pakistan and “Jammu and Kashmir” were fused..... When we say we are giving the United Nations a last chance to settle the Jammu and Kashmir dispute, we are saying that we are determined not let a righteous cause be abandoned. It is not the will of Allah that the victims of injustice and aggressive should have no higher court of appeal.”

The people of Pakistan were extremely proud and happy over this superb, spirited and fearless performance of their Foreign Minister, but Ayub Khan remained thoughtful, worried and indecisive even after the cease-fire. After this thunderous and spirited speech of Bhutto, Pakistan has never espoused the cause of Kashmir with such vehemence and eloquence.

REVOLT AGAINST AYUB

The courageous charismatic and fearless Bhutto, who later on became the Quaid-e-Awam of Pakistan and ultimately the national “martyr” while delivering his public speech in the home town of Ayub Khan, challenged him openly:

“I am not afraid of you..... why don't you put me in jail..... If you put me in jail, the people will turn you out of the Government..... You are running your Government with force and suppression..... we are struggling for democracy and we shall continue to struggle..... 22 families have usurped the economic sources of the whole country..... It was said before Martial Law, that there were 600 Zamindars and out of them only 200 were ruling the country..... Now a score of families wield power..... Even in America the center of capitalism, such a wretched system does not exist..... we demand justice and fair-play”.

In fact he was a friend of Ayub but this country was dearer to him. He turned to be the worst enemy of the dictator. There was nothing personal over which Zulfikar Ali had his dispute and differences with Ayub Khan, but it was a matter of principles, matter of Pakistan's honour, dignity and people's rights, matter of the welfare of the common man, matter of equality with India as had been voiced and strongly advocated by the Quaid-e-Awam and matter of weak, unwise and damaging policies of Ayub Khan. The parting of ways had nothing to do with any personal differences or self-aggrandizement.

NOT A COMMUNIST

Some political leaders or even Pakistani citizens had taken him to be a communist or socialist follower of Marx or Lenin, but it was far from facts

though he did respect them. Undoubtedly, he was a progressive type of leader, but his views more or less coincided with Islamic teachings as propounded by Dr. Muhammad Iqbal or the views of the Quaid-e-Azam (Great Leader) Mohammad Ali Jinnah for the future construction of Pakistan in political social and economic fields. He reflected the views of Mr. Jinnah, while addressing a mammoth crowd on September 11, 1971, at the mausoleum of the founder of Pakistan;

“The Quaid-e-Azam made Pakistan with the sacrifice of people. Oh my Quaid! Did you dream of Pakistan that we are living in today? Was it your concept, your dream?

He was a democrat and he respected the democratic process..... He said that the constitution will be made by the elected representatives of the people..... speak, speak my Quaid, when will this night of oppression end? For God’s sake restore democracy.”

For his progressive views, for his new approach to political and economic problems, for his liberal and broad-based thinking, the pseudo religious scholars tried to condemn him as heretic, but it all went in vain. His impractical, unwise and malicious critics made him more and more popular every day. When he appealed to the people to follow the economic and political path that the Quaid-e-Azam had determined for them in the light of Islamic System, it was in fact a voice from the inner-most recesses of his heart, full of sincerity and truth but they failed to appreciate the voice. He argued that the Quaid-e-Azam despised the capitalist system of India to prevail in Pakistan because it was a system being practiced by Hindus. Mr. Jinnah did not believe in theocratic system of state as he was a very liberal-minded politician, he was neither an industrialist, nor a jagirdar, he did not own a single acre of land, therefore it was unimaginable that he would plead the cause of capitalism and feudalism. Moreover the establishment of true democracy was not possible without reducing the economic disparity and dependence of the masses. Bhutto proposed to emancipate the common man from the economic and social yoke of capitalists, Nawabs and Sardars, therefore he was moving in that direction and gradually bringing an end of the Zamindari (big land holdings) and the capitalistic institutions in the country by introducing Land Reforms and liberal Labour Laws. Though they could not oppose the reforms openly, they felt immensely aggrieved by his revolutionary steps. Those tillers of the soil who used to kiss the feet of their masters, became economically and socially independent and changed their erstwhile ways. This radical revolution in the slavish conduct of the common man was hardly tolerable and especially in the tribal areas, to the Sardars and Nawabs, where they had to sit on floor, before the advent of this revolution. It is therefore that the tribal chiefs were not favourably inclined to Bhutto and adverse propaganda was in full swing against him in those areas. Gradually the label of communism was removed, but his political ways were felt highly objectionable and unpalatable to the vested

interests. He had many plans for the improvement of the lot of downtrodden, but got no time for their implementation.

ACCUSATION OF PAKISTAN'S DISMEMBERMENT

There can be nothing more malicious and false than the accusation of dismemberment of Pakistan leveled by his opponents against Zulfikar Ali Bhutto, all that he wanted and beseeched for it, was to maintain the solidarity of the Pakistan that had been achieved by his leader Quaid-e-Azam; and India was always anxious to break it. His speeches and utterances were distorted by the press media controlled by the capitalists and those who were criminally liable for its break up and liable to be tried for treason.

In fact the Martial Law, its dictators and the final army action in East Pakistan had crippled and divided the country. I have amply analyzed and clarified the facts in the chapter, which pertains to the misrule of Pakistan by Ayub Khan and the fall of Dacca. Mr. Bhutto was neither the man in power, nor could he order the army action, nor had he conspired with Indira Gandhi and worked as Indian agent. Briefly the facts are:

- 1.** A serious dispute arose when Urdu alone was declared as state language of Pakistan in 1948. Bhutto was student then.
- 2.** In 1954, there were serious language riots in Bengal and as a result of shooting, several young men, especially students, died.
- 3.** Bengal, which was a majority province with 56% population, was given 50% representation in the Assemblies under the Constitution of 1956; the Bengalis were highly aggrieved due to this patent injustice, which revolted against the Islamic Principles of Justice and the norms of democracy. Bhutto was a young man, having nothing to do with such aggressive, unreasonable and unjust attitudes.
- 4.** Bengalis were deprived of recruitment in army as well as in Superior Services and economically it was dominated by the West Pakistan industrialists. Bhutto, by no stretch of imagination could be held responsible for it.
- 5.** Shaheed Suhrawardy a brilliant leader from East Pakistan, whose sacrifices for Pakistan were unforgettable, was made to resign forcibly from the Prime Ministership. He was also alleged to have been got killed in Beirut by Ayub Khan. There was no allegation against Bhutto.
- 6.** Martial Law was imposed on the country by Ayub Khan and Iskandar Mirza, thereby the democratic system was strangulated by them. The entire political power vested in military and Ruling Junta of West

Pakistan; East Pakistanis, democratic by nature could never adjust with dictatorship. Ayub disliked them and they disliked Ayub.

- 7.** The East Pakistanis did not get their fair share in the finances of Pakistan, they could not get even 1/3 of the budget. Poverty reigned in Bengal and ruined the Bengalis but Martial Law regime had no mercy.
- 8.** The attitude of West Pakistan bureaucrats towards Bengalis was hateful and degrading, more insulting than that of the British officers; and East Pakistan was treated as a colony. This behaviour was highly resented.
- 9.** There were frequent storms and ocean inundations which damaged and destroyed East Pakistan severely, but no action was taken to prevent these devastations.
- 10.** Mujib's Six Points were opposed by all the parties of West Pakistan, including their friendly N.A.P., and even the Awami League President Nawabzada Nasrullah had opposed these points as being suicidal to the solidarity and integrity of Pakistan. Bhutto however, had accepted four points excepting foreign trade and aid. It is not understandable how could Bhutto be held responsible for secession? His only fault was that he insisted that there should be some link, between the two wings of Pakistan.
- 11.** In his full one decade rule, Ayub Khan had spoken to his Ministers, Chief Justice (Retd) Mohammad Munir for secession in 1962 and to the Information Secretary Altaf Gauhar in 1968. He had fully prepared the blue print of secession and he was 90% responsible for separation. The balance of 10% was completed by Yahya Khan and his near and dear Generals who had ordered the army for atrocious action. Thereafter, they had reached the point of no return, the entire populace of East Pakistan turned hostile against the West.
- 12.** Finally East Pakistan was invaded by India with the active military assistance of Russia and Dacca fell on 16-12-1971, but the ill equipped army of Pakistan with poor planning could not face the Indian Army even for a week.
- 13.** In the Security Council of U.N.O. Bhutto fought a historic and heroic battle against secession. The cease-fire resolution was vetoed by Russia and the Pakistani Generals shamefully surrendered after two days of Bhutto's arrival in New York.

It is for the readers to decide who was responsible for the tragic dismemberment.

SIMLA AGREEMENT – BEST DIPLOMACY

After the damning defeat of 1971, Pakistan was in a poor and pitiable state, while India, in every respect was most dominant, in a position to dictate its terms. What had Bhutto in his hands to compel his counterpart Indira to agree to his terms? The situation for Bhutto was all difficult, his path full of thorns; but one of his remarkable qualities was that he had never lost heart even in a most difficult and depressing situation, and rose equal to the occasion by his rare natural gifts; and he amply proved it in Simla.

On 21st June 1972, President Bhutto flew with his daughter Ms. Benazir and his entourage to Simla, where the Quaid-e-Azam had his most crucial and historical talks and discussions with the ruling Indian regime and the astute Hindu politicians. Just as Jinnah was the sole spokesman of the Muslims of United India, so was Bhutto the sole spokesman of Pakistan, in spite of the fact that he had taken the largest entourage with himself, perhaps for sightseeing.

Indira Gandhi whose political stocks were now touching the political sky and was in a commanding position, was very tough in her talks but the, brilliant conversationalist, adroit and diplomatic Bhutto dealt with his counterpart very wisely. It was the test of his political acumen. The reigns of his country were entrusted to him under very trying condition, it was a real crisis and every aspect of his country was in a dilapidated state. At times, it seemed that the talks were about to break, and with such news the pulse of Pakistan started beating fast, their 93,000 persons were rotting in Indian jails, in worst condition, their families were in a state of mourning; about five thousand square miles of Pakistani area was in the hands of the Indian army; the Pakistan army was plunged in disarray and demoralization and they were not at all in a position of conflict with India. After protracted talks, Mr. Bhutto was able to break the ice and save the situation and on 2 July, 1972, the parties agreed to put an end to the conflict. According to the accord, the Indian Army would vacate the Pakistani area forthwith, however there could be no immediate agreement with regard to Kashmir, the dispute was to be resolved by peaceful means, which in other words recognized the existence of the Kashmir dispute; so the Kashmir problem remained alive but its solution could not reasonably be expected in such a meeting. So far the prisoners were concerned, Indira Gandhi would not reach any agreement without Mujib-ur-Rehman's consent, who had insisted on the trial of prisoners as war criminals.

The opponent of Bhutto criticized him that the Simla Agreement was worse than Tashkent Accord, forgetting that in the war of 1965, Pakistan had upper hand, and in the Declaration at Tashkent, they had lost all their gain, while in the war of 1971, India had crushed Pakistan, and in the Simla agreement, Pakistan had given away nothing but gained considerably. It was Bhutto's diplomatic triumph and the criticism was only for the sake of criticism.

On his return, speaking at Lahore, Mr. Bhutto who had now fully established his credentials as Quaid-e-Awam, the true successor of the Quaid-e-Azam, told his audience:

“They were negotiating from a position of strength because they had so many cards in their hand. But what did we have?..... Apart from our principles, we had people with us. In addition I had the mercy and beneficence of Almighty Allah with me. I talked to them firmly..... Finally they agreed and said on the question of Kashmir, you may stick to your principles, and we shall hold further discussions..... What has been said in the agreement is that we should avoid war. However, we shall continue our maximum efforts to uphold our righteous cause..... based on the principle of justice.”

ISLAMIC SUMMIT CONFERENCE AND THE THIRD WORLD

Bhutto’s capacities were much bigger than the geographical limits of Pakistan. Immediately after assuming political power, he toured most of the Muslim countries, contacted Heads of the State, discussed the situation under which Pakistan had to suffer horribly, explained the potentials of the Muslim countries; and spoke about his further programme and welfare of the Muslim World. By his highly impressive and most logical arguments, he could at once convince the Muslim Rulers of the grave situation that the Muslim World had to face, the patent and latest potentials which they possessed, and the imminent need of unity for their survival. Thus, he enlisted their support for Pakistan whose international image was touching the lowest limits.

He called the Islamic Summit Conference at Lahore on 22-24 February 1974, which proved a tremendous success. The prior Muslim Conferences organized by Liaquat Ali Khan in 1949 and 1951 had not proved fruitful, because the Muslim Heads of State were thinking in terms of nationalism first and Islam last. The greatest achievement of Bhutto was that he convinced them that they were Muslim first and than anything else; the geographical nationalism was subordinate to Islam. It was a revolutionary change brought about in their thinking. They took far-reaching decisions in their conference, and an Islamic Bank was opened as a result of the unanimous decision of the Conference. The West was in fact terrified by this historic Conference, they gravely apprehended that the oil producing Muslim countries would use their oil as political weapon; and if they withdraw their money from the West, it would affect their economy very badly and their industrial progress would be hampered.

All the Muslim countries except Afghanistan participated in this Conference. Mujib-ur-Rehman from Bangladesh also attended the Conference and Pakistan announced the recognition of Bangladesh in this conference.

Zulfikar Ali Bhutto, who in fact was an international citizen, believed in the equality and fraternity of the mankind as ordained by Allah. He had a deep feeling of the sorrows and sufferings of the Third World countries which largely depended on the West. The Third World countries too, were victims of in-human exploitation by the West. He wanted to organize and unite all the Third World countries and make them realize that they were being exploited politically, economically and socially by the industrially advanced countries. The feeling and consciousness thus spread amongst the Third World countries alerted the superpowers against Zulfikar Ali Bhutto who was working for a World Order based on equity justice and fairness, free from all types of exploitation. Here after he was the spokesman of the Muslim World.

NUCLEAR POWER

The dreams of Hindu leadership of India, to establish a Hindu empire of Chundra Gupta's days were shattered in August, 1947, when under the leadership of Mr. Jinnah, Pakistan – a homeland of Muslims came into existence. Thus it was much against the will of the Hindu leadership, which had been proposing to crush and destroy the idea of Pakistan. There have been constant conflicts between India and Pakistan, especially over Kashmir, a predominantly Muslim area of nearly 80 percent Muslim population, but at least 2/3 of it is usurped by India. There have been three wars between the two countries within a short period of three decades and by the highhanded invasion of India assisted by major powers, the Pakistan of Quaid-e-Azam was dismembered in December 1971.

India had been generously getting economic and military aid from several countries of the World on the pretext of defence against the socialist China, which had never exhibited its aggression against any country; on the contrary, the fact is that India entertains its evil designs to liquidate Pakistan. Comparatively, India is a huge country with several ordnance factories of its own, spread throughout the country and they prepare heavy as well light arms and ammunition including tanks, aeroplanes and even the atom bomb. Pakistan, a smaller country has smaller army, with few ordnance factories, inadequate for its requirement and the economic and military aid that they get from outside has been conditional and not very significant.

Mr. Bhutto, the man of hour, was not to surrender and bow before the hegemony of India and leave Kashmir as a victim of Indian atrocities. He was a Prime Minister of honour and high intellect. He organized his army a fresh, established ordnance factories, the Steel Mill and made Pakistan a nuclear power much against the will of major powers, especially America. Bhutto argued logically and rightly that Christians, Jews and Hindus did have atomic bomb to which U.S.A. had no objection, but when Pakistan attempted to become a nuclear power, everybody raised his eyebrows and in the words of

Bhutto, Henry Kissinger finally “threatened” to make “a horrible example of you”, if he did not stop to amass a nuclear arsenal for Pakistan. Today if India has any fears in respect of another war with Pakistan, they are about the “Islamic atom bomb” that was provided by Mr. Bhutto. He was essentially a peace loving leader, believing in peaceful coexistence, but country’s honour and equality were his preconditions. He believed in avoiding war by preparing to be ready for war, which in fact is the best defence of country. India cannot fight against China because China is militarily more powerful; and so is the case with super powers. In my opinion, no Prime Minister of Pakistan was so vigilant, so dynamic and so brilliant as Mr. Bhutto; but the big powers “made a horrible example of him” as they had threatened. The P.N.A. and the influential Generals were merely tools in the hands of Super Powers and damaged Pakistan beyond repair.

FOREIGN POLICY

With the new geographical form of Pakistan, Mr. Bhutto reshaped his foreign policy after deep thinking. Just as he did not want any one to play in his hands, similarly he did not like to play in the hands of any country. Undoubtedly he won many friends for Pakistan but he refused to be the camp follower of any country. He was a great friend of China, but when he became Prime Minister, he further cemented his relations with China and from them he received very substantial economic, technical and military aid. But at the same time he did not antagonize Russia, he entered into several agreements with Russia, among which the Steel Mill of Pakistan needs special mention. He succeeded into neutralizing Afghanistan whose relations with Pakistan had never remained happy in the past.

The fact is that Zulfikar Ali Bhutto’s imaginative foreign policy was unequalled by any other Prime Minister of Pakistan. His speeches in the United Nations, Security Council, international forums and negotiations with the powerful countries indicate clearly that he had a very deep insight in the global affairs; and his rhetoric and tact were his special assets; he knew how to present his case and convince his counterparts. He has been the most well known statesman of Pakistan in the World; and the Muslims world over not only respected him but also loved him.

He espoused the Muslim cause, the Arab cause and the Third World cause very strenuously and tremendously, as if it was his own cause; thus he virtually became their spokesman. The Middle East countries, Libya, Iran and the Gulf States helped him quite substantially in the economic and financial fields, otherwise the tremendous progress that Pakistan had made from 1972 to 1976 was unthinkable. He developed brotherly relations with them, they never disappointed him and helped Pakistan as much as possible. The oil rich Arab countries and Iran could not make atom bomb and it was surprising that Bhutto made Pakistan a nuclear power, a potential power to face India. Pakistan’s financial capacity by the end of 1971 was zero. Where from huge

funds were provided to enable Pakistan to become nuclear power? The enormous amounts and the high technology that Bhutto provided to Pakistan were nothing short of a miracle; and that was the miracle of his amazing foreign policy. He had not established Steel Mill, for the purpose of Tee-irons and ganders but it was for the defence of his Pakistan. Even today, Pakistanis are not prepared to close down the nuclear programme, which is meant not only for defence but also for peaceful use of atomic energy and economic development of Pakistan. Pakistan had also signed an agreement in 1976 with France for acquiring a reprocessing plant to extract plutonium. But it was got cancelled through American pressure after the martyrdom of Bhutto. It is difficult to understand why the axe of harsh western policy falls on Pakistan? Was it because it is a Muslim country! Was it to please India or the Jews?

END OF AN ERA!

Zulfikar Ali Bhutto wanted to modernize Pakistan, and recoup the loss that Pakistan had suffered heavily on account of the visionless, selfish and short-sighted policies of its leaders, the continued Martial Law for more than 13 years in 24 years life, and the tragic dismemberment of Pakistan. He was determined to banish poverty and unemployment from Pakistan. He wanted to raise high the banner of Islamic unity and dignity that the major powers had deliberately lowered, as they feared that the renaissance of Islam might become the future chapter of the World history. He also proposed the prosperity of Third World countries, which some powers had blocked intentionally. He was unifying and consolidating the Muslim World and the Third World; and create a new World Order for them, heralding an era of peace and prosperity, free from political and economic exploitation at the hands of the rich industrialized countries. It was a most perilous challenge in the global politics that Bhutto had to face. But the kiss of the powerful tyrants prepared the traitors to assassinate Bhutto, the most valuable asset of Pakistan.

CHAPTER 2

Genesis of the Bhutto Family

In order to understand Zulfikar Ali Bhutto thoroughly, it is utmost essential to know the background, brief history, traditions and chief characteristic of his family. He had inherited his extraordinary charisma, courage, unusual intelligence, pageantry, princely living and occasional sentimental moods from his ancestors and parents. The family blood, which ran through every vein and nerve of this genius, guided the behaviour and actions of flamboyant Bhutto and ultimately made him an international political leader, leader of the Muslim World and leader of the Third World.

This family, originally a Hindu Rajput of Rajisthan, India, embraced Islam during the regime of great Mughuls as a matter of conviction and traditionally they were the people of strong will and valour. Zulfikar Ali though not a devout Muslim, finally stood for the renaissance and glory of Muslims from his boyhood. Expressing himself in beautiful and impressive words in Los Angeles, on April 1, 1948, on the subject of "Islamic Heritage," he said:

"I am not here to preach Islam to you or to threaten you with its dormant powers. I only want to tell you of the Islam that was a burning light of yesterday, the ember that it is today and the celestial flame of tomorrow, for that is how I envisage the future of Islam. I must also tell you that religiously speaking, I am not a devout Muslim..... However, my interest is soaked in the political, economic and cultural heritage of Islam."

Zulfikar Ali was then aged twenty years, not even eligible to vote in Pakistan, but such was his wonderful understanding and unbounded love for Islam that he made a most illuminating and thought provoking speech in a Christian dominated superpower of the world. Proceeding further, he said "Destiny demands an Islamic association, political reality justifies it, posterity awaits it and by God we will have it. Courage is in our blood; we are the children of a rich heritage. We shall succeed."

Every word of young Bhutto speaks of his Islamic favour, his life objective and his invincible determination to unite Muslims of the world and revive the past historic glory and greatness of Muslims.

It will not be out of place to state that Mr. Mohammad Ali Jinnah, the Quaid-e-Azam (Great Leader) of Muslim India also hailed from a Rajput family that had embraced Islam. Mr. Jinnah by virtue of his unassailable character

and unshakable determination was the founder of the biggest Muslim State in the world.

The Bhutto family migrated to Sindh during the reign of Mughuls when Kalhoras were ruling in Sindh under the suzerainty of Mughul Emperors. They settled and established themselves in Taluka Ratodero, District Larkana and owned vast tracts of fertile land in the District of Larkana, Jacobabad and Shikarpur. Where rice, cotton and sugarcane was produced in plant. Thus the Bhutto family was biggest and wealthiest landlord in Sindh and their style of living and conducting themselves was totally different from rest of their class in Sindh; they could face any situation any adversary and dignity, and unlike many other landlords they finally believed in pomp, pageantry, dignity and authority. They never submitted or surrendered even before the fiercest of their enemies and fought their way to victory. Even the rulers of Sindh were some times apprehensive of their revolt, including the brave Talpurs, as such they were treated with honour and caution by the rulers of Sindh.

Pir Bakhsh Khan Bhutto was invited by His Highness Mir Ali Murad Khan Talpur to send his son Allah Bakhsh Khan Bhutto to Khairpur where he was kept an honourable hostage at the Talpur court for five years, "to ensure that my family did not revolt." Such was the rebellion nature of Bhutto family that even the Talpurs to whom Pir Bakhsh Khan owed his allegiance and their ownership of vast areas was confirmed as a friendly gesture by the Talpur rulers, had to be vigilant about them.

The Britishers, who were entertaining the idea of grabbing India by force and fraud, would not spare the Talpurs of Sindh. Against all their promises of friendship and cooperation, they conquered Sindh shamelessly in March 1843 and it was confessed by the plunderer conqueror of Sindh, Charles Napier and the unscrupulous that he had committed a "sin" by invading Sindh. The Talpur rulers and their families were dispatched as prisoner to Calcutta. The Britishers had in fact conquered India by resorting to all means fair and foul, atrocities and tyrannies, bricks and breach of solemn promises; Sindh was no exception to their policy of crusading the Indians, it was all done most unscrupulously with all audacity.

When the Talpurs were defeated, overthrown, imprisoned and replaced by the all-powerful Britishers, most of the landlords frightened and demoralized behaved like cringing cowards and professional flatters to please their new foreign masters. But credit goes to the Bhutto family as its self respecting and to an extent proud was not overawed by the powerful British rulers, and their attitude, ways and behaviour remained unchanged. Sir Shahnawaz Khan Bhutto was the scion of such an aristocratic and eminent family of Sindh. He was born on March 8, 1888 in Village Garhi Khuda Bakhsh Khan Bhutto, Taluka Ratodero, a village founded by his grandfather, Khuda Bakhsh Khan Bhutto. There is an awesome event about Khuda Bakhsh Khan Bhutto. He was going in his decently decorated carriage on the Naodero – Ratodero road, when the

newly posted Mukhtiarkar of Ratodero, namely Keematrai, was coming in a tonga (horse-cart) from the opposite direction. The driver stopped the tonga, on seeing the carriage, whereupon the newly posted Mukhtiarkar of who had no previous acquaintance with Khuda Bakhsh Khan, harshly asked the driver why he had stopped the tonga. The driver explained the position, but the Mukhtiarkar, (who used to be very powerful officer in those days) was annoyed and ordered him to proceed. The tonga driver moved his cart and passed with his usual speed while crossing the carriage of Khuda Bakhsh Khan. On enquiry, he was informed that the new Mukhtiarkar was in the tonga. At night time, the Mukhtiarkar was murdered. The police arrested Khuda Bakhsh Khan, trying to implicate him in the case. The big land owners of upper Sindh approached the Commissioner Sindh, but he refused to order his release. Ultimately when two persons voluntarily gave their confession that they had committed the murder, police had to absolve and release Khuda Bakhsh Khan. The incident speaks eloquently about the family. Sir Bhutto's father, Ghulam Murtaza Khan, who died at a young age of only 30 years by a nefarious conspiracy of poisoning, was jewel of a man, an extraordinarily handsome, courageous and physically strong prince. Col. Mayhew, the autocrat Deputy Commissioner of Upper Sindh (Shikarpur) was at dragnets drawn with him on a matter involving Mayhew most personally. Like a bloodthirsty beast, he was terribly desperate against him. The Deputy Commissioners, (then called Collectors) in those early days of the British conquest were as strong as unquestionable monarchs in their respective areas. Here it was a most sensitive and ego-destroying episode of his venus like beautiful mistress, having fallen madly in love with Mir Murtaza Khan Bhutto. There was nothing more humiliating and insulting for the colonel, that a landlord of his area had become master of the heart and life of his beloved mistress. On finding Mir in the embracing arms of his mistress, he flared up, lost his senses and grappled with the Mir, but was overpowered and severally thrashed and thrown down like a dead dog on the grounds of his bungalow at Larkana. Though the act was most intolerable, challenging and damning for the British bureaucrat, he hushed up the scandal incident, for good reasons and started engineering serious false cases, including murder cases, against Mir Ghulam Murtaza Khan through the Waderas (landholders) who felt it a matter of pride and pleasure to be the agents of the Collector, and gain his favour.

There was now endless stream of cases initiated against Mir Ghulam Murtaza Khan and his self respecting father, Khuda Bakhsh Khan, had to pour money for defending his innocent son against the atrocities and conspiracies of Colonel Mayhew supported by the sycophant Waderas. Khuda Bakhsh Khan had to engage several lawyers for defending Mir Murtaza. In a murder case of some Hindu, he was falsely implicated and his father had to seek the service of two British Barristers, namely Mr. Anwerty of Bnuhey and Mr. Rottigin of Lahore whose daily fees were Rs.1000 and Rs.1500 respectively. This continuous and highly expensive litigation was not affordable by Khuda Bakhsh Khan, therefore Mir Murtaza Khan had to leave the soil of Sindh and find his

asylum in Kabul: and he proved so pushing and influential he could cultivate friendship with Amir Abdul Rehman Khan, a very powerful ruler of Afghanistan.

But in Larkana, Mayhew had created a hell for Khuda Bakhsh Khan. His vendetta had crossed all limits of decency and justice. He was bent upon totally ruining the family of Khuda Bakhsh Khan and leaving no remnants of it to be remembered any more. On his instructions, the police hired some notorious criminals, who attacked old Khuda Bakhsh Khan on his way, while returning from his lands. He fell from the horseback and was badly injured. He was then taken by his servants and peasants to Aminabad (District Jacobabad) in a state of unconsciousness; he could not survive and breathed his last after about a fortnight in 1896. But there was none to bear any thing against the murderer Mayhew. Mir Murtaza was the only child of his father, thus he inherited all the moveable and immoveable properties of Khuda Bakhsh Khan. Now the murder committed by Mayhew further emboldened him like a professional and cruel manner. Treating Mir Ghulam Murtaza Khan as an absconder, a fugitive from law and justice, he got golden opportunity to confiscate all his belongings including jewelry, gold, arms, rare valuables; his houses, furniture, carpets were set on fire by pouring kerosene oil over them. His infant eight years old son Shahnawaz, their peasants and villages were silent and helpless spectators of this disasters and cruel situation and according to him "We saw the fire ablaze at night..... in the morning we saw the ashes". And "that was 1896 when eight year old Shah Nawaz and his aged grandmother, mother and brother were forced by the Superintendent of Police to leave their once luxurious home in Garhi Khuda Bakhsh Bhutto village of Sindh Ratodero Taluka, with only clothes on their bodies. They took shelter with their poor haris and for the first time in his life, Shah Nawaz was obliged to walk barefoot in Sindh's blazing heat some ten miles a day to the vernacular school at Naodero, taking his crust of the bread along for lunch, he who had always been served on "silver plates."

Such were the vicissitudes of life for the family which was so highly placed in the society and respected all over the region of Sindh. In the words of renowned national poet Firdausi of Iran "Sometimes the back of rider is on the saddle, sometimes the saddle is on his back."

The family was victim of incalculable misfortune and brutalities caused by the collector Colonel Mayhew, for healing his wounds of rivalry, but perhaps they could never be healed as moved by the subsequent events.

On hearing about the sad death of his father, confiscation of his properties, looting of the valuable, burning of the houses and costly furniture and the calamities befallen on his minor sons and inmates of the house, Mir Ghulam Murtaza was restless and made preparation to leave for Sindh without a minute's delay. He was generously helped by the powerful Amir who gave all that he required to face the situation.

He now set forth for his native land, but the boat in which he was traveling through the mighty Indus was drowned due to strong storm. He lost everything and saved his life with great difficulty. He was not an unknown person, nor was his family an ordinary one; he was in a position to acquire funds, which he got from a personal friend of his; and proceeded to Karachi with a set programme in his mind.

On reaching Karachi, he met Rais Ghulam Mohammad Sheedi, but in such a perfect disguise of a labourer, that the Rais, who knew the family fully well, was simply surprised to know that he was none other than Mir Murtaza, the conqueror of Mayhew's lovely and captivating mistress. To Ghulam Mohammad Khan Sheedi, he revealed his plan to meet the Commissioner Sir Avan James, but it was not so easy. One could meet the Prime Minister of Pakistan but it was much more difficult to see the Commissioner of Sindh in those early times of British rule. Anyway with the active assistance of Rais Sheedi, coupled with his own ways and wisdom, he was smuggled into the house of Commissioner as a labourer where construction work was in progress. Sir James used to visit the construction work and meet the labourers on every Saturday. Mir Murtaza was not a man to lag behind; he jumped over the opportunity that was afforded to him by the visit of the Commissioner. Boldly he came forward, disclosed his identity and addressed the most powerful bureaucrat of Sindh "I have a story to tell and I want you to do justice by hearing." Without losing temper, the Commissioner heard him and ordered his aide-de-camp to fully hear the case and submit the report. The aide-de-camp after fully hearing Mir Murtaza, gave his honest report to the Commissioner. To be frank, the trained British officers, who had come from a cultured and democratic land, did possess some sense of justice and they did not support their subordinate officers in their brutal actions based on personal animosity. Sir James was not totally in dark about the misdeeds of Mayhew and did have some information about his romantic episode.

It was all reasonable when Mir Murtaza requested the Commissioner to try the case himself and not throw him at the mercy of the most biased Mayhew. On receiving the report, the Commissioner passed orders of Mayhew's immediate transfer and "shook Mir Murtaza's hand, before he left, sagely advising him to leave his office without bitterness". When Sir Shah Nawaz Khan became Minister in Bombay Presidency, he read the following meaningful line written by Sir James about the influence of and caution against Bhuttos:

"They have to be watched"

I don't think that any Commissioner of those days wrote such warnings in respect of a family that was enveloped in such adversities and calamities.

When Mir Murtaza was free from botherations, he proceeded to Larkana and on his way he stayed with his friend Ali Ahmed S/O Khan Bahadur Hassan

Ali Effendi, where he was informed about the happy news of Colonel Mayhew's imminent retirement from service. He then reached Larkana, where he was received with all warmth, honour pomp and pageantry. But the days of his life were numbered, the jealous Zamindars in collaboration with officials poisoned this promising and gallant young man to death in 1896.

Thus the eventful life of Mir Murtaza was very short, but hectic and heroic; and his descendants would rightly feel proud of such an ancestor who fought his way so heavily, survived honourably and died a tragic death of hero. His son Shah Nawaz, who made a mark in history after suffering the buffets of life in his childhood and boyhood, was then only eleven years of age.

On the academic side, Shah Nawaz Khan received his educational instructions, first in the Maderssa High School, Larkana, which was then a middle school; later on he joined Sindh-Madressa-tul-Islam, Karachi, where he was under the care of an English Principal Mr. Vines, but before matriculating, he paid farewell to his studies in 1908 and returned to his village. He was then under the kind care of his affectionate Uncle Ilahi Bakhsh Khan, but this affectionate guardian also died suddenly and unexpectedly at an early age of 28 years; now the entire burden and responsibility of the eminent Bhutto family fell on immature and inexperienced Shah Nawaz Khan. It was now a stupendous task to look after such a big family, vast areas of lands spread in different Districts, face the family opponents and the hostile administration. Shah Nawaz Khan was endowed with extraordinary qualities by nature for facing the pressing exigencies of his time; he rose equal to the occasion and brought the situation wisely under his control. He was highly cultured, cool minded, courageous, self respecting, far sighted with exhaustible fund of patience. He now opened a new chapter of life, he carved a different path to tread upon, he moulded his living in modern style, avoiding to annoy any one and befriending the official class. He abandoned the age old tradition of shikars, dancing and singing functions and the holding of katcheris (gossip gatherings) in order to save his precious time and not to squander away his wealth which he was determined to utilize beneficial for his political expeditions, conquests and social contacts and friendship with the dignities of his time. The ways and means were alien to the other landlords of Sindh and they continued to indulge in the old hackneyed fashion, oblivious to the demand of the time. The Minto Morley Reforms, that had been introduced were shortly going to usher in a new era of democratization of politics in India, therefore his eyes were now firmly set on the political field over which he had resolutely decided to have his hold and was least prepared to surrender it to the politically uneducated lot. The other individuals of his class were indifferent to the future politics because they were unaware of its consequences, but he was wide-awake. He entered the arena with all his resources, vigour and capacity and started taking big strides in politics, according to his plan. No doubt Rais Ghulam Muhammad Khan Bhurgri (1881-1924) was the first Muslim Barrister in Sindh and a very big landlord in lower Sindh was politically quite powerful but his politics was unpalatable to the British imperialism; the idea

was however repulsive to the Sindhi Muslims as Hindus were quietly devouring the lands of Muslims and reducing them to paupers. But it seems that lady luck was also smiling on Shah Nawaz Khan Bhutto, as Ghulam Muhammad Khan Bhurgri died a young man at 43 years age. Now there was no powerful antagonist in Sindh to obstruct the path of Sir Bhutto to climb and reach the pinnacle of his political power.

RISE AND ACHIEVEMENTS

- 1910 Member District Local Board Larkana
- 1919 Elected to the Imperial Council of India
- 1920 Nominated as First Class Special Honorary Magistrate
- 1920-34 President of District Local Board Larkana
(the District then extended upto Sehwan Taluka)
- 1921-36 Member Bombay Legislative Council
- 1921 Title of Khan Bahadur

The above events from 1919 to 1921 took place in a such quick succession that he seemed to gallop in the political field. All these powers and honours that he came to enjoy in such a short span of a time, would have ordinarily made a man heart headed and power drunk, but he was made of different metal; he became pragmatic, seasoned and most remarkable politician of Sindh. He writes "My Services were available to the common man from morning to night. I ran an open house at Garhi Khuda Baksh Bhutto without distinction and without motive. I tried to help people who came- I tried to give them good advice. I was courteous to the common man and rarely did I lose my temper. I spared no efforts to cultivate and befriend the masses". In short this was Sir Shah Nawaz as he has described himself and his conduct without any iota of exaggeration and hypocrisy.

He had now all the opportunities available to traverse the boundaries of Sindh politics and enter high venues and vistas, and he accomplished all these by himself without joining any All India political party.

- 1924-36 Appointed Minister in Bombay Presidency
- 1925 Elected President of the Sindh
Muhammadan Association
- 1928 As President of the Association he invited Mr. M.A. Jinnah to Sindh for resolving disputes between the Muslim Zamindars (landlords) of Sindh

Mr. Jinnah was his guest at Larkana. Thereafter he remained in constant touch with Mr. Jinnah

1930 Knighthood

1930-31 Delegate to Round Table Conference, London. It was the most important Conference for the political and Constitutional development of India. The vital question of Sindh's separation was on the agenda of the Conference. In all 16 Muslims delegates were invited from India. Sir Shahnawaz Khan delivered a very forceful, memorable and convincing speech for Sindh's separation. Mr. Jinnah strongly supported him in his inimitable style and non-rebuttal arguments. Thus Sir Bhutto succeeded in his mission of separating Sindh from Bombay. If Sindh had not been separated from Bombay, the achievement of Pakistan would have been doubtful

1932 Chairman of the Sindh Azad Conference held at Hyderabad. It was presided over by Allama Yousuf Ali

1934 Sindh People's Party formed by Sir Shahnawaz Khan

1936 Elected President of the Sindh United Party and Sir Abdullah Haroon as Vice President

1936 Appointed Chief Advisor to the Governor of Sindh March

Sir Bhutto was a most influential Minister and a seasoned politician. It would be recalled that Sardar Wahid Bux Khan Bhutto was implicated in a false murder case. Ultimately, the case was withdrawn by the government as it was a weak case. The bigot editor Pimahia, of Daily Sindh Observer Karachi, wrote a very venomous, nasty and malicious editorial, with the caption "A Scandal of the first magnitude; stating that the case was got withdrawn by Sir Shahnawaz Khan, through his tremendous political influence.

In general election held in early 1937, his party secured 24 out of 34 Muslim seats, thus it was the largest single party in the Sindh Assembly, but accidentally the Leader and the Deputy Leader of the party who were indeed patriotic, pragmatic and selfless leaders of Sindh were defeated in the election to the utter surprise of the political circles. In fact, the defeat of Sir Bhutto was a severe blow to the interests of Sindh, for the separation of which Mr. M. A. Jinnah and Sir Shahnawaz Khan Bhutto had fought battle in the first Round Table Conference held in London in 1930 – 1931 despite the tough opposition by the All India Hindu Leaders. The result was that in the entire decade from 1937 to 1947, no stable ministry which could serve the Province especially the downtrodden Muslim could be formed; every member was desirous of

becoming Minister if not Chief Minister in the Government of Sindh. There was no elderly, selfless and non-purchasable politician who would unite the Muslim members of the Assembly to save the cause for which they had been elected.

Sir Shahnawaz Khan Bhutto was over-confident in his election and he came to his constituency from Karachi, hardly a week before the elections; even the Bhutto family was divided against itself and lamentably lacked inherent unity.

On the other hand, the opposition had firmly united, Sheikh Abdul Majid, the veteran Muslim leader was imported from Karachi, all his election expenses were borne by the opposition. They led a very organized campaign not only on political basis but in the name of religion too; fiery religious speakers were hired not only from Sindh, but even from Punjab; who convinced the Muslim voters that in case Sir Shahnawaz Khan came into power, he will tax the Muslim graves, their beards and their Mosques. On the other hand there was no body to contradict or refute this false and poisonous propaganda that was most effectively launched by his opponents. This election campaign was launched with all vigour by Mr. Kazi Fazlullah and there was no body s. oters that in case Sir Shahnawaz Khan came into power, he will tax the Muslim indh, but even from Punj Mr. M. A. Khuhro, who used to claim all credit for themselves in getting Sir Bhutto defeated in his home constituency, though later on when Khuhro's biography was written, this glaring fact known to the whole world, had been denied. It will not be irrelevant to state that in 1923 Mr. Khuhro was elected, he was underage and the defeated candidate K. B. Ghulam Mohammad Khan Isran, was preparing to file election petition, for which he possessed unimpeachable documentary evidence. But it was Sir Shahnawaz Khan who as an elderly politician, came to Mr. Khuhro's rescue when he took him to Khan Bahadur Isran and requested him emphatically to drop the idea of election petition, give chance to the young man to serve Sindh better as he was an educated person. Khan Bahadur Isran obliged Sir Bhutto, thus Mr. Khuhro continued as member. But in politics, moral obligations do not carry much weight and are forgotten very soon.

G. M. Sayed offered to resign to accommodate Sir Shahnawaz Khan Bhutto for Premiership of Sindh, but Sir Bhutto declined to accept this arrangement. Had he continued to stay in Sindh politics he would have conveniently made his return to power as Premier of Sindh. But this gentleman of self respect and scruples was not power hungry and felt so disgusted with the nasty politics of his opponents that he refused to participate in politics any more; though it was for the first time that he that he was defeated in any election. Perhaps he thought that he did not deserve this treatment as he had tremendously served Sindh. It was due to his strenuous efforts that the huge scheme of Sukkur Barrage was sanctioned by the Executive Council at Delhi and finally approved by the Government of India. The Barrage revolutionized Sindh agriculture. It transformed the desert areas of Sindh into a most fertile garden, resulting in vast economic prosperity to the people of Sindh. Any

statesman or politician could legitimately feel proud of such a monumental performance.

In fact Sir Bhutto was the architect of modern Sindh and many were of the opinion that his exit from politics at an early age of 49 years was a bit emotional and premature. But he was the best judge of his times. He had seen ups and downs of life, he had witnessed the days of extreme adversity and immense prosperity: the wise Sir Bhutto was not only visionary, he was self educated through his vast experience. With his exit from Sindh politics the political power of Bhutto family started wanning all that they could achieve, one seat in the provincial Assembly and they did not carry much influence even in their own district. It was only after the entry of Mr. Zulfikar Ali Bhutto in politics that the name and fame of Bhutto family traveled far and wide beyond the borders of Pakistan.

In fact Bombay was the second home of Sir Bhutto as an important minister of the Bombay Presidency and he was living there from 1924. Now as a member of the joint Public Service Commission of Bombay and Sindh, he continued to remain in this cosmopolitan city as representative of Sindh Province from April 1937. Although no more involved in tumultuous politics, Sir Shahnawaz Khan continued to maintain his friendly relations with high political and social circles. He had his friendly terms with Mr. Jinnah, who was now the Quaid-e-Azam of Muslims and undisputed and an unchangeable leader of Muslim India; even his school going son Zulfikar Ali Bhutto had access to the leader on occasions. Thus Sir Bhutto was associated with the prominent personalities of Bombay in all walks of life and did not lead a secluded life.

Sir Shahnawaz Khan Bhutto believed in imparting highest possible education to his children according to their aptitude irrespective of their sex. He directed the best of his attention to the upbringing and training of his promising and dearest child Zulfikar Ali, who was born on 5-1-1928. Sir Bhutto understood better than anybody else that future of his family lay in education and his son Zulfikar Ali possessed all the qualities requisite for a brilliant and successful politician provided he was groomed well. He was therefore friend, philosopher and guide of his son and got him the best possible education that could be available in the United States of America and England. Mr. Zulfikar Ali Bhutto, as everybody knows, became the most outstanding Prime Minister of Pakistan with whom was linked not only destiny of his country but every future of the Muslim World; however, Sir Bhutto could not see the rise of his son to such a coveted climax as by this time he had passed away. But all these hopes that the nation had pinned in the personality of Zulfikar Ali Bhutto were shattered when General Zia ul Haq, the military dictator, martyred the saviour of Pakistan without halt or hesitation on 4-4-1979. If Mr. Zulfikar Ali Bhutto had an adroit, sincere to the core and pragmatic adviser like Sir Bhutto, this tragedy could have been averted.

SIR BHUTTO'S DOMESTIC LIFE

Besides Zulfikar Ali, Sir Bhutto had two other elder sons, namely Imdad Ali and Sikander Ali, who possessed very congenial, very likeable personalities and generous minds but they passed away in 1950 and 1962 respectively when they had not yet attend 50 years of age.

The second marriage of Sir Bhutto was with a Hindu girl. It is said that intellect always surrenders, whenever it is at war with heart. Mr. Mohammad Ali Jinnah, who enjoyed the reputation of being very cold, most logical, quite unemotional and far from romantic life, at the age of 43 years fell in love with Ratan, the only daughter of a proud and aristocratic multi millionaire, Sir Dinshaw Petit of Bombay. She was mad for Jinnah, renounced her religion, her family, her society, embraced Islam and married with a Muslim Barrister when she was only 18 years of age. Sir Bhutto was no exception, he too was a helpless victim of cupid; intellect is always weather before love, consequently in 1925 at the age of 37 years, he married a pretty Hindu girl aged 18 years after she willingly accepted Islam. She chose Sir Shahnawaz as her life partner not because of his wealth, but the qualities of heed and heart that he possessed, as was the case with Ratan. As a Muslim, she was named Khursheed Begum and gave birth to the world renowned politician Zulfikar Ali Bhutto. She lived a very happy and harmonious life with Sir Bhutto and Zulfikar Ali never forget even for a moment that his mother came of humble origin and he was proud of it. The happy blend of a feudal lord and a girl of moderate means did have its effect and perhaps a salutary effect on Z. A. Bhutto's personal as well as political life. At the time of Indian independence, Sir Shahnawaz Khan Bhutto was the Prime Minister (Diwan) of Junagadh State which was overwhelming populated by Hindus but its ruler was a Muslim Nawab. It was on his advice of far reaching political and diplomatic significance that the Nawab of Junagadh signed the instrument of accession in favour of Pakistan, which Sir Bhutto had personally presented to Quaid-e-Azam. It was such an act of statesmanship by Sir Shahnawaz Khan Bhutto that infuriated Lord Mountbatten, the then Viceboy of India, Pundit Jawahar Lal Nehru, the Prime Minister and Sardar Vallab Bhai Patel, Minister for States, over this unexpected annexation and they protested to the Government of Pakistan that it was an unfriendly act on their part to have accepted the accession of Junagadh. "The instrument of accession was drafted by Sir Bhutto, the shrewd Diwan of Junagadh" 6 as stated by Stanley Wolpert. "The accession of Junagadh to Pakistan placed India in an acute dilemma for which any escape could be turned to the advantage of Pakistan" writes H.V. Hudson the learned author of "The Great Divide". It was termed as a "Trap by Pakistan" by the outraged Lord Mountbatten. The State was not big but the implications were indeed big and the efficient and astute Indian diplomacy could not wriggle out of it. But who had masterminded this trap against high handed and power drunk rulers of India? He was none else but Sir Shahnawaz Khan Bhutto, the last Diwan of Junagadh who had said "goodbye to politics in 1937; but by his vision and wisdom he rendered an unforgettable service to his motherland. It

was a preemptive step, Quaid-e-Azam also had foreseen the evil Indian designs to grab Kashmir, of which, the population was overwhelmingly Muslim and Maharaja was a Hindu. India, while refusing to recognize the accession of Junagadh by its rulers occupied the State by force, on 27-10-1947. India dispatched her strongest forces which invaded and occupied Kashmir on the plea that the Maharaja had signed the instrument of accession in favour of India. The dispute over Kashmir was referred by India to the Security Council on 1-1-1948, where it was hotly contested both by India and Pakistan. However India miserably failed to justify and reconcile its contradictory and self-destructive stand on Kashmir as it was contrary to her behaviour in Junagadh. How and why India accepted the accession of Kashmir through its Maharaja, when it had refused to recognize the accession of Junagadh with Pakistan, through its Nawab? The Security Council had no option but to pass the plebiscite resolution on Kashmir in spite of strong lobbying by Lord Mountbatten through the British Prime Minister Atlee. The political vision and far sightedness of Sir Bhutto requires no better proof than the wise, political and patriotic handling of Junagadh's accession with Pakistan; thereby baffling and confusing the top leadership of India.

After independence, Sir Shahnawaz totally retired from public life but was held in great esteem by the people of Larkana. He gave the gift of his beloved son Zulfikar Ali Bhutto to Pakistan and breathed his last peacefully at Larkana on 19-11-1957, while his talented son was elegantly arguing the case of his country at U.N.O in New York. None including his honest adversaries can level any allegation of dishonesty, corruption, cruelty, crooked behaviours or brutally in his social and political life in spite of the fact that he was the most influential and powerful personality of Sindh continuously at least for one and half decades.

Mr. M. A. Khuro's assessment of Sir Bhutto's noble character and qualities was as under:

"Because of his close contacts with him in politics, I came to appreciate his extraordinary qualities as a leader. He was a very successful Administrator, therefore the Administration of the District Local Board was best run under his Presidentship".

"He was a good friend socially and he was prudent and sagacious, farsighted and straightforward in his dealings. He was a good conversationalist, had charming manners and very agreeable social personality. He had a knack of presenting his case in an effective and precise manner, with the result that he was usually successful in negotiations. He was consequently highly appreciated by the Zamindars of Sindh. He was very popular with agricultural class of Sindh in particulars."

Though he belonged to the upper strata of the society, Sir Shahnawaz Khan had deep sympathy for the poor, he wanted to see them educated and advanced.

“Look after poor Sindhis. See to it that they become prosperous. They are backward, they are simple and they are deprived of opportunities of advancement. Make them literate give them education. Don’t ever let them down.”

This is what Mr. Yousuf. A. Haroon, a prominent Muslim League leader, stated about the valuable advice given to him by Sir Bhutto, when the former went to call on him at Larkana for seeking his guidance.

ZULFIKAR ALI BHUTTO

Sir Shahnawaz Bhutto left three sons and two daughters:

Imdad Ali Bhutto	(1914 – 1950)
Sikandar Ali Bhutto	(1921 – 1962)
Mohtarma Mumtaz Mahal Bhutto	(1926 – 1974)
Mohtarma Munnawar	(1927 – 1994)
Zulfikar Ali Bhutto	(1928 – 1979)

Zulfikar Ali, the youngest child of Sir Bhutto was born on January 5, 1928 at Larkana. In those days Sir Bhutto was a Minister of the Bombay Presidency.

Zulfikar Ali means the sword of Hazrat Ali that had emancipated the poor and oppressed from the slavery of the big proud tyrants. He was the dearest child of his parents and was to be reared up in the best possible way. For the purpose of education, he was first admitted in the Convent Kindergarten School in Karachi for a few months. Thereafter, when Sir Shahnawaz was invited to join the Provincial Cabinet at Bombay in 1934, they had to shift, where they were officially housed in a beautiful bungalow in the Malabar Hills fine posh area overlooking the sea.

Sir Bhutto was such an influential minister that the Governor invariably acted on his adroit advice, in the matters of far-flung Sindh. The houses of the Governor, His Highness Agha Khan, the cultured Parsi gentlemen, Sir Homi Mody and Huteesing Krishna Wehru, the sister of Pandit Jawahar Lal Nehru, were also near the house of Sir Bhutto, thus he was in the midst of the highly educated people in the Malabar area. It will not be out of place to mention that Mr. Mohammad Ali Jinnah, the brilliant barrister of Bombay and a top ranking constitutional expert and political leader of India, had his mansion on the Mount Pleasant Road in Malabar Hills.

Sir Bhutto got his son admitted in the Cathedral School of Bombay in 1937. Zulfikar Ali was very fond of cricket and famous Cricketers like Mushtaq Al Omar Qureshi, Pilloo Modi and others were his fast friends in Bombay. He was being brought up very delicately with all care, by his parents. Sir Bhutto who used to take his son with him wherever he used to go for meeting his friends. During the war period, Sir Bhutto and Mr. Jinnah used to meet quite frequently specially at the clinic of Dr. Jai R. Patel, who was common friend of both these politicians.

The generous social and habitable Doctor lavishly entertained his number of friends daily in his clinic, where politics, the burning topic of the day was discussed by the politicians belonging to the different segments of thought. It was here that the young Bhutto was most impressed by Mr. Jinnah's powerful and inimitable arguments and became his follower at once.

Sir Bhutto, who was most friendly with the high cultured and highly educated society, felt that he must get his darling son Zulfikar educated in the best educational institutions of the world, in order to prepare him for a very effective role in his country. Zulfikar Ali did his Senior Cambridge from Bombay and proceeded to the United States in September 1947, for his higher studies in the University of the Southern California at Los Angeles. It was here that the young Bhutto proved himself a great debater, a brilliant student of politics, history and international affairs, a remarkable intellectual imbued with Islamic fervour. In his historic speech on April 1, 1948, on "The Islamic Heritage" he told his Christian audience. "My interest is soaked in the political, economic and cultural heritage..... Imperialism has sapped our vitality and drained our blood in every part of our globe..... the young generation of Muslims, who will be the leaders of new force of an order based on justice, wants the end of exploitation".

It was his inner voice, his heart, voice, the exploited world's voice. But at that time he did not know that the West could permanently stop his voice, through their invisible machinery. It would be relevant to put, that he worked voluntarily in the Pakistan Embassy at Washington, a patent mark of his patriotic responsibility as an ardent admirer of his political hero, Quaid-e-Azam Mohammad Ali Jinnah who had recently breathed his last on September 11, 1948.

Such was his brilliance, that the Diplomatic Historian, T. Walter Wall bank wrote in October 1948, "One of my students from India Mr. Z. A. Bhutto..... has been in my history classes, for a period of one year. I would say that this young man is definitely superior scholar, perhaps even in the brilliant category."

On his twenty first birthday on January 5, 1949, he received birthday gift from his father Sir Bhutto which comprised a leather-bound five volume set of William Sloane's biography of Napoleon Bonaparte and Karl Marx's Communist Manifesto in pamphlet form. This gift is indicative of his political

aptitude and economic inclinations. He had all praise for Napoleon's courage and respect for Karl Marx sympathetic attitude towards the poor as he was influenced by both in his political life.

For two years, he was in the University of Southern California from where he graduated. Then, he moved to Berkeley Campus (University of California) from where he completed his degree with honours in Political Science in June 1950. He then left America for England to get himself admitted in Oxford University. Mr. High Trevor Roper, Counselors of the Christ Church College in the University, asked him about the cause of his joining. In reply Zulfikar Ali said that he wanted to study "jurisprudence and law". The requirement for jurisprudence was the knowledge of Latin, which the young man had to study, Mr. Trevor advised him to do the course in three years instead of two years, which the intelligent British students used to complete in two years. But the confident young man replied that he would do it in two years and he actually did that. Resultantly, he was awarded the Master of Arts degree. "Less than a year, after being enrolled at Lincoln's Inn, Zulfikar Ali Bhutto was called to Bar there, as William Pitt, Lord Canning, John Morley and Mohammad Ali Jinnah had been before him." Equipped with all these qualifications, the handsome, charming and eloquent genius reached Pakistan with high political ambition of Foreign Ministership and Prime Ministership of his country.

ZULFIKAR ALI'S MARRIAGE AND CHILDREN

He had two wives. His first wife was Shirin Amir Bano, daughter of Khan Bahadur Ahmed Khan Bhutto of Naodero, District Larkana, cousin of Sir Bhutto. Khan Bahadur owned vast landed properties and several houses, he did not have any male child and had only three daughters who were to own the property after his death. According to the customs of the time, the daughters were not married to strangers, so that no strangers could intrude in their areas of the landed aristocracy. Sir Bhutto though an enlightened person, got his beloved son married with Shirin Amir Bano, of course keeping these considerations in view.

Zulfikar Ali was about 12 years when he had to marry within his family with a girl, about eight nine years older than him. "Such a business marriage had been arranged between my father and his cousin Amir Bano when we he was only twelve and she eight or nine years old." Later on, wrote Mohtarma Benazir Bhutto in her autobiography.

To be frank, the first marriage was a "social necessity" but the real marriage and love marriage of Zulfikar Ali was with Begum Nusrat on September 8, 1951. She was born in Bombay on March 23, 1929 and belonged to an Iranian family.

He had four children out of the wedlock, two sons and two daughters. The two sons were killed.

Ms Benazir Bhutto
(June 21, 1953 – December 27, 2007) Assassinated on December 27, 2007 in Rawalpindi

Mir Murtaza Bhutto
(1954 – 1996) Assassinated on September 20, 1996 at Karachi.

Ms Sanam
1957

Shahnawaz
(1958 – 1985). Died in France under Mysterious circumstances On July 18, 1985.

Mohtarma Benazir Bhutto is a very brilliant, fearless, popular and charismatic political leader of Pakistan. She fought relentlessly against the Martial Law dictator Zia-ul-Haque and had to undergo imprisonment several times. Before assuming the charge of the Pakistan People's Party formally, she was the defacto Chairperson of her party and her father knew that she would never let down. She became Prime Minister of Pakistan twice, in 1988 and 1993, but the President of Pakistan exercising his extraordinary powers under 8th amendment dissolved the National Assembly. She was the youngest Prime Minister of Pakistan, inherited many of his qualities and qualification as the political leader of her country. She married Mr. Asif Ali Zardari in December 1987. He had nothing much to do with politics before marriage; but thereafter whenever Mohtarma Benazir is out of power, both husband and wife have to undergo most exacting ordeals.

The family background of Z. A. Bhutto has been briefly stated to show that while assessing him, his ancestral heritage must not be ignored. They were undoubtedly feudal lords, but brave liberal and intelligent by nature. If he had been only a feudal aristocrat, he would have been like many others. But he lived with his father for most of the time in Bombay and passed the early formative years of his age in Bombay in a highly cultured and educated society. He received his early political training from his father, a highly experienced, pragmatic and successful politician and he learnt a lot from him. His attitude of feudal aristocracy was radically changed by the urbane Bombay society, the parental influence and his subsequent education in very advanced and democratic countries like the United States and England. But with all these changes, he still retained some of old family traits and trends, his unsociable luxury, his strong will, high degree of self-respect and tremendous generosity. But he was never cruel, unforgiving and petty minded. If all these characteristic are combined, that is the feudal background, the cultured and educated personality and his high Western academic education, they will make him a complex personality for any one who studies him superficially. There is

no wonder if the Italian writer calls him a very complex personality, she failed to understand her in spite of her high degree of intelligence and experience.

“The more you study him, the more you remain uncertain, confused. Like prism turning on a pivot, he is forever offering you, offering a different face and at the same moment that he gives in to your scrutiny, he withdraws. So you can define him in countless ways and all of them are true: liberal and authoritarian, fascist and communist, sincere and a liar. He is undoubtedly the most complex leader of our time and the only interesting one his country has so far produced.” Indeed it was an impossible task for a Westerner to understand him fully. If his personality is judged in a better sense of understanding, the contradictions as pointed by Fillaci will disappear.

CHAPTER 3

Jinnah and Bhutto

"To be ignorant of the times of the celebrated, is to continue in a state of childhood all his days."

The philosophy contained in the above sentence very rightly applies to the two celebrities of Pakistan and every Pakistani must fashion his life accordingly if they want to understand politics and secrets of rise and decline of the states.

Quaid-e-Azam Mohammad Ali Jinnah (1876 – 1948) and Quaid-e-Awam Zulfikar Ali Bhutto (1928 – 1979) were the two greatest leaders of the country. Quaid-e-Azam means "great leader" and Quaid-e-Awam means "leader of the people" and these titles were conferred upon them not by the sycophants and flatterers but by the people when they were fighting against the Governments of the day and guided multitudes of peoples of their country. In all fairness, this fact must be admitted even by their adversaries.

Mr. Bhutto was much younger than Mr. Jinnah, the margin was not less than 52 years, but the former was fan and follower of the latter and many qualities were commonly shared by them.

It is true that Jinnah and Sir Shahnawaz Bhutto were quite friendly with each other, but the letters written by Zulfikar Ali Bhutto when he had not yet attained the age of adolescence were not the result of Jinnah – Sir Bhutto friendship. It was young Zulfikar Ali's deep devotion for his leader which made him write letters to the great leader. He called upon him and obeyed his instructions; wept bitterly when he died and worked in the Pakistan Embassy voluntarily at Washington for some time. According to him, Quaid's untimely demise left the nation an orphan when he was needed most; and he alone had organized and united the disarrayed Muslims and liberated them from slavery. Jinnah was the model of leadership for Zulfikar Ali. He often spoke of Jinnah to his friends saying "That's is my ideal, the man whom I respect."

His devotion bears a kind of resemblance to the young revolutionary Subash Chandra Bose of Bengal who deeply adored his Bengali Congress leader Desh Bandhu C.R.Das, one of the three greatest All India Congress leaders of his time whose mind was free from bigotry, quite courageous by nature and was not visionary and reactionary like Gandhiji. Soon after the entry of young Subash Chandra Bose in All India Politics, C.R. Das breathed his last and his death was painfully mourned by Bose, as did Bhutto in case of Mr. Jinnah. The sad Subash expressed:

“I gave him my heart’s deep adhesion and reverent love, not so much because I happened to be his follower in the arena of politics as because I happened to know him..... in his private life.... Once we lived together in jail for eight months, for two months in the same cell, for six months in the adjacent ones. I took refuge under his feet because I came to know him thus.....”

Subash Bose died in an air crash at the age of about 50 years, while fighting against America and Britain in the second world war and Bhutto was assassinated at about the same age by General Zia.

SUCCESSOR OF QUAID-E-AZAM

It was of time and misfortune of Pakistan that there was a long gap of more than half a century between the Quaid-e-Azam and Zulfikar Ali Bhutto. Had the latter been immediate successor of Jinnah, Pakistan would not have suffered so heavily and so irreparably as it did after 11th September 1948. The Muslim League, which had attained Pakistan, would not have tattered into pieces after the relinquishment of Presidentship by the Quaid-e-Azam. The subsequent leadership was not in a position to deliver goods on behalf of the people and take care of Pakistan.

In modern politics, it is always a well organized, popular political party with strong mass support that can serve a country, as did All India Congress leadership in India under the able guidance of Prime Ministership of Pundit Nehru. Bhutto was the most brilliant, charismatic, ever vigilant and dauntless leader with a grasp of world affairs to head Pakistan in both peace and war. He knew friends and foes, understood the policies, tactics and diplomatic moves of Pakistan’s enemy number one, India, usurper of Kashmir. The intrigues and conspiracies, the rule of the unelected, the dissensions between East and the West wings, the imposition of Martial Law, the rule of a Military Junta, had torn the two wings of Pakistan apart. It would not have occurred if a statesman had been at the country’s helm of affairs.

SIMILARITIES BETWEEN TWO GIANT STATESMEN

There were many similarities between these two most outstanding personalities of Asia. The subject of history is very delicate and difficult, it demands that the writer must keep himself above prejudice, parochial feelings and petty mindedness else it would be a disservice to the nation to distort the history.

These personalities were very controversial and many Ulemas issued decrees of infidelity against them, in unison, they supported All India Congress leadership. But the common Muslim who had the consciousness and vision threw them in the waste paper basket. When Pakistan came into being, the

very same Maulvis started claiming that Pakistan was created for making it a Muslim religious state. They treated Zulfikar Ali in the same fashion. No body else could have achieved Pakistan except Mr. Jinnah. It was a political miracle; and after 1971, no other political, general or religious leader could have saved the remainder of Pakistan. It was Mr. Bhutto who picked together the torn pieces of Pakistan; however, when he raised its status from zero to respectability in the comity of nations, all his opponents, including the champions of secularism rose against him on the plea that they wanted to establish "Nizam-e-Mustafa", that is the system of Holy Prophet (Peace be upon him). They succeeded in getting Bhutto assassinated, but till today, all those who raised the catchy and hypocritical slogan have done absolutely nothing for the establishment of Nizam-e-Mustafa. If Mr. Bhutto had not come forward with all his efforts and abilities, the very existence of Pakistan was in doubt and the dream of Indira Gandhi, would have been realized.

Though Mr. Jinnah died a natural death, but due to his strict vigilance and hard work, even some of his ministers were sick of him, they wanted his early death, so that the cats could play freely. They never cared for their benefactor, not even arranged for his treatment. Both of these politician were recipients of modern education, fully understood the requirements of modern politics and they believed in secular politics keeping Islamic values and principles as their guiding lines. Mr. Jinnah was the apostle of Hindu Muslim unity and throughout India nobody strove for Hindu Muslim Unity as he did; but the bigotry and orthodoxy of the so-called National Congress drove him to demand Pakistan. The political stand, argument, determination and reasonableness of Jinnah, made Bhutto his political disciple, but he too like his leader Jinnah has secular bent of mind, they did not believe in theocracy. However, they stood for renaissance of Islam, believing in equality for all, every citizen to be treated with justice and fairness. According to them the existence of strong Pakistan, was a guaranty for the safety of Muslim States in Middle East including Iran against the designs of India expressed by Pundit Nehru even before independence.

He said "The pacific is likely to take the place of the Atlantic in the future as a nerve centre of the world. Though not directly a pacific state, India will inevitably exercise important influence there. India will also develop as the center of economic and political activity in the Indian Ocean Area, in South-East Asia and right up to the Middle East."

The entire edifice of Indian power was built in the brain of Jawahar Lal Nehru, the Indian Prime Minister even before Independence. Both Jinnah and Bhutto were fully aware of the expansionist design of Hindu hegemony; as such they wanted to keep Pakistan strong enough to serve as a protective shield for Muslim countries beyond Pakistan. But was it an easy task?

It was a happy coincidence that both the barristers handsome in form, hailed from the soil of Sindh, but they did not believe in parochialism, provincialism and capitalist style of state. They were tireless workers, knew no rest.

In his old age in spite of ailment, the Quaid-e-Azam worked for fourteen hours a day, in spite of doctor's warning. It was he and his type that they achieved the largest Muslim State, he was a statesman with invincible and indefeasible determination. So was the Quaid-e-Azam, who fought against the heavy odds, capitalist, feudal lords, industrialists and religious edicts and ultimately won his battle. In fact they had no enmity with India, but Indian leaders considered them as their enemy No. 1, for which, the reasons were obvious. They had usurped Kashmir against all principles of partition, International law, Security Council decisions and all moral views. Any other leader or ruler of Pakistan could tolerate this behaviour but these two would not. They wanted that the Pakistanis must live and die with honour, partition of United India was already made with grave miscarriage of justice and Kashmir was being forcibly occupied and terrorized by the India's "largest democracy", a phraseology that was coined and conferred by the West to flatter India. In the words of Miss Fatima Jinnah, Kashmir was on Jinnah's lips at the hour of departure from this world. 4 Bhutto feel out with the Field Marshal Ayub and his Junta over Kashmir and for the honour of his country and founded his own party. No other leaders of Pakistan were so jealous of their country's reputation and respectability as these two giant leaders.

In Pakistan, there has been acute crisis of leadership. Even in the words of Pundit Nehru, Mr. Jinnah was all alone in his party, though he enjoyed the support of vast majority of Muslims in the United India:

"Mr. M. A. Jinnah himself was more advanced than most of his colleagues of the Muslim League. Indeed he stood head and shoulders above them and he had therefore become the indispensable leader. From public platform, he confessed his great dissatisfaction with the opportunism and some times worse feelings of his colleagues." To be frank, these remarks of Mr. Nehru apply with equal force to Zulfikar Ali Bhutto, People's Party and his views and opinion about the leaders of his party. If "Mr. M. A. Jinnah" and "Muslim League" are replaced by "Mr. Bhutto" and the "Pakistan People's Party," it will hardly make any difference.

Unfortunately there has been lamentable dearth of leadership in Pakistan, the political parties are not well founded and the national institutions have languished. It is therefore that Pakistan has not produced skillful politicians, it has been a perpetual victim of Martial law or the rule of bureaucrats, therefore the political soil of Pakistan is not fertile enough to produce statesmen of high caliber. The brilliant but luckless Suhrawardy of East Pakistan was not tolerated and he died or was got killed in Beirut, as the Bengalis say. Zulfikar Ali Bhutto, a political genius was also in a way alone like

Jinnah. The people of Pakistan loved him and he loved them; but the party leadership was never up to the mark, with the solitary exception of young Ms. Benazir Bhutto, who too was hardly tolerable after the assassination of her illustrious father. A genius has his own ways, even in democratic setup, he formulates the policies, convinces the masses and acts upon them, it is not the masses who guide their leader. In Muslim League, as well as in Pakistan People's Party, Jinnah and Bhutto would consult their advisors, but its acceptance was not essential. They convinced their executive committees of the correctness of their viewpoint. The mass support was certainly with them but the conspirators were busy against the Caesar and their leaders were busy in self-aggrandizement. When Rome was burning Nero was fiddling, that was the leadership of Pakistan. True Jinnah was not the founder of Muslim League, but it was he who infused life in the dead body of Muslim League, a Messiah of Indian Muslims; and thereafter it came to be recognized as the sole representative organization of Muslims by the Britishers and Congress. Bhutto founded the People's Party in the teeth of opposition, when more than a dozen drawing room political parties were in existence. His success was unimaginable according to the political pundits; but he gave a concrete programme to the people, struggled day and night against the reactionaries, awakened the hitherto leaderless masses and finally trounced all the parties in West Pakistan.

Both were powerful speakers in English, but Mr. Jinnah could not speak eloquently in any Indian language. Bhutto picked up Urdu and Sindhi immediately and in spite of his limited vocabulary, he made best use of his rhetorical gifts.

Jinnah lived for a short time after independence, but did a marvelous job to consolidate the crumbling structure of Pakistan. So far the foreign relations of Pakistan were concerned, Jinnah's policy was to be friendly with the neighbouring countries, the Muslim Countries and the oppressed nations. As a statesman he did not trust all his eggs to be put in one basket as Liaquat Ali Khan had done afterwards.

Due to his age, ailment and serious domestic problems, the Quaid-e-Azam could not visit the countries out of Pakistan. Bhutto was a young, a live wire; he visited all the important countries of the world and projected the image of Pakistan. Basically his Foreign Policy persuaded the same fundamentals as Jinnah had outlined, but to implement them was an onerous job, he performed it very tactfully, skillfully with his unusual gifts, he was said to be the master of global politics; yes he was. But this coveter had to face many hurdles and evils that will be stated else where in this book.

Both Jinnah and Bhutto prepared to make Pakistan a welfare State, where people could live with honour and throw away the hegemony of the capitalist and feudal lords. The Quaid-e-Azam had made no secret of it, because he was enjoying the highest status of founding father of the nation, but Bhutto preached the very same thing openly and audaciously with forceful

phraseologies and terminologies. The purpose of these policies was identical. Mr. Bhutto pleaded socialism but he was not a Marxist, he wanted to train the party workers, educate the masses politically, bring an end to the Government of the elite and establish an egalitarian society in the long run.

The nearest and the most outstanding personality, who was eligible to succeed Jinnah in critical situation of politics, was Zulfikar Ali Bhutto. Though it can be said that there was proximity in capacity, but there was distance in time. However, one can say that Jinnah had a long experience and education in politics and worked with political stalwarts like Dada Bhai Naoroji, Feroz Shah Mehta, Gopal Krishna Gokhale, Maulana Mohammed Ali Jauhar and Tilak, but Bhutto had no such experience, he was straightaway made minister in the cabinet of Ayub Khan's Martial Law and what could he learn from him? All that he had learnt was his own genius coupled with decade's experience of state craft and in 1968, he had realized and expressed that it was his blunder of life to have joined Ayub Khan. It was a correct statement. But Zulfikar Ali Bhutto was only thirty years of age when he joined the Cabinet and he was the only Minister from Sindh. At that time it was impossible to prophesize as to how things would take shape. He might have thought that by remaining in political power, he would be able to serve the people and also build his own future career there by.

Jinnah was totally a self-made man. During the course of his education in England, his father, a business man, became a pauper. He had to stay continuously in London for years in view of the financially strained circumstance. Zulfikar Ali was the son of a wealthy father, Sir Shahnawaz Khan, therefore, money was no problem for him when he was in U.S.A. or U.K. Mr. Jinnah saw very difficult years in the beginning but he had his way; his brilliant advocacy and shares of business in companies made him a wealthy politician of India. Bhutto had no worries so far finance was concerned, but his father died before the promulgation of Martial Law in 1958 and no body was to guide him politically. Bhutto family was undoubtedly a big feudal family with very considerable urban properties, but after 1937 when Sir Shahnawaz Khan politically retired, they lost the political paradise. It was only after Zulfikar Ali's entry in politics that Bhutto family reached the zenith of political power; but the Bhutto family as a whole had no contribution in that. It was due to his personal qualities and capabilities that he rose to the pinnacle of politics in Pakistan. The Bhutto family again gained its political prominence surpassing all their past records. Jinnah lived in palatial houses, had fleet of cars, wore best dresses in life; Bhutto was born with golden spoon in his mouth, the dearest child of his father was educated in best of the educational institutions and lived in luxurious bungalows.

Jinnah ultimately created the largest Muslim State in the world and became its unquestionable head, policy maker, guide and the sole spokesman. Bhutto enjoyed the absolute majority in Parliament, he was the most formidable and powerful of all politicians in Pakistan. But did they lead a

life free of worries and botheration? Was it a bed of roses or a path of thorns? The reply will be definite "no". Both of them fought very tedious and painful battles against their strong opponents for the greater part of their life. In their historic struggle, there were hundreds of thousands who applauded them and raised vociferous slogans. Yes, they were also the most powerful persons of their time, but the life was an excruciating pain for them. They were not living for themselves but for the nation that was being tormented, humiliated and degraded, not only by their foes but by their own country men. No body was there to share their invisible sufferings and sorrows, all were behaving as cruel critics. The nation was facing life and death problems, India their most inveterate enemy with the policy of non-violence, was most thirsty to drink deep the blood of Pakistan, the coterie of Generals and bureaucrats were multiplying the problems, they had divided the nation. Could these great men lead a luxurious and carefree life under such exacting and exceptional circumstances? The fact is that their mind and soul were occupied with profound national miseries, which are worse than death. It requires unusual courage to suffer them all through life, struggle relentlessly till the last breath of life.

Mr. Jinnah remained distant, even the leaders of the party were not familiar with him, no body could take liberty with him, but all the same he was the uncrowned king of the Muslims of United India. He was the most popular leader of Muslims and Muslim League was the sole representative organization of Muslims of India because of him. And yet most of his personal friends were non Muslims. But Zulfikar Ali was a very buoyant leader, he was an orator, a charming personality, a great political tactician like Jinnah. He totally identified himself with masses; sang, danced and clapped with them, raised slogans like a worker. However he had his times when he maintained strict protocol and nobody could be free with him. Both enjoyed love and respect almost to the point of being worshipped by their followers. But a section of people entertained utmost hatred in their hearts and were blood thirsty against them. These are indeed the mysterious miracles of the real leadership.

JINNAH AND BHUTTO FAMILIES

Zulfikar Ali Bhutto's father was one of the biggest landlords of Sindh. He was an important Minister in the Provincial Government of Bombay, as at that time. Sindh was part and parcel of the Province of Bombay. Sir Shahnawaz Khan Bhutto who was the first man to have participated in modern politics in his district Larkana and he had most of his landed property in the District of Larkana. From 1924 onwards he lived for most of the time in Bombay with his family and got his son Zulfikar Ali educated in Bombay at the initial stage.

Writing about his meeting with Miss Fatima Jinnah in 1968, Bhutto wrote: "Fati, as her Great Leader brother always called her, was in the last year of her life. She reminisced about Jinnah's friendship with Sir Shahnawaz, the old days in Bombay with Dr. Patel and his tea parties." So it is an

established fact that Zulfikar Ali Bhutto's father Sir Shahnawaz and Mr. Jinnah were friends. It is also an indisputable fact that Sir Bhutto had fully concurred with the political view of Mr. Jinnah and supported whenever required.

In 1938, Mr. Jinnah was invited by the Sindh Muslim Leaders to come and organize the All India Muslim League in the province in order to save the Muslims of Sindh from the political annihilation and economic onslaught of Hindus who had fully united themselves in order to deprive the Sindhi Muslims of the fruits of separation. The Government of Sindh, headed by Mr. Allah Baksh Soomro and supported by the Congressites as well as Mahasabhtites, who were not supportive of the organization along religious lines. However Mr. Jinnah visited some cities even in the interior of Sindh like Jacobabad and Larkana. The Government of Sindh had issued instructions to the District officials of Sindh to see that Mr. Jinnah was given a lukewarm welcome in the Province. But at Jacobabad, a grand function was held by Mir Jafar Khan Jamali, a prominent landlord, brave patriot and ardent admirer of Jinnah without caring for Government's displeasure. At that time I was a student in the Madressah High School. Larkana and he came to address the students of High School. I saw him for the first time in my life. "I warn you that the country is burning, I am ringing the bell and you have to extinguish fire". This is all that I remember what Mr. Jinnah said in that meeting. It will not be out of place to mention that the High School was run by the District Local Board, Larkana of which Mr. Nabi Bakhsh Khan Bhutto, cousin of Sir Shahnawaz Khan Bhutto was the President. Mr. Jinnah stayed at the house of Nabi Bakhsh Khan Bhutto and an address of welcome was presented to him by the President of Local Board in spite of the fact that the Government of Sindh had made all efforts to see that Mr. Jinnah did not get any reception in the Province. Mr. Nabi Bakhsh Khan Bhutto was also the Member of the Imperial Central Legislative Council and had joined the Independent Party in the Council, which was headed by Mr. Jinnah. It was a balancing party between the British Government and the All-Indian Congress and had played a very positive and constructive role and invariably supported the correct measure and opposed the anti-people and outrageous bills and negative attitudes of the congress and the British Government in the Assembly. A public meeting was also held at Larkana which was arranged by Mr. M. A. Khuhro and other Muslim League leaders.

It was in 1938 that a historic and unprecedented Sindh Provincial Muslim League conference was held at Karachi, of which Sir Abdullah Haroon and G. M. Sayed were the moving spirits. The foundation of Muslim League was thus laid on strong basis in Sindh. The shortsighted All Indian Congress leadership, by its short sightedness was now paving the path for Pakistan. It was in this historical conference that the Resolution for separate Muslim homeland was passed.

Sir Shahnawaz Bhutto had said goodbye to Sindh in 1937 due to his defeat in the Provincial Assembly and he was appointed Member of the

Public Service Commission in Bombay. Dr. Patel was a prominent physician of Bombay and both Mr. Jinnah and Sir Bhutto were not only his clients and customers as chronic patients suffering from various ailments, but also his intimate friends and enjoyed his hospitality frequently. They used to meet quite frequently at the clinic of Dr. Patel. Many other prominent and worth citizens of Bombay like Parsi industrialist J. R. D. Tata, Sir Cowasjee and the Hindu banker S. D. Schroff were also in the list of Patel's patients. The doctor used to entertain his friends lavishly and sometimes Zulfikar Ali also participated in those meetings. It was inevitable that in meetings of this kind there would be discussions about Hindu-Muslim Unity. Congress attitude towards Muslims was the burning topic of the time. Questions used to be put to Mr. Jinnah about economic and political viability of Pakistan and Jinnah answered those questions very convincingly and logically like a very seasoned statesman. Zulfikar Ali remembered that they were "the kind of replies that made him feel proud to him."

Zulfikar Ali Bhutto, though a lad in those days, did not remain aloof from politics in Bombay and there he became an enthusiastic fan of Mr. Jinnah, who was now the Quaid-e-Azam of Indian Muslims. On 26th April 1945 when seventeen years of age, he wrote a very emotional letter to the Quaid-e-Azam from Mussoorie assuring him of his loyalty and sacrifices for Pakistan. It will be profitable to reproduce the letter of Mr. Z. A. Bhutto:

Charlivile Hotel
Mussoorie
April 26, 1940

Dear Sir,

The political situation which has taken place in the Frontier has made me so wild and angry that I have found courage to write to my leader. It seems that the Mussulmans of today are losing their fighting and martial spirits.

Mussulmans should realize that the Hindus have never and will never unite with us. They are the deadliest enemies of our Koran and our Prophet. We should realize that you are our leader, you Sir have brought us under one platform and one flag and the cry of every Mussulman should be "Onward to Pakistan". Our destiny is Pakistan, our aim is Pakistan. We have a capable leader in you and nobody can stop us, we are a nation by ourselves and India is a Subcontinent. Therefore we must have our rights.

How can Sheikh Mohammad Abdullah or others such as Dr. Khan Sahib call themselves Mussulmans when they fall victim to the Congress policy. It breaks my heart when I read the stupid speeches against the League. Are they really so ignorant or it is their idea of patriotism?

It will take a million such Abdullah's in trying to convince us that our aim is wrong but even then they will not succeed because they do not realize that you have inspired us and we are proud of you.

Being still in school, I am unable to help in the establishment of our sacred land. But the time will come when I will even sacrifice my life for Pakistan. I belong to the Province of Sindh, undoubtedly Sindh is another province which is causing trouble but "Insha Allah" the day will dawn when Sindh will turn for the better and play a vital part in our Pakistan.

Sir I fully realize that you are very busy person and you might not have the time to read a letter of a school boy leave alone reply it.

If you think that I am being very foolish then please forgive me but I simply had to write to you after realizing those ignorant speeches of impartial men.

I am Your Follower
ZULFIKAR ALI BHUTTO

It may be noted that the word "Follower" was written in capital letters: as a matter of respect and emphasis.

A Photostat copy of the letter which was written by Mr. Zulfikar Ali Bhutto in his own hand writing is also reproduced for the benefit of the readers. How prophetic it proved that he would sacrifice his life for Pakistan!

The political struggle for independence of India was at its climax and the main participants in its political war were All India National Congress and All India Muslim League; Quaid-e-Azam was in fact the sole representative of the Muslims of India. He was treated by Muslims as God-sent gift to guide the destiny of Muslims of India and the Congress was led by Mr. Gandhi, Mr. Nehru and Sardar Patel. The Congress was supported by some Muslim leaders also but they had no voice and they had nothing to do with the policy making of Congress and were treated as sycophants by the Muslims of India.

The year 1946 was the most crucial year in the history of India when the Cabinet Mission visited India under the leadership of Lord Pathik Lawrence, Secretary of State for India along with Sir Cripps and Sir Alexander, Ministers of the British Cabinet. The Muslim League accepted the proposals of the Cabinet Mission and also by the Congress, but immediately thereafter the All-India Congress backed out. The British Government, being pro-Congress, would not like to displease the Congress leadership.

As against the hostile attitude of All-India Congress and Britishers towards the Muslims of India, the All-India Muslim League decided to hold "Direct Action Day" on 16th August 1946 throughout India. Mr. Jinnah invited

Zulfikar Ali Bhutto who was the student in Bombay in connection with the "Direct Action Day." He came along with his group of friends and they talked to Mr. Jinnah as to how the "Direct Action Day" would be launched in a befitting manner. Everyone of them spoke but the advice given them appeared to be vague "Everyone talked in circles and vague language, I remarked that Bombay was the Maharashtrian stronghold and Elphinstone College was a student fortress of the Maharashtrian militant students. Some action of strike in Elphinstone College would have tremendous psychological effect."

Mr. Bhutto who was the leader of the students succeeded in blockading the college entry way. The police was called and the Elphinstone College was ordered to be closed down on the "Direct Action Day". On the next day, all the newspapers of Bombay carried the reports on "Direct Action Protest" declaring it a singular success.

In 1946, Sir Bhutto resigned from the Public Service Commission of Bombay and joined as Diwan (Prime Minister) of Junagadh State, the majority of whose population was non-Muslim but the ruler was a Muslim. Sir Bhutto was out and out for Muslims League and quite friendly with Mr. Jinnah. Without any hesitation, keeping before himself the views of Mr. Jinnah and the national interests. Sir Shahnawaz Khan Bhutto drafted the documents of accession to Pakistan, got them signed by the Nawab of Junagadh and personally handed over the same to the Quaid-e-Azam. Nehru and Patel were therefore, intensely annoyed with this accession process launched by Sir Bhutto. Quaid-e-Azam expired on 11th September 1948 and Zulfikar Ali Bhutto in his letter to Mr. M.A.H. Ispahani condoling the demise of his Quaid wrote. "We have been orphaned at this critical moment when we needed more than any other force, the torrential magnanimity of our beloved leader. Though the Quaid is no longer with us yet his pure and virgin spirit will remain forever fertile in our mind. His entire life was a struggle for the betterment and emancipation of his people.

Again he wrote another letter to the Pakistan Embassy Washington. "Jinnah is solely responsible for the creation of the State for those whom he led in the struggle for emancipation of their lives.... The dream of creating of Pakistan has been a great dream. The realization of his dream has been nothing short of a miracle, for it has been an achievement carried out single-handedly. He has led a people who were thoroughly derelict and disunited and depressed. He has been a God-Inspired Man, a man of purity of heart, of invariable audacity and unique courage and determination." Mr. Bhutto was very young, he was student when the Quaid-e-Azam passed away. Mr. Bhutto was 52 years younger to the Quaid. The demise of Mr. Jinnah was a rudest shock of life to Mr. Bhutto.

From the letters and facts briefly narrated above, it is crystal clear that:

1. Zulfikar Ali Bhutto even as a student was deeply involved in the political life of his country and powerful Pakistan was the aim of his life.
2. He was not only against the Hindu hegemony and its leadership, but looked with an eye of contempt at those Muslim leaders who opposed the Pakistan Movement and supported Mr. Gandhi and Congress as against Mr. Jinnah.
3. He had implicit faith in the leadership of Quaid-e-Azam Mohammad Ali Jinnah and fully shared the political, economic and social concept of Pakistan as enunciated by the Quaid publicly and wanted to construct the State on those lines.
4. Mr. Jinnah was the only Muslim leader in India who could and did unite the disarrayed and disorganized Muslims under one banner, with an extraordinary courage, determination and far sightedness. For their honourable existence, he got the homeland for Muslims as against the joint opposition of powerful Congress and the British government all alone. He took his nation wisely and safely to their land beyond the reach of the tyrant pharaoh who had falsely styled himself as God.
5. The Muslims of Pakistan still needed him very badly for consolidating the country, as it was a newly born nation that required to be nursed by him.
6. Mr. Bhutto's patriotic sense for his country was so strong and intense that at the tender age of 17 years, he pledged with his leader to lay down his life for Pakistan when the time came. And later on he actually fulfilled his pledge, demonstrating his love and exceptional courage for his country; thus his martyrdom vanquished the ruthless Military dictator.
7. The demise of Quaid-e-Azam, Father of the Nation, came as a rude shock to him as it was quite untimely and there was none to look after the country which was in grave danger from India the avowed and the strongest foe.

Before the rejuvenation of Muslim League by Quaid-e-Azam in 1937, Muslim League was nothing and Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, the President of All-India Congress, had refused to recognize it as the sole representative organization of Muslims; and again after his demise, it was reduced to zero. Thus Mr. Bhutto had rightly mentioned in his letter of condolence. "He had led a people who were thoroughly derelict, disunited and depressed. He has been a God-sent inspired Man, a man of purity of heart of unbelievable audacity and unique courage and determination". Thus; it would appear that after Mr. Jinnah, it was only Z.A. Bhutto who knew the enemies and how to deal with them.

Ms Benazir Bhutto while speaking about her visit to Simla with her illustrious father Zulfikar Ali Bhutto, Prime Minister of Pakistan in 1972 on the

occasion of his talks with Mrs. Indira Gandhi, Indian Prime Minister about the release of nearly 100,000 political prisoners of Pakistan says:

“I wondered also if perhaps the presence of the Pakistan delegation in Simla sparked more historical memories. It was this very city that her father met with Mr. Mohammad Ali Jinnah and Liaquat Ali Khan to carve out the boundaries of the new State of Muslim Pakistan from Hindu India.” This was the last meeting of Mr. Bhutto with Mr. Jinnah.

So far the family background of the two leaders is concerned, Jinnah belonged to a business family that could not prosper in Karachi; they were not rolling in riches and wallowing in wealth like Bhutto family. The family of Bhutto was a very rich hand-owning family of Larkana, though they had witnessed many vicissitudes of life.

There appear to have many similarities between Bhutto and Nehru families. Though ideologically poles apart, belonging to two opposite countries at daggers drawn against each other, Z.A. Bhutto utilized his exceptional abilities, rhetoric and diplomacy in the right direction for the emancipation of the oppressed through plebiscite in Kashmir as promised by Jawahar Lal Nehru the Prime Minister of India; while the Nehru family exercised and exhausted all its influence, brute power and prowess to stifle the process of plebiscite in Kashmir and continued the atrocious Indian rule in Kashmir.

Jawahar Lal Nehru’s father, Pundit Moti Lal Nehru was one of the few most prominent and respected leaders of All India Congress and was a very wealthy Barrister. Z.A. Bhutto’s father Sir Shahnawaz Khan was also an eminent and farsighted politician; and, for about 15 years he was an unquestionable leader of Sindh, owning vast properties and wealth. Thus politics was a matter of political legacy for both Jawahar Lal and Zulfikar Ali. Both of them received their educational instructions in England and did their Bar-at-Law in an atmosphere of prosperity unlike Mr. Jinnah. Both of them had a fairly deep knowledge of the world history; western politics and had leanings towards socialism.

Jawaharlal Nehru was the most outstanding Prime Minister of India, served his country to the best of his ability, formulated the foreign policy of India, industrialized his country and made India nuclear power of the world during the span of 17 years of his high office. On the other hand, Bhutto started his career as Minister in the Martial Law, established his world wide reputation by giving new dimensions to the foreign policy of Pakistan, tried his best to build Pakistan and ultimately became Prime Minister of Pakistan. No other Prime Minister of Pakistan was so much known throughout the world as Bhutto and so was the case of Nehru, both of them were the most popular Prime Minister of their country. Bhutto further united the Muslim world, which acknowledged him as its leader and gave the gift of “Islamic Bomb” to the Muslim World. But it was perhaps misfortune of Pakistan that he had taken

over the reigns of Pakistan in serious crisis; he had to pick up the pieces of the dismembered Pakistan. While his efforts to unify the Muslim Countries and cultivate friendship with China, the newly awakened world giant, he had to face very tough opposition from the West, for which he had to pay heavily and his Prime Ministership continued for about five year. Jawaharlal had not to face such situation, the West was very sympathetic and highly helpful for him and he remained in office for nearly two decades. This length of time was enough to build India. The job of Zulfikar Ali was therefore enormous and he had to tread the thorniest political path; while Nehru was placed in a much comfortable situation. It is also an admitted fact Nehru did not enjoy those oratorical gifts, which were conferred on the fiery speaker. But it was beyond doubt that Nehru was a seasoned politician and a great writer. Zulfikar Ali Bhutto, who could turn tables on his opponents, died an unnatural and untimely death at a young age of about 50 years, while Nehru lived for about 75 years and died his natural death. Bhutto's "judicial murder" proved a calamity for Pakistan.

FAMILIES OF JAWAHARLAL AND ZULFIKAR ALI BHUTTO

Soon after the death of Jawahar Lal Nehru, his foreign educated daughter Indira Gandhi became the Indian Prime Minister in October 1965 and she is credited with dismemberment of Pakistan in December 1971. But Bhutto did not have high opinion of her as it was in case of Pundit Nehru:

"To me she's is a mediocre woman, with a mediocre intelligence. There is nothing great about her, only the country she governs is great. I mean it's that throne that makes her seem tall, though actually she is very small. And also the name she bears. Believe me, if she were Prime Minister of Ceylon, she'd be nothing but another Mrs. Bandaranaike. And if she were Prime Minister of Israel.... Come now, I wouldn't dare compare her to Golda Meir. Golda is far too superior."

The remark was resented by Indira Gandhi. Indira Gandhi, however, was killed by her Sikh body guards in November 1984 when she was Prime Minister of India. She left two sons namely Sanjay Gandhi (1946 - 80) and Rajiv Gandhi (1944 - 91). It was known throughout India that Sanjay was being trained as political heir of Indira Gandhi. But he died in 1980 while piloting his own plane, it is said that the plane crash was a conspiracy against the family. After the death of the Indira Gandhi, she was succeeded by her son Rajiv who was a pilot in Indian Airlines for over ten years and he had married an Italian girl namely Sonia Maino who is now popularly known as Sonia Gandhi. But unfortunately, Rajiv was assassinated during political rally in Madras in May 1991. Presenting Sonia Gandhi has been elected President of the All India Congress on the pressing request from the top Congress leaders and workers. Sanjay's Gandhi widow Manika Gandhi is also very much in the arena of Indian politics, stepping in the shoes of her husband and the Gandhi family, in

opposition to All India Congress. Thus Monika and Sonia Gandhi are poles apart from each other in India Politics. It will be relevant to mention that Sanjay had named his son Feroze Varun after the name of his father Feroze Gandhi. Coming to Bhutto family, it will be recalled that the eldest and most brilliant daughter of Z.A. Bhutto, Ms. Benazir Bhutto struggled relentlessly and incessantly against the dictatorial regime of Zia-ul-Haq in spite of the fact that she was jailed several times and had to suffer the rigorous of Martial Law. The two sons of Mr. Bhutto, namely Mir Murtaza (1954 – 96) and Shahnawaz (1958 – 85), the latter having been named after his grandfather, were living in exile after the martyrdom of their father and continued their struggle against Zia regime outside Pakistan. Shahnawaz died in France under mysterious circumstances. Mir Murtaza having been elected member of Sindh Provincial Assembly in 1993 in absentia returned to Pakistan, but he was killed on September 20, 1996. Thus both the sons of Zulfikar Ali Bhutto died at a very young age like those of Indira Gandhi. Ghanwa Bhutto, the widow of Mir Murtaza, has formed Shaheed Bhutto Peoples Party in opposition to Pakistan People Party led by Benazir Bhutto, but she is no match for the brilliant Benazir. Ms. Benazir Bhutto fought general elections in Pakistan and was twice elected as Prime Minister of Pakistan in 1988 and 1993, but on both occasions the National Assembly was dissolved by the President of Pakistan. She is very courageous and struggling bravely against the party in power that has filed countless cases against her, in order to oust her from politics and virtually ruin her. But she remains the most remarkable politician of Pakistan. Looking to the facts briefly narrated above, it would be abundantly clear that there are many similarities between the two celebrated families of the Sub-Continent. At present both the families are out of power and struggling for their comeback in power. These are the two legendary families of the subcontinent.

CHAPTER 4

After the Quaid

"We understand death for the first time, when he puts his hand upon one whom we love"

De Stael

The death of Quaid-e-Azam on September 11, 1948 left Pakistan an orphan, many imminent problems remained unsolved. There was no leader of national stature to whom the people of Pakistan could look for the safe guidance of the hard-earned state of Pakistan. The man of destiny had departed from this world. The young Zulfikar Ali Bhutto was a student, far from practical national politics; but the demise of great Jinnah was a rude shock of life to him and the entire nation.

Liaquat Ali Khan, who had remained the General Secretary of All India Muslim League and was nominated as Prime Minister of Pakistan, had not come up to the expectations of Jinnah, therefore the Quaid was not pleased with his performance Chaudary Mohammad Ali, Secretary General to the Government of Pakistan writes:

"There was, it was true, a big gulf between the Quaid-e-Azam and his cabinet colleagues, including the Prime Minister, but that arose from the loftiness of his intellect and the greatness of his position, as the Father of the Nation."

Now let us see what was the version of Miss Jinnah when Liaquat Ali Khan went to the Quaid at the time of his fatal ailment in Ziarat in July 1948, along with Chaudary Mohammad Ali. About the Quaid she mentions:

"Fati, so you know, why he has come? I said I wouldn't be able to guess the reason. He said "He wants to know how serious my sickness is. How long I will last"."

When she was sitting at the dinner table on her brother's insistence, she writes:

"I found the Prime Minister on the dinner table in a jolly mood, cracking jokes and laughing, while I shivered with fright about his health, who was alone in his sick bed."

Quaid-e-Azam had ignored H.S. Suharawardy a brilliant, administratively experienced political leader from East Pakistan and appointed Liaquat Ali Khan as Prime Minister. But the latter could not rise to the level of a national leader and was counting the days of his great leader. It was very unfair on his part.

"Another unwise political step taken by Nawabzada Liaquat Ali at the instance of his life, was sending his resignation from the office of the Prime Minister. What happened was that the Quaid-e-Azam had chided Raana at dinner saying that she was assuming false airs of importance by posing as the senior lady in Pakistan, which she was not and that the senior person was his sister Fatima Jinnah who had stood by him through thick and thin. The copy of Liaquat Ali's letter of resignation dated 27-12-1947, is in Quaid-e-Azam's Archives and which shows that Liaquat's wife was overpowering, even in political matters and she could influence her husband to take such vital political decisions".

The learned author Lawrence Ziring writes:

"There was little wonder that skeptics believed that the country would crumble, and indeed, had it not been for Jinnah's large presence and his capacity to motivate sacrifice on a grand scale, Pakistan may have collapsed within weeks of independence. Jinnah was taken up with enormous problems facing the nation and could not, like Gandhi, remove himself from the political picture. But his health was in a stage of precipitous decline....."

Further he goes on to write:

"After independence had been achieved, Jinnah sensed he had judged in-correctly. Liaquat had shown himself to be a less than forceful personality and Jinnah assumed his powers. Although angered by the undermining of his office, Liaquat was in no position to challenge Jinnah's authority. Liaquat's inability to maintain the integrity of his office, gave the Governor General's position, an importance that was not foreseen in the parliamentary condition that Pakistan sought to operate".

It is not necessary to place more material on the point, but it stands abundantly proved that Liaquat did not possess the vision and ability of a Prime Minister. He wanted to be Pundit Nehru of Pakistan, but that was all fanciful. Mr. Jinnah had done a unique honour to him and he had nothing personal against Liaquat; all that he demanded was that his country must not suffer.

The biggest blunder of Liaquat Ali Khan was that he did not or could not mould the people into one Pakistani nation. Whether he lacked that ability, or did it purposely, is a matter, which requires dispassionate study and thinking.

ANTAGONISED RUSSIA

Liaquat Ali Khan had committed a Himalayan blunder in global matters by not going to Russia in 1949 when he was invited by them at his instance and he had agreed and the dates were fixed for the visit. On the contrary, he accepted a much later American invitation, went to U.S.A. and never visited Russia.

No seasoned Prime Minister could annoy and insult a powerful neighbour like Russia, whose invitation was much prior in time. This result of this unwarranted refusal was ultimately the dismemberment of Pakistan and America did not come to Pakistan's rescue against this national disaster, in spite of defence alliance.

BUNGLINGS IN KASHMIR

Kashmir is the lifeline of Pakistan, because all the rivers of Pakistan take off from this land. The principle, on which the United India was partitioned, was that the Muslim majority areas would go to Pakistan and vice versa. The Quaid-e-Azam himself was extremely worried about it. In fact Sardar Patel, who was in charge of States, was of the same opinion. Chaudary Mohammad Ali writes:

"Patel could not contain himself and burst out". "Why do you compare Junagadh with Kashmir? Talk of Hyderabad and Kashmir and we could reach an agreement." Patel's view at this time and even later on was that India's effort to retain Muslim majority areas against the will of the people could not be a source of strength, but of weakness of India. He felt that if India and Pakistan mutually agreed to let Kashmir go to Pakistan and Hyderabad to India, the problems of Kashmir and Hyderabad could be solved peacefully and to the mutual advantage of India and Pakistan".

It was quite a realistic and reasonable view. This discussion had taken place at Delhi between Liaquat Ali and Patel and according to Chaudary Mohammad Ali who was in the midstream of politics knew the facts thoroughly. Sardar Shaukat Hayat Khan has mentioned in his book as under about the Kashmir episode:

"Later during the attack on Kashmir, Mountbatten came to Lahore. At a dinner attended by Liaquat, Governor Mudy and four Ministers of Punjab, Lord Mountbatten conveyed the message from Patel, the strong man of India, asking Liaquat to abide by the Rules over the future of Indian States previously agreed upon between the Congress and the Muslim League, that those states whose subjects made up of a majority of a community and the state was contiguous and adjoining a Dominion would accede to the adjoining country. Patel had said that Pakistan could take Kashmir and let go Hyderabad Deccan which had a majority Hindu population and was no where near Pakistan by sea

or land. Mountbatten went to sleep in the Lahore Government House..... Nawabzada turned round to me and said "Sardar Sahib, have I gone mad to give up Hyderabad State which is much larger than the Punjab for the sake of the rocks of Kashmir"?

"I was stunned by the Prime Minister's reaction and ignorance of our geography and his lack of wisdom. I thought, he was living in a fool's paradise and did not understand the importance of Kashmir to Pakistan, while hoping to get Hyderabad.... As a protest, I resigned from the position, I was holding Kashmir operation".

If we keep the version of Chaudary Mohammad Ali, Lawrence Ziring and Shaukat Hayat in juxtaposition; there will be no hesitation in saying that Liaquat Ali was also responsible for the loss of Kashmir.

Sardar Shaukat Hayat has made following shocking and startling disclosure in his book:

"Actually Quaid lost his temper with Liaquat for not sending Kashmir papers to him and Dr. Illahi Bakhsh had to intervene in the interest of his patient. This fact was mentioned in Dr. Illahi Bakhsh's book. "With the Quaid-e-Azam in his last days".; but later those pages were replaced on Liaquat's orders. I found them missing even in the Punjab Public Library, where the original book had been kept in a safe. When the Librarian obliged me by taking it out, I was surprised, that those particular pages had been removed and replaced with others amateurishly stuck in place with a piece of straw. Liaquat had warned Dr. Illahi Bakhsh not to divulge the facts of his conversation with Quaid-e-Azam to anyone or he would have to face dire consequences. Dr. Illahi Bakhsh was later found dead in the Flashman Hotel Rawalpindi during his visit."

CONSTITUTION MAKING

In more than four years of his Prime Ministership, Liaquat Ali Khan, did not frame the constitution, with the result that the problems multiplied and the conflict between the East and West wings go more and more serious; while India, in spite of its multifarious problems, framed the constitution by the end of 1949 and the general elections were held in 1950 and thereafter they are held regularly, consequently democracy was finished in Pakistan for all practical purpose and political stability was seriously jeopardized.

Sardar Shaukat Hayat assigns following reason for its delay:

"He delayed the completion of constitution to avoid elections which he could not win because he had no seat in Pakistan and had to be elected by East Pakistan...."

This action of Liaquat was quite partial allowing only people from his old province and the adjoining area to migrate unfairly into Pakistan in order to create a seat for himself in Karachi. The people of the rest of India were left to stew in their own juice.

This act of his created a lot of confusion with people getting allotments in Sindh without records, on each others dubious evidence. These refugees got a monopoly of jobs in the cities and deprived local Pakistanis of their rightful share. The political instability still persists.”

His only achievement in four years was “Objectives Resolution” which is as under:

Speech of Liaquat Ali Khan and Objectives Resolution
(1949) “In the name of Allah, the Beneficent, the Merciful”;

Whereas sovereignty over the entire universe belongs to God Almighty alone and the authority which He has delegated to the State of Pakistan through its people for being exercised within the limit prescribed by Him is a sacred trust;

This Constituent Assembly representing the people of Pakistan resolves to frame a constitution for the Sovereign Independent State of Pakistan;

Wherein the State shall exercise its power and authority through the chosen representatives of the people;

Wherein the principles for democracy, freedom, equality, tolerance and social justice, as enunciated by Islam, shall be fully observed;

Wherein the Muslims shall be enabled to order their lives in the individual and collective spheres in accord with the teachings and requirements of Islam as set out in the Holy Quran and the Sunna;

Wherein adequate provision shall be made for the minorities free to profess and practice their religions and develop their cultures;

Whereby the territories now included in or in accession with Pakistan and such other territories as many hereafter be included in or acceded to Pakistan shall form a Federation wherein the units will be autonomous with such boundaries and limitations on their powers and authority as may be prescribed;

Wherein shall be guaranteed fundamental rights including equality of status, of opportunity before law, social, economic and political justice and freedom of thought, expression belief, faith, worship and association, subject to law and public morality;

Wherein adequate provision shall be made to safeguard the legitimate interests of minorities and backward and depressed classes;

Wherein the independence of the judiciary shall be fully secured;

Wherein the integrity of the territories of the Federation, its independence and all its rights including its sovereign rights on land, sea and air shall be safeguarded;

So that the people of Pakistan may prosper and attain their rightful and honoured place amongst the nations of the World and make their full contribution towards international peace and progress and happiness of humanity.

Sir, consider this to be a most important occasion in the life of this country, next in importance only to the achievement of independence, because by achieving independence, we only won an opportunity of building up a country and its polity in accordance with our ideals. But the Objectives Resolution though apparently Islamic was not Islamic in essence.

According to Justice Mohammad Munir, the Objective Resolution is a clear deviation from the ideas of the Quaid-e-Azam Mohammad Ali Jinnah and from the interpretation of Islamic State by Allama Dr. Mohammad Iqbal. While quoting the speeches of Quaid, he has referred to his broadcast to the United States.

"I do not know what the ultimate form of constitution is going to be, but I am sure, it will be democratic type embodying the essential principles of Islam. Today they are as applicable in actual life, as they were 1,300 years ago. Islam and its idealism have taught us democracy. It has taught equity, justice and fairplay to every body. We are the inheritors of these glorious traditions and are fully alive to our responsibility as framers of the constitution".

In his address to Civil and Military officers at Karachi, on October 19, 1947, he described the new State as one in which "we can live and breath as free man and which we could develop according to our own rights and culture, where principles of Islamic social justice could find fair play."

Justice (Retd) Javed Iqbal, son of Allama Mohammad Iqbal, says "Secularism was once derided by the orthodox Muslims but is now considered to be an integral part of Islam. According to Islam the spiritual and temporal obligations are not only connected with each other but it is incumbent on every Muslim to constantly endeavor to realise the spiritual values while performing the temporal obligations hence secularism is an integral part of Islam and it is for this reason that the Islamic State assimilates the equalities of ideal secular

state." In fact the corruption and fraud multiplied in the days of Liaquat Ali through Rehabilitation Department and it went on spreading like cancer to other Departments. But it must be admitted that there was no allegation of dishonesty in money matter against Liaquat Ali personally.

RAWALPINDI CONSPIRACY CASE

It seems that this case itself was the result of a sinister conspiracy.

"Major Ishaq in an interview on May 6, 1972 gives a summary of the events, which he believed, led to the dissatisfaction amongst certain groups, in the army. He writes, "we had broken through Indian defences when a sudden halt was ordered. The Army units and formations in other parts of Kashmir, went through a similar experience. Every body felt miserable, Indian Army formations in Kashmir got stuck in the mountains without reliable logistic support and we got right on the top of them. Then suddenly, cease-fire was announced, effective from January 1, 1949."

Major Ishaq was one of the accused and their leader was Major General Akbar Khan, Brigadier in 1949 and engaged in the war against India in Kashmir. "The beginning of this conspiracy according to these documents could be traced as far as mid of July 1949....."

"In March 21, 1951, the Rawalpindi conspiracy (Special Tribunal) Act, termed by a judge as one of the most in-human in legal history was passed by the Constituent Assembly. According to the act, the accused was to be allowed no appeal against their sentences. Sentences of any length could be imposed on the convicted persons".

Judgment was announced on 5th January 1953 and accused were convicted with different sentences.

Ayub Khan, who was made Commander-in-Chief by Liaquat Ali in January 1951, was also hostile to Akbar Khan and the conspiracy case was the result of the combined efforts of these higher ups. It is surprising that conspiracy was alleged to be hatched in 1949 and the investigation took two years to be completed; even Akbar Khan's wife the daughter of Begum Shahnawaz, was accused in the case. What a mockery of justice! In case Liaquat Ali had not ordered cease-fire to Pakistan forces with effect from 1.1.1949, entire Kashmir would have been an integral part of Pakistan; and the heavy defence expenditure incurred in the name of Kashmir would not have broken the back of Pakistan's economy. Thus Kashmir was lost, innocent people were convicted and the Pakistan Army was demoralized.

ELECTIONS IN PUNJAB

Bhutto was accused of rigging the elections, which ended in manipulated results, imposition of Martial Law, removal of Bhutto from Prime Ministership, though he was prepared for fresh elections and dissolution of Assembly. Thereafter, a murder case was foisted on him and he was savagely treated in jail and sentenced to hanging by the superior courts of Pakistan, which was universally condemned. It was all done in the name of Justice and Islam!

In 1950, Provincial elections were held in Punjab, in which the wholesale massive slaughter of democracy was caused officially. Sardar Shaukat Hayat writes:

“Here rigging was done officially – he personally over saw the elections in order to get his favourite candidate Mian Mumtaz Daultana to succeed against the Nawab of Mamdot who had formed the Jinnah-Awami League with Shaheed Suhrawardy, I was told personally by the presiding officer in Vehari, where Mumtaz had contested, that he spent the whole day marking bogus ballots in favour of Mumtaz, as did many other officers in other constituties.... Thus Liaquat has the dubious honour of initiating dishonesty in elections.”

The facts are supported by Dr. Safdar Mahmood:

“In the elections, Sardar Abdur Rab was the Governor of Punjab. On account of his personal nobility and being former reliable lieutenant of the Quaid-e-Azam, even his political opponents respected him. But when during the days of his Governorship, there was lot of rigging in many constituencies and the official machinery notoriously supported the Muslim League candidates, his admirers were rudely shocked and surprised”. This version of rigging has been more strongly supported by Qudratullah Shahab who was Deputy Commissioner in Punjab in those times.

DESTROYS MUSLIM LEAGUE

No country can be run without a fully disciplined, united and organized party. The League was nothing before the Quaid-e-Azam, but when he organized it, the party was reckoned as an indefeasible force by Congress as well as the Britishers. Such strong party was a ‘must’ even after independence, but Liaquat Ali ruined it, Dr. Safdar Mahmood writes:

“Liaquat Ali Khan adopted all means openly in favour of Qayyum Khan. Most of the Members of the Provincial Muslim League belonging to Jhagra group were not allowed to enter the hall where election was being held.”

“But in spite of it, Qayyum Khan won by a majority of 18 votes only and slogans of “Lion of N.W.F.P. Zindabad” were raised. It was his personal victory,

but there was multiplication of division and destruction in the organization which he presided”.

It was really lamentable that a man like Liaquat Ali, successor to the Quaid-e-Azam threw away the staircase by which he had ascended to the most important and dignified office of the first Prime Ministership of Pakistan. Qayyum Khan acted very ruthlessly and negatively in the administration and the party affairs. Pir Manki Shareef, who had played tremendous role in the Pakistan movement, had to say good bye to the party and joined Suhrawardy. This “Lion” was so weak-hearted that in the days of Ayub Khan, he gave his apology in writing for getting himself released.

Liaquat Ali literally abused the Bengalis and called them traitor and liars; he got Suhrawardy the most talented politician of Pakistan illegally and unconstitutionally removed from the membership of National Assembly, which created deep resentment in East Pakistan. So the process of ‘rot’ had crept in the body politics of Pakistan right from the days of Liaquat Ali and thereafter the situation went on worsening and worsening. Liaquat Ali was after all a politician, he was General Secretary of the Muslim League in the United India; and much was expected of him. His own Cabinet was a “divided house” he lost his grip over the administration and in-discipline had engulfed the country. He himself fell victim to the tragic assassination in Rawalpindi on 16 October 1951 when he rose to address a public meeting. This daring and dastardly murder was said to be the result of conspiracy by his influential and criminal colleagues. But the murder of Prime Minister went unpunished, even its first information report is not on record.

The state of affairs thereafter, is depicted by Mr. G.W. Choudhury:

“Ever since the death of Quaid-e-Azam and Liaquat Ali Khan, politician started a free-for-all type of fighting. They waged ceaseless and bitter war against each other, regardless of the ill effects on the country just to whet their appetites. There has been no limit to baseness, chicanery, deceit and degradation. Having nothing to offer, they had provincial feelings, sectarian, religions and racial differences to set a Pakistani, against a Pakistani, the result is total administrative economics, political chaos in the country”.

The political history of Pakistan was far from being bright. In 1971, it was the darkest chapter of our history. The largest Muslim State was dismembered and Mr. Bhutto took charge of West Pakistan as Pakistan that was 44 percent of the Quaid-e-Azam’s Pakistan, in a shabby, shameful and shattered state. For the first time, he had organized the biggest political party in Pakistan (West Pakistan) on 1-12-1967, gave a new programme, to the people, new dimensions to the state and new hope to Muslim World and the Third World. It is again a profoundly painful and poignant part of Pakistan’s history that the savior of the soil had to sacrifice his life after suffering all the torments and tortures of the world at the hands of his executioners.

CHAPTER 5

The Draconian Rule in Pakistan

"No man undertakes a trade he has not learned even the meanest, yet every one thinks himself sufficiently qualified for the hardest of all trades that of Government."

Socrates

Thirty percent of the Army of United India was drawn from amongst the Muslims and they were mostly from Punjab; and some from North West Frontier Province, but none of those Muslim officers enjoyed the rank above that of a Brigadier. Ayub Khan was a colonel at the time of independence. If there had been no Pakistan, he would have retired simply as an unknown colonel or at the most a Brigadier. But Pakistan came into being in 1947 through purely democratic process under the superb leadership of Quaid-e-Azam. In January 1951, he was promoted by Liaquat Ali Khan as Commander-in-Chief of the, Pakistan Army though he did not have credible record of service. Two Officers senior to him had died in an air crash. It seems that he was not promoted on the basis of his efficiency as a soldier but on extraneous grounds as a political leader. If Ayub Khan was inefficient as soldier, how could he run the largest Muslim State of the world. It was perhaps a tragic day for Pakistan when the Prime Minister of Pakistan made him the Commander-in-Chief of Pakistan Army in January 1951. In 1947, he was appointed in the Boundary Commission Force by the British Government to control the situation in East Punjab and protect the Muslims. But he miserably failed to provide any protection to the Muslims of East Punjab. "Ayub Khan came in for a great deal of criticism for his failure to come to the assistance of Muslims who were trapped and massacred in East Punjab. Ayub's pleas of helplessness received no sympathy."

It will be relevant here to mention Sardar Shaukat Khan's contention about Ayub Khan's efficiency:

"At this time, the Boundary Force came into being and Brigadier Digambir Singh from India and from our side, Colonel Ayub Khan were selected as the respective representatives of the two countries working under the orders of General Reece whom. I had known him as the Brigade Commander in Palestine. Later he had gone to Burma to command a Division. He called me and said:

"Shaukat whatever has come over your people, that against the fine soldier that India has selected to represent their country on the Boundary Force, you have selected a man whom I had sent back from Burma when he showed tactical timidity soon after the death of his Commanding Officer? He was therefore posted to the training command in India. How do you expect him to be of any assistance to you and how could I learn to depend on his wisdom after what he had done in the past?

It seems evident that after the death of Liaquat Ali, Ayub Khan entertained the ambition of becoming dictator of Pakistan. In 1953 Ayub Khan covertly entered into the political life of Pakistan. In 1953, in conspiracy with and at the behest of Governor General of Pakistan Malik Ghulam Mohammad, the willy knave physically paralysed, unable to write, walk and talk, they removed the honest, respectable and sincere though a weak associate of the Quaid-e-Azam i.e. Khawaja Nazimuddin of East Pakistan from the Prime Ministership of Pakistan at the cost of annoyance of the majority wing of East Pakistan, in April 1953 and appointed an East Pakistani puppet Prime Minister, Muhammad Ali Bogra, who was Pakistan's ambassador in U.S.A. The Chief Executive of Pakistan was thus appointed like a government servant.

The real position is that from 1951, soon after the assassination of Liaquat Ali Khan, there developed an ambition in Ayub Khan's mind to become the dictator of Pakistan and this fact is evident in his own autobiography. According to him he met His Highness Sir Agha Khan in Nice in 1951 and Agha Khan said to him, "You have got Pakistan after great sacrifice. You do not want to lose it. But if parliamentary system is the one you are going to follow, you will lose Pakistan. I have called you here to tell you that you will lose it in this way and you are the one person who can save it." But this version of Ayub Khan is very clearly preposterous and fabricated. If Agha Khan had advised him as such, he would have naturally mentioned it in his autobiography published after 1951. If it had been so, he could have tendered the same advice to Quaid-e-Azam and Mr. Liaquat Ali Khan too who was Prime Minister of Pakistan for more than four years. Quaid-e-Azam was a staunch supporter of the parliamentary system in Pakistan and Agha Khan could not have overruled a politician and parliamentarian of vast experience like Mr. Jinnah. A great personality like Sir Agha Khan who had served the cause of Muslims throughout the world and especially in the United India rated Mr. Jinnah above the high ranking statesmen like Lloyd George, Winston Churchill, Prime Ministers of British Empire, Clemenceau, President of France, Mr. Gandhi and Mussolini of Italy in his autobiography. According to Ayub, Agha Khan's opinion about Jinnah was "He took the right decision, at the right time. You can see his breadth of vision, how great he was, a man of tremendous determination and sense of purpose. Once he made up his mind, he put everything into it. I wish he had lived." But the founding father was a firm believer in Parliamentary democratic system and he had remained a very prominent and vocal member of the Central Legislature for about 35 years, playing a very positive role. He fought and achieved Pakistan when there was democracy of

parliamentary system and his glorious and historic victory was result of a democratic vote and not through a war waged by generals.

Why were the guidelines of the Quaid totally ignored?

If for argument's sake this statement of Ayub Khan is believed to be true, then it proves conclusively that Liaquat Ali Khan was not able enough to strengthen Pakistan and that Pakistan was not fit for democracy.

In 1954 General Ayub Khan was made Defence Minister of Pakistan besides his rank as Commander-in-Chief of Pakistan. Such an appointment was repugnant to all recognized democratic traditions. It was now as clear as day light that Ayub Khan became the virtual master of the country. He kicked the ladder of democracy, which had elevated him to the rank of Commander-in-Chief; thus virtually the democracy and even the political, economic and social systems came to an unceremonious and sad end. The Assemblies including the Constituent Assembly existed only in name. They were no better than rubber stamps and the people of Pakistan could clearly visualize that the country was being ruled by a coterie of some Generals and bureaucrats like Ayub Khan, Ghulam Mohammad and Iskander Mirza; and the old guard was practically ousted. However in September 1954, the Constituent Assembly did frame a constitution, quite democratic in nature, divesting the Governor General of all his arbitrarily assumed powers, which according to Quaid-e-Azam was a "full and complete sovereign body." Annoyed and abusive Ghulam Muhammad declared emergency and dissolved the Constituent Assembly. This shameful political decoity was challenged by Maulvi Tamizuddin Khan, President of the dissolved Constituent Assembly in Sindh Chief Court. All credit to the Chief Court that set aside the dissolution of Assembly; it was wise, patriotic and legally correct judgment. The relevant portion reads as under:

"I have no doubt in my mind that there is no limit imposed upon the legislative powers of the Constituent Assembly, sitting as a constitution making body. No assent of the Governor General was therefore necessary." Mr. Jinnah had already made it clear in his speech to the members of the Constituent Assembly."

The judgment was fully in keeping with the interpretation put by Mr. Jinnah about the powers of the Constituent Assembly, no deviation from it could be possible or permissible.

But the Federal Court Judges earned a permanent curse of the people and destroyed their own motherland, when they set aside the Judgment of the Sindh Chief Court and demolished the future of Pakistan. I would like to quote Sardar Shaukat Hayat:

“Unfortunately the Supreme Court at that time was presided over by Chief Justice Munir, a kakezai clansman of Ghulam Mohammad, who in my opinion pronounced the most perverse judgment in the history of law by reversing Sindh High Court decision under a newly coined term, the Law of Necessity, which is unique in the history of Anglo-Saxon Jurisprudence. The Supreme Court Judgment was almost akin to the Fatwa given by some Ulemas after the murder of Hazrat Imam Hussain in favour of Yazeed’s elevation to the caliphate.” Immediately on announcement of this Judgment, Hyder Bakhsh Jatoi, top Hari leader of Sindh, wrote a highly critical and condemning pamphlet in English calling it as an anti-Pakistani announcement, but the Federal Court had no moral courage to initiate contempt of court proceedings against him. The paralysed leadership of Pakistan was totally tongue tied. Mr. Jatoi wrote:

“Justice Munir has failed in his duties. He has violated his oath of office, he has betrayed Pakistan and the cause of democracy and course of justice in Pakistan. Such a man should not remain in our judiciary any longer.” It was a most condemning criticism; he should have taken proceedings against brave and truthful Hyder Baksh Jatoi if it amounted to interference with administration of justice, or alternatively the only honourable option for him was to resign from the august office of Chief Judge.”

Credit goes to Mr. Justice Cornelius the only non-Muslim Judge of the Federal Court who wrote a dissenting judgment. In 1954, the helpless and impotent National Assembly of Pakistan merged all Provinces of West Pakistan into one unit that is the Province of West Pakistan in the name of unifying the people and integrating the country. Ayub who was brute force behind making one unit, says: “I do not claim one unit was entirely my idea; other people too were talking about it. But my contribution was that when I joined the Cabinet, I wanted to work for clear two objectives: to save the armed forces from interference of the politicians and to unify the provinces of West Pakistan into one unit. I pressed very hard for it and initiated the process of merger of the provinces.”

The fact is that it was all against the will of smaller provinces who had been hating the vested interests of Punjab as usurper. It was almost the last nail in the coffin of democracy unity of the country and the smaller provinces that by an unholy conspiracy of the vested interests of Punjab enslaved them to unscrupulous elements. Ghulam Mohammad, General Ayub Khan, Iskander Mirza, Mumtaz Mohammad Daultana and the leaders of Punjab were the main architects of One Unit. One Unit of West Pakistan was condemned by non-Punjabis because it seemed to place them in permanent state of slavery. The Punjabis had greater wealth, they controlled trade and industry and enjoyed a pre-eminent position in commercial, governmental as well as military affairs, in other words they achieved very unfair leverage over the provinces that could not cope with them.

According to the constitution, the General Elections were scheduled to be held in February 1959. Sir Feroze Khan Noon was the Prime Minister of Pakistan and he was supported by Hussain Shaheed Suhrawardy, Leader of East Pakistan, with this understanding that the elections will be held in February 1959. Mr. Suhrawardy, a brilliant and fearless leader by virtue of his popularity expected to be the Prime Minister of Pakistan. But why would the elections be allowed to be held at all? Iskandar Mirza who was at the helm of affairs as President could not have been elected for the next term. As such, he was deadly against the holding of elections.

General Ayub Khan was also very ambitious and waiting for an opportunity to grab the power as dictator of the country. Knowing about the proposal for come-back of the democracy in 1959, Iskandar Mirza, in close collaboration and collusion with General Ayub Khan imposed Martial Law in the country on 7-10-1958 with the consent of America on the pretext that the politicians had misbehaved and ruined the county and the constitution had failed to work. A false impression was created that the socialists would come in power if elections were held. Every citizen was surprised as to how and why cruel calamity of Martial Law was imposed to crush them when general elections were scheduled to be held in February 1959. But nobody could resist or oppose the Martial Law because the entire Pakistan was on the point of bayonets, severe threats of long term imprisonment and hanging were being issued and no political party was so organized to face such holocaust. Pakistan was now a political graveyard and the National Press was completely curbed. However as usual the flatterers came out with their usual sycophancy to shower tributes on Ayub Khan for his commendable and courageous imposition of Martial Law, obviously they expected some prize from him. On 27th October, Iskandar Mirza was "richly" awarded by Ayub Khan. He was kicked out from the office of the President at pistol point by General Azam Khan, General Shaikh and General Burki. First he was sent to Quetta where from he was dispatched to London; Thus he harvested rich crop of betrayal with the Nation and died out of his country as a unknown person and none from Pakistan shed a tear for him. Their friendship and love for Pakistan stood fully exposed in less then three weeks time. Writing about Ayub's return from East Pakistan, Sir Morrice James says:

"When he came back, he heard that Mirza had secretly asked a senior Pakistani Air Force Officer whether he would be willing to arrest three Army Generals. He took up this report with Mirza who denied it. Ayub warned him that he was playing with fire and during the night of October 26-27 sent Generals i.e. Azam Burki and Shaikh to the President's House to demand that Mirza should resign.... During discussions that followed, General Azam drew his revolver..... he agreed to sign the document they had brought. He and his wife were sent under guard to Quetta in Baluchistan. A search was made for bank books and other evidence of the funds which they had accumulated abroad. Only when he agreed to repatriate all the money to Pakistan, were he and his

wife brought back to Karachi and in November allowed to leave for London." In no time Mirza got what he deserved and Ayub get after a decade.

THE U.S.A. ROLE

America, as a superpower in the world, has been loudly and proudly proclaiming to be the custodian of democracy and human rights and firmly believes in justice, fair play and equity and that it would implement the settled and confirmed principles of democracy throughout the world. But Pakistanis have a sad experience. They feel that America is not what it professes to be. The practical side of its politics is indeed lamentable and unreliable. Pakistan had always remained a loyal friend and ally of America without caring for the displeasure of its powerful neighbour and superpower Russia. But Pakistan had always to pay and suffer heavily for her loyalty to America, however the rulers, bureaucrats and politicians of Pakistan can not be absolved of their crimes that they committed against their own motherland for the sake of their selfish ends.

The imposition of Martial Law in 1958 not only brought democracy and democratic institutions to an end but also ultimately destroyed and dismembered Pakistan.

The U.S.A. was always in search of and anxious for, Indian friendship which it wanted to purchase at any cost in order to face the neighbouring Communist powers. Since India is much bigger in size, population, resources and enjoys political stability and is also militarily stronger than Pakistan, the U.S. politicians have always preferred India to Pakistan; the latter being much smaller in size and population and politically unstable and having limited resources, the choice was obvious. Pakistan's so-called friendship with USA was almost unconditional, bordering on subordination and slavery, while India's policy was governed by its interests and it did not bind itself with USA. It's Prime Minister, Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, a Hindu statesman of high caliber who remained in office for 7 years, looked after the interests of his country skillfully and honestly, in the best possible manner and had very efficient diplomatic Indian Services throughout the world to espouse the case of India competently whether right or wrong. The pygmy and selfish politicians of Pakistan with bureaucratic civil and military political manager, were no match for Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru and his trained patriotic colleagues. However, the politically wide awake people of Pakistan were sick of their politics and policies. The Pakistani people in spite of their low literacy rate and tattered clothes knew that they were being ruled by U.S.A. through Ghulam Mohammad, Iskandar Mirza and Ayub. But they felt themselves utterly helpless, unable to change the destiny of the country as there was no dynamic leadership and no representative and effective political party to safeguard the national interests of the country.

Mr. Altaf Gauhar's book, "Ayub Khan" is in fact a book of exculpatory confessions in respect of pathetic political conditions prevailing in Pakistan and the conspiracies hatched by Ayub Khan and Iskandar Mirza for the imposition

of Martial Law in Pakistan. Under the instructions and directions of USA, General Ayub Khan and Iskandar Mirza, the President of Pakistan, had made their country wholly dependent on the military and economic crutches provided by America and in fact Pakistan had surrendered its sovereignty to the superpower. The imposition of Martial Law is a tragic story of the intrigues, conspiracy and high handedness against the people of Pakistan. Both Iskandar Mirza and Ayub Khan were deadly against the general elections in Pakistan scheduled to be held in February 1959 as Iskandar Mirza could not be elected President of the country after the elections and the extension granted to Ayub Khan as Commander-in-Chief of Pakistan was also to expire in 1959.

“Mirza openly ridiculed the idea of elections: angels won’t be flying out of the ballot box, he would say to anyone who brought up the question of elections. The same politicians who had brought the country to ruin would return to exploit the people. He made no secret of his contempt for the constitution and the political process; for him these were luxuries that Pakistan could ill-afford.”

The malicious, greedy, intriguing and unelected President of Pakistan was now contemptuously talking in such terms which constituted an unforgivable sin against the people of Pakistan who had achieved Pakistan under the dynamic leadership of Mr. Jinnah by purely democratic means and Mirza was President of the country by virtue of the struggle of the same people who were to vote in 1959 elections.

The American Government had adopted an unfriendly attitude towards Pakistan and was anxiously looking to India for cultivating friendly relations. “The American attitude towards Pakistan had undergone a change since 1956. A powerful group within the US administration was suggesting that Pakistan was becoming a demanding ally. For them India was a better bet, which could be projected as a model democracy in Asia to stem the tide of communism and contain the influence of the Soviet Union and the People’s Republic of China. Naturally, the growing understanding between the United States and India was beginning to cause great concern in Pakistan. The Indian attitude, too, was hardening towards Pakistan. The Indians had warned that the canal waters from the five rivers of undivided Punjab (Indus, Jhelum, Ravi, Chenab and Beas whose sources were under Indian control) would be diverted for Indian use after 1962. In the Pakistan National Assembly, the U.S-Pakistan alliance now came under severe attack. The Prime Minister, Malik Feroz Khan Noon, made a passionate speech in Parliament on 8 March 1958 in which he declared, “Faced with the threat from India, Pakistan would delink itself from its alliance with the Americans: Our people, if they find their freedom threatened by Bharat, will break all pacts and shake hands with people whom we have made enemies because of others. Let there be no mistake about it. The Prime Minister’s statement was widely acclaimed by all sections of the people which came as a great surprise to the Americans.

This realistic statement was in fact pointing out to the blunder committed by Late Liaquat Ali Khan former Prime Minister of Pakistan, who had unwisely rejected Russian invitation, though sought by himself and visited U.S much to the anger and annoyance of their powerful neighbour Russia. Feroz Khan Noon now wanted to mend fences with Russia; US was therefore enraged against Pakistan for proposing to change their foreign policy. The statement also proves that the people of Pakistan were sick of unfriendly attitude of America. They supported their Prime Minister and hailed his statement.

“The Americans were disturbed by the growing criticism in Pakistan of US policy towards India. The US Ambassador, Horace A. Hildreth, had persuaded the State Department and the Pentagon that a highly competent pro-Western group was in command in Pakistan and the United States could rely on that group to maintain a positive and friendly attitude towards it and to keep Pakistan stable.”

Among this group, the Americans counted Ghulam Mohammed, Iskander Mirza, Ayub Khan, Mohammed Ali Bogra, Chaudary Mohammed Ali and Syed Amjad Ali. By the end of 1956, two of the three Ali's were out and Ghulam Mohammed was dead. So the membership of the group had dwindled to three, of whom two were congenial and pliable representative of big business who relied on his brother Syed Wajid Ali, a prominent Punjabi businessman and a close confidant of Mirza. It was a period of internal and international conspiracies against democracy in Pakistan.

In 1956, Suhrawardy, the most capable of all the politicians of Pakistan and the most popular leader of Bengalis, was made Prime Minister of Pakistan but it was not because of his efficiency and ability; it was in fact the decision of America. “By 1956 he had established close friendly contacts with British and American diplomats in Pakistan. In September 1956, Suhrawardy was appointed Prime Minister and he became the most articulate supporter of the Pakistan-American alliance.”

Suhrawardy did not last long as Prime Minister. It was unfortunate that a man of his calibre, who was quite a popular figure and a democrat by temperament, failed to realize that general elections were what the people wanted more than anything else and offered the only way to ensure the continuation of civilian rule in the country.

Why the U.S.A. which had been trumpeting itself to be the torchbearer of democracy in the world, was supporting Martial Law in Pakistan? All long the ruling Junta of Pakistan was a vassal of U.S.A., though the latter had shown its preference and respect for India, in spite of the fact that the Indian sword was permanently hanging over the head of Kashmir and Pakistan. In 1958, when Feroz Khan Prime Minister of Pakistan came to the irresistible conclusion, that American friendship was in no way a friendship, while speaking in the National

Assembly, he had expressed his determination to delink itself from the alliances with America.

It will not be out of place to mention that Iskander Mirza's son was married with the daughter of American Ambassador Mr. Horace Hildreth.

Democracy in Pakistan was in the danger of assassination at the hands of Mirza and Ayub for the achievement of their selfish ends. Pen was in the hand of Mirza and sword in the hand of Ayub; therefore they had no difficulty in imposing Martial Law. The real power was in the hands of Ayub Khan, but the short sighted Mirza was prepared to cut his own roots.

Ayub and Syed Amjad Ali, who were essentially men of America, had been trying their best to see that elections in February 1959 were not held. "Ayub and Syed Amjad Ali succeeded in convincing the Americans that Pakistan would be reestablished if left-wing politicians came to power through election. The Americans were told that time was of the essence: the politicians were conspiring to hold the election in February 1959 and a large number of persons with dubious antecedents and socialist leanings would get themselves elected by exploiting the electoral procedure and rigging the polls". It was height of injustice to carry false tales to U.S for the purpose of stopping general elections, throttling democratic process and imposing Martial Law for the sake of their personal power. No doubt India had been enemy number one of Pakistan; but this conduct of Ayub Khan and Amjad Ali was most injurious to the future of Pakistan. Now it was not difficult to say whether they were friends or foes of their homeland. Communist were nowhere in Pakistan and the allegation of rigging was all-malicious. They misled America. "Back in Pakistan, Ayub Khan felt reasonably pleased with the results of his mission. He told Mirza that the Americans may not review their programme of aid to India but they had understood the risks involved in pushing Pakistan towards the uncharted waters of general elections in the hope of consolidating the democratic process in the country. With a major hurdle thus removed Mirza found the path clear to swing his plan into action."

Thereafter Ayub Khan started floating false rumours that the politicians had been giving out that: "A number of senior officers were accused of being Indian agents.... Asked General Musa about the rumours. He told me that he had made enquiries and found that these rumours were started by some of the politicians in Abbottabad."

The fact was that the politicians had made no such allegations of corruption against the Army and there were no rumours; the so called rumours were an innovation of Ayub Khan's brain in order to create conditions conducive to the imposition of Martial Law. Ayub Khan said: "The elections, of course, are coming near. The politicians have worked themselves into a state of hydrophobia, especially the dismissed ones. They are dying to get back into power by hook or crook. And having got there they know they will have

nothing to show for themselves except further disrupting the country. In which case they will come face to face with me and the army. Hence I am regarded by them as enemy number."

Thus Ayub Khan actively started preparing grounds for Martial Law right from 1957, but the inefficient politicians in power were completely in dark, Mr. Altaf Gauhar's contention about the rumours is:

"Who started these rumours was never discovered because they were creation of fabrication. The astonishing thing was that nobody in the Prime Minister's Office or the President's Secretariat appeared to have heard of these rumours. Nor was there any such hint in the newspapers, some of which thrived on the most sordid kind of gossip. The possibility cannot be ruled out that these rumours, which remained restricted to a few army centres, were floated by military intelligence to help Ayub Khan make up his mind." Ayub and Mirza treated politicians as satans and people of Pakistan as fools. They themselves were suffering from the self-deceptive notions that they were sages of the age. The imposition of Martial Law played a death lock against Pakistan.

MANIPULATION FOR PERPETUAL RULE

Unfortunately in Pakistan, the transfer of power has never been smooth and constitutional, because the constitution was framed very late and was never acted upon. Anyone who came in power by hook or crook was not ready to part ways with it honourably and constitutionally. When Ayub Khan become President of Pakistan his electoral college was not the common man of Pakistan through whose ballot, Muslims had got the homeland, but the Army Generals who primary duty was to protect the frontiers of the country against any foreign aggression. Surrounded by the vicious circle of sycophants and lackeys who styled him greater than the Founder of the State, Ayub Khan manipulated and gave such system to the country by which it became seemingly impossible to remove him. He never believed in Democracy. The fact that Ayub Khan wanted to perpetuate his rule by passing laws like Basic Democracy was admitted even by his son-in-law, Aurangzab Khan, M.N.A. from Swat. He abrogated the Constitution and chose nine Ministers in his Cabinet whose position more or less was that of Advisors. Out of nine Ministers, three powerful Ministers were from the Army, belonging to West Pakistan. Out of the remaining six, three belonged to the East and three belonged to the West Pakistan. "However the vital decisions related to defence, foreign affairs or economic policy, were taken in the Presidential Palace with the help of an inner Cabinet. Most significant feature of the system, was the total exclusion of Bengalis from the decision-making process." The people of East Pakistan who constituted 56% of the total population of Pakistan therefore now started thinking that they had hardly any place in Pakistan. For the reason that the Constitution of the country was abrogated, political parties and political activities were banned the entire ruling Junta and the Army came from West

Pakistan, their so-called Ministers had no say in the Cabinet; under the circumstances it was not possible to change the Government by ballot which had come to power through bullet.

The Army Ministers were General Azam Khan, General K.M. Shaikh and General Burki. The only silver lining in the dark firmament of Martial Law Cabinet from West Pakistan was selection of the youngest and inexperienced Zulfikar Ali Bhutto, who was born for political battles and was every inch a politician. This genius proved that he was Moses in the politics of Pakistan, brought up in the house of Pharaoh who had come in the shape of President from the Army, thus he ultimately took his nation to a safe destination by putting up a brave fight. But never did he know that the day was not very far when he himself would be the most tragic target of Martial Law and leave his nation mourning for him. The feeble, ailing but invincibly determined Quaid had not created Pakistan for opportunist politicians, adventurist Generals, greedy bureaucrats, any coterie or any class of Muslims living in Pakistan. It was for all the masses of the country. He had not shed his blood, sweat and tears and finally sacrificed his precious life for any individual or group of gangster but for the welfare, economic and political justice to his oppressed people. It was not brought in existence by him by any stretch of imagination for any military General or any political opportunist. But now Ayub Khan thought himself even above the Quaid-e-Azam, because he erroneously thought that he knew the genius of people and the country was to be controlled through "controlled democracy". Now it was no more a country of Jinnah's concept and vision. However, the blunder brought his unceremonious end and caused incalculable damage to the country.

BASIC DEMOCRACIES

In June 1959, with the advice of his top bureaucrats, he introduced the system of "Basic Democracies", thereby depriving the common man of Pakistan of his right of franchise. Ayub Khan had never believed in democracy, but he and the ruling class of his thinking like Iskandar Mirza and Ghulam Mohammad had been constantly thinking of guided or controlled democracy. Now this gift was conferred on the people in the shape of Basic Democracy and its members were also subordinated to civil servants. Out of a whole nation of more than one hundred million, only 80,000 Members were to be elected to constitute the Electoral College for electing the President and members of Assemblies. Ayub Khan favoured such scheme because it ensured a foolproof control over this limited Electoral College. These 80,000 Members were again subject to the complete control and total discipline of Government Officers, Police Sub-Inspectors and even Head Constables. They were given some very nominal powers supervised and controlled by the Tehsildars and Deputy Commissioners and other officials. In order to corrupt these peoples, some crumbs were thrown before them in such an atmosphere that no self respecting citizen would like to be the Member of the Basic Democracies as they were subordinated even to lowest grade Government servants. It was an insult to

call such a system a democratic system. The farce of Basic Democracies created by Ayub Khan on the "genius of the people" implying thereby that the people of Pakistan who had fought and achieved Pakistan under the leadership of Mr. Jinnah by democratic means were not yet fit and competent enough to master their own destinies. It was a challenge to the political awakening of the people of Pakistan; as it was a curse worse than the Government of British East India Company on the free people of Pakistan.

ELECTED BODIES DISQUALIFICATION ORDER

General Ayub Khan, the abrogator of the Constitution and usurper of the people's power and rights now passed law (Public Offices Disqualification Order) on 21.3.1959 to defame and degrade those distinguished politicians who had fought side by side with the Quaid-e-Azam for the attainment of Pakistan, on false, frivolous, dishonest and minor charges. These politicians had made enormous sacrifices for the national cause and their honesty was not challengeable by a corrupt dictator like Ayub Khan. The result was that all eminent politicians, including Khawaja Nazimuddin, A.K. Fazlul Haq and Tamizuddin Khan and many more were disqualified from taking part in politics. Thus the main politicians who were deemed to be a potential threat to Ayub Khan were debarred from political field. Thus Ayub Khan made the political field clear for himself thinking he had buried all the opposition that was likely to revolt against him. He thought that it was now one horse race for him. What a suicidal thinking! No sane and patriotic Pakistani could ever think that Ayub Khan was following right path. It was nothing short of political vandalism, highly disapproved by the common men and political thinkers.

In addition to the above order, he passed another order on 7th August 1959, which is usually called EBDO and it was made applicable retrospectively with effect from August 14, 1947. Proceedings were initiated against 98 politicians; 70 of them voluntarily relinquished politics, 28 of them contested, out of which 22 lost their case and 6 were acquitted. This disqualification process was a shameful political drama, in which very minor and trivial charges were leveled. The black buffaloes of Martial Law were now the masters of Pakistan.

INDUS BASIN ACCORD

There were serious allegations against Ayub Khan causing irreparable damage to Pakistan by selling riparian rights to India. River Indus is the biggest river with five other supporting tributaries i.e. Jhelum, Chenab, Ravi, Satluj and Beas. The Head Works of Madhupur and Ferozpur were located in India where from Pakistan was getting waters for the cultivation of 1.7 million acres and according to the terms of partition arrangements, India was bound to supply water, but she did not honour her commitment and cut off the entire supply in 1948.

However, Pakistan pressed her case and better sense prevailed on India and the supply was later on restored, but the land owners in Pakistan had suffered substantial damage. When Ayub Khan came into power, he was always found suffering from inferiority complex against India and its cunning and astute Prime Minister Nehru. He entered into an agreement with India which is termed as Indus Basin Accord. The Ayub Khan surrendered the river Satluj, Bias and partially Ravi to India. With the financial aid from the World Bank and other countries, Pakistan constructed Tarbella Dam on Indus River for the storage of water in order to meet the water deficiency. It will be most relevant to state that the life of this dam is calculated to be 50 years only because according to the experts, it will be silted by that time. This Accord, according to experts and politicians, is highly damaging for the future of Pakistan rather, suicidal for the country. He sold the flowing waters for the stagnant water stored in a dam which was to last only for 50 years. India is now cultivating barren lands; and in Pakistan there is constant shortage of water and constant disputes raging between the provinces of Pakistan over water shortage after the implementation of this Accord. This dispute in Pakistan has now taken a very serious turn and the people of Punjab are pressing hard for the construction of another dam which may be named Kalabagh Dam or Indus Dam and this preposition is seriously objected to by the small provinces. It is apprehended that Ayub Khan's Indus Basin Accord might result in serious consequences for the political existence of Pakistan. And there is serious danger to the unity and integrity of Pakistan, as the minority provinces might break away from Pakistan at any time.

JOINT DEFENCE WITH INDIA

General Ayub Khan always suffered from the inferiority complex especially when he talked to Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru on the problems common to both the countries. Within six months of coming into power, Ayub Khan offered a Joint Defence Pact to India in 1959, but it was spurned back by Pandit Nehru, Prime Minister of India, saying against whom? Pandit Nehru on the other hand offered "No war Declaration Pact" like an astute politician. Ayub's policy was also hostile to China.

This unwise offer was an insult for the whole nation. It was an act of degradation which no self-respecting Head of State would commit. The dispute about Kashmir was existing between Pakistan and India and the latter had openly flouted to resolve the dispute according to the United Nation's Security Council's plebiscite Resolution and refused to abide by it. It was neither honourable nor even understandable. With what face the General was trying to extend the hand of friendship with all warmth to Pandit Nehru when the valley of Jammu and Kashmir was red with the blood of Kashmiri Muslims and all types of shameful acts were being perpetrated upon them by the Indian forces. Nehru contemptuously refused to shake hand of friendship with Ayub.

CONSTITUTION

General Ayub Khan had abrogated the 1956 Constitution on 7th October 1958, thus the country was without any Constitution. It was purely a personal authoritarian and arbitrary rule. No Constitution was passed by any Assembly or passed through referendum of the people of Pakistan, but it was dictated by General Ayub Khan himself in 1962. It will be relevant to mention that he had committed on 23-3-1959 that: "It would be put to the vote of the people in a suitable manner and then put into effect." But the promise was never fulfilled for the obvious reason that if put to vote, it would be rejected outrightly. Its consequences could have "his resignation."

The main features of the Constitution were as under:-

- 1.** The President and the Assemblies were to be elected by Basic Democrats numbering 80,000 in entire Pakistan.
- 2.** The Annual Budget of the country was not to be passed by the National Assembly. It was only to be placed before them. The President alone could pass or modify the Budget.
- 3.** No Bill involving any financial or economic implications could be introduced in the Assembly without the permission of the President.

The Ministers were not to contest election to the Assembly but were directly selected by the President and they were responsible to the President and not to the legislature. So was the case with the Provinces as it was One Unit. The Governors were nominated by the President and could continue only at the pleasure of the President and the Ministers were also selected by the Governors with the approval of the President. In fact, the Governor could not select any person as Minister unless the President had consented to it.

The Judiciary was at the mercy of the President. It was purely arbitrary and unquestionable discretion of the President to select the Judges.

The form of the Government was not Parliamentary but Presidential, rather dictatorship. It was totally against the will and wishes of Quaid-e-Azam, who himself was extraordinarily conversant with the Constitutional Law and had vast experience of Statecraft and the rise and decline of nations. This so-called Presidential system was nominal and not truly Presidential, it was a disguised dictatorship.

KASHMIR

Kashmir is the most important problem of Pakistan and the main dispute with India is in respect of Kashmir. According to Mr. Jinnah, the Founder of the State and Mr. Zulfikar Ali Bhutto, India is enemy number one of Pakistan;

Pakistan had tried her best to resolve the disputes with India by bilateral talks but India had always remained adamant bent upon devouring Kashmir.

In comparison to Pakistan, India is not only much bigger in area and population but it maintains a well equipped and three times more Armed Forces than Pakistan and is industrially much more developed. In 1962, China requested Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, the Prime Minister of India, to settle the boundary dispute between India and China, but the politically intoxicated and arrogant Pandit Nehru refused to settle the dispute. Hence there started an armed conflict between the China and India. It is very difficult for Pakistan to wrest Kashmir from India by peaceful means and negotiations but in history occasions arise when a powerful dictator is also compelled to restore the rights of the oppressed. As such this was appropriate opportunity that Pakistan could conveniently avail and get the Kashmir problem solved for ever. But General Ayub Khan lost this golden opportunity as the USA President directed him like a boss that he should not create problems for India by entering into armed conflict over Kashmir. He further directed Ayub Khan to extend such assurance to Pandit Nehru. In this Sino-Indian War, China had inflicted crushing and humiliating defeat on India and the Pandit was totally confused and demoralized. Zulfikar Ali Bhutto had rightly said: "You may remember that when the Indo-China War was fought out in 1962, Ayub Khan was busy sightseeing in Hunza." In fact a picture of his was published in the newspapers showing him riding a mule. The Himalayas were rocked, the Chinese shadow was lengthening to envelope Assam, the American Ambassador was on his toes in search of our President, but during the most critical days, Ayub Khan was in Hunza. That was the time when we would have done something to liberate Kashmir. That was an important occasion. India had pulled all her troops from occupied Kashmir. Kashmir had no troops at all. It lay bare. Any action by Pakistan would have ended the Kashmir issue forever and that action would have been in conformity with justice. World opinion would then have given its blessing to such an action.

At that time Mr. Qudratullah Shahab was Secretary to the President Ayub Khan and he had the first hand knowledge of the behaviour of General Ayub Khan when the war between China and India had started. Shahab approached Ayub at midnight to attack and liberate Kashmir as proposed by China, but he was snubbed by Ayub to go back to his house and have a sound sleep.

General Ayub Khan used to rely on bureaucracy. "Ayub, however began to rely more and more on his top civilian Officials Qudratullah Shahab, N. A. Faruque, Fida Hassan and in later part of his era, on Altaf Gauhar more than anybody else". Altaf Gauhar was the Information Secretary in the Government of Pakistan and it is said that the autobiography ostensibly written by Ayub Khan was in fact the product of Mr. Altaf Gauhar's pen and brain. "Probably it was 20th October 1962 that I was sleeping in my residence at Harley Street, Rawalpindi. It was about 2:30 a.m. that all of a sudden one car entered in the

compound of my house and I heard the voice. After some moment, my servant came inside and informed me that one Chinese wanted to meet me immediately. Probably that Chinese citizen had been to Pakistan or learning Urdu and he had met me in several functions. He informed me that due to continuous attacks from India, China was constrained to take action and that at certain places Chinese Army had entered India and advanced forward and that he had come to inform me about it.... In diplomacy, Chinese have their special trait and method, they don't trust their advice or opinion unnecessarily on their friends, but by their hints and suggestions they express their intention in a beautiful manner and they are highly efficient in performing it and in my opinion they had awakened me right at 2.30 a.m., probably to inform me in their own way that the initial hours of war were extremely important, Indian Army have been routed and that they were escaping very swiftly from every front due to the fear of Chinese. It was an opportune moment when Pakistan could take advantage of this situation and that they must not waste their time."

"I immediately changed my dress took out my car and proceeded to the Presidential House. It was about 3:00 am. After some effort, I got access to the House and the bedroom of the President. I narrated the entire conversation that had transpired; thereupon he spontaneously said: "This is not unexpected news that at such an odd hour of the night you have come to inform me after all what do you want". I expressed my view that we may use these moments to our advantage. The President Ayub Khan expressed in a hot and furious tone "you civilians think that the Army movement is a child's play. Go and sleep and I am also feeling sleepy." Up till today I am of the opinion that President Ayub had lost a most vital and golden opportunity of his life and Presidency out of his hands. If his leadership qualities had not been marred by sleep, if there had been any blend of manliness coupled with fury, in his character, there would have been a new turn in the chapter of our history.

Alistair Lamb, a very prominent writer on Kashmir, is also of the same view as Qudratullah Shahab. "The clash of arms between India and China in 1962 provided Pakistan in fact with an admirable opportunity to force the Kashmir settlement. This was the time for Pakistan to attack the Indian Army of occupation in its part of the State of Jammu and Kashmir. Indian forces defending the Assam border had suffered a disastrous defeat comparable to the British retreat from Kabul during the First Afghan War. The Indian land in northern Ladakh was also under severe Chinese pressure. There were good grounds for supposing that the Pakistani movement at this juncture particularly with Chinese collaboration might have brought on an Indian debacle of the first magnitude. President Ayub Khan, however, decided not to exploit this opportunity. Instead, he agreed to begin a fresh round of talks with Indians on the whole question of the future of Kashmir". In fact, it was ultimately over the Kashmir issue that Mr. Zulfikar Ali Bhutto was compelled to part his ways with Ayub Khan, formed his own party and started his war valiantly against Ayub

Khan. The part played by Mr. Bhutto in the case of Kashmir is an unforgettable chapter of history. It will be further discussed at another place.

PRESIDENTIAL ELECTIONS

“Fear that man who fears not God”

In the Presidential Elections held in January 1965, the myth of Ayub Khan's so-called popularity was on one hand thoroughly exploded and on the other hand the people of East Pakistan lost all hopes of justice, equity and fair play; and it was this election which ultimately brought them on the verge of cessation. Ayub Khan's Electoral College was essentially the Army of Pakistan but slowly and gradually he was losing his hold on the Army because of his faint heartedness, inefficiency and corruption and his increasing dependence on civilian bureaucrats. Even Ministers were being appointed on their recommendations. He had no political party to rely on, the Conventional Muslim League was a hateful group of opportunists, paid agents and flatterers who did not command any respect in the country. The Army was also disgusted and fed up with his ever increasing reliance on corrupt bureaucracy; but in the Presidential Elections he had to manipulate his elections by hook or crook, by fair or foul means. It is true that the Ministers of Ayub Khan in the Cabinet had to support him half-heartedly as they were part and parcel of Ayub Khan's Government. Zulfikar Ali Bhutto being the Foreign Minister in his Cabinet had also to support him, but the fact is that in his politics he had neither relied on the support of Generals nor on the bureaucrats. From the very beginning of his entry in the Cabinet, he was incessantly working for the welfare of masses especially the downtrodden class though he himself belonged to feudal aristocracy. As a keen student of history and pragmatic politician, he could fully understand that his Electoral College was the masses of the country and not the acrobatic class of bureaucrats, as such he was the most popular Minister amongst the people. But it must be borne in mind that Ayub Khan mainly relied on the bureaucrats and the official agencies to get him elected. However, the in deniable fact is that Bhutto had many friends in hawkish class of army officers.

The opposition was disorganized, lamentably lacked the leadership and had no candidate strong enough to contest against the dictator Ayub Khan especially when there had been no freedom of expression to the people and the press. The hard-earned freedom was in the Martial Law prison for a long time and the country was converted into a graveyard. The eyes of all the politicians were fixed on Ms. Fatima Jinnah to fight against Ayub Khan though she was quite old, physically frail and ignored by all the Governments after the demise of Quaid-e-Azam and she lived quite a secluded life; away from all political activities. But all the same she was a very respected, venerable person, being the sister of the Quaid-e-Azam. She commanded respect throughout Pakistan. Some followers of Miss Jinnah had advised her not to contest the elections as Ayub Khan would not allow anybody else to come into

power through ballot. "Ms. Jinnah, if you hope to win, please do not make even an attempt, because elections will be rigged against you. It would be impossible to win in this limited Electoral College of 80,000 (Eighty Thousand) created by him, but if you are prepared to lose, it would be the greatest service to the nation by breaking the back of the present dictatorship". Ms. Jinnah's reply was: "I have accepted your advice given in the interest of the Nation and shall jump into fray to extricate our people from the clutches of the usurpers."

In this election held in January 1965, General Ayub Khan's so-called popularity, corruption, dictatorship, the eyewash reforms and misrule were thoroughly exposed and his real political face of corruption, cowardice, dictatorship and dependence on bureaucratic crutches, which were the real characteristics of his rule, came on the surface. The whole world including Ayub Khan realized that it was a manipulated and immoral victory, much worse than an honourable defeat. The election was limited to the Electoral College, comprising only 80,000 manageable Basic Democrats, thus the hundred million population had been deprived of the right of franchise. The people now turned deadly against him. The mass support continued to remain with highly respected and venerable Miss Fatima Jinnah, the sister of Quaid-e-Azam Mohammad Ali Jinnah, while the corrupt and weather-cock bureaucracy had been holding the shameful banner of Ayub Khan's election in its dirty hands. It would be very relevant to inform the readers that the famous and popular poet Habib Jalib who had suffered all his life for rendering national and political service, participated in the public meetings of Miss. Jinnah and sang his meaningful and revolutionary songs with such melody and emotion, that the people of Pakistan were electrified and started hating Ayub Khan. This election laid the foundation stone of Ayub's destruction.

The whole election campaign of Ayub Khan was mainly headed, manned and managed by the two Governors of Pakistan i.e. the ruthless Nawab Amir Ahmed Khan of Kalabagh from Punjab and Abdul Monem Khan, the most hated Governor of East Pakistan, through Government machinery, District Magistrates and the Police Superintendents who were used as their stooges and agents vying with each other for winning future favours in the form of out of way promotions and postings. Thus by total abuse of their powers and by most shameful corruption and intimidation, the Government Officers were working day and night to win the election for Ayub Khan.

Ayub Khan was determined to win the election. Mr. Altaf Gauhar, the biographer of Ayub Khan writes:

"The real problems of Ayub's associates was that they were all convinced that he would never allow the situation to reach a point where he might lose the election. They were certain that if things went too far, he would call upon the Army to put an end to the popular hysteria."

The election campaign started on September 1964 and the most respected Miss. Jinnah in her public meetings, was drawing mammoth crowds full of enthusiasm and national spirit in her support, abhorring Ayub Khan and raising revolutionary slogans. If there had been election on the basis of adult franchise, it was certain that the people of Pakistan would have risen in an open and uncontrollable revolt against Ayub Khan. Ayub Khan's biographer Altaf Gauhar, the Information Secretary of Pakistan in the regime of President Ayub said:

"The campaign raised serious questions about Ayub's style of Government. Allegations of corruption against Ayub's family, particularly his son Gohar Ayub, were openly leveled and widely believed. Gohar, a retired Captain from the army, had acquired an assembly plant from General Motors (to which he gave the name Gandhara Motors) through the influence of his father. Throughout the campaign "Gandhara" was used as the ultimate proof of nepotism against Ayub. The opposition adopted 'Gandhara' as a slogan, which they used with devastating effect and people from Peshawar to Chittagong came to treat it as the ultimate symbol of corruption in Ayub's government and in his own family. Nothing destroyed Ayub's prestige and credibility more than 'Gandhara'. Even his reforms came in for a lot of criticism."

Ayub was persuaded by his party to use the religious card against Miss Jinnah. A 'fatwa' (religious decree) was obtained from some Ulemas to the effect that a woman could not become the Head of a Muslim State. The opposition organized an even larger set of Ulemas to produce an equally authoritative 'fatwa' in support of Miss Jinnah. They discovered from the writings of various Muslim jurists that a woman could become the ruler under exceptional circumstances and who could deny, asked the opposition, that Pakistan was going through exceptional circumstances. The weapon of religious decrees worked against Ayub throughout the campaign. No argument could be advanced in favour of Ayub Khan. He was held responsible for all ills in the country including destroying the institutions of the homeland and even the country itself.

She declared that he had bartered away Pakistan waters by signing Indus Basic Waters Treaty with India. She revived the controversy about the offer Ayub made to Nehru in 1959 to enter into a joint defence pact with India against China. She referred to a meeting that Ayub had with Agha Khan in Nice. In 1951 soon after the assassination of Liaquat Ali Khan during the course of which Agha Khan said to him: "You have got Pakistan after great sacrifices, you do not want to lose it this way and that you are the one person who can save it". She used this instance to show that he was planning to overthrow the civilian Government long before the coup d'etat in 1958.

Much as the ruling party tried to defend Ayub, Miss. Jinnah succeeded in creating serious doubts in the public mind about Ayub's reforms and his achievements in the field of international affairs. Her tour of East Pakistan was

even more successful rather thunderous and was attended by mammoth crowds, raising sky-renting slogans in her favour and against General Ayub. While traveling by train from Dacca to Chittagong, it was such a wonderful and enthusiastic scene that the people of East Pakistan were anxious for the glimpse of Miss Jinnah and hear from the sister of the Quaid-e-Azam that justice would be done to them and that the days of oppression were coming to an end. Consequently, the train was late by 23 hours. Thus the charisma and the profound popularity and respect that she enjoyed in the elections was unprecedented while Ayub Khan was abhorred by both the Wings of Pakistan and more specially the people of Bengal.

Ayub's term as President was to expire on 23rd March, 1965 and he had intended to fix the election date a few days before 23rd March, 1965 but the dictator and his deputies were so deeply demoralized and confused that they thought that if Miss Fatima Jinnah continued her tour upto March 1965, the people of Pakistan would rise in revolt against Ayub Khan and he will have absolutely no chance to win the election. General Ayub on the advice of the Governors and the officials incharge of the election work "decided to hold the election on 2nd January 1965." The election thus held on 2nd January 1965 was merely a drama, a farce of election; the hearts of the people were with Miss Jinnah but the sword was wielded by the dictator Ayub Khan, so the Election was held under the shadow of the sword. On that day this writer was the Election Agent of Miss Fatima Jinnah in Tehsil Shadadkot, District Larkana where there were 64 Basic Democrat voters; and Mr. Mumtaz Ali Bhutto was the agent of Mr. Ayub Khan. I found that all the BD members were sitting in the camp of Ayub, wearing red rose on the collars of their coats-a-sign of Ayub Khan's supporters. Finally the result was that Miss Jinnah got 28 votes while Ayub Khan secured 36 votes. This apparently small and insignificant instance eloquently speaks about the manner, method and modality of Presidential Election. No honourable man could feel proud of winning election in such a shameful manner. According to the result, Ayub Khan got 49,951 votes and Miss Jinnah 38,691 votes. Though outwardly Ayub emerged successful but the real victory went to Miss Fatima Jinnah and her purpose to a awaken the people of Pakistan against Ayub Khan was fulfilled as she had desired.

It will not be out of place to mention that the manipulated victory of Ayub Khan was the result of high-handedness, corruption, anti-democratic means and rigging by favour seekers, unscrupulous and corrupt to the core elements in the bureaucracy. These were the elements who were ultimately responsible for breaking the political, economic and social setup of Pakistan and had mutilated the valuable institutions on which the country had existed. The blue eyed bureaucrats had never cared for the representatives of the people and they went even to the extent of insulting, maltreating and man-handling the Members of the Assembly. In one case, one CSP officer who was criticized by a Member of Assembly, openly slapped that Assembly Member on the face. The matter was referred to the National and West Pakistan

Assemblies who pressed for serious action against the officer and it was played up in the Press. However, nothing was done and the officer went scot-free.

Was Ayub's Election Fair and Democratic?

Ayub Khan exceeded and excelled all his insidious exercises in the history of Pakistan, in winning the presidential election.

1. Only eighty thousand members of Basic Democracy system were allowed to vote to the entire exclusion of one hundred million people of Pakistan.
2. The election was fought by the Deputy Commissioners and Police Superintendents of the districts of Pakistan, openly and notoriously compelling the members to vote for Ayub Khan. In West Pakistan especially, it was next to impossible to flout the orders of the zealous, unscrupulous and oppressive District Officials, working under the directives of the ruthless Governor Nawab of Kalabagh.
3. The members were purchased wherever found necessary. "The Government set out to buy as many of the elected members as possible, while blaming the opposition for disturbing the peace."
4. The Radio Pakistan was used exclusively for the election campaign and publicity of Ayub Khan and against Miss Jinnah. "The question – answer sessions which were broadcast by Radio Pakistan, after careful editing to ensure that nothing damaging to Ayub Khan was put on the air, also went badly for Miss Jinnah". The Press Trust News Papers also acted in a most partisan way, as if the Radio Pakistan and the Press Trust Papers were the property of Ayub Khan.
5. The election of Basic Democrats was held on 19 November, 1964 and the Presidential elections were ordered to be held in haste on 2 January 1965, without giving enough time to Miss Jinnah to contact the masses of the two wings, organize the entire election campaign and politically awaken the people against the dangers of dictatorship that Pakistan was facing.

Mr. Altaf Gauhar, the Information Secretary to the Government of Pakistan writes as under:

"His term of office was expiring on 23rd March..... but he had seen how ineffectual his party had been and instinctively knew that time was on Miss Jinnah's side. If she were to undertake another round of public meetings, grueling through such an exercise would be for her.... The district officers were themselves under so much pressure that they wanted the election to be wrapped up as soon as possible..... Ayub finally decided that the elections should be held on 2 January 1965. The decision took COP by surprise. The first

round of the campaign had clearly gone in favour of Miss Jinnah. She had demolished the ruling party, leaving Ayub to fight a lonely battle against her". All underhand means were adopted by Ayub Khan for his victory as a dictator should. But the matter did not rest here, even many Honourable High Court Judges played unprincipled role, supporting the dictator out of way.

No body can asses the exact magnitude of the Image, but in order to commemorate the "Martyr Day" in Liaquatabad, a function used to be organized every year on 5th January. For several days there were clouds of fear and terror in the city and there was serious conflict between the Pathans and the Muhajireen. According to some, it renewed the memories of Hindu-Muslim riots in these days. After the victory in Presidential election, this situation patently and terribly proved a bad omen for Ayub Khan.

"The anger, annoyance and freezy of the Karachites was strong when on the first Friday of Holy Ramzan, Gohar Ayub wanted to address the people in the mosque, which gave rise to serious disturbance and people refused to bear him. There was some hand to hand fight also. With great difficulty the police could bring him out of the mosque." They attacked wildly in those areas and set properties on fire, which resulted in immense damage to life and property.

BLOODBATH AFTER VICTORY

The story of how Ayub Khan won the Presidential election has been briefly narrated. But it will be equally necessary to state how this so called victory was celebrated by creating a worst type of bloodbath in Karachi, as if Chengiz Khan and Halaku Khan had conquered Bukhara and Baghdad. His Secretary Qudratullah Shahab writes in his autobiography:

"In the election, Dacca and Karachi had overwhelmingly voted against Ayub Khan. About the people of Dacca, he silently drank his blood, but his Karachi his beloved son Gohar Ayub undertook to teach a lesson to the people of the city. On 5th January, a big procession in the name of celebrating the "Victory" was taken out under the leadership of Gohar Ayub Khan. There was a long line of trucks, wagons, busses and richshas in the frontage part of the procession; all the drivers and the persons sitting in the vehicles were mostly Pathans. Several months, prior to the presidential election, Pathans had started arriving in Karachi from Hazara District and they were pervading like dust storm of terror over the city on the victory day. In Liaquatabad and some other parts of the city, there were some clashes between the citizens and the participants of the procession. As a matter of revenge, against the citizens they attacked in the dark night, set on fire and caused colossal loss to life and property. It is not possible to assess the extent of loss."

"Presidential Candidates would appear before the members of the Electoral College in Principal towns.... These meetings were presided over by Judges of different High Courts..... some of the presiding judges were amenable to Government pressure, others were more than willing to show

their loyalty to Ayub Khan: they rejected questions they thought would be considered offensive by Ayub." About Judges he writes:

But the greatness of Justice M.R.Kayani, Chief Judge of the West Pakistan High Court, would be recorded in golden words in the annuals of Pakistan's Judiciary. This frail, but very strong minded judge gave strong and effective protection to the people and the subordinate judiciary against the onslaught of Martial Law Officers. His daring Speeches in inimitable style against the dictatorship, will be remembered forever; and Kayani's struggle for democracy and human dignity excelled the courage of all politicians of Pakistan. His pen was much sharper than the sword of Ayub Khan. This fact is indeed unexplainable how these physically frail and aged personalities like Jinnah and Kayani and others too of the same class and calibre have been very superior in character, inherently possessing will and stronger than steel.

BHUTTO AN ASSET TO AYUB

None including the friends or masters of Ayub could deny that in his entire cabinet, Mr. Bhutto alone was a popular leader of masses. His charismatic and hard-working personality, exceptional ability, deep sense of patriotism, his courageous and progressive policies, the formulation of a realistic and honourable foreign policy most suited to Pakistan and his love for the down trodden masses, his powerful advocacy of Pakistan's cause in the international forums, his tremendous struggle for the Muslims of Jammu and Kashmir and his efforts for the unification of Muslims, were some of the rare qualities of Bhutto, which made him known throughout the world, more than any other politician of Pakistan. He was eminently suited to be the Head of any State in the world. Directly and indirectly most of these facts have been admitted by Mr. Altaf Gauhar the writer of Ayub Khan's biography and his admirer as Pakistan's Information Secretary. He was said to be conscience keeper of General Ayub Khan. He writes "Whatever the causes of 1965 war, the facts are highly destabilizing for Pakistan and devastating for Ayub. Not being a political animal, he did not know how to make scapegoat of his associates, though he knew that he had been grievously misled and deliberately kept in the dark about the course of Operation Gibraltar in Kashmir. He took all the blame on himself and agonized over every little miscalculation, he couldn't bring himself to criticize the Armed Forces, his own creations and haphazard planning and grave miscalculation.... He seemed to have lost the confidence and the power of decision..... The Tashkent declaration was received in Pakistan with great dismay. To popular indignation was added a sense of betrayal by the faint hearted President who didn't have nerve to carry on the fight which he had himself started, to the bitter end."

The above passage leaves absolutely no doubt what so ever that the so-called Field Marshal Ayub Khan was not at all a politician. He was a faint-hearted person though he had styled himself as Field Marshal. Neither he knew

any thing about the strategy of war nor he possessed any fighting qualities as well as strong will which is essential even for a soldier.

So far the Commander-in-Chief General Moosa was concerned, it was totally futile to expect any thing from him. In fact they had neither fought nor commanded in any battle. Thus Mr. Altaf Gauhar lends full support to the remarks of fearless and revered Fatima Jinnah that Ayub Khan knew nothing of politics and it was doubtful whether he was even a good soldier.

About the qualities of Mr. Bhutto and the services that he rendered to General Ayub as a Minister, Altaf Gauhar writes, "A man of phenomenal intelligence and courage who believed he could cut any knot, work his way out of any pinch and outwit any opponent. He was Ayub Khan is alter ego and gave dynamic dimension to Ayub Khan's Foreign Policy. He further writes, "Little did he know at the time that the courts would award him the death sentence in highly controversial murder case and a ruthless military dictator would execute him in a cold blooded manner, I was shocked, apart from deep sense of personal loss, I knew that Bhutto's execution would hold the country in a thrall for years to come."

Bhutto's treatment and ultimate execution came as a rude shock to all the patriots whether friends or foes. By his death, Pakistan suffered such an irreparable loss and setback that it was not possible to recover. It was a happy tiding for the enemies of Pakistan because its own army Junta removed the most capable and valiant statesman and soldier of the country, the Muslim world and the Third world. For decades thereafter, Pakistan has remained a political orphan, friendless and helpless.

No politician of Pakistan could vie with him, or challenge him as, he was an extraordinarily talented and gifted genius having very intimate knowledge of politics and world affairs. It is an undeniable fact that in Ayub's cabinet, he was the architect of Foreign Policy. His remarkable courage and extraordinary intellect were of course beyond question. He was undisputed hero of masses, students, labourers and peasants. Ayub Khan lacked these qualities which were necessary for any successful Head of State and the people realizing his limitations and deficiencies, treated him a mediocre soldier as well as politician, but Mr. Bhutto had tried his best to fill this lacuna; he really served him like a son. His praised him in his speeches, though he didn't deserve those tributes, he supported the dictator out of way, but how long was it possible?

General Ayub Khan went on committing blunder after blunder for which the country had to suffer heavily. Ayub Khan was dear to him but not as much as his homeland, the national interests counted supreme with him. Mr. Bhutto's loyalty was with his country first, then any one else. Bhutto tried his best and used all his persuasive powers for the adoption of correct and courageous national policies by General Ayub Khan, as according to Mr. Bhutto India was the worst enemy of Pakistan and didn't tolerate Pakistan's survival

even for seconds. Unfortunately Ayub Khan suspected the bonafides of Mr. Bhutto as he was misled by latter's political adversaries and finally he was sacked, but the fact remains as clear as day light that the resignation of Bhutto amounted to suicide by Ayub Khan himself. The contents of the book prove the qualifications and disqualifications, merits & demerits of both and further he tried his best to raise the image of Ayub Khan so high. But how and why he struggles to bring the downfall of Ayub Khan was a matter that involves the honour and the best national interests of the country.

It will be very pertinent to state that Pundit Jawaharlal Nehru was an elected Prime Minister of India from August 1947, to 1964 upto the last breath of his life. This is called political stability of a country, because he ruled the country with the will of the people. He solved multi-faceted problems of his country, industrialized India and united the peoples of his country, that had different cultures, languages, customs and conflicting interests. All these heterogeneous elements constituting the vast population of his huge country were happy under his leadership. Economically and industrially he succeeded in obtaining very substantial aid technology from the rich and industrialized countries without any strings by his selfless political acumen and far sightedness. He went on achieving more and more popularity day by day, thus India became one of the most important countries of the world and Pandit Nehru entertained the idea of making India the leader of Asia, though it proved abortive in view of their bigger neighbour with wiser leadership.

Now, due to Martial Law in Pakistan, with Army Generals, bureaucrats and unelected Ministers, the sycophants of Ayub made mockery of democracy in Pakistan, the country had lost what Mr. Jinnah had gained by his day and night efforts without caring for his health and life. But Bhutto knew what democracy was and what it meant.

It would be folly to compare any General or any bureaucrat with Pundit Nehru and he was no match even for Lal Bahadur Shastri and Indira Gandhi as they were trained in the process of democracy, deeming themselves as servants of the people. Jinnah knew Nehru fully well and could well deal with the Congress and the Hindu leaders of India rightly because he had passed through the mill and was well acquainted with the art and intricacies of political life. Now the dark clouds of Martial Law were permanently hovering over the country and the homeland was without any guiding light. In these circumstances, Mr. Zulfikar Ali Bhutto, who was a heavenly gift for Pakistan, whom God had endowed with all the qualities of head and heart, a fascinating personality, a scholar, a writer, highly cultured in manners, expert in politics, well versed in the art of diplomacy, armed to teeth in logical reasoning, came on the political surface of Pakistan. The Indian diplomats including their Foreign Minister Sardar Swaran Singh felt themselves in the grip of inferiority complex before this young Foreign Minister of Pakistan.

But unfortunately after the Tashkent declaration the President Ayub was so annoyed with Zulfikar Ali Bhutto that there was no other honourable course left for him but to resign. He had very powerfully espoused the cause of his country, within and out side Pakistan and he had been a great supporter of the Muslim and the Third World countries.

He was not a devout Muslim, nor could he be equated with angels; he admitted what he was; but he was far from hypocrisy and even his worst enemy could not challenge his high degree of efficiency and extraordinary brilliance. Had he been the Prime Minister of Pakistan for two decades like Mr. Pandit Nehru who was much older in age, Pakistan would have been one of most modern and strong states, strategically situated as it is. With his elimination, India heaved a sign of relief as they got rid of a man whom they feared the most. The main difference between Ayub Khan and Zulfikar Ali Bhutto was that the former believed in peace with India at any cost and the problem of Kashmir was not so vital problem for him, but Bhutto was made of a different metal, he did believe in peace with India, but with honour and dignity. The problem of Kashmir was upper most in his mind and he treated it as part of Pakistan as had been considered by his political mentor and Founding Father of Pakistan Mr. Jinnah. Ayub believed in dictatorship and he could not fit in any democratic set up; while. Bhutto was basically a democrat. He didn't rely on the politics of Generals as, according to him the first and the foremost duty of the army was to look after the frontiers of the country and not to interfere in the civil administration. Bhutto was thus poles apart from General Ayub. He tried his best to make Ayub a high ranking politician and save the honour of his country, but when he failed in his efforts, he had to part his ways with Ayub Khan. However, it must be remembered that he did serve Ayub Khan for seven years in the national interests. But unlike Ayub, he had not learnt to surrender country's interests before his national enemies. It is surprising that General Ayub in his autobiography of 295 pages has never mentioned anywhere about Z.A. Bhutto whom he had been declaring as the most brilliant Minister, nor he was mentioned a single word about his role as Foreign Minister, which was indeed glorious and historical. He had fought historic battles at the United Nations, Security Council and had reshaped the weak Foreign Policy of Pakistan and put up relentless battles for Kashmir against India. General Ayub was a frequent guest of Bhutto at Larkana for shooting and holidaying. It is indeed a sad commentary on the authenticity, honesty and the historical value of the autobiography of General Ayub. But the general impression has been that the auto-biography was not the result of his pen; he had neither pen nor sword in his hand like a seasoned politician or warrior. It is said to have been written by the Pakistan's Information Secretary Mr. Altaf Gauhar under his instruction.

Politically the people of East Pakistan were far ahead from the people of West Pakistan. After the imposition of Martial Law in 1958, Bengalis lost all hopes of Justice and fair play as the entire army came from West Pakistan especially from Punjab and few from the Frontier Province. While

eulogizing the martial spirit, the Quaid-e-Azam said on March 20, 1948 "The Martial spirit of Bengalis is historically known and especially the part played in history of the past Bengal... You have every opportunity to revive your martial spirit" But who cared? It was a deliberate scheme to make East Pakistan their permanent colony and virtually they had no representation in the Government. In March 1962, there were serious bloody disturbances and irrepressible riots by the student community in East Pakistan and they were demanding full provincial autonomy for their province as the two wings were separated by a long distance of more than 1000 miles and that distance, whether land or sea was under the control of the most belligerent India. Instead of solving their legitimate problems, Ayub Khan accused the Awami League Leader H.S. Suhrawardy the veteran politician and a relentless fighter for attainment of Pakistan and others of inciting the students and the people of the region; as such he ordered for crushing those elements. The agitation spread to various cities throughout East Pakistan e.g. Dacca, Chittagong, Sylhet, Khulna, Barsial, Kushtiya and other areas. There were frequent serious clashes between the army combined by the police against the students. Hundreds and thousands of students were arrested but undeterred by the armed forces they continued to demand the release of all political detainees, withdrawal of warrants of arrest and restoration of civil liberties. Ultimately the Government had to surrender and the demands were accepted. This unrest and bloodshed in Bengal went beyond control as the result of short sightedness of Ayub Khan and his administration. It conclusively proved that they had to yield ultimately their imperious way. And these incidents further proved that the people were stronger than the armed forces and the democratic demands had to be accepted sooner or later. Hot headed fools accept after shilly shally while wise to do it promptly.

LAWYERS' REVOLT

The Bar Associations of the country have always been struggling for civil liberties and democratic rights in every regime. Now Ayub Khan's regime had banned all the political parties and imposed complete restrictions on political activities and the people were deprived of their fundamental human rights. But such tactics would not work in region like Bengal. Ayub Khan had extreme hatred for judiciary and the Martial Law Officers used to come at any time in the courts sat along with the judges and even ordered the Magistrates and judges to act in a particular way contrary to the law of the land. In the name of inexpensive and speedy justice, Ayub wanted to do away with the judicial system. Therefore, the Advocates started a very tough opposition against the implementation of Ayub Khan's scheme and continued an unabated struggle for the freedom of judiciary and the right of expression. It was not a question of income of lawyers as suggested and maliciously propagated by the pro-Ayub writes and sycophants. Unfortunately, Ayub Khan had very conveniently forgotten that Pakistan was achieved under the leadership of Mr. Jinnah, the most prominent barrister and the universally acknowledge leader of the Indian Muslims and he had valiantly fought all his life inside and outside the

assemblies against erstwhile British Masters of Ayub Khan for independence, justice and human rights. And this was one of the main purposes for which the Quaid-e-Azam had waged a relentless war against the Britishers and the Hindus. In fact Ayub Khan was undoing the purpose of separate Muslim homeland. But who has cared for Jinnah's objectives till today?

All the sections of people in Bengal turned deadly against him, barring few lackeys. Virtually Bengali's dismemberment had taken place in Ayub's days and he too did not want East Pakistan to be part and parcel of Pakistan. The allegation against Bengal's secession from Pakistan imputed to Mr. Z.A. Bhutto is not only incorrect but false, frivolous and mischievous. The real culprits went scot-free and blamed Bhutto for the dismemberment. These facts will be exhaustively clarified in a separate chapter about the breaking of Pakistan.

ALLOTMENT OF LAND

One of the "outstanding" achievements of Ayub regime, trumpeted universally, was to allot the agricultural lands to the army instead of peasantry of the country. What were the extraordinary achievements of those officers whom the land was given as a reward, is yet a mystery. However, these were the devious and dubious methods for corrupting the armed forces of Pakistan, who were hitherto highly respected by the people of Pakistan. Who were the most important vanguards of the frontiers of their homeland. The limits of allotment were fixed as under:

Major General and above 240 acres
Brig. and Col. 150 acres
Lt. Col. 124 acres
Lt's. to Majors. 100 acres
Junior Commissioned Officers 64 acres
Non-Commissioned Officers & other ranks. 32 acres
For gallantry, 2000 acres could be awarded.

Thus lacs of acres in Sindh alone were allotted to the army by Gen. Ayub Khan treating Pakistan as his Jagir.

Ayub Khan's generosity did not extend to army officers alone but also to the powerful bureaucracy on whom he had depended for his perpetual rule over the country.

In fact the army and the bureaucracy were his "Electoral College" and not the common men of Pakistan through whose continued struggle, Pakistan was attained and he had ascended through the ladder of dictatorship by virtue of Armed Forces. Thus the generosity of this dictator had exceeded the legendary generosity of Hatim Tai and consequently brought the country on the brink of bankruptcy.

DEATH OF FATIMA JINNAH

Miss Fatima Jinnah the most revered lady had contested the presidential election against Ayub Khan in January 1965 and Ayub Khan had won the elections by condemnable methods. However, he knew it fully well how election was managed and manipulated and he was therefore totally demoralized. By this time Zulfikar Ali Bhutto had resigned and had also called on Miss Jinnah at Karachi in 1968, the year when she died. Miss Jinnah, though old in age, thin and lean, was a person of determination and strong will, like her Great Brother and was possessing good health. Ayub Khan was afraid that in case both of them united against him, it will not be possible for him to face the upsurge of masses.

All of a sudden, Miss Fatima Jinnah died, though she was keeping quite well. According to Sardar Shaukat Hayat Khan "Late poor Miss Jinnah was murdered. I was the first person who witnessed the red mark on her throat which was obviously made by a handkerchief pulled across her throat following the technique which thugs practiced during Lord Bentick's days in India. I myself arranged to have her neck covered to hide the ugly scar, just to save many poor people being killed, as they were bound to come out on the streets on hearing the news demanding revenge and would have been shot down similar to killings during the Victory processions led by Ayub's son Gohar Ayub when an orgy of shooting and murder took place."

It was the most unfortunate tragedy that the founding father of the country, the largest Muslim State of the world, was treated so callously and brutally by his own followers whom he had taken up from earth to sky and his sister was so mercilessly butchered by the privileged political gangster of Ayub regime. Though the murder of Miss Jinnah was not traced out and for obvious reason is not expected to be traced out, there was a wave of resentment and hatred against Ayub for the merciless murder of this innocent and most respectable lady of Pakistan. This is how the benefactor of Pakistan was treated in Ayub regime. But by these deeds, Ayub was digging his own grave.

AYUB ISOLATES HIMSELF

One of the causes of Ayub's downfall was that he did not tolerate better intellectuals, popular, independent and strong Ministers and administrators, as he was scared of them; he simply wanted puppets and yes men. It is an inflexible rule in case of dictators that they need servile sub-ordinates and cringing cowards who would never say no to them. The glaring example in this case is afforded by making Mr. Bhutto, Lt. Gen. Mohammad Azam and Nawab of Kalabagh resign from their high offices of Foreign Ministership, Governorship of East Pakistan and Governorship of West Pakistan respectively. Undoubtedly, Bhutto was the most brilliant of all and had an extraordinary grip on global affairs. He was a man of extraordinary qualities gifted with unusual political insight and orator of high order whose speeches are still echoing in the U.N.

General Assembly and Security Council. But he was not tolerated by Ayub Khan for his firm and patriotic stand in 1965 war and Tashkent negotiations and had to resign as a matter of principle. General Azam Khan though a very highly placed Army General after Ayub Khan, belonging to West Pakistan proved most popular in East Pakistan. He had completely identified himself with the people, stood by them through thick and thin, easily accessible to the people of East Pakistan and had done lot of constructive work for Bengalis. Thus, he vastly endeared himself to the masses of East Pakistan but Ayub did not tolerate him as he was scared of him. The Nawab of Kalabagh was no doubt a feudal lord but even his enemies did not allege any act of corruption against him. He was not only a strong administrator, bridling the high handedness of bureaucracy to a great extent but was loyal to Ayub Khan and in fact he was wiser than Ayub Khan in the domestic political affairs. He had no personal axe to grind as governor of West Pakistan.

"But it was the removal of Nawab of Kalabagh from the scene in September 1966, which deprived Ayub of his most powerful partner in West Pakistan. Kalabagh had kept a firm grip on the province and he knew how to deal with the politicians. He was replaced by General Musa, who proved singularly inept and ineffective." Azam Khan was replaced by Monem Khan, the most hated man of East Pakistan. Governor Monem Khan used to say in official meetings that he would not allow Sheikh Mujibur Rehman to stay out of prison even for a day. "No mother's son", he would declare in his colorful style, "can have the freedom to abuse my President."

When Mr. Bhutto had resigned from Ministership and arrived at Lahore by train, he was given a warmest welcome by the people of Lahore and he was invited to lunch by the Nawab of Kalabagh caring little for Ayub Khan's annoyance. It is said that during the course of lunch, the Nawab requested Mr. Bhutto not to create any agitation in his province so long he was the Governor, otherwise he would be hard upon him. "I am the dog of Ayub Khan and I will not spare any body if he creates a situation for Ayub Khan." But what was the fate of that man who called himself "dog" of Ayub Khan!

Bhutto simply smiled. However, the Nawab did not approve acts and orders of Ayub Khan which were detrimental to the later and to the administration. The Nawab who had never hankered after any office, unhesitatingly resigned from his post of Governorship and in his place Ayub Khan appointed Gen. Retd. Mohammad Musa as Governor, Musa was a tactless Governor, knew nothing about the civil administration, played a tool in the hands of bureaucrats and the corruption multiplied, with the result of Ayub Khan lost everything in West Pakistan and when Bhutto established his party and started agitation against Ayub Khan, it became uncontrollable for the administration to face the political onslaught of the People's Party.

AYUB KHAN: THE MAN UNDER SELF-DECEPTION

From his autobiography, it is crystal clear that Ayub Khan was under horrible misconception that he was the man who could save Pakistan under the so-called Presidential system, in other words, his personal dictatorship. The Quaid-e-Azam had not struggled for the achievement of the largest Muslim State for any opportunist politician, adventurist Generals, greedy bureaucrats or any coterie or class of citizens living in Pakistan, but for the down trodden masses of the country. He had not spent his blood, sweat and tears and finally scarified his life not for any individual or group but for the economic political and social welfare of the common men irrespective of caste creed or colour and for the prestige of Pakistan. It must not be forgotten that this historic achievement was through ballot and not bullet.

Every man has three characters that which he exhibits, that which he thinks he has, that which he actually has. General Ayub Khan was unfortunately suffering from a grave misunderstanding about his own character. He thought and considered himself as great as General De Gaulle, who had consolidated the unstable France and converted it into an honourable and powerful nation in the world. But to be frank, Ayub Khan was far behind the great personality like General De Gaulle and there could be no comparison between the two. Every general cannot be Napoleon or De Gaulle. They are quite rare everywhere.

Neither he was as brave a soldier and nor as far-sighted, powerful statesman as De Gaulle. Ayub Khan might have been a gentleman but he should have restricted himself to his profession. It would have been far better for him as well as for the Nation. He could have saved the country against the intrigues of Iskandar Mirza by preserving the constitution of the country as he had taken the oath of protecting it. But many Generals are against democracy, because they can't unduly prosper in democracy or under a strictly disciplined and most professional commander. "Many an army has prospered under bad commander" said Macaulay, "but no army has even prospered under a debating society." By debating society, he meant democracy. But the greed of power gave him a bad name and finally he was removed unceremoniously, unsung, unwept and totally humiliated. All is well that ends well. Throughout his regime of over a decade, he went on committing blunders, on all sides whether it was internal or external. The so-called laws or reforms that he imposed on his country, did not reflect the aspirations or wishes of the people, but they were hopelessly prepared by the senior influential bureaucrats, some Army Generals and Civilian sycophants jointly.

Ayub Khan might have been a good man, but he had many limitations and weaknesses. If he had restricted himself to the sphere of his profession it would have been far better for himself as well as for the nation. He could have saved his country from the evils and intrigues of Iskander Mirza by preserving the constitution of the country and ushering in an era of democracy. But it was very unfortunate day for Pakistan when they became closest friends and later on hatched a heinous conspiracy against the people of Pakistan. It is true that

Iskander Mirza was removed by the Generals of Army on 27th October 1958 on pistol point, sent to Quetta and thereafter despatched to London where he died an unknown man's death. But the mischief and damage were complete. General Ayub Khan and his junta ruled the country for some years but finally he was removed unceremoniously, unsung, unwept and totally humiliated. Ayub Khan had nine Ministers in his cabinet and they were General Azam Khan, General K.M. Sheikh and General Burki; three civilian Ministers from each wing. Among them, Zulfikar Ali Bhutto was the youngest. Though young and inexperienced, he was the most brilliant of all, a silver lining in the dark firmament of Martial Law. In fact, he was very close to General Ayub during his 5 years regime. But thereafter they had fallen out. Zulfikar Ali could be compared with Moses who was politically brought up in the house of Pharaoh and later on challenged Ayub, ultimately freed his nation from the clutches of Martial Law and led it towards the safe destination. But never did he know that the day was not very far when he himself would be a most tragic victim of Martial Law and leave his nation mourning. Everybody can acquit himself creditably in his own field, but not by trespassing in other spheres. A brilliant bureaucrat can not prove a successful politician as experience has proved the point in the politics of Pakistan. Similarly a soldier meddling in politics will surely make a mess of it, damage himself and damage the country itself. After all politics is a science and an art of running a country, deciding the destinies of millions. It has its own rules and principles to be administrated. Every Tom, Dick and Harry cannot perform this delicate and difficult job. But such scruples are woefully lacking in the Third World countries, where brute force prevails.

CHAPTER 6

Foundation of Pakistan's Foreign Policy

"The Universe is but one great city full of beloved ones, divine and human, by nature endured to each other"

Epictetus

Mr. Jinnah did not live long after independence, therefore there is not much about country's foreign policy during his lifetime. Broadly he stated the basic principles of Pakistan's foreign policy as under:

"Our foreign policy is one of friendliness and goodwill to all the nations of world. We do not cherish aggressive designs against any country or nation. We believe in the principles of honesty and fair play in national and international dealings and we are prepared to make our utmost contribution to the promotion of peace and prosperity among the nations of the world. Pakistan will never be lacking in extending national & moral support to the oppressed people of the world & upholding the principles of U.N. Charter."

Thus Mr. Jinnah enumerated the basic principles of his foreign policy which included not only fair play, peace and prosperity, goodwill and honesty and dealings with all, but also to help the oppressed Third World countries who were victims of exploitation, slavery and tyranny by the Major Powers. The terminology of "oppressed people" of course includes quite a number of Muslim Countries. The deplorable fact was that Afghanistan, an immediate Muslim neighbour of Pakistan, was the constant source of trouble for Pakistan, but Jinnah firmly believed in having brotherly relations even with Afghanistan. In reply to the short speech made by Sardar Najibullah Khan, Special Representative of King of Afghanistan, at the time of presenting credentials to the Quaid-e-Azam, the Governor General of Pakistan, the latter stated his stance in reply as under:

"I desire that the relationship between the two sister nations may be of the greatest and most lasting friendship and I hope that the two governments will be soon able to settle and adjust in a spirit of good will for the benefit of both, all those matters which require our immediate attention and I do trust that the coming negotiations will secure and strengthen the goodwill and friendship between our two countries which already exist."

This speech extended the warm hand of relationship not only in respect of Afghanistan but to all other Muslim Countries. It will be relevant to state that Afghanistan was the constantly instigated by India against Pakistan, on

the pretext of Durand line, the International boundary between Pakistan and Afghanistan.

Jinnah was most worried about the future of Kashmir and in his opinion Pakistan was not complete without Kashmir. But this will be dealt in a separate chapter on Kashmir.

It will be pertinent to clarify that the Quaid-e-Azam believed in very close cooperation and undying friendship with the brother Muslim countries. After the failure of negotiations with Congress in London in 1946, Jinnah and Liaquat flew into Cairo for a few days of Pan-Islamic meetings en route to India and gave a very timely, realistic and friendly warning to the Arab brothers. "It is only when Pakistan is established that Indian and Egyptian Muslims will be really free," the Quaid-e-Azam insisted to Egypt's Prime Minister Nokrashy Pasha on December 17, "Otherwise there will be the menace of a Hindu Imperialist Raj spreading its tentacles right across the Middle East". Jinnah was a guest of the Arab League in Cairo and told a press conference on December 20: "If India will be ruled by Hindu imperialistic power, it will be as great a menace for the future, if not greater, as the British imperialistic power has been..... the whole of the Middle East will fall from the frying pan into the fire." Asked about his talks with Egyptian and Palestinian Arab leaders, Jinnah explained:

"I told them of the danger that a Hindu empire would represent for the Middle East and assured them that Pakistan would tender cooperation to all nations struggling for freedom without consideration of race or colour... If a Hindu empire is achieved, it will mean the end of Islam in India and even in other Muslim countries. There is no doubt that spiritual and religious ties bind us inexorably with Egypt. If we were drowned, all will be drowned." The above foreign policy as stated by Mr. Jinnah was in fact faithfully rather more vigorously followed by Mr. Zulfikar Ali Bhutto as a Foreign Minister and Prime Minister of Pakistan. This policy paid rich dividends to Pakistan. He strengthened Pakistan, united the Muslim world, but had to pay heavy cost for serving Pakistan Islam and the downtrodden humanity.

INDIAN FOREIGN POLICY

India's foreign policy has always been directed against neighbours. Its origin is very old and would be traced from the days of Chandra Gupta, 324 B.C. just after the conquest of Punjab and Sindh by Alexander the Great. At that time they had a very competent and cunning expert Chanakay, who had masterminded the Indian foreign policy which was more elaborate and dangerous than that of Machiavelli, so he could be safely called the Machiavelli of India.

"There was even an elaborate circle (Mandela) theory of Foreign Policy that Chankya developed, teaching every Indian Monarch that the king ruling

the circle of immediate neighbour was his enemy, while just beyond, his "friend". It will be relevant to point out that India's Hindu rulers have been strictly following Chanakya policy immediately after attainment of independence in 1947. They are treating all its neighbours as enemies and countries beyond as friends. It was in pursuance of this policy that they have left no stone unturned in obliterating Pakistan and antagonizing Muslim brother country Afghanistan against Pakistan.

V.P. Menon, Viceroy's Constitutional Advisor and Sardar Vallab Bhai Patel's right-hand man wrote to the latter on 10th May 1947 from Simla, a top-secret letter. He stressed that we should not now delay question of partition which was in the best interests of India because he was sure that the truncated Pakistan, if conceded now, was bound to come back later. On the other hand, if there was delay the uncertainty might lead to renewed agitation on the part of Jinnah and consequent deterioration in the political atmosphere.

I agreed with H.E observation because our slogans should now be, "divide in order to unite".

CHAUDHRY MOHD AMMAD ALI WRITES:

"Sardar Patel's view that the Indian union will be so powerful that the remaining portions will eventually cave in, was shared by all the leaders."

Mr. M. A. Khushro, the former Sindh Chief Minister wrote as under while referring to Acharya Kirpalani, President of All India Congress, in 1947. "He emphatically advised all Hindus and Sikhs to leave Pakistan. His argument was that Pakistan will not last even for one year. We will march our armies to Pakistan and occupy it. India will then be reunited." Mr. Kirpalani originally belonged to Hyderabad Sindh.

Field Marshal Auchinleck Commander-in-Chief of India stated. "I have no hesitation what so ever in affirming (he had written to London a month before) that the present Indian Cabinet are implacably determined to do all in their power to prevent the establishment of dominion of Pakistan on a firm basis."

One can safely imagine as to what would have happened to Arabs and Iran in case there had been no Pakistan and Gawadar had been within in India. Gawadar is a strategically situated port just by the side by Iran, the Persian Gulf and Arab States. This entire region, including the Middle East, would lay prostrate on the feet of India, per political design of India already stated by Jinnah at Cairo in 1946. Even the United States policy towards India would have been that of a "most favorable nation" to prepare and equip her fully for crushing the Great China. But this keen and enthusiastic desire of India remained unfulfilled due to the birth of Pakistan.

India is the most cruel and the most unprincipled country in the world. Many people complain against the U.S.A. and the Soviet Union for their high handedness, but if India had been so powerful militarily and economically, it would have ruined the world, what to speak of its victimized neighbours. They would have been more ruthless than Changiz Khan, Halaku Khan and Hitler, with the only difference that they were madly brave, while the Indian generals and statesman are more boastful than brave. They understand the language of power and might and never discriminate between fair and foul.

Which neighbour of India had remained in peace and tranquility? Which neighbour has remained on friendly terms with India? Every neighbouring country is infested with criminal minded agents of India and in every country of the world, Indian lobby is working actively and propagates falsely that India is the "largest democracy". Even the Indian diplomats have been found busy in the spying and resorting to undesirable activities. The demolition of historic Babri mosque, desecration and destruction of the Golden temple of Sikhs and Nagaland people mercilessly and the demolition of the churches, are events that have no parallel in the modern age.

And they call it their internal affair. It may be remembered that the Congress leadership had used the very Sikhs in the cruel carnage of Muslims; and then came their own turn. Pundit Jawaharlal Nehru, the so-called greatest statesman of India and the greatest peace maker in the world, as they style him, was wholly responsible for the Sino-Indian War in 1962. The great Chou-en-Lai, the Chinese Premier requested him many times for negotiations and solution by peaceful means; but the proud Indian Prime Minister refused to listen and the first bullet was shot by the Indians. What was the result? The Indians were routed, humiliated and condemned irrespective of the vast American and British help. They helped India against all principles of fairness, justice and equity. If China could not be safe from the aggression of India, which other neighbouring country can remain safe?

The first and foremost aim of Indian policy has been to destroy Pakistan. In 1971, they dismembered it with the help of Russian tanks, planes, heavy arms and Russian military experts. Their behavior in Kashmir is shameful, atrocious, anti-democratic and inhuman. They have refused to accept mediation of any country, though friendly with them. The Security Council resolution for plebiscite and the international obligations cast upon India have been violated with temerity and the major powers of the world are mere spectators of such barbaric situation.

Similarly, they have been immorally and unlawfully interfering in the affairs of Sri Lanka, Nepal, Bangladesh and Burma; and they never allow any respite to the people and Governments of those country. At many places blood is spilling like water with the blessings of Indian foreign policy. They despatch arms and ammunition and even their fighting forces to make those countries

politically, economically, socially and militarily weak day by day, hoping that they would one day surrender and accept Indian slavery.

Zulfikar Ali Bhutto the Pakistan Foreign Minister and later Prime Minister was the only statesman after Quaid-e-Azam, who was capable of understanding Indian foreign policy, reading the minds of their orthodox leadership and facing them correctly and courageously. But the Martial Law Generals in order to quench their thirst for power overthrew him, imprisoned him, tortured him and finally obtained a judicial verdict to assassinate him as goes the voice of the world, thus India who treated Bhutto as her worst enemy, was very pleased when he was permanently eliminated from the political scene and they heaved a sigh of relief. Now India could conveniently deal with Pakistan, Kashmir and her small neighbours.

RUSSIA

So far the area of the country is concerned, Russia is the biggest country in the world. It is a neighbour of Pakistan and not far away like America. Soviet Union has remained one of the most powerful countries of the world, as powerful as U.S.A., but its terms with Pakistan have not remained cordial as with India. The question arises whether Russia has been responsible for such unfortunate relationship with Pakistan? It is for the readers to decide. The account has been given by the ex- Ambassador Sajjad Hyder:

“Early in June 1949, a formal invitation arrived in Pakistan from Soviet Russia through Pakistan Embassy in Tehran. It was accepted with alacrity and public announcement was made on June 8, 1949. The news attracted instant notice through out the world. It came as a rude surprise in India, when only a month earlier that is on May 7, 1949. Pundit Nehru had announced that he had accepted an invitation to visit America in October of that year. The months of June and July were taken up in urgent consultations between Moscow and Karachi about the dates of the visit. Moscow proposed the middle of August 1949 as suitable date for the Prime Minister’s visit to the Soviet Union. Liaquat Ali Khan offered to come within 2 or 3 days of Pakistan’s Independence day celebration which takes place on August 14.”

He also accepted a Soviet offer to travel by Russian plane and conveyed his keen desire to study economic planning, industrial and agricultural development, as well as projects for educational and cultural uplift. He further wished to visit some of the Central Asian Republics. Brisk preparations were set afoot straight away and a list of Prime Minister’s entourage of some twenty persons was drawn up. It included not only officials representing various ministries of Central Government but also scientists and also other academicians, who it was hoped would establish bilateral contacts in their respective fields. The Prime Minister and Begum Liaquat Ali Khan’s personal staff was to include a young dashing Lt. Col. Yaqub Khan who spoke Russian beside other European languages. Little could have been known at the time he

would be chosen to be the Foreign Minister of Pakistan. While exchanges about dates were going on, their Minister Ghulam Mohammad arrived in Washington on an official tour at the end of August 1949. Inevitably the question of Liaquat Ali Khan's projected visit to the Soviet Union came up in his discussion with American officials. The Americans offered the Prime Minister to visit the United States as well. Ghulam Mohammad encouraged the idea and conveyed the gist of his conversations to Karachi and went as far as to suggest that the invitation from Washington should be given preference over the invitation from Moscow. Ambassador Ispahani and all the staff in the Embassy felt rather strongly that this was the wrong approach and Prime Minister should go to Moscow first.

Ever since the opening of our Mission in Washington, we had been conscious of the fact that Pakistan was being taken for granted..... yet the US also felt that it was India which had to be groomed as the leader of Asia and its major bulwark, against communism..... Nor did we fail to notice the sudden warmth in America's attitude towards Pakistan and the Mission in Washington. "The invitation from Washington, "had been received and accepted as announced on December 10, 1949 before our Ambassador arrived in Moscow..... It is a pity that Liaquat Ali Khan could not go to Moscow in August or November of 1949 as he had offered to do despite the American invitation. The history of Pakistan Soviet relations might have taken a different course had he not been stood up. The missed opportunity hurt the interests of both sides albeit more so those of Pakistan than those of its great neighbour. The chances of subsequent visit evaporated after Liaquat Ali Khan's visit to the United States when a host of considerations, Soviet indifference, the Kashmir problem and Pakistan's pressing defence requirements being amongst them, left Liaquat Ali Khan with no option, but to come down to American side. Thus begun, Pakistan Soviet differences which persisted until 1965, when Ayub Khan chose as a matter of considered policy to go to Moscow." It will be profitable for the readers to realise that the Russian attitude to India was not all-cordial in the early days. Vijya Lakshmi, the first Indian Ambassador having been sick of such indifferent attitude, had complained to her brother Pundit Nehru. "The Russian attitude towards India has become progressively one of condemning and running down the Government of India Nehru complained to Krishna Memon in confidence. He reported that Nan had written repeatedly that she could do nothing very useful in Moscow. Stalin had refused to see her, none of his confidants spoke to her and she was never permitted to visit any Asian part of the Soviet Union. Nan wrote to say she felt a "moral defeat" in Moscow asking her brother to bring her home or to send her some where else." Liaquat Ali Khan lost a golden opportunity and brought Russia and India together by his serious diplomatic error.

Thus the foundation of unfriendly relations was laid by Pakistan with its most powerful neighbour Russia and Liaquat Ali Khan threw Pakistan in the lap of U.S.A. when he visited the U.S.A. in May 1950 and all the eggs of foreign policy were put in the American basket. It will be pertinent to state that the Russian invitation was extended to Pakistan's Prime Minister one year before

the American invitation while the U.S.A. was all anxious to win over India as the names of "Mahatma Gandhi and Jawahar Lal Nehru were the house-hold names in America." The Indian lobby fully equipped and funded by the Indian Prime Minister Jawahar Lal Nehru was working very strongly and effectively in America. The American Government treated Pakistan with scant respect, as they did not consider Pakistan's Prime Minister well-versed in global affairs. It may be noted that the Socialist Government in China drove out India's friend Chiang Kai-Shek from China in 1949. China was not considered a power at that time.

RELATIONS WITH USA

It will be relevant to mention that in the Interim Government of United India in 1946, Pundit Jawahar Lal Nehru was the Foreign Minister and used to call himself a socialist. He had appointed his very capable sister Mrs. Vijay Lakshmi Pandit as India's first Ambassador to Soviet Russia and she presented her credentials on August 13, 1947 to the Soviet President with the concurrence of Governor Generals of United India. From these facts, it is very evident that the Indian leadership was very conscious of Russia's importance and tried to have very cordial and even friendly relations with the dignitaries of the major foreign countries even prior to independence through their efficient and intelligent emissaries and they had built the edifice of foreign policy mentally before August 1947. "Moscow however had mental reservations, they termed the Indian leaders as "lackeys of British Imperialism." The Russian attitude was presumably based on the clandestine and questionable friendship between Nehru and Lord Mountbatten and his wife Edwina; and also a very partisan role of British Government during partition of India. Stalin had even refused to see the Indian Ambassador.

It will be seen in the later pages of these chapters that Mr. Z.A. Bhutto gave new dimensions to the foreign policy of Pakistan, which was in a lamentable state before he was appointed Foreign Minister of Pakistan in 1963 and it was he who was grooming Pakistan as a leader of the Muslim World and the Third World countries. The Soviet Russia had not opposed the admission of Pakistan to the U.N.O. and had not even vetoed against the plebiscite, the resolution passed by the Security Council in 1948. It was only Afghanistan that had opposed the entry of Pakistan in the U.N.O. As such Pakistan had no grievances against Russia.

The Kashmir delegation comprising Chaudary Zafarullah Khan, Foreign Minister, M.A. Ispahani, Ambassador to U.S.A., Chaudary Mohammad Ali, Secretary General of Pakistan and Mohammad Waseem, Attorney General of Pakistan, constituted a very powerful delegation and was in fact selected personally by the Quaid-e-Azam himself. To be frank not only the British government was against the creation of Pakistan, but America too was not in favour of dividing India on religious basis though the U.S.A. and the British were themselves the architects of Israel for a religious Jewish state, in the

heart of Arab countries by uprooting the Arabs. In 1942, when Cripps Mission was sent to India for resolving the Indian problems during the World War II, President Franklin Roosevelt of America sent his special emissary, former Assistant Secretary Col. Johnson, to India for helping Congress and influence the viceroy.

Quaid-e-Azam appointed Mr. Abul-Hassan Ispahani as the first Ambassador to U.S.A., as he was a very trusted and talented lieutenant of Mr. Jinnah. Undoubtedly America was most powerful country of the world and real winner of the Second World War by throwing atom bombs invented for the first time in the world on the civilian population of Japan, as the later was against the allies. Mr. Ispahani had done a wonderful job in America and pleaded the case of Pakistan very strongly and very impressively, in spite of all handicaps. It will be surprising to know that the embassy of Pakistan had only two rooms, hired in a hotel in Washington D.C. According to Mr. Sajjad Hyder, his subordinate who later on became Ambassador of Pakistan, states about Mr. Ispahani that Mr. Ispahani did his best for Pakistan, but the world politics is always guided by power politics. America cared much for India, though India was not equally responsive; Pakistan cared much for America, but America was not much responsive thanks to the foreign policy formulated by Liaquat Ali Khan and his cabinet.

Pakistan has remained a faithful ally or camp follower of the U.S.A. but the U.S.A. has its own interests and has been wooing India all along, as it is propagated to be the biggest democracy with political stability. Politically, Pakistan has been ruled by dictatorship and woefully lacks stability; its politicians lack efficiency, political training and statesmanship; and economy of Pakistan is in shambles. The success of any country in foreign affairs is invariably dependent upon its inherent strength and the formulation of a wise foreign policy. It was only during the days of Bhutto that the foreign policy of Pakistan achieved new dimensions and was reckoned as a front line Muslim Country.

MUSLIM COUNTRIES

Pakistan more or less ignored the Muslim countries, while India left no stone in turned in winning over the brother Muslim countries of Pakistan. The rules of Pakistan were anxious to win the favour of U.S. because it was in political and economic command of the world, little realizing that the balance of foreign policy lay in a rational and realistic approach to the other countries. The Muslim countries were not only neighbours of Pakistan but could be more sympathetic and become friendly to this newly created largest Muslim country in the world. In this respect the approach of Pandit Nehru, the Prime Minister of India was more sensible and wiser. His effective approach and friendly gestures brought the Muslim countries nearer through U.S. to India; while the insatiable hunger for poverty alienated them from Pakistan.

CHAPTER 7

Foreign Policy – Bhutto's

Contribution

"The time has passed when foreign affairs and domestic affairs could be regarded as separate and distinct. The borderline between the two has practically ceased to exist."

Walter Bedell Smith

After the sad assassination of Liaquat Ali Khan, Pakistan totally fell into the hands of bureaucrats, both civil and military; and the politicians proved spineless. Iskandar Mirza, Ayub Khan, Ghulam Mohammad, Chaudary Mohammad Ali and Mushtaq Ahmed Gurmani, the unelected and the unpopular coterie was now all-powerful with United States as their controlling authority. The weak, opportunist and greedy politicians played in their hands and within a period of seven years from 17th Oct. 1951 to 7th Oct. 1958, they made and unmade seven cabinets in Pakistan, before clamping Martial Law on the country. Resultantly, Pakistan lost its political stability, surrendered its defacto sovereignty, lamentably reduced its reputation in the brother Muslim Countries and was practically isolated. The domestic affairs were also equally in mess.

On the other hand India was taking big strides, both politically and economically under the able leadership of Pandit Jawahar Lal Nehru. He was the maker of India's foreign policy. The stability in India during his days was indeed remarkable; he continued as Prime Minister of his country for 17 years and India came to be reckoned as the largest democracy in the world and respected universally throughout the world. Indian politicians were constructing their country, while the politicians and bureaucrats of Pakistan were busy in weakening it.

MAKING OF FOREIGN POLICY

Foreign policy of a country is a very sensitive and serious subject as it is linked with life and death of a country. It is not made by the Prime Minister or the Foreign Minister alone; but a well defined and well thought policy is adopted by the entire cabinet, though every minister may not be expert in the world affairs. Without profound knowledge of the global affairs, political acumen and vision, it is not possible to lay down a correct policy, in the best interests of the country. But in Pakistan, the subject was not treated seriously

and sedately, like true patriots and experts by those who had become its masters by usurping the rights of the people. They did not keep national interests above every things, rather it was dictated by others.

The importance of the foreign policy can be judged and realized from the two destructive world wars of twentieth century. The Britishers won the wars against their well equipped better organized and powerful army of Germany because the main factor in favour of the Britishers was their pragmatic and efficient foreign policy and superior diplomacy which won many friends for them and Germany was isolated. In Karachi and later on in Islamabad, the subject was relegated to secondary status and treated casually, which resulted in an irreparable loss to the country.

ZULFIKAR ALI BHUTTO ENTERS POLITICAL ARENA

A born politician, a genius, orator young Barrister Zulfikar Ali returned from America and Europe, in 1953. He was full of zeal and determination to serve his motherland, which was achieved after profound sacrifices; it was now in anguish and languish caused by none other than its rulers. The common Pakistani had absolutely no say in the national affairs.

Iskandar Mirza was a friend of Sir Shah Nawaz Bhutto. Mirza's uncle namely Mr. Ghulam Mustafa was a senior engineer in Sindh (Bombay Presidency) and married from Larkana and in those days Sir Bhutto was the only Minister from Sindh in Bombay Presidency. Zulfikar Ali Bhutto had therefore free access to the Governor General's House in Karachi; and even Iskandar Mirza and Ayub Khan had enjoyed the hospitality of Sir Bhutto and Zulfikar Ali at Larkana. Mirza had offered the Mayoralty of Karachi to Zulfikar Ali, but he courteously declined to accept it.

In 1957, when Mr. Suhrawardy was the Prime Minister, Bhutto became acquainted with him and former recognized his potentials and invited him to join the Awami League. In September 1957, Bhutto was nominated as a delegate of Pakistan to the United Nations. Thus he started his career as rising-star in politics from the forum of world politics; that is, the United Nations Organization, center of the global politics including the foreign affairs, which was his favourite subject.

Qudratullah Shahab, Secretary to the President Iskander Mirza, writes:

"On my call, a smart, very well dressed, handsome, extremely sharp, intelligent and mercurial young man entered my room, Mr. Zulfikar Ali possessed extraordinary intelligence and amazing grasp on modern knowledge and different subjects. In a few days, he read all the books in the small library of the President's House".

He further writes:-

“It was a common complaint of many ministers and high officials that during the last days of his power, he treated them sternly and roughly and his attitude was insulting, but personally I did not experience any such thing. I was treated with respect from beginning to the end..... Now I am on the road and you will see that I will occupy the chair of Foreign Minister”.

In short this was the confidence of Mr. Zulfikar Ali Bhutto. The cabinet Ministers and the high officials entertained the same grievance against Mr. Jinnah. But why this attitude and grouse? In statecraft, there were many things common between the two great personalities. They demanded the job to be done honestly, efficiently with speed and they will not brook any negligence, procrastination and lethargy, therefore as the most powerful rulers of the State, they might have been sometimes harsh and castigatory with such office holders, because welfare of the State was after all above individuals; and a backward State like Pakistan demanded energetic, speedy and honest performance.

Mr. Feroz Khan Noon as Foreign Minister was leading the delegation of Pakistan. Generally the officers in the Permanent Mission of a country prepare speeches for their delegates who are read by them in the U.N. and its Committees. But Bhutto had his own way, he prepared the speeches himself which differed in language, style and force from the ordinary routine speeches. In his very first appearance, he acquitted so well that the world diplomats thought and thought correctly that one day he would raise high in the international politics. Speaking forcefully, logically and mostly different from others, he spoke as under on 23rd Oct. 1957:

“If man’s ingenuity is limitless and if his resources and capabilities know no frontiers, then he is and indeed must be ingenious enough not only to define aggression, but also to circumvent, subvert and abuse it. A definition under these circumstances, would literally mean the presentation of our civilization on a uranium platter to would be aggressor, to a twentieth century Changiz Khan or Attila, a would be world dictator who would most certainly find the means to distort and mutilate the definition for his own wicked and gruesome ambitions.”

It is an excerpt from his elaborate speech against the aggression by powerful States. His maiden speech from the United Nations platform adequately proved his merit as a brilliant speaker and a very knowledgeable politician about global affairs from the Third World.

His very first speech proved that he was crusader against tyranny and a valuable asset to Pakistan. Thus U.N. platform was his launching pad in politics. But he had to return soon from New York as his father Sir Bhutto expired on 11 November 1957 at Larkana.

BHUTTO'S ROLE IN MARTIAL LAW

Bhutto was given the portfolio of Fuel, Power and Natural Resources in the Martial Law Cabinet, while Lahore's eminent lawyer Manzoor Qadir a very prominent Barrister, but raw in politics was entrusted the portfolio of Foreign Affairs. Bhutto's outlook was international, his subject in the University studies were history and political science and had done his law from Southampton University England in International Law; as such being fully qualified he was intensely interested in the subject of Foreign Affairs. Even as Minister of Commerce, he had his eye on world affairs and had not confined himself to the duty politics of "Basic Democracy" which was introduced by Ayub Khan in consultation with his Foreign Minister Manzoor Qadir, who had no political ambitions and his scope of activities was limited to the Supreme Court and High Court where he earned huge amounts. But Bhutto was a real politician, an ardent advocate of his nation, unlike the pettifogging politicians and bureaucrats of Pakistan.

In September 1959, Bhutto was again selected to represent Pakistan – now as leader of the delegation. On his way to New York, he visited Tehran, Ankara, Paris, England and Toronto to meet politicians of different shades and acquaint himself with their views.

At orchestra, Nasim Ahmed, the chief correspondent of Dawn hosted a lunch in Mr. Bhutto's honour; and it was attended by a big gathering of overseas Pakistani's mostly students. The young Bhutto loved to address the people and especially the younger generation, which forms the real nucleus of any nations. The gathering was overwhelmed with joy to hear the eloquent and patriotic young Minister speaking about his country and international situation. Martial Law was bad, is bad and will be treated as such in the future and it must be deprecated, it is cruel depredation on the rights of citizen. But Bhutto was a silver lining in the dark clouds of Martial Law, he was a cover for the ugliness of Martial Law. Mr. Bhutto was so pleased with Nasim Ahmed that when he becomes Prime Minister, he appointed the former as Information Secretary and thereafter Ambassador to the United Nations.

While addressing the 2nd Committee of the U.N. he profoundly stressed on the reduction of armaments and improvement of the economy of the developing countries, which instead of spending on the welfare of the people, spent on purchasing arms and ammunitions from Super Powers due to the fear of domination by the powerful neighbours.

He emphasized very rightly:

"A reduction of armaments is the only hope which these countries have of economic viability, especially those among which are under-developed. They can not reduce their armaments unless corresponding reductions are made in the military strengths of our neighbours. They do not possess nuclear weapons. For them, therefore, meaningful disarmament connotes a general

and universal reduction of conventional armaments of as to release enough of their own economic and financial resources for the purpose of attaining a rate of growth which will carry them forward from their present stage of low productivity to that of "take off" when economic development tends to become self generating."

Though he did not name any country his speech, he must have indirectly referred to the Indian collection of heavy and sophisticated weapons, large army and nuclear weapons. Even at that time, there was continuous flow of arms to India, by the powers that dominated the United Nations and the World.

He returned to Pakistan after about a month and visited almost all the capital cities of the far eastern countries, met the journalists, industrialists and big business magnets everywhere for promoting investment in Pakistan. Bhutto by now transcended the limits of local and national politics and his talents were in the process of recognition all the world over.

Mr. Bhutto was now providing indispensable for Pakistan in global affairs and his marvelous knowledge and presentation could not be equaled by any other politician or bureaucrat in Pakistan. Therefore he was deputed as leader of Pakistan delegation to the U.N.O. in 1960 also. He had his own circle of friends and acquaintances in this global organization of the highest importance; which even the ruling Junta, the senior politicians and bureaucrats did not have.

While addressing the first committee of the United Nations that deals with the non-proliferation of nuclear weapons, he said in his speech of October 19, 1960:

"The survival of mankind is a race between disarmament and catastrophe – the race is heading towards a dangerous and accelerating crisis. We face the awesome possibility of nuclear war. Should it break out, civilization will be in shambles. Ideologies and social systems will be swept away in common ruin".

Warning the members about dangerous situation, he stated:

"We have read with great concern, a report in the New York Times of October 12, 1960 of the refinement in Germany and Netherlands of techniques of the separation of enriched uranium which would make it feasible for any technologically advanced nation to produce atomic weapons without large financial expenditure. This knowledge which is bound to spread, will in a few years enable many nations to become nuclear powers. If agreements to prohibit, under international control, the test explosions of nuclear weapons and also the prevention of wider dissemination of nuclear weapons are not reached without delay, the inevitable advance in science and technology are bound to inject complicating new factors into the problems of atomic arms

control.... Mr. Chairman these facts underscore more forcefully and eloquently than words, the dangers of wasting time which only serve to compound the political and technical difficulties of the disarmament problems as to make them well-nigh insoluble. Time is the essence, yes Sir, of the essence of the quest if general and complete disarmament is not to prove a will-o the wisp”.

Mr. Bhutto made a long, logical and forceful speech for the prevention of proliferation of chemical and nuclear weapons but it proved of no avail. The United Nations could pass the resolutions, but where was the power of execution and implementation. The world had shockingly witnessed the horrifying holocaust of Japanese in the Second World War, but the so-called statesman felt no mercy and no repentance of any kind. Now the countries with ailing economy also decided to make nuclear weapons by spending huge amounts at the cost of their vast population living in extreme penury poverty and misery, even without two meals a day!

The politicians proclaimed that modern age has brought a message of peace, progress and prosperity, to the mankind, but I think that claim is spurious and hypocritical; perhaps the early ages were more humane and civilized than the present “show off” of the present day culture when the great Ashoka, renowned and noble emperor of India, ruling from 69 B.C to 232 B.C fought a bloody war, though ending in victory killed innumerable lives. His conscience woke up and he renounced to spill blood of the poor and innocent any further as against the policies of his grand father, Chandra Gupta and his Foreign Minister Chanakya. “That war proved so costly in human life causing the slaughter of hundreds of thousands, the Emperor Ashoka decided after winning it, to follow the path of war no more. He turned instead to the Buddha’s Law of Righteousness (Dharma) advocating love and non-violence (ahimsa) as the ideals for empires as well as monastic orders.”

BHUTTO’S FRIENDSHIP WITH CHINA

Bhutto’s friendship with China, world’s biggest country and next door neighbour, was a must and inevitable in the best interests of Pakistan. But hitherto at the instance of the U.S.A, Pakistan was voting against the admission of China as a member of the U.N.O. After all, President Ayub Khan was the nominee of America and had enjoyed full support in imposing Martial Law and halting the process of democracy, which ultimately resulted in the dismemberment of Pakistan. Bhutto refrained from voting against China in October 1960, totally against the American instructions. Pakistan’s Foreign Office was informed about attitude of Bhutto and situation thus created by Pakistan’s Foreign Minister. Mr. Manzoor Qadir wired to Z.A. Bhutto for retracting his “discretionary powers” on future U.N. votes. Bhutto’s irrevocable decision was purely in his country’s interests, therefore he refused to comply with the instruction of Foreign Minister who in fact was a megaphone of the President himself. Matter of such a vital importance affecting the very basis of Pakistan’s foreign policy must have been brought to the notice of Ayub Khan

for his decision. In fact this was the starting point of differences between President Ayub and Bhutto, which involved nothing personal, but a matter of supreme national importance and interest. And that unexpected initiative made China the most reliable friend of Pakistan.

After the return from New York, Zulfikar Ali Bhutto, the youngest politician ever appointed as Federal Minister, vigorously pursued his point of view for a radical change in the foreign policy of Pakistan.

On November 18, 1960, he pleaded strongly for the recognition of Socialist China by Pakistan in 1952 and presentation of credentials by the Pakistan delegate, gave an automatic and logical rise to the conclusion that Pakistan must vote in its favour to represent China and they must have their friendly relations with Russia. It was opposed vehemently by the Foreign Minister Manzoor Qadir, other Ministers and even by the Pakistan's Foreign Office but Bhutto astonishingly succeeded in changing and correcting the foreign policy of Pakistan on correct lines. It was for the first time in the history of Pakistan that a drastic change in the foreign policy was brought about in spite of tough opposition from all interested and influential quarters within and outside Pakistan. In 1961, Pakistan voted in favour of the Socialist China to represent the country and Chiang-Kai-Shek, the old friend of All India Congress leadership, was ousted 'lock stock and barrel' from China's politics. Thus the healthy change occurred to the complete chagrin of U.S.A. for which none else but Bhutto alone was responsible and it was natural for America to be displeased with him and take notice for the future.

CHINA, INDIA AND AYUB

The Socialist China came into existence in 1949 by trouncing and driving General Chiang-Kai-Shek from the soil of China under the leadership of giant world political leader, Chairman Mao-Tse-Tung much against the will of U.S.A. India had seemingly cordial relations with the Socialist China, because Pandit Nehru had envisaged a status of Asia's leader for India. In the initial years there were slogans of "Hindi-Cheenee Bhai Bhai", but they did not last long for lack of sincerity and soon a serious dispute arose between the two countries over demarcation of boundary line between the two countries. Nehru was not prepared to listen to Chou-En-Lai, a very graceful and remarkable Prime Minister of China. It must be borne in mind that the Chinese leaders were revolutionary in true sense as they had struggled for years, defied the U.S.A. and fought their way to victory; while the All India Congress was a political body, communist in its outlook and supported by the capitalists, industrialists and business magnets of India.

The proud Nehru did not listen to the repeated appeals of Chou-En-Lai for a just solution of dispute. His final judgement about Nehru was:

"I have met Khrushchev, I have met Chiang-Kai-Shek, I have met American generals, but I have never met a more arrogant man than Nehru, I am sorry but this is true".

The self-conceited Nehru considered himself a super intellectual personality and the top most politician of Asia; but the myth exploded in Bandung Conference:

"Nehru discovered at Bandung Conference, the first ever get-together of Afro-Asian leaders in 1955, that Chou-En-Lai, whom he regarded as protégée, was in fact a formidable rival. It was Chou-En-Lai, soldier, poet and scholar who outshone all the other luminaries and came to dominate the conference. Nehru, the great Pundit, who was seen as a shining symbol of anti imperialism was completely eclipsed."

After the shift of the foreign policy of Pakistan, through the wisdom and vision of Z.A. Bhutto, there started and existed a great and lasting friendship between Chou-En-Lai and Bhutto. His considered opinion about the Chinese leader was:

"Frost asked Bhutto, which world leader had most impressed him and he picked Chou-En-Lai, saying perhaps as much about how he would like to be seen by others as about Chou's personality in explaining why, like Napoleon, who was a complete man Chou-En-Lai is a complete man. He knows about music, he knows about history, he knows about military science, he knows about what is happening in the world. He will be able to analyze the hippy problem..... He takes care of everything he looks into everything, he looks into everything minutely".

The world produces such man as Chou very rarely and man like Z.A. Bhutto would pay such a glowing tribute only to those who deserve. They made China a great power, a power to be reckoned with even by a superpower like America and Soviet Russia. How could Pakistan afford to ignore such friend, especially when India, the eternal and inveterate enemy of Pakistan was bent upon effecting it. Border dispute between China and India had erupted in 1959 over Ladakh and Nehru was adamant and adopted an obstinate view against their neighbour. Looking to the exceptional abilities and performance of Chou-En-Lai, he was thoroughly convinced in the Bandung Conference that the leadership of the Afro-Asian countries had slipped from his hands; and his dream of his 'greatness' had been hopelessly shattered. Now he wanted to teach a lesson to China militarily, which might redeem his status as Asia's most powerful leader.

DISPUTE OVER LADAKH

President Ayub had completely misunderstood the Chinese leadership and their objective and had his leanings towards India, that could never be Pakistan's friend.

"In 1958, Pakistan's relations with China were under great strain. They deteriorated further in the following year. President Ayub Khan who later claimed to be the architect of friendship with China, had no qualms in criticizing both China and the Soviet Union and dwelling again and again on 'the danger from the North'. In 1959, he formulated a scheme for a joint defence with India obviously against China and the Soviet Union. On 19 January 1960, he declared, 'I foresee China moving south through Burma and Russia through Afghanistan and Iran, if there is no clash between two of them...".

Further he told a news conference at the President's House that "the position could be defended if both Pakistan and Bharat resolved their differences and ceased to face each other with loaded rifles, Pakistan he said, would very much like to defend Bharat in such an event".

What a misfortunate of a Pakistan! It fell into such unsafe hands that the dictator was prepared to surrender before India and fight for them; When right from the days of Quaid-e-Azam Mohammad Ali Jinnah to Feroz Khan Noon, every Head of State and the Prime Minister had expressed their serious apprehensions against Indian acts of aggression and designs. He was certainly living in fool's paradise working as megaphone of a Super Power that never proved Pakistan's friend indeed. He went to the extent of offering "Joint Defence Pact" to Jawahar Lal Nehru, which was ridiculed and rebuffed by the latter by stating in Lok Sabha on 4th May 1959":

"We do not prefer to have a military alliance with any country, come what may. I am all for settling troubles with Pakistan and living normal, friendly and neighbourly lives, but we do not want to have common defence policy which is almost some kind of a military alliance. I do not understand against whom people talk about common defence policies. Are we to become members of Baghdad Pact or SEATO or somebody else?" 12 Blood of Kashmiris was spilling and Ayub Khan was talking of joint defence with the killer.

Ayub Khan in his Press interviews expressed his anxiety against the activities of China:

"According to Reuters report from Tehran on 9th November published in various Papers, President Mohammad Ayub Khan of Pakistan was today reported to have said in an interview that Chinese occupation of Tibet and road-building activities in Afghanistan posed a serious threat from the north".

Asked to comment on the latest Chinese incursion in Ladakh, he said "it was India's problem and he was not in position to say anything as there were not enough details available".

Ayub Khan perhaps could not understand the implications of his unwarranted statement. Pakistan was deeply involved and could not afford to remain a silent spectator and was playing right into the hands of adversary India that had done incalculable harm to Pakistan. Even his Foreign Minister Manzoor Qadir, the eminent lawyer of Lahore proved that he was only a lawyer and nothing more and he was helpless in understanding the politics played by his neighbours. The ever agile minded Bhutto who had full understanding of foreign affairs was compelled to address a detailed letter and it would be profitable to reproduce excerpts of the letter for the benefit of the readers.

Dear Mr. President,

For the past several weeks, I have been anxiously concerned with the India-China situation in Ladakh and the impact it can have on our position regarding Kashmir. I noticed in the press that, during an airport interview, you were asked a question regarding this situation and you replied to the effect that it was India's problem. I do not know what exactly was the wording of your statement and whether it was accurately reported in the press.....

The dangers that lie in our attitude as so far shown, can be spelled out as follows:

- (a)** We can be taken to have tacitly recognized India's authority over that part of Kashmir which she controls at present. After all, it is by virtue of the present partition of Kashmir that India controls Ladakh and is in a position to declare that China's encroachment on Ladakh is an encroachment on India itself.
- (b)** The present situation can be cited by India as justifying any augmentation of forces that she might affect in Jammu and Kashmir, the contrary provisions of the UNCIP resolution notwithstanding. This augmentation of forces will include any tightening over Kashmir, any building of roads and airports and, in fact, any other measures that she might undertake.
- (c)** We can be deemed to be stopped from saying in future that the responsibility for the preservation of the territory of Jammu and Kashmir is not that of India, but of the Security Council. We have so far always taken the stand that Jammu and Kashmir is not Indian territory and, therefore, the question of its external defence is a matter for the Security Council and the Council alone, to consider. We can now be taken to have virtually abandoned that stand.

In my humble but emphatic opinion, it seems to me that we must make some kind of an authoritative pronouncement, which would effectively safeguard us against these dangers. A draft letter to the Security Council, if that is going to be the means of making this pronouncement, is under preparation in the Mission here and will be soon submitted to you.

I can assure you that, in making this suggestion, I am not at all unmindful of the complexity of the present situation and the delicacy of our relationship with China. With as much anxious and careful thought as I am able to give to the matter, I feel that a statement, which clearly declares our stake in Kashmir, will not necessarily embroil us with China. On the contrary it may even be that China will not react adversely to statement from Pakistan questioning the very basis of the stand taken by India regarding Ladakh.

As far as the effect of a statement of this kind on India is concerned, we cannot ignore the fact that, in spite of all trends and to the contrary, the Indian government persists in writing letters to the Security Council about Kashmir which consist of the same pseudo – arguments and fulminations that Krishna Menon has been spouting during the last several years. Regarding the effect on Canal Waters negotiations, we have, of course, carefully to consider the matter but we cannot let India damage our entire position on Kashmir during the time these negotiations remain pending.....

I am taking the liberty of making these suggestions to you because, in my consultations here, I have found a great anxiety lest the present India-China situation allows the impression to settle that Pakistan no longer feels itself concerned with Jammu and Kashmir....

Yours Respectfully,
Zulfikar Ali Bhutto

I have legitimately called Bhutto, the Falcon of Pakistan because he could see the things from the high skies of politics. What he envisaged and predicted was fully supported later on by Richard Nixon, a former U.S. President, statesman, intellectual and writer:

“China has not only become a key political player but also a major global economic power in the coming decades... China is a voice of the world that cannot be isolated. Exactly twenty years ago we opened the door to China. In the next twenty years, we must keep the door open as China secures its place in and integrates itself into the world affairs.

China’s emergence as a global heavy weight, is inevitable with a significant nuclear capability and largest conventional army in the world. It could become a military Super Power within decade.”

The experienced British leader Margaret Thatcher, former Prime Minister of U.K. who had resigned in 1990, said:

"As the Asian Pacific region attained a bigger global role, China's emerging military and economic might was probably the most important development at the end of this century and for beginning of the next".

In fact China is going to be much more powerful than what it is today. Mrs. Thatcher said "there is no need to be alarmed over China's intentions, while it has been protective of its national borders. She has not historically been an expansionist power."

But it seems that while admitting that China was never aggressive and expansionist, some kind of fear seemed to be lurking in her mind; therefore in her address on March 24, 1996 at Islamabad, she warned in the following words against China:

"Mrs. Thatcher rang alarm bells against Chinese Military strength, which she said must always be viewed with greatest suspicion by other regional powers."

Hong Kong, a very important trade center in the world is part and parcel of China, but it was on lease for a long period with the Britishers. The Chinese socialist's government could have easily taken possession by force, but they honoured the agreement, though determined to safe guard their economic, defence and social interest. This fact was admitted by Mrs. Thatcher that the socialist China had never resorted to the policy of expansionism, but the greedy British politician started playing hanky panky in the matter of handing Hong Kong, to which the Chinese government took strong exception.

Who could be the better friend of Pakistan than China, her immediate neighbour, growing powerful day by day, having no evil designs of expansions. India the worst enemy of Pakistan, was also highly belligerent against China but enjoying a strong support from the West. China was strong enough to defend herself against India, but Pakistan stood isolated; it needed a friend indeed. As such, it was in mutual interests of both the countries and more in Pakistan's interests to win over China, whom the visionless Ayub Khan had been treating, declaring and criticizing as Pakistan's enemy. But Bhutto proved mature, wiser and far-sighted than any other supporter of Ayub Khan. The nations perish due to lack of vision in their leaders.

CHINA'S ATTITUDE AND OPINION

The giant was awake in 1949, the West and the U.S.A. wanted to 'nip it the bud'. The revolutionary and adroit Chinese leadership was well aware of such moves and manipulations on international level. Their impression about Pakistan though adverse was completely correct and unquestionable.

"In China's view, Pakistan had pursued an unfriendly policy towards herself throughout 1950; following the American lead in the United Nations but voting against the discussion of the question of China's representation and although it had established diplomatic relations with Peking in 1951, maintaining unofficial but offensive contacts with Chiang-Kai-Shek. Pakistan was a member of SEATO and CENTO and Chinese had felt that the Ayub Governments policy is one of the increasing dependence upon the United States, with Ayub's joint defence offer sowing discards in her relations between China and India. The Pakistan ruling clique had been playing a vicious role and adopting an extremely unfriendly attitude towards China, a commentator in the People's Diary wrote in mid 1959."

"Nehru had in the Chinese view, practically thrown away the banner of opposition to imperialism and colonialism and suited himself to the needs of U.S. imperialism."

Bhutto had fully surveyed and realized this situation. The United States wanted to install Pundit Nehru as a policeman of South East Asia for them in place of Chiang-Kai-Shek and wanted Pakistan to play a subordinate and humiliating role by accepting India's hegemony and assist India unconditionally.

Bhutto could unhesitatingly and immediately perceive that the damaging policy if continued would prove suicidal for Pakistan. He now stood for improved relationships leading to unbreakable friendship with China.

"China had been vary in responding to Pakistan's proposal that boundary should be delimited. This was made in November 1959. Delegation to the United Nations convinced through his Burmese contacts there, that Peking was prepared to reach reasonable boundary settlements with any of her neighbours who sought them. But more than two years passed before China responded to Pakistan's proposal."

BHUTTO BECOMES FOREIGN MINISTER

After the death of Mohammad Ali Bogra, who had been to Delhi embracing Nehru and calling him "Big Brother", Z.A. Bhutto was made Foreign Minister. He did not suffer from any inferiority complex like his predecessors. He was in fact overflowing with self confidence like Mr. Jinnah and always firm like a rock in his stand. His first historic success was settlement of boundary between Pakistan and China, which came as shock to India and annoyed America. Thus Zulfikar Ali Bhutto started giving new directions to Pakistan's foreign policy:

"The boundary was described as being between Sinkiang and contiguous areas, the defence of which is under the actual control of Pakistan and it was stated that the agreement reached would be provisional, to be recognized if

necessary after India and Pakistan settled the Kashmir dispute. Thus the signatories avoided committing themselves on the question of sovereignty in Kashmir. But the Indian position is that all of the former Maharajas of Kashmir's domains are on the part of India and that there is no Kashmir dispute."

The boundary settlement reached through Z.A. Bhutto was a statesmanly step on his part and it was done after his continuous endeavors for more than two years. The entire country applauded Bhutto's service as Foreign Minister.

"Zulfikar Ali Bhutto who was later in initiate close ties with Peking as Foreign Minister from anti-China assumptions of the alliance as early as 1962, when he told the National Assembly that Pakistan's friendship with Peking was an independent factor and that even if Kashmir dispute is settled amicably, we will not join India against China. The Western objectives of joint defence for Indian Sub-Continent presumed a hostile China, he said but it might be that the answer for both Pakistan and India lies in finding some sort of equation between ourselves without jeopardizing our friendship with China."

The Sino-Pakistan Border Agreement on March 26, 1963 was opposed by India through a protest letter to the Security Council. On 26th March, 1963 Mr. Bhutto repelled the allegation:

"Pakistan has not ceded even one square inch of territory to China. It has gained 750 square miles of territory which had been in China's occupation and control."

China was not at all to be blamed for her strained relations with Pakistan. M.A.H Ispahani, a loyal lieutenant of the Quaid-e-Azam, a competent, tall, handsome and impressive leader and diplomat, who was appointed as Pakistan's first ambassador to the United States drawing no salary, had observed:

"With her (China) too, our relations have not been what they should be..... we have not been fair in the matter of her admission in the United Nations when the world body, by a majority votes agrees to receive her in its midst". What an unscrupulous and annoying attitude it was.

In the wars of 1965, 1971 or in any other regional or global matter of catastrophe, China has always supported and sympathized with Pakistan as a powerful, permanent and reliable friend.

Akram Zaki, a former ambassador, now a Muslim league Senator had stated in his interview on Pakistan Television in 1997 that China supplied weapons and armaments to Pakistan free of cost from 1965 to 1978. The foundations of such foreign policy firmly and sincerely led by Bhutto, who was

a great personal friend of Mao-Tse-Tung, the torch bearer of Socialist Revolution in China.

On September 9, 1976, when news of Mao's death reached him, Zulfikar knew he had lost his strongest supporter in the Third World "Men like Mao-Tse-Tung come once in a century", Bhutto emoted "perhaps one in millennium. They capture the stage and write the pages of history with divine inspiration.... Chairman Mao..... was a giant among giants." What a friendship in National interests! They are no more in the world, but China continues to be on the path of tremendous progress and prosperity with the passage of time and is wisely mending fences with its erstwhile adversaries Russia and Japan.

INDIAN POLICY REMAINS UNCHALLENGED

Internal as well as external policies of India have remained unchanged from the day of Independence, that is 15th August 1947. The inescapable conclusion is that it had not and shall not be friendly to Pakistan, so long its present thinking of intolerance and expansion continues. Since China is a supportive friend of Pakistan from 1959, India's foreign policy is that of inelegance against her great and powerful neighbour. It has to be admitted that the Indian leadership since the inception of independence, has been building India and also preparing for war instead of peace and conciliation. They are neither prepared for meaningful negotiations nor accept any mediation for resolving the Kashmir dispute. Thus the attitude is further developed by India as she has been encouraged and spoiled by the world powers especially by Soviet Russia, United Kingdom and the United States; which is partly due to the unwise foreign policy and the inherent weaknesses, political inability and economic ailment of Pakistan. Z .A. Bhutto rightly observed:

"Unfortunately India is the spoilt child of the world. India gets away with all its machinations by irrational explanations, which the world too readily swallows. The misfortune of this region is that the powers which are not familiar with India's mentality and do not understand India's approach to International problems are only too eager to accept India's policies at their face value. That makes possible for India to continue the menace the peace of the region and the world..... Up till then, India had committed aggression, no fewer than five times; in Kashmir, Junagadh, Hyderabad, Goa and China. In contrast to Pakistan's good relations with neighbours like Nepal, Ceylon (Sri Lanka), Indonesia, Burma and Afghanistan. India's regional posture was one of "arrogance and intransigence" yet India was a peace loving state." Yet Brutus is an honourable man!

RELATIONS WITH RUSSIA

It is already stated how Liaquat Ali Khan had spoiled relations with superpower Russia by rejecting the self-sought invitation of the great

neighbour and accepted later invitation of 10 December 1949 extended by the United States. Stalin had not even received Pandit Nehru's illustrious sister, prominent diplomat and ambassador, Mrs. Vijay Lakshmi, branding the Indian leadership as "lackeys of the British Imperialism."

In 1947, U.S.A. and the Russia were undeniably the world superpowers. After the 2nd World War, which ended in 1945, several colonies of the French and the Britishers had now become independent. The two world powers started wooing the other countries to join their camp. Pakistan though smaller in comparison to India, enjoyed a very strategic position and Russia would have been happy to welcome her; but instead Pakistan preferred to remain in the grip of U.S. power block thereby invited the displeasure of Russia.

India had wisely chosen to remain neutral and succeeded in obtaining aid and loan from both the powers to strengthen herself, but Pakistan through American partisan, did not get that much economic and military aid as India did, though India's neutrality was also an eye-wash. Pakistan joined the SEATO, (South East Asian Organization) which was established in order to check the expansion of Communism. The formation of this front, though weak and ineffective in nature, was highly provocative to the Soviet Russia and China.

Not only that, Pakistan further allowed American military bases on its soil against the will of the people and the Russian annoyance. On 5th May 1960 Russian Premier Nikita Khrushchev announced that the Soviet Union had shot down a spying U-2 aircraft over Sverdlovsk. They suspected that the aircraft must have been flown either from Pakistan or Iran or from Turkey. They gave rise to a serious scandal against Ayub Government.

From 1956 until the end of 1969, the U.S. air force operated a huge base near Peshawar in Pakistan which was primarily an intelligence facility. For several years before Gary Power's abortive flight over the Soviet Union, in 1960, the C.I.A's U-2 planes used Peshawar as principal take off point for reconnaissance flight over..... the Soviet Union.

"While warning the three countries Khrushchev said that the countries where American aircraft were based did not know what was being done by Americans. But they ought to know for their own good that they might be the sufferers of the Americans playing with fire."

The early strained relations between Pakistan and China were already causing worried to Bhutto. He was neither President nor Foreign Minister whose primary function was to create and maintain cordial relations with their powerful neighbours and not to multiply unnecessary problems for their motherland; India's enmity was more than enough. But as a patriot endowed with deep insight he realized the dangers ahead, he must muster up all courage and act without halt or hesitation.

By 1960, Z.A. Bhutto had his political roots deeper than anyone else including the President and members of the Martial Law regime. During the same year, he led the Pakistan delegation to the United Nations and this session was also attended by Premier Khrushchev of Soviet Russia. Taking advantage of the presence of the Russian Premier, he boldly approached the most influential Russian leader for Ruso-Pakistan joint ventures for oil exploration in Baluchistan. Khrushchev was indeed taken by surprise that the younger man had such courage and initiatives to speak on such an important subject with him, when Pakistan was a blind follower and supporter of America. The Russian leader felt happy over this unexpected but a welcome change in attitude and promised to send his team for inspection to Pakistan. The Soviet team was accordingly sent to Pakistan in September 1960. They examined the position and recommended a long term loan for the purposes of oil exploration.

Bhutto placed the entire case before the Cabinet on October 18, 1960 pertaining to Pakistan's economy that is promotion in collaboration with Soviet Russia. Mr. Manzoor Qadir who was already upset in the matter of normalization of relationship with China vetoed it; but ultimately Manzoor Qadir was vetoed by Z. A. Bhutto's political vision and correct decision.

"There was no direct flight to the Soviet Union from Pakistan, so Zulfikar obliged first to fly to New Delhi on 13 December 1960, where he and his delegation had to wait for three nights at the Pakistan Embassy, before a plane took off to Tashkent on 16 December. Bad weather..... forced landing at Samarkand, birthplace of Babar the founder of South Asia's Great Mughal Empire."

"The grandeur of Islamic architecture and culture so richly visible in this citadel of great Timor and his descendents..... made one feel proud to be part of its history, race and religion", Zulfi wrote, feeling renewed pride in his Islamic heritage. "They drove next day from Samarkand to Tashkent where the delegation was warmly welcomed for final oil contract negotiations..... The first Soviet-Pakistan agreement released 120 million roubles of credit to Pakistan over a twelve-year period. A team of Soviet explorers, engineers and scientists soon arrived to search the sands of Baluchistan and Sindh, where they found a rich field of gas but no oil."

Why was Bhutto so very exhilarated to witness the grandeur of Islamic architecture, culture and rich Muslim heritage a dream of grandeur a most prestigious civilization and the glittering memories from the golden history of Islam? Bhutto actually wanted return of that greatness glory, prosperity and power of Pakistan; and the Muslim World. His faith in Islamic revival and renaissance was further strengthened and he started thinking in terms of past glory and greatness of Muslims.

He must have recollected his speech that he had made at the age of twenty years before mostly Christian audience in America, about the unprecedented culture, conquests, knowledge and light that was imparted by Islam to Europe.

"I am not here to preach Islam to you or threaten you with its dormant powers. I only want to tell you of the Islam that was a burning light of yesterday, the ember that is today and the celestial flame of tomorrow, for that is how I envisage the future of Islam.... I must also tell you that I am not a devout Muslim..... religiously speaking I am a poor Muslim. However my interest is soaked in the political, economic and cultural heritage of Islam."

"But soon these lizard-eating and moribund people of the desert were to be aroused by a vigorous force, a venerable and potent force that was to transform their lives. The founder of this dynamic force, whose religion was to embrace all the three known continents with lightning speed, was Mohammad, his religion was Islam, which means submission to God".

"In a hundred and fifty years, the march of Islam covered vast areas. On the west, the nineteen-year old Tariq shattered the bulwark of Spain and with it, captured the strategic rock which is named after him..... In the eastern theatre, the followers of Mohammad the Prophet reached the banks of the Indus and the Ganges. From the palaces of Vienna and France on the one side to the Great Wall of China; from the steppes of Russia and the fortresses of Venice to the plains of Iran and jungles of Indonesia and Malaya; from the romantic Danube to ever-winding Yangtze – Vast territories came under the influence and control of the people who were derelict until the Prophet of Islam created in his follower the spirit to spread a doctrine of equality to the world."

"Today I am as hopeful of an Islamic confederation as I was of the creation of Pakistan before the division of India. Pakistan had taken its rightful place in the family of nations; tomorrow a confederation of the Islamic nations will be a reality. Those who mocked the foundation of the largest Muslim nation are now retreating from their previous stands."

"Destiny demands an Islamic association, political reality justifies it, posterity awaits it and by God we will have it. Courage is in our blood; we are the children of a rich heritage. We shall succeed."

These are the excerpts from his long and spirited speech when he was still a college student. It was a voice that comes from the inner most recess of his head and heart and before a foreign audience in a super, foreign country, professing different faith. He wanted to construct Pakistan, build Islamic World and serve the Third World in a manner and method that he foresaw, planned and professed in his speech. It seems that the flame of love for Islam and humanity had created an inextinguishable and everlasting light in his heart; that is why the people call him "Shaheed", and even refused to accept the verdict of the Superior courts.

His quest, his search was now for the friends of Pakistan. He was restless for making Pakistan a citadel of Islam. When he saw the past grandeur of Islam in Samarkand and Tashkent, it was as if a noble and suspicious dream which he wanted to realize and regain for the Islamic World. Before Pakistan was achieved the opponents used to taunt that it was a mad man's dream, but the dream had attained reality, now Bhutto wanted to embark upon a task, more different than the achievement of Pakistan.

AYUB'S VISIT TO SOVIET RUSSIA

Though the Indian lobby in Moscow was extremely effective and active for years together and Russia would not like to displease India, but their attitude towards Pakistan after the visit of Z.A. Bhutto had been very softened. Ayub Khan was therefore in position to visit Moscow, of course after taking Bhutto with himself; and he spent one week in Soviet Russia from April 3 to 9 1965 and had talks with Brezhnev the person in power. The Russian Premier made it clear to him that his interference in Kashmir affairs against India was out of question but he generously extended substantial financial assistance to Pakistan.

The Soviet Union advanced a loan of \$30,000,000 and a credit of \$11,000,000 for the purpose of machinery. Though Ayub Khan's men would call it his success; but the real man behind it was Bhutto. When on 6 April 1965, Ayub called on Acting Chairman Mikoye to thank him, the latter was so impressed by Bhutto that "he congratulated Ayub on selecting such a capable and vigorous person as his Foreign Minister. He is a very able man. Very insistent on upholding his country's point of view."

These Russian, American or even other leaders of the major and developed countries are very trained, capable and proud of their power and they are slow to pay such rich compliments to the politicians of under developed countries unless they rightly deserve.

It may be recalled that the Russian leaders fully knew that Ayub Khan was a man of American bloc, therefore hardly reliable from their point of view. When he was appointed Commander-in-Chief of Pakistan, he was instrumental in foisting Rawalpindi Conspiracy case against Major General Akbar Khan, his wife, Lahore-based most popular poet and socialist Faiz Ahmed Faiz and several other military officers and prominent civilians in 1951, charging them with conspiracy to overthrow the pro-American Liaquat Government and install a pro-Russian military Government. Was it forgettable? But it was now the miraculous diplomacy of Bhutto, that everything was pushed aside, Ayub Khan was treated with due honour and he promised with Russian leadership that he would extricate Pakistan out of SEATO and CENTO. The sad but undeniable fact was that in Pakistan, there were no elections, thus from its very inception in 1947 to 1971, there was no elected representation. The rulers had occupied

the chair either by intrigue and conspiracy or through the Armed forces. As such they were not the recognized representatives of the people and they did not have any mandate from the people. Pakistan was achieved by democratic means, but was ruled by dictatorship. The people of Pakistan were politically conscious. There were intellectuals, there was no dearth of patriots but their opinion through election was never sought and determined. The alliances and pacts, seriously affecting the national interests were entered into by the drawing room rulers who did not truly represent the thoughts, views and aspiration of the people. They naturally did not enjoy confidence of the people and the alliances thus entered were strongly opposed by the people. For the Martial Law Government and especially for Ayub, Bhutto was the most valuable asset, who vehemently advocated the national cause at the international forums, rationalized the foreign policy and made his presence felt wherever he went. He was Moses in the house of Pharaoh.

The Russian attitude towards Pakistan in 1971 became hostile, mainly because of Yahya Khan's curt and undiplomatic conduct. In a letter to Yahya Khan on 2nd April, President Podogorny advised:

"In these days of trial for Pakistani people, we can not but say, words, coming from true friends. We have been and remain convinced that the complex problems that have arisen in Pakistan of late can and must be solved politically without use of force."

Yahya Khan's reply was:

"Pakistan was determined not to allow any country to interfere in its internal affairs." The reply was obviously very annoying and crude towards major power like Soviet Russia, that was already pro-India.

He never consulted Zulfikar Ali Bhutto. "President did not meet him again till the end of the month. Between 2 and 27 April, the Government did not consult him on international issue nor on East Pakistan".

Yahya Khan caused further annoyance to Soviet Russia by working as American emissary for rapprochement with China. On 15 July, 1971, Henry Kissinger, Assistant to President Richard Nixon, visited Peking secretly in order to pave way for President's visit to China. Though they wanted to keep it strictly guarded secret, it was not possible. Soviet Russia, India and in fact everyone who mattered came to know about the visit and its purpose. Russia was deeply angered against Pakistan, as the journey undertaken to Peking by Henry Kissinger was through the soil of Pakistan and the good offices of Yahya Khan.

The super powers are always sensitive and that too especially against the smaller countries. U.S.A. and the Soviet Russia were old rivals and Pakistan was a mere camp follower of America which had already irritated Russia. China, the biggest countries in the world and adjoining Russia were in

conflict with each other and there were border clashes between Soviet Russia and the China in 1969. China had refused to acknowledge the supremacy of the Soviet Russia. Now the meeting of its two adversaries for rapprochement through Pakistan became terribly unbearable. It is true that China was not as powerful as U.S. and Soviet Russia, but it was gradually and firmly developing to pose a serious challenge to Soviet Russia. Therefore the latter now thought it opportune to hit Pakistan – a task that could conveniently be accomplished and also teach a stern lesson to China as far as possible. But Chinese leadership was astute enough to understand this sinister game. However, the Martial Law riddled leadership was quite oblivious and indifferent to the volcanic situation in the country and the international political intricacies that were brewing up.

It was under these circumstances that after the visit of Henry Kissinger to China the clandestine of mutual friendship was signed by both Russia and India to wipe out Pakistan permanently, China, wanted its survival to cope up with her adversaries at an appropriate hour and not prematurely, therefore she had to restrain herself from jumping into the fire. How true and prophetic wrote Nixon:

“The Chinese are a great people, with an incredibly rich heritage. When Europe was mired in Dark Ages, China was the most advanced nation in the world. In the eighteenth century Voltaire called it “the finest, the most ancient, the most extensive, the most popular and well regulated Kingdom on earth”.

Almost two centuries ago, Napoleon observed “China? There lies a sleeping giant. Let him sleep. For when he is awake, he will move the world.”

The giant is awake! What a wonderful and wise prophecy.

BHUTTO’S POLICY

The job for formulating foreign policy of country, especially that of Pakistan, had remained quite enigmatic. Yahya Khan and his ruler General did know the ABC of foreign affairs but conceited junta thought that they could vanquish any force. Bhutto wanted to befriend China and neutralize Soviet Russia though the task seemed rather difficult as these powers were mutually antagonistic. He was the only diplomat of such stature who could raise equal to the occasion. But he was helpless, he was out of power and Yahya did not realise the nature of those critical times. However, he did whatever he felt favourable in the national interest.

The world famous diplomat Henry Kissinger depicts him as under:

“We stopped in Islamabad in friendly Pakistan. Its volatile leader Zulfikar Ali Bhutto also came to a tragic end. It does not alter my evaluation of him, as a man of extraordinary abilities whose ruthlessness is matched by his

brilliance..... Bhutto had been variously accused of softness now towards the Soviet Union, now toward China. And I never doubt that he was capable of drawing close to any country that served his perception of Pakistan's national interests. The fact was that after 1970, Pakistan's interests were best served by cultivating the two great powers. It helped to bring together the United States and the People's Republic of China."

Z.A. Bhutto was the ablest diplomat of the Indo-Pak Subcontinent. In that capacity he served the best national interests of his motherland from October 1958 to 4th July 1977. He was a charming and sharp personality, a forceful speaker, well conversant with the world history, global affairs and political science.

The subject of the foreign relations was his favorite subject. Friendship with China and the Muslim World was the cornerstone of his policy; he would not alienate and antagonize the major powers like Soviet Union, U.S.A. and other important countries, rather he liked to develop friendly links with all of them. He firmly stood for the unity of the Afro-Asian countries and that policy paid rich dividends and won an honourable place for his country. But the only country that went against him and his policies, was India, a big neighbour, who had refused to recognize the very existence of Pakistan from its very inception and created every possible obstruction in his way; and even to wean away the other brother Muslim countries from Pakistan.

"Since India's leadership has yet to fully accept the legitimacy of Pakistan's existence and since New Delhi dismembered East and West Pakistan in 1971 war, Islamabad concluded that they had no choice but to acquire its nuclear deterrent."

India would not tolerate even the smallest supply of arms and equipment to Pakistan. On the other hand she was collecting massive quantity of all types of arms on the pretext that she was preparing to face the danger posed by China. It will be relevant to quote U.S. President Nixon's views revealing India's intentions, which was boastful of having the largest democracy in the world.

"Instead of focusing on dire needs of its people, whose percapita income reached only \$340 in 1990, India's political leadership squandered vast resources trying to elevate their country to the status of a regional Super Power.....

Even the rivalry of Pakistan-over which India easily prevailed in 1948, 1965 and 1971 – does not represent an external threat sufficient to justify astronomical military spending military levels..... Moreover, New Delhi's Military, the fourth largest in the world, fields twice as many combat aircraft and tanks and seven times more artillery than Islamabad."

Z.A. Bhutto tried his level best to bring normalcy to Indo-Pak relations, but he did not succeed, Indian hostilities continued to aggravate everyday.

BHUTTO GOVERNMENT'S FOREIGN POLICY

Z.A. Bhutto worked incessantly when he took over as President. He again visited Moscow in March 1972 in spite of the fact that Soviet Russian was instrumental in dismemberment of Pakistan. Such was the proverbial force in his arguments that he would even convince a vulture to restrain from eating a dead body. He spoke to the Russian leadership about trade and economic relationship to which they were found agreeable. India and Afghanistan were Russia's friends and had remained in close relationship with her. Bhutto did not want his country to be sandwiched again by the hostile elements. He did not want to be equated with either of the Generals – Yahya Khan or Ayub Khan; but he had also to see at the same time that the United States was not turned hostile to Pakistan. Militarily, morally and economically Pakistan being at the lowest ebb would not pursue a policy which might cause even the slightest harm to Pakistan. His visit to India did not go in vain. In his talks with Indira Gandhi at Simla, Russia had desired India to come to reasonable understanding and decision through negotiations. The visit was productive yielding positive and beneficial results.

He was fully conscious of the fact that Pakistani Provinces of Frontier and Baluchistan, were adjoining Afghanistan and his support in those provinces were not so strong as in Sindh and Punjab. There were some influential elements in the adjoining provinces that were not in favour of Pakistan's creation and had their links with the rulers of Afghanistan.

Bhutto, being apprehensive of such delicate situation found it necessary to improve Pakistan's relations with Russia. In fact, for a country like Pakistan and for astute statesman like Bhutto, it was like a tight rope-walking diplomacy. He did succeed in melting the Russian opposition by his visit, thus it proved fruitful and salutary for the existence of his tottering country, over which he was now presiding. Bhutto's cause was weak and responsibilities were tremendous; he had to take out his small, humiliated and degraded country out of the deepest abyss where it was thrown by the military junta after a dictatorial misrule of thirteen years; and he was empty without any cards in his favour.

It is indeed miraculously amazing that he got the most needed, long awaited, a heaviest project of Steel Mill accomplished through Russia, Before October 1958, there was a plan to construct a Steel Mill in Pakistan, because Pakistan had virtually none, while India had number of steel mills catering to its economic, defence and construction needs – But for long time in the Martial Law days, the scheme was abandoned as needless and luxuries because they depended on begging, borrowing and stealing form America. They had always a begging bowl in their hand stretched before the major powers especially the

U.S.A. for the fulfillment of their needs. They had thus made Pakistan a beggar state in the world. Now Z. A. Bhutto made up his mind to have a big Steel Mill in Karachi, because it was must for Pakistan.

After prolonged and persuasive talks with Soviet Russia, he made them agree for the construction of the Mill in October 1974, which would entail huge cost. The financial arrangements were finalized on December 30, 1974. It was indeed a landmark in the history of Pakistan and Zulfikar Ali Bhutto must have been the happiest man in Pakistan on December 30, 1974 and thereafter the work started rapidly. To be frank it goes to his sole credit without any substantial contribution from any other quarter.

“On 12 March 1976, the Chief Minister of Sindh, who had accompanied us, wrote to the Prime Minister that the Sindh Government proposed to name the site ‘Zulfikarabad’, despite ZAB’s earlier instructions, not to name anything after him while head of government..... after inspecting the Steel Mill on 30th of December 1975, I said to you and Rafi Raza, that I was so impressed that if ever I was tempted to break the rule which I have imposed..... the sole exception could be in case of the Steel Mill.”

Russia was convinced only when it realized that Bhutto had made his country politically potential and economically sound. It had by the end of 1974 attained a respectable place in the family of Nation of World and more especially in the Muslim World and Third World. From the above quoted passage it is abundantly clear that Bhutto was very jubilant for which he had every reason to be. The whole nation felt proud of it. But it was a great tragedy that the Mill which had been a monumental work in the history of the country, was never properly and honestly looked after by the Government; the enormous earnings from the Mill were misappropriated for all the time and all love’s labour was lost! What a shame!

PAKISTAN AND U.S.A

After making all preparations to visit Soviet Russia with its selected entourage in a Russian plane, all of sudden, without legitimate reason and rhyme, Pakistan’s Prime Minister rejected the much earlier invitation of neighbouring Super Power Russia in 1949, as offered by Russia and proceed to U.S.A in May 1950 who had all along been taking Pakistan for granted. It would be noted that U.S.A had not been in favour of Pakistan’s creation and the American President Roosevelt had openly taken side of the All India Congress by sending his emissary Colonel Johnson in Easter 1942 to impress upon the British Viceroy of the United India to comply with the demands of Mr. Gandhi and Pandit Jawahar Lal Nehru; while the communist bloc was in favour of the right of self-determination and they had not opposed the creation of Pakistan. Thus the very first foundation brick of Pakistan’s foreign policy was laid by committing a grievous blunder and thereafter the entire edifice of Pakistan’s foreign policy was constructed on the faulty foundation. They went

on committing blunder after blunder. The U.S.A was not only fifteen thousand miles away from Pakistan, but they never cared much for Pakistan and India was their 'blue eyed boy.'

Sajjad Hyder, a former ambassador of Pakistan, who at the relevant time was an officer in the Pakistan Embassy at Washington, wrote:

"The American choice fell upon India as Mahatma Gandhi and Jawahar Lal Nehru were house hold names in America.....".

He further speaks about the U.S. attitude "Even since the opening of our Mission in Washington, we had been conscious of the fact that Pakistan was being taken for granted..... Yet the U.S also felt that it was India that had to be groomed as the leader of Asia and its major bulwark against Communism."

Even the Pakistan Ambassador Ispahani felt like that:

"Ambassador Ispahani and all of us in the Embassy felt, rather strongly, that this was the wrong approach and that the Prime Minister should go to Moscow first."

Mr. Ispahani, who was a closest associate of Mr. Jinnah, the founding father of Pakistan, must have rightly realized that the guide lines for independent and beneficial foreign policy as laid down by the Quaid-e-Azam were discarded and Liaquat Ali Khan had made himself 'prisoner' of his own diplomatic policy with the U.S.A. The consequences of his policy were definitely determined to harm Pakistan. In the words of Sajjad Hyder:

"It is a pity that Liaquat Ali Khan could not go to Moscow in August or November of 1949 as he had offered to do despite the American invitation. The history of Pakistan-Soviet relations might have taken different course, had he not been stood up. This missed opportunity hurt the interests of both sides, albeit more so those of Pakistan than those of great neighbour.

The chance of a subsequent visit evaporated after Liaquat Ali Khan's visit to the United States when a host of considerations, Soviet indifferences, the Kashmir problem and Pakistan's pressing defence requirements being amongst them, left Liaquat Ali Khan with no option, but to come down on the American side." This is the story how the Prime Minister of Pakistan was trapped. Thereafter Russian attitude towards Pakistan became quite stiff and that was not without justification. They went on vetoing the implementing of Plebiscite resolution passed by the Security Council. The U.S.A was now successful in her diplomacy and realized the weakness and helplessness of Pakistan, which was ally only in name but a U.S. satellite in reality.

A SUICIDAL POLICY

Pakistan's foreign policy was now being prepared in Washington, which sponsored SEATO and CENTO. The SEATO was mainly aimed against the socialistic bloc to prevent its expansion and aggression. India that was being aided more than Pakistan, widely refrained from signing such treaties and declared herself to be neutral. In thin, the tiny Pakistan placed herself in a very precarious situation, surrounded by three giants, that is, Soviet Russia, China and her inveterate enemy India; Afghanistan was already against Pakistan. Apart from this the U.S. secured a big military base in Peshawar for spying against Russia and China during the regime of Ayub Khan, as if Pakistan was the colony of the United States and the former was exposed to a grave danger from socialist countries, India and Afghanistan. China was naturally irritated and issued a stern warning to Pakistan:

"Since the Ayub Government came to power last year, the Pakistani government has been following a policy of increasing dependence on the U.S. In March this year, Pakistan signed a bilateral agreement with the U.S. under which the United States is allowed to use armed forces and military bases in Pakistan, thus taking a step further in turning Pakistan into a U.S. springboard to South East Asia. This agreement seriously threatens the security of the Soviet Union, China, India, Afghanistan and other Asian countries and strengthens U.S. control over Pakistan. This policy of the Pakistan ruling clique is diametrically opposed to the interests of peace in Asia and is also opposed to the national interests of Pakistan."

Pakistan was now in such a pathetic position that its sovereignty was a matter of a doubt, as an American agent was presiding over the destinies of Pakistan. The regimes before Martial Law of 1958 were also pro-U.S, but now Ayub Khan had made it totally dependent on the U.S. In 1956, when H.S. Suhrawardy was the Prime Minister, he did not go to such an extreme though he owed much to the U.S. for the premiership of Pakistan. But on December 24 1956, a joint statement was issued by the Chinese Premier Chou-En-Lai and H.S. Suhrawardy Prime Minister of Pakistan, on the occasion of former's visit to Pakistan which showed a much better relationship between the countries.

"The Prime Ministers are of the view that the difference between the political systems of China and Pakistan and the divergence of views on many problems would not prevent the strengthening of friendship between their two countries..... They are happy to place on record that there is no real conflict of interests between the two countries."

Such a statement could not be palatable to the U.S. and ultimately Suhrawardy was forced to resign. He was replaced by Malik Feroz Khan Noon, but he too proved unacceptable to U.S. when he made a statement in the National Assembly on March 8, 1958, in which he declared that "faced with the threat from India, Pakistan would delink itself from alliance with the Americans. Our people if they find their freedom threatened by Bharat will break all the pacts and shake hands with people whom we have made enemies because of others, let there be no mistake about it."

This strong, realistic and patriotic statement was not only applauded by the members of the Parliament but was also hailed throughout Pakistan. How could Noon still remain in office, after making such a bold statement?

The person in whom vested the political and military power of Pakistan were Iskander Mirza and Ayub Khan. Of the two, Ayub Khan was certainly more powerful and he was the decisive factor in Pakistan so far the internal affairs were concerned.

After being blessed by the United States, Martial Law was imposed on Pakistan and the process of democracy and integrity of Pakistan was buried once for all on 7th October 1958. Ayub Khan the puppet President of Pakistan was now the dictator of Pakistan. He made young Zulfikar Ali Bhutto Minister from Sindh, but I think he must have repented for selecting such a person who thought only in terms of Pakistan and the Muslim World, he could see the global games of politics against Pakistan and clearly read each wound of his motherland.

The first cabinet meeting in Martial Law regime was held under the Presidentship of Ayub Khan, where Z.A. Bhutto raised his lone voice questioning the rationale of Pakistan's foreign policy.

"The Commerce Minister Z.A. Bhutto started that 'the summary' created an impression that our foreign policy had been determined by our acceptance of U.S. aid and the course (of the foreign policy) had already been set..... The two vital problems for us, Bhutto said were the problems of Kashmir and the Canal Waters. We had to determine how our foreign policy had helped us to achieve the solution of these problems. It seemed quite certain (including U.S. policy and the language of the pacts) that in case of war with India, the U.S. was not going to help. We should not, he added, unnecessarily extend the principle of attachment to the United States."

Later on, speaking about the subservient foreign policy dictated by the U.S, Mr. Bhutto while deprecating it courageously said:

"What was the foreign policy (of Pakistan) prior to my becoming (in March 1963) the Foreign Minister? The whole world laughs at it. Our foreign policy did not carry any weight. It only represented the wishes of great power. Our government carried out the orders of America, despite the fact that they were against the interests of Pakistan. America used to dictate our decisions in the Security Council."

"Pakistan's foreign policy had chained the people. We had no free will to go anywhere, we had to obey what the U.S. ordered us to do. The U.S. Ambassador could keep Pakistan's policy in line with Washington."

WARS OF 1962 AND 1965

In October 1962, war broke out between China and India over demarcation of boundary line between the two countries. Pandit Nehru insisted that the line drawn by the Britishers was the last word in the matter of boundary between China and India. While the stand taken by the Chinese Premier Chou-En-Lai was that the Britishers, taking advantage of China's weakness had drawn the Mac Mohan line arbitrarily to the detriment of China – a fact which had been admitted by Nehru himself in his book "Glimpses of World History", therefore it needed to be solved through negotiations and peaceful means. But Nehru remained adamant and rejected the proposal of his counterpart Chou-En-Lai. This led to war between the two countries.

In the beginning, India's relations with China appeared cordial and it was the second country in the world that had recognized the Peoples Republic of China in December 1949. And in mid fifties the slogan of "Hindi-Chinee Bhai Bhai" was quite popular in India. But the farsighted Chinese leadership soon discovered them in their true colours.

"Nehru had, in the Chinese view, practically thrown away the banner of opposition to Imperialism and Colonialism and suited himself to the needs of U.S. Imperialism."

Pandit Nehru had an exaggerated and unrealistic assessment of the Indian Armed forces. He ordered the Commander-in-Chief to drive out the Chinese; so the war started. Resultantly, the Chinese completely trounced the Indians easily. It was a shameful and humiliating defeat for Nehru personally and he appealed to the United States and the British Government for arms and come to his rescue. There was a rush of arms and equipment of every kind that India needed.

The supply of arms was against the agreement with Pakistan, under which the U.S. was bound to consult with Pakistan before supplying military equipment to India. Pakistan's Ambassador in the States, Mr. Aziz Ahmed a capable and a courageous diplomat, who later on became Pakistan's Foreign Minister in the days of Mr. Bhutto's Prime Ministership, took a very strong and principled stand against the immoral violation of the agreement by America:

"Aziz Ahmed, Pakistan Ambassador in Washington, was summoned by Phillip Talbot, U.S. Assistant Secretary of state informing him that the U.S. had decided to give military assistance to India. Talbot did not give any details of arms which the Indians had asked for, but mentioned that Nehru had seen Galbraith and had asked for U.S. arms aid against the Chinese. Galbraith on the authority of the U.S. Government, had informed Nehru that U.S. would give arms aid to India and it was up to Nehru to ask for what he wanted..... Galbraith noted with satisfaction. He assigned two colonels to draw up a movement table for elementary weapons for the Indian Army. "I want to know

how quickly and from whom can we get such basic requirements or automatic rifles mortars and shells.....”

“Aziz Ahmed told Phillip Talbot that the U.S. had offered military aid to India without fulfilling the “assurance of prior consultation” personally given by Kennedy to Ayub when they met in Washington in July 1961. Aziz Ahmed recalled that Ayub had told that joint session of the Congress of the United States on 12 July 1961. “The only people who will stand by you are the people of Pakistan, provided you are prepared to stand by them.” So I would like you to remember that, whatever may be the dictates of your commitment, you will not take any steps that might aggravate our problems, or in any fashion jeopardize our security. And as long you remember that, our friendship will grow in strength.”

“Talbot explained that events had moved too rapidly and Kennedy had wanted to act without wasting any time, the U.S. had been too preoccupied with crisis in Cuba and Ambassador McConaughy had found it difficult to reach Ayub Khan. Aziz Ahmed said that Ayub’s temporary absence for Rawalpindi, should not have prevented the U.S. government from consulting the Pakistan Government. Talbot grumbled about Ayub’s inaccessibility and Aziz Ahmed maintained that simply informing Pakistan of arms aid to India, did not amount to consultation.....”

“Mr. Altaf Gauhar writes about Ayub Khan that “He was worried that the large amount of military equipment which was being rushed to India by the U.S. and the U.K. would eventually be used against Pakistan.”

The dictator Ayub Khan was simply helpless in preventing the grave injustice being perpetrated against Pakistan, against all norms of bilateral agreement and understanding but got annoyed with Ambassador Aziz Ahmed for having demanded solution of the old and serious problem of Kashmir lingering on for the past fifteen year. Ayub remarked “The man gets excessive at times. Some one should tell him to get off the line.”

This is how a patriot was being threatened and rewarded by Ayub Khan. In fact the cabinet of Ayub Khan was divided house, his Finance Minister Shoaib, an American agent, wanted Ayub to toe his line completely with the U.S. therefore talking about Kashmir was a serious crime on the part of Aziz Ahmed, who was rebuked by Ayub Khan for it. In fact the perception of Ayub and Bhutto widely differed on this issue and many others, but the later could not afford to speak out publicly against Ayub’s weak and fallacious perceptions, so long he was in the Government, but he was trying to express himself in innuendoes against Ayub’s weak and meaningless policy and openly against India, when he spoke at length in the National Assembly on November 27, 1962; But no other Minister could have the courage to speak that much. Criticizing their conduct he said:

"Napoleon Bonaparte called the British a nation of shop keepers. Today its shops have become part of a European Market and Britannia cannot tilt the scales of power one way or the other. We have no rancour against Britain, but if it influences the United States to upset the power of balance in this region, it will be committing a hostile act against Pakistan. We shall be forced to take notice of that act and shall not be responsible for its consequences".

Proceeding further he spoke of Military Missions sent to India:

"It is believed that Military Missions from the United States and Great Britain have visited the NEFA front and have now become the brain trust of the General Head Quarters of Indian Army. Their presence and their advice have been welcomed in India and they are said to have given a sense of security of that country." If Bhutto had been in place of Ayub, he would not have missed the opportunity to solve the problems of Kashmir forever. He would not have allowed India to spill the blood of Kashmiris and continue their shameful act of horror and dishonour. But both America and Britain were loath to listen to Pakistan and continued their massive aid and technical assistance unabated; for which there were two reasons according to him. A country's honour and status is determined by its inherent strength and people's willingness to suffer and sacrifice for the country and build their nation. Referring to Germany he said:

"Germany defeated and divided destroyed and decimated by the combined might of the Allied powers, was debris. But only a decade ago, by skillful utilization of foreign aid and the determination to be free of it, Germany has burgeoned into a military power. Today its economy is as vital as that of the country, which not very long ago gave it economic aid."

Lamenting on the leadership at the top, he said:

"What is tragic is the willingness to succumb easily to pressure." It must be remember that Jinnah and Bhutto were fully equipped with their logical arguments, coupled with courage and unshakable determination, were always emphatically insistent upon getting their entire package or scheme accepted and for that reason they largely succeeded. But Ayub Khan was no way near such giants. Ayub himself, apprehensive of American invasion, was hardly expected to pursue a policy of courage, independence and determination:

"He understood better than any one else in his government that any adventurous move in Kashmir would invite a massive retaliation from the Americans which Pakistan could ill afford."

Ayub Khan was strong enough to strike against his own people, but was frail-minded so far Pakistan's foes were concerned. Foreign affairs and foreign policy were never his subjects in his whole life and he did not know anything about it. Z .A. Bhutto was the only Minister who was fully conversant with global affairs and had improved the Foreign Policy; and his ability was

acknowledged universally. Ayub Khan's headache subsided on November 21, 1962, when Chinese after achieving their objective, announced ceasefire within twenty-four hours. Bhutto was getting more and more popular everyday. As Foreign Minister also, he exercised and asserted more control on external policies of his country which were far from being tasty to Americans; he had his strong leanings towards Muslims world and socialist countries especially China, whom he considered a very reliable friend of Pakistan. He entertained no malice or rivalry towards Ayub Khan but he was convinced that Ayub Khan was not the man to realise the dreams of Muslim renaissance, nor could he fight for the liberty of oppressed 'Kashmiris'. He was also fully cognizant of the situation that India was getting stronger everyday; she had several ordnance factories of her own. Soviet Union was supplying all kinds of weapons to India almost free of cost. In 1962, there were massive rush of military equipment to India by U.S. and the U.K.; how would it be possible to face India and stay independent? Ayub Khan's dictatorship was gradually eroding the foundation of Pakistan. Therefore Ayub and his Government were getting more and more popular, his timidly in facing the enemies had become proverbial.

In April 1965, Pakistan had to face war from India directly when their forces tried to occupy the kutch area of Pakistan. Some details of war have been given in an other Chapter. But for escalating the war, most of the advisers of Ayub Khan held Bhutto responsible for it. Pakistan army was successful in beating the Indian aggression; and through the good offices of Great Britain a patch up was brought about in Rann of Kutch.

The students of history must have observed that whenever Pakistan gained upper hand against India, the United States and Great Britain always came to the rescue of their friend India and tied Pakistan's hands. But Pakistan though a loyalty of U.S. was always taken for granted and every attempt was made to pacify and satisfy India even at the cost of Pakistan's security.

It is true that America did provide some economic and military aid to Pakistan on the condition that it would not use the U.S. weapon against India, but that did not make any sense and the partly aid was not commensurate with the requirements of Pakistan, keeping in view the enormous Indian animosity and threats. By this time the policy of United States, was not that as had been enunciated by its former Secretary of State, namely John Foster Dulles, a strong and frank gentleman, who had given a firm foreign policy to the United States, on which the allies could rely, In the words of Z. A. Bhutto:

"In the United States of America, John Foster Dulles, the astute architect of contemporary American diplomacy, termed neutralism as 'immoral'. In the United States also it is but recently that the Harvard intellectuals, the Kissingers and Schlesingers, have deviated from the

traditional path to lionize neutralism, much to the detriment of America's long-term vital interests".

Thus the new policy adopted by the American Government was based on hypocrisy and wavering behavior and she lost her real friend. Dulles was very appreciative of Bhutto when he made a very sparking and illuminating speech in Geneva in 1958 as a Pakistan Delegate; "His ringing reaffirmation of freedom of the seas elicited praise from secretary of State John Foster Dulles and though most of his audience in Geneva may never have been heard of Moen-Jo-Daro before, they now knew at least that Pakistan's antiquity rivaled that of Pompeii." A speaker of such stature is rare. Thus Z.A. Bhutto was the representative of Pakistan to have introduced to the West that Pakistan was a highly civilized and cultured country in the world.

In the war of 1965, America imposed arms embargo on Pakistan as well as India, but the friendly Russian Government did not impose any such restrictions on India. The people, especially the intellectuals flayed Ayub Khan for such pacts and alliances that proved so abortive against the Country.

"Arms embargo fell hardest on Pakistan which was completely dependent on the United States supplies..... moreover India was already recipient at Soviet Arms supplies and Moscow did not opt for neutrality in the conflict".

Though the war remained indecisive and there was cease-fire by both the countries but the hostilities continued with greater rigour as the basic problems remained unsolved; the loss of lives and the colossal damage caused by the war went inconsequential. The nation was now divided, the people started blaming rather hating Ayub Khan; the cleavage between Ayub and Bhutto was appeared openly; it was a starting point of their differences that ultimately culminated into a political disaster for Ayub Khan.

WAR OF 1971 AND AMERICA

The total absence of democracy, justice and equity, which were the fruits of Martial Law, had divided the nation; the people of East Pakistan who had major share in the achievement of independence had every justification to revolt, as they were the most oppressed people and the Martial Law authorities never attempted to right the wrong; on the contrary they aggravated the situation. The East Pakistani had genuine grievances that they were politically and economically destroyed by the vested interests and capitalists of Punjab. India took full advantage of such sharp differences, which culminated in dismemberment of Pakistan with full support of Russia.

In this war, the attitude of the United States was not adverse and inimical; President Nixon wanted political solution in such critical time, he might have even helped Pakistan, but the public opinion of the people of U.S.

was deadly against Pakistan for the inhuman atrocities and brutalities alleged to have been committed by the Pakistan Army in East Pakistan. Nixon's approach towards the Sub Continent problems was different from other U.S. Presidents i.e. Kennedy and Johnson.

"The public briefings were commented by Kissinger's private efforts to minimize dissent inside bureaucracy. At a meeting of the Washington special Action Group on December 3, a summary which was made public later on by Jack Anderson, Kissinger was recorded as saying.

"I am getting hell every half an hour from the President that we are not being tough enough on India..... He wants to tilt in favour of Pakistan."

No doubt American President is most powerful Head of the State in the world, but he too cannot flout the public opinion. Nixon was therefore working under limitations. Throughout the world, there were most horrible reports of brutality.

"On March 25, 1971, President Yahya Khan of Pakistan, who had been so useful in Washington's secret negotiations with Peking, had ordered his army to begin a war against secessionist forces in East Pakistan. It was a war that many in South Asia considered inevitable, but the violence of West Pakistan attack shocked the world. Yahya Khan's troops went on rampage inside East Pakistan to eliminate the opposition systematically by genocide.

With days all foreign correspondents were expelled from Dacca, East Pakistan's capital and communications to the outside world were cut-off. Over the next weeks and months, the West Pakistan army expended its march of horror, slaughtering Awami League supporters, students and intellectuals on a scale, not seen since the Third Reich..... Estimates of the killing ranged from 500,000 to three millions within days, despite attempts with regard to censorships reports began appearing, many of them in London Newspapers. There were accounts of mass graves, the murder of college students in their dorm and repeated description of random assassinations. The brutality was appalling, women were raped or had their breasts cut-off specially fashioned knives."

The influential generals of Pakistan had not only become the high ranking politicians and rulers of their unfortunate land by the force of their sword, but a number of generals also assumed the role of writers and intellectuals. They had asserted in their writings that the foreign media being hostile to Pakistan had highly exaggerated and fabricated false stories against the army action; only that much force was used which was necessary for the maintenance of law and order and to curb the secessionists. But there is a reliable version supporting the reports of the foreign press coming as it does from no less than a reputed scholar, erudite writer, avowed opponent of

secessionist movement like G.W. Choudhury, East Pakistan Minister in Yahya Khan's cabinet. One has to prefer his version:

"I went to Dacca and it was the worst experience of my life. Every where I went, I heard the same story; One person has lost a son; another a husband; many villages were burnt. People who did agree with Mujib's secession plan, told how they had been victims of indiscriminate and stupid acts by the Army. Many people including my close relatives and friends could hardly express themselves without tears in their eyes. They urged me to tell Yahya to come Dacca and to see for himself the damage his Army had done. They repeatedly asked me: "Is there any way for our survival?"..... My next meeting with Yahya took place in Rawalpindi..... Yahya's first question was what I had seen in Dacca. My prompt reply was that no single, foreign newspaper had exaggerated. On the contrary, the people's agony, sufferings and humiliation had not been fully exposed. I also told him that it was not the number of deaths, but the manner in which the innocent persons had been killed and women raped that had destroyed our cherished homeland for which the Muslims of the subcontinent had scarified so many thousands of lives in 1947."

Mr. Z. A. Bhutto held Yahya Khan responsible for the tragedy. In his interview he stated:

"There is only one man, really responsible for those events Yahya Khan. Both he and his advisers were so drunk with power and corruption, they'd even forgotten the honour of the army. They thought of nothing but acquiring beautiful cars, building beautiful houses, making friends with bankers and sending money abroad. Yahya Khan wasn't interested in the government of the country, he was interested in power for its own sake and nothing else. What can you say of leader who starts drinking as soon as he wakes up and doesn't stop until he goes to bed? You have no idea how painful it was to deal with him."

But the caution was thrown to winds by the irresponsible elements and countless people were killed and humiliated. The public opinion of the citizens of the United States was adverse Most of its bureaucrats and politicians adopted a hostile policy towards Pakistan.

"The United States Congress would not approve military assistance to Pakistan or the transfer of American supplied military equipment from Iran. China did not have the industrial base to provide substantial military supply."

Thus the President Nixon in spite of his soft corner for Yahya, could not save East Pakistan; however West Pakistan remained in tact, for which President Nixon claims that he saved it and did not allow Indira Gandhi to destroy or damage it:

"Amid all the blustering by the men at the top of the American Government, the C.I.A received a report-from inside Delhi Cabinet that was full of tough talk from the Prime Minister Gandhi. The source as described by Kissinger, could only have been Morarji Desai". A report reached us from a source whose reliability we have had never any reason to doubt and which I do not question to day to the effect the Prime Minister Gandhi was determined to reduce West Pakistan to impotence, Kissinger said that the intelligence report showed that Gandhi would proceed with the "liberation" of the Southern part of the Pakistan Province of Kashmir, long an era of dispute between Pakistan and India and continue fighting until the Pakistan Army and Air Force were wiped out."

In his interview to David Frost, he explained:

"Richard Nixon would rationalized the "tilt" toward West Pakistan as being an act of morality telling David Frost during one the interviews in 1977, that basically we saved Pakistan because it was right..... we had to do some thing to keep India from gobbling up Pakistan....." There was another reason he conceded, "What we did in saving West Pakistan built up a lot of credibility with China." This is the version of America about saving of West Pakistan from the savagery of Indira Gandhi.

What was the policy of major powers, developed countries, Muslim countries and the Third World countries during the regime of Mr. Bhutto and how he shaped Pakistan's Foreign Policy for his country and how far he succeed, is an important subject which would be discussed at same length in later pages of the book.

CHAPTER 8

The Foresaken Kashmir

"Pakistan without Kashmir is a body without a head and it is a very beautiful head."

Z.A. Bhutto

Life is indeed precious. But more than that, country's life, honour and dignity are dearer to a patriot. Kashmir is the lifeline of Pakistan and it is the fundamental issue to the very existence of Pakistan. They are so inextricably linked with each other; geographically, historically, culturally, religiously, socially, politically and economically, the Kashmir is part and parcel of Pakistan. Its situation is such that any country that is in possession of Kashmir, can easily invade and annex Pakistan with its territory. Besides, Kashmir is at the commanding heights of Pakistan and the rivers that irrigate the fertile lands of Pakistan, emanate and flow from Kashmir to Pakistan. For Z.A. Bhutto, it was therefore unthinkable that even an inch of Kashmir be made part of India. Therefore all his life he was intensely struggling for the emancipation of Kashmir from India. India had absolutely no justification, neither moral nor legal, to annex even the smallest part of its territory. His zeal and struggle for Kashmir are without any precedence in the history of Pakistan.

Bhutto, though a politician of very high stature, was after all a human being and no human being is infallible. But even his honest adversary will have to admit that he cherished unbounded love for his motherland. His speeches whether in parliament, in public meetings, in the most important international forums bear unrebutable testimony to it. While defending Pakistan against the criticism of a National Assembly Member of Pakistan on March 16, 1966, he stated on the floor of the Assembly:

"Pakistan is a great deal. A man of this house said that Pakistan is a man-made country. Pakistan is not just a man made country. It is a God-made country..... It is a beautiful thought. It is a creation of excellence. That is what Pakistan is..... not just the sandy desert of Sindh or the rugged nobility of Baluchistan or the enchanting lushness of Bengal or the inspiring plains of Punjab or the raw range of the land of Pathans..... Indeed all these things..... go to make Pakistan. But there is some thing much more to Pakistan. It is the blessing of Allah. Pakistan is the product of earth-shaking idea. It is a revolution out of the heart of history. Pakistan is a live revolution."

When he spoke about Pakistan, his speech was flowing from romance, sweetness and honey and even more tasty and more exhilarating than that. He conveyed the same message of patriotic passion to Ayub Khan.

“Pakistan is a mystical idea..... Pakistan is the heart-throb of people. Pakistan is the cultivation of the aspiration of the Islamic Order.” To Zulfikar Ali Bhutto, Pakistan was incomplete without Kashmir.

TERRITORY OF TERROR AND HORROR

Kashmir is God’s gift to mankind. It abounds in rivers, streams, lakes, greenery beauty and there is no lack of human excellence also in the area. It can be favourably compared with any beautiful area of the world. But the Indian atrocities are also without any parallel.

A Persian poet has very aptly said:

If there is any paradise on earth, It is this and it is this and it is this.

But the history has recorded that the people of this area have mostly been the victims of tyranny and atrocity, except for the rule of the Great Moghuls, whom nature had endowed with sense of culture, architecture and aesthetics. Especially, Emperors Jehangir and Shah Jahan used to visit Kashmir very frequently. They gave delightful gardens, peace, prosperity and happiness to the valley of oppressed Kashmiris.

But thereafter started reign of terror and torture in the territory and the people continued to live in anguish and languish. In 1846, Kashmir, which was in occupation of Britishers, was sold to one Gulab Singh Dogra, a courtier of Raja Ranjit Singh of Punjab and the Dogra rule continued up to 1947. The population of Muslims in the Kashmir State was 78 Percent and territorially Kashmir, with an area of 84400 sq. miles, was the biggest state in India. But with the advent of Dogra regime, Kashmir was converted into a hell for Muslims; from frying pan, they were thrown into fire; and the British Government remained wholly indifferent to the plight of Muslims.

The repression and oppression of the Dogra regime, which was more cruelly directed against the Muslims, gave birth to the Muslim conference by 1930 under the leadership of Shaikh Abdullah and Chaudary Ghulam Abbas. It may be noted that the laws against the Muslims were most severe and savage; any Muslim who slaughtered a cow or cut a tree was punishable with death sentence. However, the liberation movement proved fruitful and the rigorous laws were softened. But in 1939 Nationalist Conference was launched by Shaikh Abdullah under the influence of his friend Pundit Jawahar Lal Nehru and the All India Congress.

In August 1947 India attained independence and the Subcontinent was divided on the basis of right of self determination, that is Hindu majority and

Muslim majority. The Muslims of Kashmir were very optimistic that the Kashmir State would thereafter form part of Pakistan, thus would be relieved from the slavery of Hindu domination. It was surrounded by Muslim Majority areas.

FRAUD AND VIOLENCE DEPRIVES KASHMIRIS

A very heinous fraud was perpetrated through the conspiracy hatched by Lord Mountbatten, the last British Governor General of the United India and Pundit Jawahar Lal Nehru, the First Prime Minister of India after partition. There was clandestine and questionable friendship between Pundit Nehru and Edwin, the wife of Mountbatten. The Radcliff Award under which India was partitioned, gave away Gurdaspur the contiguous Muslim majority District to India under the influence of Mountbatten. Bhutto had emphatically resented the remarks of Edward Heath British Prime Minister on Kashmir, in a big public meeting at Peshawar and termed it a conspiracy: "Mr. Bhutto took exception to the reported remarks on Kashmir, made by the British Prime Minister during his visit to Pakistan that there was no quarrel between India and Kashmir..... Mr. Bhutto maintained that had there been no Radcliff Award, there would have been no Kashmir dispute. He accused Lord Mountbatten of partiality that Gurdaspur went to India, which enabled her to usurp Kashmir." With the result, that Kashmir which was previously not accessible to India, became accessible. On 27th October 1947, Indian Forces in one hundred airplanes were sent to Srinager under the direct supervision and control of Mountbatten on the pretext that the Hindu Maharaja of Kashmir had signed the instrument of accession with India. The Indian forces thus occupied Kashmir. However, the Muslims of Poonch and Muzafferabad Districts, who were former soldier of the World War II, fought against Indians and succeeded. The Azad Kashmir Government came into existence as an armed conflict of Kashmiris against the Indian forces.

PAKISTAN'S STRUGGLE FOR FREEDOM OF KASHMIRIS

It was a case of naked aggression against the Kashmiris and gross violation of the principles of partition. The Kashmiris were again subjected to slavery of worst kind, as if the Dogra regime continued in a worst form with different name.

On October 31, 1947, Pundit Nehru, pledged in his telegram "Our assurance that we shall with-draw our troops from Kashmir, as soon as peace and order are restored and leave the decision regarding the future of the people of the state, is not merely a promise to your government, but also to the people of Kashmir and to the world." This was in fact an eyewash. No promise made by the Hindu leadership was ever honoured.

Due to very strained relations and perilous circumstances, Mr. Jinnah came to Lahore with Liaquat Ali in October and stayed there for about a month.

"On October 27, as soon as Governor General Jinnah learned of the Indian airlifts of Srinager, he ordered his acting British Commander-in-Chief to move two Brigades of the Pak-army into Kashmir..... One from Rawalpindi, another from Sialkot. The Sialkot army was to march Jammu to make the Maharaja a prisoner. The Rawalpindi column was to advance to Srinager and capture the city. Such strategic action would have secured Kashmir for Pakistan while saving Srinager from "tribal anarchy".

General Gracey refused, however to accept those orders from the Governor General..... without the approval of Supreme Commander [Field Marshall Auchinleck]." Gracey also emphasized on military weakness of Pakistan.

The brave ailing Jinnah was prepared to go to any length. He was even prepared to sacrifice his life. On October 30, 1947, addressing a huge rally in the university stadium, he exhorted the masses:

"We are in the midst of unparalleled difficulties and untold sufferings. We have been through dark days of apprehension and anguish. The systematic days of massacre of defence less and innocent people, puts to shame even the most heinous atrocities committed by the worst tyrants known to history. We have been the victims. A deeply laid and well planned conspiracy executed with utter disregard of the elementary principles of honesty, chivalry and honour..... Do not be afraid of death. Our religion teaches us to be always prepared for death. We should face it bravely to save the honour of Pakistan and Islam. There is no better salvation for a Muslim than the death of a Martyr for a righteous case."

Such a speech could only be made by a Muslim, who keeps his country and Islam above every things else. He was almost on deathbed at that time.

ARRIVAL OF MOUNTBATTEN AND ISMAY

"Mountbatten and Ismay went of directly to lunch with Jinnah..... and 3 1/2 hours of the most arduous conversation, of which Kashmir formed the main theme.... Continuing he said that the accession was not a bonafide one, since it rested on fraud and violence and would never be accepted by Pakistan."

"Jinnah told Mountbatten and Ismay that he had lost interest in what the world thought of him since the British Commonwealth let him down when he asked them to come to the rescue of Pakistan. "At the end Mr. Jinnah became extremely pessimistic and said that it was quite clear that the Dominion of India was out to throttle and choke the dominion of Pakistan at birth and that if they continued with the oppression, there would be nothing for it, but to face the consequences..... he was not afraid, for the situation was already so bad that there was little that could happen to make it worse....."

“In the meeting with Mountbatten on November 1, the Quaid-e-Azam put forward the following proposals to settle the Kashmir dispute:

1. A proclamation should be made by the two Governor Generals, giving forty eight hours notice to the opposing forces to cease fire and warning the tribesman that, if they did not comply, the forces of both the countries would wage war on them.
2. Simultaneous withdrawal from Kashmir of the Indian troops and the tribesman should be effected.
3. The two Governors should be vested with full powers to restore peace, undertake the administration of the state and arrange for a plebiscite, under their joint control and supervision.”

It may be noted that Jawahar Lal Nehru had also to come along with Mountbatten, but the latter gave fake excuse that Nehru was ill. Later on it transpired that he was quite all right.

Lord Mountbatten expressed his inability to accept the proposals directly by himself but referred them to the Indian Cabinet. Nehru was not with cleans and the pledge of plebiscite that he had made was also hypocrisy, therefore the proposals remained unaccepted.

SECURITY COUNCIL AND PLEBISCITE

The ailing hero of hundred wars still retained the farsightedness, sharp intellect, invincible determination and courage to fight his enemy and India was seared of him and decided to take the matters to the Security Council on 1-1-1948. India filed her complaint making several allegations against Pakistan and the latter lodged counter complain with concrete examples of aggression and violence of the principles of self-determination under which the subcontinent was divided. Pakistan insisted with all vehemence that India must honour its pledge of plebiscite in Kashmir.

The Quaid himself selected Pakistan delegation for the Security Council with Sir Zafarullah Khan, Foreign Minister, as leader, M.H. Ispahani, United States Ambassador, Muhammad Waseem, Attorney General and Chaudary Muhammad Ali as its members. If Mr. Jinnah had not been in a very poor health, he would have pleaded the Kashmir himself. But the fact of Sir Zafarullah's masterly and brilliant exposition of Pakistan's case was admitted universally including Lord Mountbatten. On the other hand, Sheikh Abdullah member of the Indian delegation, in the powerful burst of his eloquence further weakened the weak Indian case, which was poorly pleaded by Rama Swarni Aiyangar, the leader of Indian Delegation. Sheikh Abdullah said:

“When Sheikh Abdullah addressed the Security Council, he did so with vehemence and with indignation, which pervaded the whole of his speech. He said, “You talk of impartiality, you talk of bringing about such conditions in Kashmir, where the plebiscite would be fair and impartial, nobody on earth can do anything. Even if God could descend from Heaven, he could not make it impartial.”

The impact of this in famous speech proved very adverse and damaging. The Indian Prime Minister did a very powerful lobbying through Mr. Atlee, the British Prime Minister, but finally the resolution of holding plebiscite in Kashmir was passed by the Council.

RENEWED INDIAN AGGRESSION

General Gracey, the man who had flouted the orders of Mr. Jinnah to send troops against India, now warned the Pakistan Government on April 20, 1948, against the Indian aggression, designed to liquidate Pakistan itself:

“If India is not to be allowed to sit on the doorsteps of Pakistan to the rear and on the flank at liberty to enter at its will and pleasure; if the civilian and military morale is not to be affected to a dangerous extent and the subversive political forces are not to be encouraged and let loose within Pakistan itself, it is imperative that the Indian Army is not allowed to advance beyond the general line of Uri-Ponch-Naoshera.”

General Gracey had disgracefully refused to carry out the orders of Mr. Jinnah. Had he not done so, the strategy proposed by Jinnah would have succeeded and the situation in Kashmir would not have assumed such dangerous proportions that threatened the very existence of Pakistan. The Quaid had now no other option left but the order “limited army action” to preserve Pakistan and the remainder of Kashmir against the naked and shameful Indian aggression against all their solemn pledges.

In view of his dwindling health, Mr. Jinnah was advised by doctors, well wishers and Miss Fatima Jinnah for taking rest in Quetta and Ziarat. Jinnah proceeded to Baluchistan. But there too, he did not stop working. The problem of Kashmir and preservation of Pakistan were upper most in his mind and he never felt at ease. On June 14, 1948, he addressed the Staff College officers at Quetta and exhorted them as under:

“You along with the other forces of Pakistan are the custodians of the life, property and honour of the people of Pakistan. The defence forces are the most vital of all Pakistan services and correspondingly a very heavy responsibility and burden lies on your shoulders..... the spirit of army is splendid, the morale is very high and what is very encouraging is that every officer and soldier, no matter, what the race and the community to which they belong, is working as a true Pakistani.”

Mr. Jinnah was fatally ill at Quetta, his health had deeply gone down, yet he had not forgotten Kashmir and constitution; though his successors forgot everything that he struggled for and achieved gloriously. His sister Fatima Jinnah who consistently took her brother's all care, even on his death bed, writes: "His eyes closed and I stayed by his bed side. I could hear his thoughts ramble in the realm of his consciousness. He whispered in his sleep. "Kashmir..... give them..... the right..... to decide..... constitution..... I will complete it..... soon....." But after his death who cared for Kashmir and the constitution."

ARMED FORCES IN KASHMIR CONDEMNED

The high spirited brave army of Pakistan fought in Kashmir in 1948, when the Indian forces started advancing. They were not only repelled but were badly beaten; and as usual India complained to the Security Council which ordered cease-fire. Pakistani Prime Minister ordered the Pak forces for cease-fire on 1-1-1949, when the Indian forces were on the point on being completely routed and Kashmir would have been won by the Pak army which qualitatively was much superior to the outnumbered Indian Army. Chaudary Mohammad Ali, who was the Secretary General of Pakistan at that time and subsequently the Prime Minister and constitution-maker of Pakistan, writes:

"The decision for a cease fire has often been severely criticized in Pakistan as unwise.

The Pakistan army, which had proved itself to be superior to the Indian Army in the contest in Kashmir, could, it is argued, have won Kashmir before India could do much damage to Pakistan. Pakistan knew that India was determined to block a plebiscite and maintain her military occupation of Kashmir. By placing a wholly trust in the ability of the United Nations to arrange a plebiscite, committed a serious mistake of judgement."

If Z.A. Bhutto had been there as Prime Minister or even as foreign minister of Pakistan, he would never have ordered for "cease-fire" which proved most suicidal for the oppressed Kashmiris. The matter did not stop here; the crusaders in Kashmiris were duly punished for expressing their resentment over the cease-fire orders. According to the versions of Major Ishaq Mohammad, who was one of the accused in the Rawalpindi conspiracy case 1951" we had broken through the Indian defences when a sudden halt was ordered. They army units and experience. Everybody felt miserable, Indian Army formations in Kashmir got stuck in the mountains without reliable logistic support and we got right on the top of them. Then suddenly, cease-fire was announced effective from January 1, 1949."

After about two years, Liaquat Ali Khan and Ayub Khan implicated Major General Akbar Khan, his wife, several army officers; and civilians i.e. Faiz

Ahmed Faiz, Sajjad Zaheer and Mohammad Hussain Atta in a conspiracy case-conspiracy to overthrow the legally constituted government by force, in a specially constituted court. Akbar Khan was sentenced to 12 years imprisonment and others were convicted for the offence of attempting to liberate the oppressed Kashmiris from the Indian slavery. Thus it was the first golden opportunity to liberate the Kashmiris, but unwisely allowed to slip. Surprisingly enough, there was no provision of appeal or review against the decision of the tribunal against all norms of justice and jurisprudence.

HOW KASHMIR PROBLEM WOULD BE SOLVED?

Will this issue be solved by the Security Council through plebiscite, negotiation or mediation. The Pakistani Rulers either greedy, or nervous or incompetent or unwise or weak have been constantly trying to befool the Pakistanis through their hypocritical behaviour, their purchase agents and their media of sycophancy that this all-important problem which is the life line of Pakistan would be solved today or tomorrow. India had openly declared that Kashmir is integral part of India and would go to the extent of annexing rest of the Kashmir, that is "Azad Kashmir" by force. Only two heads, Mohammad Ali Jinnah and Z.A. Bhutto fought in their right earnest for the cause of Kashmir and they understood it well that the Indians never believed in honesty, reason and honouring their solemn pledges in resolving the Kashmir and it could be decided only by arms and iron. Who would deny that it was Mr. Bhutto who gave atomic power to the Muslim World for its defence, protection and fighting for its legitimate rights against their avowed enemies; though it was also meant for economic progress and prosperity of the people of the Muslim World also. It is morally incumbent for an honourable nation to fight a war for a righteous cause and Mr. Bhutto was prepared to fight war of Kashmir for a thousand years to liberate the enslaved people. The Muslim history provided a glaring example of the glorious war of crusades that had continued for nearly two hundred years and the Christians had spilled knee-deep blood of Muslims in the streets of Jerusalem as described by Pundit Jawahar Lal Nehru in the "Glimpses of World History". But no massacre and no genocide could prevent the Muslims from continuing the war in spite of this savagery. Bhutto belonged to that race and was never intimidated by India or her powerful supporters.

KASHMIR CAUSE AND THE WAR OF 1962

Without naming anyone, Air Marshal (Retd) Asghar Khan had to admit: "Except for the first year or two, when Pakistan was prepared to risk a military adventure with her powerful neighbour over this issue, no government since has been serious about doing anything more than paying lip service to the cause of Kashmir." Seemingly the reference can be only to Mr. Jinnah who was prepared for an armed conflict over Kashmir. Army morale was high, but that was crushed in the "Rawalpindi conspiracy case." Thereafter, the rulers of Pakistan fed the people on false hopes and it was only after Z.A. Bhutto's entry in politics that the Kashmir case was revived in the Security Council and the

battle grounds by him. The two Martial Law heads, Ayub Khan and Yahya Khan never believed in hard life and sacrifices which alone could bring victory to Pakistan. During the Martial Law Regime of Ayub Khan, his minister Khawaja Shahabuddin met President Bin Bella of Algeria and tried to convince the latter about the legitimacy of the Kashmir case by his well prepared long and logical arguments; Bin Bella replied: "Words will get you no where and speeches and talking will not get you Kashmir..... This Cemetery, he said, is the most beautiful sight in Algeria. Here lie buried the martyrs of Algeria's fight for independence from French rule. They fought and died so that Algeria could be freed. Go back and build a cemetery like this in Pakistan and I promise you, Kashmir will be face." Out of total population of about eight millions, one million Algerians had sacrificed themselves at the alter of independence.

Bhutto was a born politician, fully conversant with Muslim history and traditions and imbued with Islamic spirit from top to toe. He had seen the 2nd World War with his own eyes. He had read the moving and thrilling speeches of Winston Churchill who challenged his powerful adversaries "we shall go on to the end, we shall fight in France, we shall fight on the seas and oceans, we shall fight with growing confidence and growing strength in the air, we shall defend our Island, whatever the cost may be, we shall fight on the beaches, we shall fight on land grounds, we shall fight in the fields and in the streets, we shall fight in the hills, we shall never surrender." Bhutto could never forget these words and their under lying spirit. He was friend of the revolutionaries like giant Mau Tse-Tung and Chou-En-Lai and had meetings with them lasting for hours; he had learnt a lot from them. But poor Ayub Khan was denuded of all these advantages and gifts; he only knew how to rule Pakistan with the rod of dictatorship, how to get votes from the coterie of "Basic Democrats" through bureaucrats, how to built fine houses for himself and his cohorts and amass wealth. The ardent admirer of Napoleon could not be weak like Ayub Khan.

During the Sino-Indian conflict in 1962, India had moved all its forces from Kashmir, in order to fight the Chinese, but ultimately China trounced and humiliated to proud and self conceited India. Ayub was advised to take advantage of the situation, invade Kashmir and solve the problem once for all. But he refused, saying that he would not 'stab' India in the back, implying thereby the that India was either a friend of Pakistan or he would appropriately deal with India when she was free from the conflict. All this was done on the directions of the United States and he lacked all courage to displease them, whatever be the fate of Kashmir. Z.A. Bhutto was alone in the cabinet and had no voice in the matter of Kashmir: But the callousness and cowardice of Ayub constituted a sad commentary on the head of the largest Muslim State in the world. When contacted by the B.B.C. correspondent, Mr. Bhutto expressed:

"An impose peace will simply not work. This situation has changed radically. In those days, we had certain opportunities and our Government missed that. Now India of course had an opportunity and did not miss it.

For instance in 1962, during the Sino-Indian conflict, when India had vacated most of its forces from Kashmir, our army could have walked into Kashmir. But Ayub thought, as he was told by others that all the world will say to this 'a stab in the back'. Now what has India done to Pakistan..... But the world tends with the passing time, forget the issue. So in 1962, this was the opportunity. In 1965 I think if the war had continued, there would have been a better settlement, but Pakistan missed all opportunities."

It was a very correct comment of the situation and the world by Z.A. Bhutto. Who cared for the League of Nations? And who cared for the United Nations and the Security Council? India and Israel openly refused to honour their resolutions, but still they are being supported by the super powers. Ayub Khan was holidaying in Hunza, while Kashmir was on fire; Rome was burning and Nero was fiddling. That was exactly the position in Pakistan. It was rightly pointed out by Zulfikar Ali Bhutto. Referring to Ayub Khan, tauntingly, the falcon of Pakistan expressed: "Our Shah Sawar was sitting in Hunza at the time of Sino-Indian conflict. He said the Himalayas were shaken but our Shah Sawar was shown in news papers as taking a ride on yak."

The opportunity in 1948-49 was not availed and on the contrary the heroes were jailed: now once again in 1962, another opportunity was provided by history, but that was also missed.

History would not afford such occasions every time. Victory will kiss the feet of those and those alone who are prepared to die and not love to live in luxury. The view of Zulfikar Ali was shared almost by all. "The clash of arms was between China and India in late 1962, provided Pakistan, in fact, with an admirable opportunity to force a Kashmir settlement. This was the time for Pakistan to attack the Indian army of occupation in Kashmir, Indian forces defending the Assam border had suffered a disaster compared to the British retreat from Kabul in 1842. The Indian line in northern Ladakh was under severe Chinese pressure. There were good grounds for supposing that a Pakistan move at this juncture would have brought on an Indian debacle of the first magnitude."

While deploring the apathy and weakness of the previous Governments of Pakistan, regarding Kashmir, Bhutto said: "Let me say, however that the Kashmir problem is not one of our creation. We inherited it from previous Governments of Pakistan. Who was responsible for stopping the fighting in Kashmir? Who was responsible for entering the cease-fire agreement with India? The truth is that the previous Governments were responsible for mishandling the Kashmir problem". Nobody can dispute this fact that the Governments after the Quaid-e-Azam had so lamentably fumbled that Kashmir had slipped out of Pakistan's hand, in spite of heroic performance by the army.

In 1959, Pundit Jawahar Lal Nehru had contemptuously rejected the offer of Ayub Khan for "Joint-defence." But in 1963, the newly appointed

foreign Minister Z.A. Bhutto turned down Nehru's offer of "No War Pact" in a more emphatic manner. He stated "India has offered Pakistan a No War Pact. We do not see the hand of friendship in this offer. It is in fact a sinister offer. While Kashmir dispute exists, it is inconceivable that we should accept India's offer of a No War Pact. If we accept, we shall in fact accept the cease-fire line as the final boundary between India and Pakistan in Kashmir. In other words, we shall be agreeing to the settlement of Kashmir question through partition on the basis of status quo as India desires. Thus a No-War Pact under the present circumstances would mean settlement of the Kashmir problem on the basis of status quo without reference to its people." Indian leaders were playing their traditional game of cunning politics; if Pakistan had signed such a damaging pact, its impact would have been what Z.A. Bhutto has stated in his speech. But he was shrewder than the Indian diplomats.

BHUTTO RENEWS QAUID'S STRUGGLE

Zulfikar Ali Bhutto the Quaid-e-Awam (People's Leader) of Pakistan renewed the abandoned struggle of Quaid-e-Azam Mohammad Ali Jinnah with greater vigour and he had been the only leader to do it till today. He would never allow India to implement her long-cherished designs to destroy Pakistan and even to grab Kashmir, the life line of Pakistan. Therefore, it will be no exaggeration to say that he had stepped in the shoes of his leader Mohammad Ali Jinnah, though he was suffering from insurmountable limitations imposed by Ayub regime. The young Pakistani leader proposed to restore the struggle for Kashmir liberation to the Pre-Liaquat period, when Jinnah in spite of his serious ailment was crossing sword for the sake of Kashmir, against Indian "expansionism." While replying to Pundit Nehru and Menon, Bhutto very effectively asserted the importance of Kashmir for Pakistan, on July 14, 1963 at Lahore: "Let it be known beyond all doubt that Kashmir is to Pakistan, what Berlin is to West and that without a fair and proper settlement of this issue the people of Pakistan will not consider the crusade for Pakistan as complete. There can be no two questions about Kashmir being an issue, which threatens the peace and security of the world."

Kashmir is an issue, which hangs heavily on the conscience of mankind. "Giving a sarcastic rebuff to these gentlemen, who looked down upon Pakistan, Bhutto added "Pundit Nehru dare challenge the dictum of the Prime Minister of India? A growing and insatiable appetite, capable of devouring a Junagadh, Hyderabad and Kashmir, with ambition to establish hegemony over other peoples in India's clear criterion of social and political progress."

WAR OF 1965 AND ISSUE OF KASHMIR

India has always been in search of some or the other pretexts for continuing aggression against Pakistan and effaces it for all times. She has been attacking Pakistan from the inception of independence. Whenever India found herself on the verge of humiliation, she sought protection of

superpowers in the United Nations Security Council. They came to her rescue and ordered for cease-fire. But when Pakistan was being dismembered in 1971, the world powers did not care to admonish India and save Pakistan from disintegration, rather they encouraged the aggression positively and practically.

In early 1965, India attacked Pakistan in the Rann of Kutch but the Pakistan Army defeated the Indians; and ultimately the matter was referred to the British arbitration. The British Government settled the dispute and peace was temporarily restored between the two countries. It may be noted that in these years, Major General Akhtar Hussain Malik rose to great heights of popularity for his military acumen, strategy, personal qualities of head and heart, and bravery and he was the hero of Rann Kutch war and the subsequent conflicts between Pakistan and India. In August 1965, armed conflict erupted between Pakistan and India, where according to the sources favourable to India, a Pakistani force of only 7,000 soldiers was sent to Kashmir by Pakistan. Ayub Khan instead of remaining in the Army Head Quarters at Rawalpindi and issuing necessary directions for guiding the Pakistani Generals, proceeded to Swat for taking rest as usual. Major General Akhtar Hussain who marched 22 miles inside India, was about to capture Akhnoor, cutting India's line of communication from Kashmir and achieving the most vital victory over India, was relieved from the charge and was replaced by General Yahya Khan to give a decent burial to the Kashmir cause, as ordered by the Field Marshal Ayub Khan, the President of Pakistan. It is said that Ayub Khan had ordered the replacement due to nervousness caused by the fear of the Indian attacks. The hopes of emancipating Kashmir of the misery and slavery perpetrated by the Indian government were all shattered to pieces. Yahya Khan was a great friend of Ayub Khan and enjoyed the distinction of notorious fondness for wine and woman. Now he was about to be promoted as Commander-in-Chief of Pakistan by Ayub Khan. It would not be very wrong to say that both of them were squarely responsible for debacle of 1965 in Kashmir and dismemberment of Pakistan in 1971.

It would be quite relevant to reproduce the independent view of Pak army's inroads and achievements in the occupied Kashmir. "What Pakistan planned to do, became clear on 1 September with the opening of a major attack of Azad Kashmir troops, supported by Pakistani regular units including armour. The scene was the Chhanb District, right at the end of the cease-fire line, where Jammu touches on West Punjab. The intention was to cut main Indian line of communications along the road from Pathankot through Jammu to Srinager by way of the Banihal pass. By 5 September, the Pakistani forces had captured Juri and were almost in Akhnoor which controlled Indian communications with Uri and Poonch. They were less than twenty miles from Jammu itself."

On September 6, without any declaration of war India launched a full-fledged war against Pakistan. Their attacks were directed for capturing Lahore,

Sialkot and Hyderabad. The attack though surreptitious and made with full preparations was met by the Pak army most spirited and they bravely repulsed the Indian army after a fierce battle. The war continued for seventeen days only but the Pakistani forces conclusively proved their superiority over the overwhelming numbers of heavily equipped Indian Forces. It must not go unnoted that Ayub Khan and the Commander-in-Chief General Musa were never guiding force and inspiring source of the Pakistan Army which fought so heartlessly against India.

At this critical stage, Z.A. Bhutto was the moving spirit of the army as well as public and he completely over shadowed Ayub Khan in these historic events. The removal of General Akhtar Malik who was very friendly with Bhutto, proved quite costly for Ayub. "The prevailing view in GHQ was that Ayub had lost his nerve. Just when the Pakistani forces were poised to capture Akhnoor and inflict a crushing defeat on India, Ayub decided to call off the operation because he did not want to provoke a general war with India."

Bhutto was an extraordinary intellectual and a statesman; even his father Sir Shahnawaz Khan was a farsighted high-ranking politician. He was always brimming with courage and confidence. Ayub Khan was neither a successful soldier nor could he become a popular politician and he seemed to have suffered from inferiority complex. Bhutto tried his utmost to bring Ayub Khan high up at the level of a hero; but he failed to climb to the top. "Bhutto used to meet General Akhtar Malik and some other army officers at his house quite regularly to impress upon them" the indispensability of launching raids (in Kashmir) as soon as possible". These meetings were a relaxed affair where army officers would pour out their hearts in response to Bhutto's eloquence and passion. Musa would later complain to Ayub that Bhutto used these meetings to "brain wash" his officers." Thus Musa succeeded in creating a rift between Ayub and Bhutto, that could never be mended. Later on, Ayub, appointed Musa as Governor of West Pakistan, in place of Nawab of Kalabagh. It is said that the decline of Ayub Khan owes much to the unwise administration and political mishandling of Governor Musa.

Ultimately as it was expected, the United States, Soviet Russia and the United Kingdom intervened and cease fire that was decided by the Security Council was accepted and implemented on September 23, after 17 days of war.

THE RUSSIAN MEDIATION

Both Pakistan and India accepted Russian mediation; and the Tashkent Conference that initiated on January 3, 1966 continued for a week and it ended in signing of declaration by both the parties on January 10, 1966. the Kashmir issue which was the fundamental issue, was not resolved in the Conference, nor any modalities to solve this problem which was the cause of discord and permanent conflict between the two countries were settled. Under

the circumstances there could be no cessation of hostilities. Mr. Bhutto had already addressed the conference on this basic issue, "Pakistani Foreign Minister Zulfikar Ali Bhutto persisted that Kashmir was the root-cause of all the trouble between the two countries, therefore we must address ourselves finalizing a solution of Kashmir problem." Ayub Khan expressed his satisfaction over the declaration, but Bhutto was not at all happy over this arrangement and asserted to resolve the dispute in any case. "The U.N. Chapter in Article 51 recognized the ultimate right of a nation to wage struggle for freedom. It is precisely in this context that in the Tashkent Declaration, we have affirmed an obligation under the Charter. The fact that we were unable immediately to come to a settlement at Tashkent, does not detract an iota from our resolve to secure a just settlement under this very charter even outside its frame work." The statement is enough to indicate Bhutto's future plans and determination in respect of Kashmir's freedom. Perhaps it was an article of faith with him that Kashmir be wrested out of usurper's hands.

PARTING OF WAYS

China, the most sincere friend of Pakistan was highly displeased with Pakistan's surrender to Russia, the arch enemy of China. The news of the agreement in Tashkent, shocked the Pakistanis, who had expected something quite different. Virtually every one believed that the talks would fail and preparations were under way to welcome Ayub back as a hero of the people. But when the news was relayed over Radio Pakistan, there was only surprise and dismay..... one theme explained everything wrote an observer "The President..... had sold Kashmir to the Hindu Babu and war lords."

The fact of the matter is that Ayub Khan returned as an insolvent gambler who had lost everything in Tashkent and came back empty-handed, shorn of all political honour, to Pakistan. The assessment of his political performance was made as under:

"But in fact he had lost political legitimacy as a leader in the eyes of masses. For example, one writer contrasted the image of Chou-En-Lai and Ayub in Pakistan in the following words, "Whenever Chou-En-Lai appeared on news reels in local cinema, there was a loud and prolonged applause; on the other hand when Ayub's face was seen there were cat calls and volleys of down-to- earth Punjabi abuse."

An artificial, a temporary and a meaningless peace was restored in the subcontinent, the hostilities had never ceased, on the contrary they had multiplied. Russia had to prove its supremacy in Asian affairs against Chinese and they did it, but nothing substantial beyond that could be achieved.

KASHMIR QUESTION AND PARTING OF WAYS

Zulfikar Ali Bhutto remained in the cabinet for about eight years and that was more than enough. They differed from each other in all respects; their ways of thinking, their political views and their economic principles widely differed from each other. Bhutto tried to adjust himself with Ayub as far as possible, but there is always a limit. Bhutto had a very broad outlook, his education was much superior. He believed in the brotherhood of mankind and was a man of dignity honour and action. He made Kashmir a point of national prestige and Pakistan without Kashmir was unthinkable. There could be no peace without definite settlement. The cease fire imposed every time by the superpowers was no remedy of the problems for which Pakistan had been fighting all along against the Indian aggression. Moe-Tse-Tung a great revolutionary leader of China once put a very apt, appropriate and meaning full question about the American idea of peace to the American President Richard Nixon: "In my meeting with Mao-Tse-Tung in 1976, at the time, I wanted to see him, he asked a profound question" Is peace America's only goal." I responded that goal was peace but a peace that was more than absence of war- a piece with justice." Today we need to ask ourselves a similar profound question. "I stability our only goal? Our goal should be more than a world order. Order can keep the peace, but peace is not the ultimate end and peace should be the means to a higher end a new world in which all people can enjoy the blessings of freedom, justice and progress." This was exactly the real purpose of peace that Zulfikar Bhutto wanted in Kashmir, he wanted to make Kashmir a heavenly area on the surface of the earth, which had been made a hell by perpetrating all posts of atrocities and oppression during the dark decades of its rule; now he wanted to change its destiny altogether. Even the Kashmiri Leaders fully realized and recognized Mr. Bhutto's principled attitude and his determination for solving the issue, "Kashmiri Leaders have reiterated that the victory of the people's party was necessary for the solution of Kashmir issue because the Quaid-e-Awam could alone had the vision and political understanding to solve this intricate issue which involved the destiny of seven million of Kashmir people. The opposition that had opposed the very creation of Pakistan, could not be trusted with the destiny of Pakistan or Kashmir, they declared. The Kashmiri Leaders Sardar Mohammad Ibreheem Khan, Abdul Hamid Khan and Pir Ali Jan Shah were addressing a large meeting of Kashmiri refugees in Farooq Ganj Lahore."

The falcon of Pakistan was preparing for final and decisive war for Kashmir when his government was thrown, he was caged, prosecuted, convicted and executed.

CHAPTER 9

The War of 1965

"The great questions of the day are not decided by speeches and majority of votes but by blood and iron"

Bismarck

RANN OF KUTCH

Mr. Zulfikar Ali Bhutto was not only the most brilliant Minister in the Cabinet of General Ayub Khan but was a very brave patriot, fully acquainted with the mind and mentality of the Indian rulers and would not allow even an inch of land to be usurped by India whom he considered enemy number one of Pakistan. He had been fighting for his country against the naked aggression and tyrannies of India in Kashmir at every International forum, including the United Nation's General Assembly and its Security Council. He had fully exposed the atrocious, aggressive and fascist designs of India against Pakistan. No other Foreign Minister or the Prime Minister had ever been so effective and impressive in facing the well-trained and highly efficient Indian diplomats and their Foreign Ministers. In 1965, war broke out between India and Pakistan due to the aggression of India. Ayub Khan, though styling himself as sage of the ages and the first and last Field Marshal of Pakistan without fighting any war or suffering any scratch, was essentially such a "peace loving" man that he was never prepared to fight India even for the honour and existence of Pakistan. On the other hand, by this time Mr. Zulfikar Ali Bhutto had not only achieved tremendous popularity in West Pakistan but was also popular amongst the Army and its officers. The year 1965 in fact was a turning point of Ayub's decline and young Bhutto's rising popularity.

On 4th of April 1965, the Indian Army as a matter of aggression occupied a Pakistani post in the Rann of Kutch on the pretext that it was a part of India. The forces of Pakistan moved to the area called Chad Bet and Veir Bet for the protection of its land. It will be relevant to state that the Rann of Kutch measures about 8400 sq. miles and Pakistan was claiming 3500 sq. miles of the northern area. The Indians had started the aggression obstructing the movement of Pakistani patrol in the south of Kanjarkot. In spite of protests from Pakistan, the Indians did not listen and continued their offensive activities of obstruction and they dug trenches for the preparation of war. On 7th April, 1965 the power intoxicated Home Minister of India announced that the Pakistanis will be ousted by force from the Rann of Kutch. As a result of Indian behaviour, attacks and counter attacks started in the area. Kanjarkot was attacked on 11th April against which the Pakistan Foreign Office protested but

it went in vain. On 15th April 1965 Mr. Zulfikar Ali Bhutto, the Foreign Minister of Pakistan issued a spirited statement warning India of the grave consequences of their aggression. He said: "The Rann of Kutch situation is the latest example of Indian chauvinism" and also warned India that it alone would be "responsible for the consequences which must follow." This statement was made in reply to the threat issued by the Indian Prime Minister Lal Bahadur Shastri in Lok Sabha against Pakistan. Though the Rann of Kutch is a desolate area but no country would be prepared to surrender even an inch of land though there might be serious threats issued by the enemy to destroy or occupy it. The socialist leader Manohar Lohia went to the extent of threatening that the East Pakistan could be run over by India in an matter of days. However, the Indian forces were thoroughly defeated and degraded by the Pakistani soldiers.

The British Prime Minister Herald Wilson intervened and finally there was an agreement on 29th of June which provided for cease fire 1st July and the withdrawal of troops of both parties within seven days and that the restoration of status quo according to the position that existed on 1st January, 1965. The British Prime Minister had intervened in order to save the Indian Army and the political leadership of India from total humiliation and degradation. The political events have proved that whenever India commits aggression against any country she falls into its own trap, the US and the British governments have invariably come to the rescue of India; and Pakistan was simply taken for granted by them because of the weakness of its leadership. But whenever victorious, they posed to remain impartial and Bhutto well understood their tactics.

STRUGGLE IN KASHMIR

The morale of Pakistan Army after defeating the fully-equipped Indians was indeed at its climax and the people of Pakistan at this crucial juncture demonstrated their wonderful unity. The Kashmiris had all along been struggling for their rights of self-determination on the basis of the resolution passed by the Security Council for plebiscite. The Indian Army was not so well-equipped and trained, nor was its morale so high. Now it was very appropriate occasion for General Ayub Khan to take initiative for the emancipation of its oppressed brethren in Kashmir and save their honour and he would have been well within the four corners of the International Law, but it has been observed that he exercised abundant caution in such matters which involved risk of life and death. It is not possible to save Pakistan if Kashmir continues to remain in the clutches of Indian usurper; but it was quite unfortunate that the abundant cautions exercised by Ayub Khan were bordering on cowardice. Though Pakistan virtually did not have any factories manufacturing arms and ammunition and India on the other hand had some such factories and there had been a flow of arms from USA, Britain and other Western countries, yet Pakistan Army was thought to be the strong enough to defeat India in Kashmir if organized and planned properly, wisely and bravely. China, Indonesia, Iran,

Turkey and some other Muslim countries were the strong supporters of the cause of Kashmir. General Gul Hassan, who was then the Director of Military Operations writes, "Though the Indians had developed their indigenous production of war materials, they had not the capability of fighting a prolonged war. Each side would aim at achieving gains as quickly as possible, to forestall International, pressure to bring hostilities to an end" Lt. General Gul Hassan has further written in his memoirs: "The set back in Kutch immeasurably disconcerting to the Indian Army. As a result, the Government of India was in a quandary. On the other hand ours was in a state of euphoria. The High Command of our Army was intoxicated by our showing and our morale could not possibly have been higher. We were ready for any task that may be assigned to us and without any question."

In senior army circles and in the Foreign Office. Ayub Khan came under criticism for letting the Indians off the hook. There was great disappointment in GHQ that when the Indians were withdrawing, their retreat could have been easily cut off, but unfortunately Ayub Khan did not allow it.

Undoubtedly the Indians were defeated in the war of Rann of Kutch. As such, they were proposing to avenge against Pakistan. Shastri, the Indian Prime Minister, announced that India would choose a place of its own to attack Pakistan. There are many a moments in the history of a Nation when its leadership either proves capable and courageous or coward and weak. On this historic occasion, Zulfikar Ali Bhutto proved that he was the real leader of the nation, prepared to lay down even his life for the honour and existence of his motherland, he had now become the hero of the Army Officers, specially the younger ones. So far the Army was concerned the brave General Akhtar Malik proved his merit beyond any doubt and dispute. Bhutto's opponent and Ayub Khan's favorite bureaucrat and writer of his biography says, "Bhutto used to meet General Akhtar Malik and some other Army Officers at his house quite regularly to impress upon them: "The indefensibility of launching raids (in Kashmir) as soon as possible." These meetings were a relaxed affair where Army Officers would pour out their hearts in response to Bhutto's eloquence and passion. Musa would later complain to Ayub that Bhutto used these meetings to "brainwash" his officers. The job that Aziz Ahmed used to perform as Chairman of the Kashmir Cell was now taken over by Bhutto. But by now, senior army Officers, under the Rann of Kutch euphoria were rearing to go and find a wonderful ally in the Foreign Minister. Bhutto's major concern was to assure Ayub that the risk of India unleashing a war of Pakistan, in retaliation of Pakistani raids in Kashmir, was negligible and could certainly be contained by Pakistan's diplomatic skill and military superiority."

General Akhtar Malik was the most popular, competent and charismatic personality in the Pakistan Army. About him, General Gul Hassan writes: "Before I proceed further, I must admit this narrative would be incomplete without bringing into the center of the stage, the General Officer Commanding 12 Division, Major General Akhtar Hussain Malik. His contribution

to the training and launching of Gibraltar force was wholesome. He also formulated plan for operation Grand Slam and had commanded it admirably in the opening phase. General Malik was a charismatic and gifted personality and has a hold on the imagination of the younger officers and men. He was a serious minded soldier with a brain."

Procrastination is the thief of time and as Mr. Jinnah had put it to Lord Mountbatten: "Time is a essence of contract," similarly in this case Ayub Khan had a weak and wavering mind, he was in a fix of "to do or not to do" thus he was guilty of procrastination. He took a long time to examine and half-heartedly gave consent for action in spite of the insistence of Zulfikar Ali Bhutto, the Foreign Minister; and due to this delay the Indian Army had all the time to fully organize itself and prepare their secret plans for invading Pakistan. In this connection, Mr. Altaf Gauhar writes: "Ayub want to Murree on 13 May, 1965, six weeks before the cease-fire in the Rann of Kutch became effective, to examine the plan that had been prepared by General Akhtar Malik, General Officer Commanding of 12 Division, to launch guerrilla operation in Kashmir. General Malik, a tall handsome officer, highly respected by his colleagues and popular among his men, explained the details of "Operation Gibraltar" on a sand-table."

It was unfortunate for Pakistan that Ayub Khan woefully lacked power of decision in vital matters. Though the plan of "Operation Gibraltar" was with Ayub Khan on 13th May, 1965 and had examined it in presence of Zulfikar Ali Bhutto, General Musa and other senior Army officials, he took the decision by the end of July, 1965 and this delay was quite detrimental to the cause that Bhutto and Major General Akhtar Malik were eager to take up at the earliest. Napoleon Bonaparte had rightly said, "I can afford to lose battles but not minutes." As such delay in the present case was far wisdom and it created all complications, alerted India and ultimately proved fatal.

For Pakistan there were two alternatives: (1) "to reach now boldly and courageously in self defence or (2) allow the initiative move irrevocably to India, who would then proceed to launch her final attack for the liquidation of Pakistan, subsequently at a place and time of her own choosing. Bhutto strongly urged to opt for the first alternative as "This is our hour of decision and may God guide us on the right path."

The name assigned to this action was "Operation Gibraltar" named after the famous General Tariq who was the conqueror of Spain in Europe. The operation was started on 28th July and the cease-fire was crossed by them in the territory of Kashmir held by Indian forces illegally, immorally and against all principles of International Law and the decision of the Security Council of the United Nations. The Indian Forces had committed countless atrocities upon the Muslims of Kashmir and the Kashmiris were anxious to see that Pakistan would emancipate them from the tyrannical and most undemocratic rule of India. This operation in fact demanded that Ayub Khan as

Field Marshal and as President of Pakistan should have concentrated all his energies on this most important action of the Operation Gibraltar, but Ayub Khan was holidaying in Swat and showed his total lack of interest in the operation. It was indeed unpardonable; even his biographer Mr. Altaf Gauhar writes: "For some inexplicable reason, Ayub left for Swat immediately after the Gibraltar was launched. Bhutto flew to Swat and returned with the directives given by Ayub on 29th August, 1965."

The facts revealed by Gibraltar Operation clearly point out that Ayub Khan did not have much interest in the operation "Gibraltar." The delay caused by him in launching the operation alerted India and they made suitable military arrangements for facing and crushing operation "Gibraltar." Why was this delay caused by Ayub Khan, can be explained only in two ways. Firstly, he had no real sympathy for the oppressed Kashmiris and it was merely a show on his part secondly he did not like to incur the displeasure of the powerful and tyrant India. Thus, Kashmir was burning and Ayub Khan was hunting and basking in the beautiful valley of Swat. His Commander-in-Chief General Musa had also no interest in the operation. He did not play any conspicuous part in the operation nor was he competent for the purpose. Even necessary equipment and army were not supplied by him in the occupied Kashmir for vindicating the national honour. Ayub Khan and General Musa were both blaming Zulfikar Ali Bhutto and Foreign Secretary Aziz Ahmed for initiating the war in Kashmir and the brunt was to be borne by Bhutto.

It must be remembered that the second action, which was the most important one, was that of "Grand Slam" and General Malik was directly incharge of it. This Operation by General Malik was most vital in this respect that by conquering Akhnoor he would isolated India from Kashmir and the supply line of the Indian troops would totally cease to function. But it was most unfortunate that in this respect, the role of Ayub Khan was unpardonable. As has been stated above, time was the essence of the operation, but the Field Marshal Ayub Khan was guilty of criminal dilly-dally. His biographer, Mr. Altaf Gauhar writes "He (General Musa) had been to Murree to discuss the situation with General Malik, who was in dire straits and was desperately insisting that Grand Slam must be launched immediately otherwise everything would be lost. The problem was that Grand Slam would require the Pakistani forces to move across a small section of the International frontier between Sialkot and Jammu. The Information Secretary was present at this meeting. General Musa was urging Bhutto to obtain Ayub's approval to launch Grand Slam."

Who war was being fought? Was it for the existence of Pakistan or for Bhutto's personal estate! General Akhtar Malik had not burnt his boats for any personal gain. Could there be a greater tragedy than apathy of Ayub and Musa!

Ayub Khan has written his autobiography, "Friends Not Masters." It is surprising that he has written practically nothing about these most

important events in the history of Pakistan and there is no mention about Bhutto and his important role, or any other vital incidents of national character with which Bhutto was concerned. Mr. Qudratullah Shahab who had remained Secretary to General Iskander Mirza and subsequently to General Ayub Khan, writes: "Once I attempted to know about the war from Nawab of Kalabagh, his reply was 'brother Shahab' it was not the war of Pakistan, in fact this war was initiated by Akhtar Malik, M.M. Ahmed, Bhutto, Aziz Ahmed and Nazir Ahmed". Cat was now out of the bag, the Nawab was the voice of Ayub Khan.

General Akhtar Malik had burnt his boats like Tariq and had fought very fearlessly though General Ayub and General Musa had rendered most inadequate help against the heavy odds.

General Gul Hassan's version is: "The next day the Chief visited General Malik. He came to the Operations room late in the afternoon and told me that he had effected change of command; General Yahya Khan, who had his HQ nearby, was to relieve General Malik, who was to return to Murree. I was stunned by this disclosure because the latter had told me that he would be handing over after Akhnoor had been captured and we were still far from that. There had been some delay in the advance; we were not engaged in a sand-table exercise, where the enemy acts in accordance with the wishes of the director. Above all, the delay might have been made up but only by General Malik, since he had conceived Operation Grand slam as one whole and he alone was the appropriate person to accelerate the pace. Knowing him as I and many others did, he must have fought the battle numerous times in his mind and appreciated the likely enemy actions and worked out umpteen variations to cope with them. He had assured me that it would take him no longer than seventy-two hours to seize Akhnoor. Considering the force at his disposal and the known enemy opposition when his plan was formulated, I considered that it could have been done."

Mr. Qudratullah Shahab also supports General Gul Hassan: "General Akhtar Malik started the proceedings according to his plan and he was about to conquer Akhnoor when General Musa and many others were plunged in anxiety that in case Akhtar Malik succeeds in his mission he will emerge as a hero. President Ayub and several other army and civil officers in power did not like Major General Akhtar Malik to be the hero of this war and thus be entitled to the office of future Commander-in-Chief. President Ayub had already reserved this office for General Yahya Khan, with a result that when Major General Akhtar Hussain Malik was moving fast in Chhamb Akhnoor Sector, he was all of a sudden removed from the command and in his place General Yahya Khan was appointed, so that he should keep away the Pakistan Army from conquering Akhnoor". He performed this duty wonderfully well. The version about Kashmir tragedy was further supported by Sardar Shaukat Hayat Khan in his autobiography. "On the other front, Chhamb and Jurian, the commander was an able General Akhtar Malik, who was changed in the middle of the battle and in his place General Yahya Khan was appointed. My brother Brig. Azmat

Hayat went forward during the night march and captured Chhamb, taking the Indians by surprise and also captured forward tanks. He asked for further instructions but Yahya had only reconnoitered by flying over the sea. The British High Commissioner Sir Morrice James writes "He ordered the General in charge of the Akhnoor attack to be replaced. The new commander was told not to continue the advance." As a matter of such patriotic performance. "Ayub Khan gave him Pakistan's highest military decoration after the 1965 war with India..." the grand handsome dictator namely Ayub Khan with his shaky and shady policies and his shivering heart behind his broad chest, was the in charge of the biggest Muslim country in the world treated as bastion of Islam. What an irony of fate! In a nutshell it can be safely stated that all the efforts and sacrifice made by the Army and General Malik specially, went in vain and Bhutto was blamed by Ayub Khan and his sycophants for 'Operation Gibraltar' and 'Grand Slam'. The amazing aspect of this story is that Zulfikar Ali Bhutto was being blamed by Ayub Khan, General Musa and their sycophants for their failure of the Operation 'Gibraltar' and 'Grand Slam', due to their own follies and frailties. Thus the solemn pledge given by the strong willed Mr. Jinnah to free the people of Kashmir against the most cruel and undemocratic rule of India, was blatantly broken by General Ayub Khan, though Zulfikar Ali Bhutto did his best to vindicate the honour of the Kashmiris as promised by his political mentor, Mr. Jinnah.

INDIA INVADES PAKISTAN

The Indian Prime Minister Mr. Lal Bahadur Shastri had already warned Pakistan that she would open front of war at any place against Pakistan. On 3rd September, 1965 the Indian Prime Minister had given clue to his intention that he would attack Pakistan and the people of India should be prepared for any sacrifice and everything. The Pakistan High Commissioner in New Delhi had also sent the message to the effect that India would attack Pakistan on 6th of September, 1965. Under these circumstances it was the bounden duty of General Ayub Khan to keep himself abreast with such serious and crucial situation and keep his Army prepared for facing Indian invasion. Ayub Khan for all purpose was a dictator of the country and all powers were vested in his hands. Ministers were merely Advisors and the Legislative Assemblies existed only in name; Ayub Khan had conferred the title of Field Marshal on himself and a Field Marshal is supposed to be the most competent person in the Army to know the intricacies, strategies, tactics and hardships of war and guide his Army efficiently in order to face the enemy's Army according to the situation. But Ayub Khan was totally unaware of his responsibilities and this situation, he had not fought any war, he took no part in guiding his forces and participating in any clash. He was almost devoid of political foresightedness and was merely spectator of such a serious situation which involved the question of life and death for Pakistan.

On the right between 5th and 6th of September, 1965, Indian forces with full preparation crossed the International Borders near Lahore but

the Generals of Pakistan Incharge of the forces stationed at Lahore were unaware of it: "An officer of Intelligence Bureau had personally stated to me that his agent was preceding with some secret mission towards the boundary between India and Pakistan, when all of a sudden he found sharp flashes approaching. After some inquiry he came to know that the tanks of Indian forces had crossed the International boundary for invading Lahore. He came back running to me and also informed a police officer who in turn phoned an army officer; thus the army officer informed the GOC of Lahore who too hesitated to believe this information. He further states: "I cannot authoritatively state as to what was the real position but the high command of our army had not made any effective display of their courage, skill and efficiency. The entire credit goes to our Air Force and young officers for repulsing and routing the Indian forces by sacrificing their lives and fighting with the enemy wonderfully well and some of them were martyred while defending their beloved homeland." Mr. Shahab further says that the Foreign Minister in his presence spoke on phone to New York and gave very clear instructions to the representative of Holland in the United Nations." At that time Mr. Shahab was Pakistan's Ambassador in Holland.

Full scale war was raging on the entire border of Pakistan and India and cease-fire line of Kashmir between the armies of the two countries. The Indian army comprised more than 650,000 troops, three times more than the Pakistani soldiers with 1,600 planes and 1500 tanks, India possessed 50% more heavy armour than Pakistan. The Indian General J. N. Chaudary commanded his army with full-fledged plans taking the negligent higher-ups of Pakistan by surprise; General Chaudary boastfully claimed that they would take their lunch at Lahore. It was even announced falsely on B.B.C and the Indian Radios that Lahore had been conquered by three pronged attacks on the city, and on 7th September they directed their attack on Sialkot which is very important Border City of Pakistan. The Indian Generals and officers had very sensibly planned their attack against Pakistan with the result that the attention of the Pakistan forces was now entirely withdrawn from Kashmir to Punjab. It would have been the worst type of tragedy if Lahore the heartbeat of Pakistan and Sialkot the important industrial city had been captured by India. When Ayub was awakened at night time and informed about the massive Indian attack he got furious: "Ayub Khan gave hell to Brig. Riaz Hussain, Director General of Inter Service Intelligence (ISI)..... The Armored Division of India was not a needle in a hay stake..... with a quivering voice Brig. Riaz Hussain replied, Sir from June 1964, Military Intelligence has been given political assignment on elections and post-elections repercussions." This was not only an act of criminal negligence on the part of a dictator head of the state but also clear proof of rigging in presidential elections and hounding the politicians of Pakistan who had worked against him. The Pakistan Army though much smaller in size, poorly equipped, disorganized and without any efficient leadership, fought fearlessly with unbelievable bravery against the heaviest possible odds of India. The Indians had planned to conquer Chewinda and further proceed to Sialkot - Wazirabad road in order to achieve their ultimate

object to cut off the road between Lahore and Rawalpindi and thus paralyze the Pakistan forces. But the supremely spirited Pakistan Army foiled all their attempts in spite of all handicaps. With exemplary sense of patriotism and gallantry, the Pakistan army fought a historic and heroic battle at Chewinda and inflicted a crushing defeat upon their opponents. The Indian Air force also bombarded Lahore, Peshawar, Sialkot, Sargodha and other places in West Pakistan. In East Pakistan also they made Dacca and Chittagong targets of the bombing. With all this preparation India could not succeed.

A day after the war Ayub Khan invited all the political leaders for consultation. None from East Pakistan could come for want of communications. However, Chaudary Mohammad Ali, Maulana Abu Ala Maududi, Sardar Shaukat Hayat, Chaudary Ghulam Abbas and Mohammad Safdar came to attend the meeting. While going into the meeting, Ayub said to Altaf Gauhar, Information Secretary. "So you have collected all my enemies". With this poor way of thinking, the President could not play the role that that was expected of an efficient or even sensible politician. He calls the meeting of the political leaders and surprisingly terms them his enemies. The leaders whom he had called in the meeting were no less patriotic than Ayub Khan and had better views on politics than Ayub Khan, as they had remained in politics for their whole life while Ayub Khan had hardly any experience of politics and knowledge of the common man. There could be no greater misfortune of our homeland.

In this war, it may be borne in mind that Indonesia, Iran, Turkey and even Saudi Arabia made some substantial contribution to help Pakistan and the French Government agreed to provide thirty aircraft's to Pakistan. The attitude of America and Britain was far from friendly. Ayub Khan was always loyal to U.S.A. and entirely dependent for the defence of Pakistan on America but the latter refused to support Pakistan and refused to provide any arms and ammunition when Pakistan was in mortal danger by India. On the contrary the U.S.A. Government, her diplomats, British Prime Minister Herald Wilson and Russia were all helpful to India. And the American Ambassador was harsh in his behaviour towards the President of Pakistan. It cannot be forgotten that the China was the whole-hearted supporter of Pakistan and sternly warned India of the consequences of her aggression and pledged all support to Pakistan. As Foreign Minister of Pakistan, Zulfikar Ali Bhutto, had laid firm foundation of friendship with China but the Chinese leadership was always doubtful about the fickle mindedness and weak behaviour of Ayub.

Zulfikar Ali, the brilliant Foreign Minister of Pakistan never got perplexed in such a serious and complex situation and without being afraid and completely affected of super powers of the world, his conversation with the U.S. Ambassador depicts not only his diplomatic skill but also his fearlessness and courage with which no other Foreign Minister could have spoken to U.S. Ambassador as Mr. Zulfikar Ali Bhutto did during the course of war. Mr. Altaf Gauhar the biographer of Ayub Khan writes "The U.S. Ambassador, Walter P.McConaughy, met Bhutto at his residence on 9th September. It was an

unpleasant meeting. The Ambassador told Bhutto that the congress had decided to stop all military aid to Pakistan and India. But the decision, said the Ambassador, was not in any sense a punitive action it was meant only to lend support to the U.N. Secretary General's efforts to attain a peaceful settlement." Bhutto was indignant. Here was Pakistan, an old friend and an ally of U.S.A., fighting for its survival and the United States was plunging a dagger in its back". He warned that it would damage Pakistan's relations with America. When Bhutto said that Pakistan's cities were being bombed, McConaughy asked him whether this had not been foreseen: "It was a fateful decision you took to plan and organize the Mujahid operation. Bhutto flatly denied that Pakistan had been involved in any such operation but conceded that the Mujahid had the support of Pakistan. Bhutto claimed: "It is India that had committed aggression and we are fighting for our honour.

In his secret memo to Ayub Khan, Zulfikar Ali Bhutto wrote: "if we face the situation resolutely there is no doubt that the hundred million of people of Pakistan will triumph. The only language which the United States and its henchman will understand at this juncture is the language of determination. We cannot do better than to denounce its complicity in the present crisis." The courage, determination and political insight and revolutionary thinking of Zulfikar Ali Bhutto led to this irresistible conclusion. By nature he was influenced by the revolutionary culture of Mao Tse Tung and Chou-En-Lai of China and seemingly impossible achievement of Pakistan by Jinnah. "Just as Quaid-e-Azam Jinnah had won Pakistan against all odds after a Muslim League struggle of many years, had deemed impossible, so from the ashes of this national humiliation and coming diplomatic 'betrayal' as new fearless young Quaid-e-Awam (Leader of the People) would soon emerge, launching his own People's Party aimed at restoring, resurrecting, and rebuilding Pakistan as a truly "self-respecting nation."

BHUTTO MAD FOR PAKISTAN

The pertinent question arises as to why Zulfikar Ali Bhutto was in favour of continuing war in spite of the fact that the President was against it and he had lost his heart. In the words of his biographer Mr. Altaf Gauhar, Ayub was talking: "As if the war was already over." According to Mr. Mumtaz Ali Bhutto, Ayub had warned that: "Your cousin is mad man. Don't follow him. He'll lead you astray. Get you into trouble". To be frank, Zulfikar Ali Bhutto was really mad for Pakistan. It reminds one of Maulana Mohammad Ali Jauhar who had sacrificed all, in his struggle against the British slavery. He attended the Round Table Conference in London in spite of fact that he was seriously ill and no person in such condition would have traveled even seven miles. The Maulana roared with all courage in the world. "No sane man would have traveled even seven miles in this condition but I have crossed seven thousand miles of land and sea to attend this conference, because where India or Islam are concerned, I am mad. "The word mad used by Ayub is reminiscent of those

great men who preferred honourable death to cowardly life of slavery and subjugation. Prophet Hazrat Ibrahim (PBUH) jumped into the fire of Nimrod. Was it madness? Imam Hussain the leader of martyrs fought against the Army of Yazid and sacrificed not only his own life but that of his innocent children too. Was it madness? Zulfikar Ali Bhutto though not outwardly a devout Muslim, was also a mad person in the sense that nothing was dearer to him than the honour and integrity of his country.

The Security Council had already directed both the countries for cease-fire. The people of Pakistan and the young officers of the Army were against the cease-fire, without the settlement of Kashmir issue. The question is why Bhutto was so much insistent on the continuation of war unless the issue of Kashmir was settled according to the Resolution of the Security Council of the United Nations? It may be borne in mind that in 1962 when there was Sino-India war and China was inflicting defeat upon India, Ayub Government did not take advantage of this God gifted opportunity. If he had availed it, the problem of Kashmir would have certainly been solved. After 1962, there was an incessant flow of arms and ammunition by USA and Great Britain to India and now militarily India was in a far better position but not yet invincible. India had been entertaining evil designs against Pakistan from the very inception and was waiting for an opportunity to liquidate it. If the problem of Kashmir was not going to be settled once for all in 1965, then how and when it would be settled? Such opportunities come rarely in the life of a Nation and Zulfikar Ali was determined to take fullest advantage of the situation, especially when the entire Nation was united like rock and the armed forces were prepared to make every conceivable sacrifice for the sake of Kashmir and their motherland.

The United Nations passed two resolutions on 4th and 6th September 1965 calling upon two countries for cease-fire. U.Thant, Secretary General of U.N.O. came to Pakistan and met Ayub Khan. He seemed to be pro-India and they had no mind to settle the basic issue of Kashmir dispute between the two countries. On 8th September Ayub Khan expressed: "America is doing everything conceivable to help India."

ATTITUDE OF CHINA

In this war, China had fully and openly supported the cause of Pakistan by word and deed. The major powers that were supporting India were also fearing direct interference of China in the war; and India was already scared of China from 1962 when the Chinese forces had completely routed the Indian troops. "Marshal Chen Yi, the Chinese Foreign Minister had a meeting with Zulfikar Ali Bhutto in Karachi on 4th September and had assured him of Chinese help to Pakistan. Again on 7th September China condemned India's 'criminal aggression' as an exposure of the chauvinist and expansionist features of its ruling class. On India's rejection of the Chinese note, China warned India on 8th September, that if it did not end its "frenzied provocation

activities" it would have to bear the responsibilities of all consequences. Then on 12th September 1965, China gave ultimatum that unless Indian government "dismantled all military works on the side of the border within three days, stopped intrusion into China... it would have to bear the full responsibility of all the consequences. These threats confused India and it was in the grip of panic. The Indian Ambassador B. K. Nehru was assured by Kosygin that India would be supplied arms regularly. The same promise was extended to India by Dean Rusk from Washington. Similarly, Harold issued a statement that if Chinese were to intervene in the war, Britain and the US would be bound to assist India. But no joint declaration by the three powers was issued against the threatened intervention by China. Since no joint statement was issued, India got more panicky. On 15th of September, a press conference was held by Ayub Khan and it was attended by about 300 foreign correspondents. Ayub looked pale and perplexed and contrary to the expectations of everybody, he made an appeal to President Johnson of U.S. to establish peace in the region. The BBC reported that Ayub "virtually invited President Johnson to intervene directly in the dispute". Voice of America said, Ayub would "welcome American initiative to end the Indo-Pak conflict". Most correspondents remarked that Ayub Khan was friendly i.e. less harsh than the previous Pakistani statements and concluded that it must be the result of the apparent stale-mate on the military front. Now it was a clear admission of defeat and a servile entreaty to American President Johnson for cease fire without reference to Kashmir. Everyone was surprised rather flabbergasted, then why 'Operation Gibraltar', why 'Grand Slam' and why all devastations! Pressmen were taken aback and Pakistanis plunged in shock.

The weakness of Ayub Khan surprised and shocked every Pakistani. After all he was dictator and not a revolutionary, neither politician nor soldier. It was also disappointing for China. Immediately after Ayub's press conference the Indian Foreign Minister gave "hands off Jammu and Kashmir" statement and Prime Minister Shastri announced that "in view of the President Ayub's remarks, the defence operations must continue with unabated vigour." Now India had come a lion against the jackal of Pakistan. The credit of all this shame, misery and degradation was imputed to field Marshal Ayub Khan. Zulfikar Ali was left with no options except to bid adieu to the Field Marshal Ayub; they were poles apart now. The unfriendly foreign powers could conveniently twist the arm of the Field Marshal, while Bhutto stuck strongly to his principles. He was not inimitable by the pressure of U.S.A, Russia or Britain.

CHOU-EN-LAI'S REVOLUTIONARY WAR LESSON TO AYUB KHAN

The attainment of Pakistan itself was more than a miracle. Quaid-e-Azam, the ailing and old political hero of hundred wars united and galvanized the Muslims of India. Always divided in small sections, without any national aim and objective and without any leader, they were about to be swallowed by

Orthodox Hindu congress. It was a very critical juncture that Jinnah saved the Muslims and carved out the biggest Muslim State and the 5th largest state of the World as a homeland for the Muslims. Stanley Wolpert rightly compares the brilliant young leader Bhutto with the veteran Jinnah, "Just as Quaid-e-Azam Jinnah had won Pakistan against all odds after a Muslim League struggle, many had deemed it impossible, so from ashes of this National humiliation and coming diplomatic betrayal" a new fearless young Quaid-e-Awam (Leader of the People) would soon emerge launching his own People's Party aimed at restoring, resurrecting and rebuilding Pakistan as a self-respecting Nation". There was a very interesting, very useful and a very revolutionary type of conversation between Chou-En-Lai and Ayub Khan, who flew to Beijing from Peshawar on the night of 19/20 September 1965 accompanied by Zulfikar Ali Bhutto and they had two meetings with Chou-En-Lai and Marshal Chen Yi. Ayub explained the military situation in Pakistan and India, latter's superiority in numbers and how western powers and Soviet Union were rendering full diplomatic and military support to India. "Chou En Lai said that numerical superiority would be of no avoid to the Indians in the prolonged War. Even if one or two major cities were lost, the Pakistan Forces supported by patriotic people could inflict crippling blows on the invader. He recalled instance from Chinese long struggle for liberation to show that numerical superiority can not prevail on the will of the people..." Chou En Lai said "Don't forget that we will be a maintaining our pressure all the time. Ayub asked "how long would you maintain the pressure" Chou En Lai looked straight into Ayub's eyes said for as long as necessary, but you must keep fighting even if you have to withdraw to hills. "Ayub did not know how to respond to his offer of unconditional support. He said: "Mr. Prime Minister I think you are being rash". Chou En Lai smile and cautioned Ayub against succumbing to American pressure. "Don't fall into the Russian trap. They are unreliable. You will find out the truth"..... by the end it will become clear that if Pakistan wanted full Chinese support it had to be prepared for a long war in which major cities like Lahore might be lost. However, every reverse would unite the people and the Indian Forces would be sucked into a quagmire of popular resistance."

But in Pakistan there was neither Mao-Tse-Tung nor Chou En Lai who had undergone all hardships of revolutionary life and had trained their people to fight for years till they were victorious, nor there were old Muslim Generals like Ghazi Salahuddin and Mahmood Ghaznavi who could fight the heaviest odds of the United Europe and the Maharajas of India for years together to vanquish them in... long drawn... battles. It will be relevant to state that the bloody war of Crusades was fought by the Europeans for their cause for more than 150 years but were finally defeated, humiliated and driven back to Europe by the Muslim Warriors. Unfortunately, in Pakistan there were neither Muslim hero like Mohammad Bin Qasim, Tariq bin Ziyad, Ghazi Salahuddin and Mahmood Ghaznavi nor we had modern revolutionaries like Mao-Tse-Tung and Chou-En-Lai to reply the Shivajees of India. Mr. Bhutto all alone was there but he was politically chained by General Ayub Khan and was hardly in a position to act freely like the Head of the State; and most of the sycophants of Ayub

Khan were against him. Pursuant to the Cease-fire Resolution both the warring parties abandoned the war without any result, but it must be admitted that there was one most important result by which Zulfikar Ali Bhutto emerged as the hero of the people, especially those of West Pakistan and General Ayub Khan, was a casualty of 1965 war. Long wars are never fought by weak and power hungry rulers.

After accepting the cease-fire resolution, President Ayub gave a speech to the nation. It was prepared by his Information Secretary. These speeches not only caused wide spread disappointment but it was universally condemned and criticized by the People of West Pakistan. However, the East Pakistan people welcomed the ceasefire, because they felt that they were isolated by General Ayub and had India attacked East Pakistan, the Pakistan army would not come to their rescue. They thought that it was on account of the warnings and ultimatums of China, that India refrained from invading East Pakistan where there was only one Division of Army. It was thus impossible to save East Pakistan against any attack if launched by India. Sense of insecurity had prevailed through out East Pakistan.

Bhutto was not satisfied with the Cease-fire Resolution and he believed in continuation of War from defeating India. He was most instrumental in obtaining military aid from China, Iran, Turkey, Saudi Arabia, Jordan and Indonesia, as such he believed in decisive war against India, like a true revolutionary.

BHUTTO WELCOMES CHINESE CHAIRMAN

In those days, another important incident of political significance happened, for which the Information Secretary Altaf Gauhar wrote as follows:

“On 26 March, the Chinese Chairman, Lin Shaochi, accompanied by Chinese Foreign Minister Chenyi came on an official visit to Pakistan. Chairman Lin had a long meeting with Ayub in which he reiterated China’s firm support for Pakistan’s policies on Kashmir. The Chinese Chairman then went to Lahore, where a warm welcome from the people of Punjab awaited him. Despite much persuasion by the Information Secretary, Ayub did not accompany the Chinese chairman, to Lahore..... by giving Bhutto the opportunity to appear as a hero in Lahore, in the company of Chinese Chairman, Ayub had handed over the political initiative to Bhutto. It was a tumultuous reception. Here was not an inch a empty space from the Airport to Government House. Bhutto was beaming with joy and frantically waving to a hysterical mass of humanity. The people lifted the car in which Bhutto was traveling and carried it on their shoulders. Bhutto had won their hearts.”

It may be remembered that Chinese Chairman is the most important personality in China, but Ayub ignored him. Such incidents though appear small outwardly, carry enormous political and diplomatic importance. This fact

indicates that Ayub Khan was suffering from a deep psychological exasperation.

BHUTTO'S FIGHTING SPEECH IN SECURITY COUNCIL

On the night of 22nd and 23rd September, 1965 Bhutto addressed the Security Council. He was now the pride of Pakistan, master of rhetoric, a politician of deep political insight who had total grasp over the global affairs. Pakistan had never produced a Foreign Minister of Bhutto's calibre and his speeches in the United Nation and Security Council will be remembered for long. The speech that he delivered on the occasion, was far more impressive and eloquent than that of his Indian Counterpart. Unfortunately, the power politics was in the hands of Super Powers who were notoriously partisan towards India, but in spite of it he pleaded the case of Pakistan wonderfully well, he said. "The whole world believes in the right of self-determination. Must it be denied to the people of Jammu and Kashmir merely because the power must prevail over principles? Power shall never prevail over principles. Could the will and spirit of our people be destroyed?" Again speaking in the Security Council he reiterated his stand but a cessation of hostilities is not enough. The Security Council... must now address itself to the heart of the problem... the future of Kashmir. It can no longer make a play thing, or a toy out of 5 million people. The giant Foreign Minister of Pakistan added with all force. "This is the last chance for the Security Council to put all its forces, all its energy, all its moral responsibilities behind a fair and equitable and honourable solution of Jammu and Kashmir dispute. History does not wait councils, organizations or Institutions just as does not wait for individuals" (Possibly he was aiming at Ayub). "Ultimately, we shall have to be the final determiners of our own course.... Let me tell the Security Council on behalf of my Government". This was quickly to be denied and refuted." That if now after this last chance that we are giving Security Council, it does not put its full force- behind the honourable settlement of Jammu and Kashmir dispute, Pakistan will have to leave the United Nations.... Within a certain period of time if the Security Council is not able to act in accordance with the responsibilities placed on it, in accordance with its honour under the Charter-which believes in self-determination. Pakistan will have to withdraw from the United Nations." In his final remarks Bhutto irrefutably proved that he was the only real representative of millions of Pakistanis. "When Pakistan, a country much smaller than India, was invaded by India, the sufferings of both Pakistan and Jammu and Kashmir were fused. These sufferings formed the single resolve to fight against India's aggression.... These passions may be regarded in the calculations of power politics but history deals far more justly with them. When we say that we are giving United Nations a last chance to settle Jammu and Kashmir dispute, we are saying that we are determined not to let her righteous cause be abandoned. It is not the will of Allah that the victim of injustice and aggression should have no higher court of appeal". These are only passage from the spirited speech made by Bhutto in the Security Council. Even the

passages will themselves speak that only Zulfikar Ali Bhutto was capable of making such bold and logical speeches representing millions of Pakistanis inside and outside Pakistan were proud to him. Even the members of the Security Council were deeply impressed by his speech which was full of logic, wisdom and righteousness. But it was beyond the reach of Bhutto to make power politics turn in favour of the righteous cause of Pakistan. It was a pathetic but determined voice of his heart, conscience and soul, which could not be suppressed by any one.

On his return from New York, he got down at Amsterdam and called Mr. Qudratullah Shahab Ambassador in Holland to meet him at the airport. Mr. Qudratullah Shahab's version is briefly as under:

"The car was passing through the beautiful and scenic areas of Amsterdam but Mr. Bhutto did not look at them. He was continuously speaking and there was a wave of bitterness in his chest, which was flowing with a horrible velocity in his fluent talk. He had grievances and was complaining that during the war many valuable opportunities were lost due to cowardice and to the defective strategies of battles. While severely criticizing the cease-fire before time, he was repeating that after committing such mountainous mistakes and suffering defeats without reason and rhyme, it was not possible for him to support President Ayub any further. He did not express it in so many words but it was abundantly clear that he was going to resign from the Cabinet of Ayub Khan. He proposed to prepare his own manifesto."

It was crystal clear that Bhutto was not at all prepared for such cease-fire, which left Kashmir problem unresolved and involved national humiliation. Now in order to justify himself politically, Ayub Khan called a meeting of political leaders. These were very same political leaders whom Ayub Khan had condemned for having destroyed Pakistan and had compelled to impose Martial Law in the country. Altaf Gauhar writes: "Ayub invited the political leaders whom he had met immediately after the Indian advance against Lahore and asked for their advice about accepting the cease-fire resolution. They unanimously urged him to resist the resolution because the people would feel utterly betrayed if Pakistan agreed to an unconditional cease-fire." Thus Ayub Khan did not get any support from the politicians of the country who were fully aware of the sentiments, thoughts and views of all classes of the masses, but Ayub had his own policies and constraints. He was bound to obey the American President Johnson who was the defacto force behind cease fire."

CHAPTER 10

Tashkent Declaration

- Parting of ways

The Nation's honor is dearer than the Nation's comfort, yes, than the Nation's life itself.

Woodrow Wilson

Mr. Kosygin, the Prime Minister of Soviet Union, an unflinching friend of India, offered his good offices for an agreement to bring peace between India and Pakistan and for that purpose he invited Shastri and Ayub Khan, Prime Minister of India and the President of Pakistan respectively in Tashkent. The American President had given his blessings to the mediator from Soviet Russia and Ayub accepted the offer without any demur. According to Altaf Gauhar, Information Secretary, Ayub was doubtful about the usefulness of such a meeting. "What purpose will it serve? Shastri will state his case and I will state my case". On the other hand, there was pressure from U.S.A. to accept the arbitration of Mr. Kosygin. Was it possible to refuse even a suggestion from America? Bhutto meet the Chinese Ambassador who called him "You are having difficulties, the USA is big but you must face up to the threat." A very pertinent question was genuinely agitating the minds of Pakistanis, whether it would be profitable for Pakistan to accept the arbitration of the USSR Prime Minister for the simple reason that the latter had remained friendly with India and had even vetoed the implementation of plebiscite resolution of Security Council. For arbitration, it is essential that the arbitrator must be impartial having no inclinations to any party, otherwise the arbitration is likely to be unjust and unfair; tainted by the partisanship. But could it be said for the Soviet Union that it would act impartially without any prejudice? The reply would be negative. The main purpose behind this arbitration seemed to be political and not peace. The growing power of China was agitating the minds of both the superpowers and they wanted to alienate Pakistan from China, the friend in need. India had readily agreed to the arbitration as the astute Shastri knew it fully well that the arbitration would not go against India in any case as he had thoroughly read the attitude of both the superpowers and could safely conclude that this arbitration would displease their powerful enemy China. Ayub Khan left for Tashkent in the afternoon of January 3, 1966 accompanied by Foreign Minister Bhutto, Foreign Secretary Aziz Ahmed, Information Secretary Altaf Gauhar and others. Mr. Altaf Gauhar was said to be the most important man in the delegation as he enjoyed full confidence of President Ayub Khan and he was asked to prepare the speech to be delivered by Ayub

Khan at the Conference. On seeing the draft of the speech, Aziz Ahmed said to Altaf Gauhar. "I shall never forgive myself for agreeing to this omission. "The Indian press visibly noticed this vital omission and claimed that Ayub Khan had not uttered the words "Jammu and Kashmir dispute" in order to avoid strong Indian reaction." It is not really understandable why then Ayub Khan had gone to Tashkent when he had no courage to openly utter the word "Jammu and Kashmir dispute" in his speech. So this hefty and tall dictator over six feet and Field Marshal was afraid to displease thin, lean and short-statured Shastri, who was 5' & 2" only in height. Did it not amount to bartering away the rights of Kashmiris.

Now in Tashkent the differences between Ayub and Bhutto were at their climax and there appeared to be no bridgeable gulf between the two. Virtually Altaf Gauhar was now the friend, philosopher and guide of Ayub and the fairly fluent diplomacy expert and fantastically brilliant Foreign Minister was relegated to the status of a formal Foreign Minister. The first meeting was attended by over 500 journalists from all over the world and they were all present during the first open session. On January 5, Ayub Khan met Shastri and thereafter briefed his delegation about the attitude of Mr. Shastri who had insisted that "General! You must appreciate my position, I have a very difficult job at home and have stepped into the shoes of giant and I am really too small for the job. "According to Ayub Khan, Shastri continued talking about his domestic problems saying that he was very much answerable to the public opinion. When Ayub was relating how Shastri kept saying that he was answerable to the people, Bhutto interrupted him and said quite sharply. "But we are also answerable to the people you don't have a heavenly mandate." Ayub considered himself above public opinion, as every dictator thinks and treated Pakistanis a dumb-driven cattle. I have quoted Altaf Gauhar frequently for the obvious reason that he was favourite of Ayub Khan and his version would not be incorrect against Ayub on facts. Though Ayub was accompanied by Commerce Minister, Ghulam Farooq and Information Minister Khawaja Shahabuddin besides Bhutto and the Foreign Secretary Aziz Ahmed, he preferred to consult with and accept the advice and guidelines given by Altaf Gauhar. In fact, omission to mention Kashmir issue was deliberate, and the realities had been ignored as result of the deceptive diplomatic behavior exercised by USSR and India. Thus they landed Pakistan in a political abyss, virtually closing the doors of any struggle for solving Kashmir issue. Mr. Bhutto persisted that Kashmir being the root-cause of all the trouble between the two countries, "We must address ourselves to finalizing a solution of Kashmir problem." The Indian Foreign Minister Swaran Singh restated Indian position that "Kashmir was the integral part of India:" The meeting ended in deadlock. Bhutto believed in the real resolution of Kashmir and not eyewash of the Kashmir issue like Ayub.

Ayub Khan had agreed in writing that Pakistan would renounce the use of force in setting dispute with India. Then Shastri agreed to it. Bhutto hit the ceiling when he read insert the pages, Ayub later showed him, threatening

to fly home to "expose" Ayub's treacherous "surrender" to all of Pakistan. Ayub felt constrained to delete the insert, though Altaf and Minister Shahabuddin agreed to, as did Pakistan Commerce Minister Ghulam Farooq. Bhutto immediately called Anderi Gromyko, Foreign Minister of USSR, who was with Shastri when the telephone rang, Zulfi tried "diplomatically" to explain that Ayub had agreed to "renounce force" only because India had agreed to "plebiscite" in Kashmir. Gromyko's angry reply was "It is a lie." According to Qudratullah Shahab, Mr. Zulfikar Ali Bhutto was shabbily treated during the talks by President Ayub when he tried to tender his advice to the President; he angrily said to Mr. Bhutto in Urdu, "Shut up, you fool." Mr. Bhutto, protesting against it, said "Sir, you never forget that there must be someone in the Russian delegation knowing Urdu language." Shahab's feeling was that this was the point where they had fallen out forever and each had his own way."

There is no doubt that Mr. Khrushchev, the predecessor of Mr. Kosygin, was deadly against Pakistan and wanted the end of it all, but comparatively Mr. Kosygin was inclined towards the cessation of hostilities between the two countries as they had appointed him the mediator and was deciding the dispute in his own country. When he found that both the parties had conflicting claims about Kashmir and he must have realized the righteousness of Pakistan point of view and India's interagency, he looked at Bhutto and said "I can see from the Foreign Minister's face that his meeting with the Indian Foreign Minister had not been encouraging" it must not be forgotten that generally the attitude of the USSR leaders was not reasonable towards Pakistan and they would not displease their old friend India. Kosygin, however, wanted to save the situation and he persuaded Shastri to let Kashmir figure nominally on the talks. There was thus a change in the Indian mind and the Indian Foreign Secretary informed the newsmen that "Mr. Shastri was willing to discuss on Kashmir, but not to negotiate it. The anxious and nervous Ayub Khan was satisfied with the meaningless statement of Indian Foreign Secretary. The Tashkent Declaration was signed on 10th January 1966. Text of the Tashkent Declaration is:

TASHKENT DECLARATION

The Prime Minister of India and the President of Pakistan, having met at Tashkent and having discussed the existing relations between India and Pakistan, hereby declare their firm resolve to restore normal and peaceful relations between their countries and to promote understanding and friendly relations between their peoples. They consider the attainment of these objectives of vital importance for the welfare of the 600 million people of India and Pakistan.

- I** The Prime Minister of India and the President of Pakistan agreed that both sides will exert all efforts to create good-neighborly relations between India and Pakistan in accordance with the United Nations Charter. They reaffirm their obligation under the Charter not to have

recourse to force and to settle their disputes through peaceful means. They considered that the interests of peace in their region and particularly in the Indo-Pakistan sub-continent, indeed, the interests of the peoples of India and Pakistan were not served by the continuance of tension between the two countries. It was against this background that Jammu and Kashmir was discussed and each of the sides set forth its respective position.

- II** The Prime Minister of India and the President of Pakistan have agreed that all armed personnel of the two countries shall be withdrawn not later than 25th February, 1966 to the position they held prior to August 5, 1965 and both sides shall observe the cease-fire terms on the cease fire line.
- III** The Prime Minister of India and the President of Pakistan have agreed that relations between India and Pakistan shall be based on the principles of non-interference in the internal affairs of each other.
- IV** The Prime Minister of India and the President of Pakistan have agreed that both sides will discourage any propaganda directed against the other country and will encourage propaganda which promotes the development of friendly relations between the two countries.
- V** The Prime Minister of India and the President of Pakistan have agreed that the High Commissioner of India to Pakistan and the High Commissioner of Pakistan to India will return to their posts and that the normal functioning of diplomatic missions of both countries will be restored. Both Governments shall observe the Vienna Convention of 1961 on diplomatic intercourse.
- VI** The Prime Minister of India and the President of Pakistan have agreed to consider measures towards the restoration of economic and trade relations, communications, as well as cultural exchanges between India and Pakistan and to take measures to implement the existing agreements between India and Pakistan.
- VII** The Prime Minister of India and President of Pakistan have agreed that they would give instructions to their respective authorities to carry out the repatriation of the prisoners of war.
- VIII** The Prime Minister of India and President of Pakistan have agreed that the two sides will continue the discussions on questions relating to the problems of refugees and evictions/illegal immigrations. They also agreed that both sides would create conditions, which will prevent the exodus of people. They further agreed to discuss the return of the property and assets taken over by either side in connection with the conflict.

IX The Prime Minister of India and President of Pakistan have agreed that both the sides will continue meetings in both countries. Both sides have recognized the need to set up joint Indian-Pakistani bodies which will report to their Governments in order to decide what further steps should be taken.

The Prime Minister of India and President of Pakistan record their feelings of deep appreciation and gratitude to the leaders of the Soviet Union, the Soviet Government and personally to the Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the USSR; for their constructive, friendly and noble part in bringing about the present meeting which has resulted in mutually satisfactory results. They also express to the Government and friendly people of Uzbekistan their sincere thankfulness for their overwhelming reception and generous hospitality.

They invite the Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the USSR to witness this declaration.

Prime Minister of India
LAL BAHADUR SHASTRI

President of Pakistan
MOHAMMAD AYUB KHAN

Tashkent, January 10, 1966

On the night of 10th and 11th January 1966, when it was about 2 am, Mr. Shastri fell from his bed on the floor and died of heart failure in Tashkent. About Shastri's death, Mr. Benazir Bhutto writes "During the peace negotiations held in Southern Russian City of Tashkent, President Ayub Khan lost everything we had gained on the battlefield under the Tashkent Agreement. Both countries agreed to pull their troops back to their pre-war position. My father was disgusted and tendered his resignations as Foreign Minister. When the Indian Prime Minister Lal Bahadur Shastri died of heart attack the day after the agreement was signed, my father acidly remarked that he must have died from happiness.

As the shocking terms of the settlement were disclosed to the people, massive violent demonstrations broke out in the Province of Punjab and Sindh amidst reports against police brutality. Still the demonstrations continued and the political life of Bhutto was changed forever.

When the people of West Pakistan came to know about the Tashkent Declaration, they were shocked and virtually rose in revolt against the dictator Ayub Khan. Altaf Gauhar, one of the delegates and biographers writes as under about the agitation and reaction of common man, laborers educated class and the student community:

“Agitation against Tashkent Declaration began in West Pakistan around 13th January, 1966. It soon spread to different colleges and universities. In Lahore, the police opened fire on a large group of demonstrators and two students were killed.” Further he writes “the agitation looked like gathering momentum. There were more protest meetings in Rawalpindi, Lahore and Multan and more casualties. Lahore and Tharparker were placed under curfew and West Pakistan was buzzing with rumours of grave differences between Ayub and Bhutto.” The opposition parties met at Lahore on 5th February, 1966 and condemned the Declaration as humiliating document. The Resolution was moved in the Conference by Maulana Maududi against the Tashkent Declaration, which was unanimously passed in condemning the Tashkent Declaration as detrimental to the interests of Pakistan.

In order to shut the voice of the leaders, the West Pakistan Government out of fear imposed a black-out on the proceedings of the meeting. Sardar Shaukat Hayat said “Later we started an agitation against the Tashkent Accord, which we thought, was a defeat for Pakistan. We sent in symbolic group to break the Section 144. I led the first and was arrested in Mochi Gate and I was incarcerated in Jail at Sukkur and later at Hyderabad where the first attempt was made on my life under the orders of Nawab of Kalabagh.” This version is further supported by another writer as under:

“The Indo-Pakistan declaration had ended in stalemate, with Pakistan following to liberate Kashmir and India failing to subdue Pakistan. But the general belief in Pakistan was that they had won the war. It was in this background that the Tashkent Declaration still provided with military disengagement between India and Pakistan, without providing a solution of the Kashmir problem came as shock to the Nation. There were strong anti-Government demonstrations in the major cities of Pakistan in 1966. Thus it was an exercise in futility.

It will not be out of place to mention that Zulfikar Ali Bhutto had not participated or openly encouraged the agitation. It was a spontaneous act on the part of the people who treated Bhutto as their hero and the Declaration a national insult. Tashkent Declaration in fact was no settlement, it was a temporary truce type Declaration. Everybody, knew that Kashmir was the root cause of the hostilities. Obviously, it was a cruel and forcible grabbing of Kashmir by India and for the solution of that burning problem and in fact the only real problem, the President of Pakistan had poignantly failed to press the crux of his case. This superficial Declaration could be termed as no settlement, because nothing substantial was settled at Tashkent, therefore naturally it gave rise to further discontent.

Mr. Frank Moraes, an influential journalist wrote “it is the acceptance by Pakistan to renounce the use of force in settlement of disputes to which she was earlier reluctant to subscribe. The settlement of Kashmir issue is not made

conditional on this mutual renunciation of force. The problem of Kashmir was casually mentioned. It was deliberately left totally ambiguous and understandable as to how the life and death issue of Kashmir would be resolved under the Declaration which merely speaks of peaceful means without proposing concrete and practical means. It was left to the good grace of India to settle this issue or not. It was an absurdity to expect good grace from India and every Pakistani was aware of the Indian leaders. It was never mentioned in the Declaration that Kashmir problem would be resolved by way of plebiscite as decided by the Security Council in 1948 or by way of mediation. There was no provision of any modality, method or political machinery by which this all important issue was to be resolved. It was therefore clear that the deliberate ambiguity had favored the Indians and was no more than eyewash for Pakistan.

While Ayub Khan was going to Tashkent he had declared on 2nd January, 1966 that this forthcoming meeting could prove "turning point in the history of the Sub-Continent" and that he was going to Tashkent because "The Soviet Union had indicated that they too want to settlement of the Kashmir issue." But it clearly seems that Ayub Khan had unfortunately made a false or frivolous statement trying to hoodwink the people. The Tashkent Declaration was not a turning point in favour of Pakistan but certainly in favour of India. If he had really succeeded in what he said, he would have proved himself the hero of Pakistan and Bhutto would not have come in the fore-front at all. Pakistan had only one loyal and strong friend China, but that too was disappointed with the role of Ayub Khan, his surrender before Soviet Russia hostile to China and birth of the vague and ambiguous Tashkent Declaration. Now he had lost his legitimacy as a national leader in the eyes of the people. For Example, one writer contracted the image of Chou En Lai and Ayub in the local following words: "Whenever Chou En Lai appeared in local cinema, there was a loud and prolonged applause; on the other hand when Ayub's face was seen, there were cat-calls and volleys of down-to-earth, Punjabi abuse." The Tashkent Declaration thus proved a grand failure and Ayub lost whatever little reputation he had; and the days of his political end were approaching fast. Russia won laurels as maker of peace in the sub-continent; Indian diplomacy succeeded by getting Ayub committed that there shall be no armed struggle over Kashmir; Pakistan lost everything and the rights of Kashmir were bartered away by the military dictator of Pakistan. China was displeased by Russian mediation, thus Pakistan was entrapped politically. Ayub's diplomacy would remind the readers of Master Tara Singh's politics at the time of Indian independence, who has said "Hindus got India, Muslims got Pakistan, but Sikhs got nothing".

CHAPTER 11

Birth of Pakistan People's Party

"Democracy, equality and fraternity are our birth rights and we shall have them"

The Emperor of Iran once expressed "I have absolute powers because people have absolute faith in me." There is no intoxication worse than the so-called absolute political power. How rightly it is said that "power corrupts and absolute power corrupts absolutely". But nothing is absolute except the creator. The painful and lamentable death of the Shah in exile serves as a lesson to every wise man.

After his shamefully rigged election as President, after celebrating his so-called victory by punishing the Karachites, after pouring the blood of the poor people on roads of the metropolis 1 after the Tashkent Conference, after touring of important world capitals in vanity, Ayub Khan now started living in fools, paradise, thinking him self to be a great victor and statesman.

His well-wisher Altaf Gauhar writes:

"Bhutto turned up in Dacca and requested the Information Secretary to get him an interview with Ayub. When Ayub was approached, he said "Well, I have an appointment with my barber but I suppose the Foreign Minister gets precedence... I have not been idle. I have chosen some one to take over from Bhutto." What an impudence!

One can safely realise that after Tashkent Declaration. Ayub Khan had selected another Foreign Minister in place of Zulfikar Ali and had developed utmost contempt against the latter. It seemed that his days were numbered and he was responsible for his fall due to his own follies and fictitious notions about his greatness and power.

BHUTTO RESIGNS

Now it was no more possible or honourable for Zulfikar Ali Bhutto to continue in Ayub cabinet, as such the only noble and correct course of conduct for him was to resign and he actually resigned in June 1966 after consulting his closest friends. The brilliant and brave Bhutto was man of masses and he knew for certain that the day was not far, when he would be no more in the Cabinet. He had thoroughly studied Ayub Khan, his short-sightedness and superficial knowledge of domestic politics, his scanty study about global affairs and its

trends, his contempt for contact with masses, his unsatisfactory and inadequate knowledge about army equipment, logistics and modern weaponry use, planning of strategies for war and want of courage to face his enemy, in critical hours. Zulfikar Ali's final and thoughtful conclusion was that Ayub Khan was unfit from every point of view to continue President of Pakistan. This inefficient and dissipated dictator must be thrown out without delay. According to Mr. Z.A. Bhutto, he had tendered his resignation to Ayub while he was still in Tashkent.

It was a perfect timing when Z.A. Bhutto paid farewell to the cabinet and attained high degree of respect and popularity in West Pakistan, while Ayub Khan was the most hated person throughout Pakistan. In politics accurate timing of taking decision is always most important; while incorrect timing has invariably proved damaging and even disastrous, Mr. Bhutto left Islamabad on 22 June by train and reached Lahore railway station where a crowd from the city had gathered to welcome him vociferously and warmly as their hero; he was also invited for lunch by Nawab Kalabagh, Governor of West Pakistan.

During the lunch, the Nawab is said to have warned Bhutto that the former was a dangerous dog of Ayub Khan and if Bhutto started any agitation, he would not spare him. To me, it appears to be true. As Shaukat Hayat reported that when called by the Nawab, he was told, "Sardar Sahib, I am a dog and I bite whom-so-ever my Master orders me to do" So the President had kept his dogs ready to bite his opponents.

The common people of Punjab, especially the young Punjabis and the students, were really mad to Bhutto, his rhetorical and powerful speeches to fight against the immoral and unjust war of India in Kashmir and Pakistan were resounding in their hearts and echoing in their ears. According to them, there was none else including their Punjabi leaders, who could protect Pakistan against the onslaught of India. It may be borne in mind that he didn't make any speech, didn't utter a single word against Ayub Khan or his Government, but it did not mean that he had decided to abandon his political career when he was still quite young. His brain was silently but actively working for the formation of a new party and even be-friend his old adversaries. He left Pakistan for holiday in Europe, visiting several cities on his way to Europe. From Beirut, he wrote a letter to his old adversary Kazi Fazlullah, Ex-Chief Minister of Sindh belonging to Larkana, as under: "You May blame me.... Such things do unfortunately happen in politics but with good will, misunderstanding can be drained out.... Generally speaking it is true the people out of office tend to be ultra-sensitive and those in office are inclined to be over-suspicious. We have no cause now to be either suspicious of each other or... ultra sensitive. We can start fresh, on a new slate.... To use the farmer's raw sense. We both come from the same village... I am again reminding of what you told me in Larkana soon after you retired from politics, when you quoted Warren Hasting's speech at the time of his impeachment.... History alone can

determine whether the qualities and services of a man outweigh human failings and weaknesses and is there a soul without error”?

Zulfikar Ali Bhutto had a very wide circle of friends because of his affable, loving and helpful nature and his close contacts almost in every Tehsil of Pakistan. This writer has never seen any politician in Pakistan who has been so helpful to everybody, without any previous acquaintance and no politician of our country knew as many people in Pakistan as he did and not even one fourth. He called them by name and remembered the work they had requested for. And now he wanted to wage a relentless war against the dictator, for which he was appealing, initiating and associating as many persons as possible in his circle.

Before the formation of the Pakistan People’s Party, Zulfikar Ali Bhutto was in a wavering mood. He was thinking of joining Wali Khan’s N.A.P or the Council League. But better sense prevailed on him, when his close political associates, including J.A. Raheem, known as brain trust of the People’s Party and others were successful in persuading him to create his own party instead of joining an unpopular or conservative political faction, whose leadership was already tainted and discredited. This wise decision was responsible for creating a new history of Pakistan, making Bhutto an international leader and routing Ayub Khan’s dictatorship once for all.

BIRTH OF PEOPLE’S PARTY

The establishment of a political party was a “must” for achieving higher political aims and objectives, other wise it was impossible to organize the masses and fight the reactionary opponents. So Mr. Bhutto started with his “Pakistan People’s Party” at Lahore on 1st December 1967 and the place that had the honour of being chosen for its establishment was the house of Dr. Mubashir Hassan, the grandson of famous poet, reformer, namely Altaf Hussain Hali, under the able leadership of Mr. Bhutto. His lieutenants, namely J.A. Raheem, Mubashir Hassan, Ghulam Mustafa Khar, Mumtaz Ali Bhutto, Hayat Mohammad Sherpao and Mairaj Mohammad Khan were conspicuous by their presence as the founders of the party. In the National Assembly, Ghulam Mustafa Jatoi of Nawabshah District (Now Naushehro Feroze) and Ghulam Mustafa Khar both M.N.As, belonging to feudal class were most intimate mutual friends and had their friendly connections with Zulfikar Ali, but the young daring Khar for whom Bhutto had developed immense intimacy, jumped into the party without waiting for his friend, Ghulam Mustafa Jatoi. Mr. J.A. Raheem who had been an old I.C.S. Officer, was an Ambassador for Pakistan in Paris; Bhutto who was Pakistan’s Foreign Minister had several meetings, discussions and dialogues with this experienced bureaucrat and was impressed by him and finally he became the theoretician of the Pakistan’s People’s Party. But the main difference between the two was that Bhutto’s erudition and genius possessed wealth of practical experience of politics, while Mr. Raheem, though an intelligent officer, had intense bookish knowledge instead of

practical experience; however Mr. Zulfikar Ali Bhutto obtained such advantages from him, which he could deliver.

To the delegates Mr. Bhutto explained in detail his political aims and objects, Ayub's total failure to give respectability to Pakistan, which it deserved, the pitiable condition of masses who formed the back-bone of the country, the dismal part played by the political parties in ameliorating the sufferings of their mother land, the faulty role of the so-called religious scholars in politics. He severely criticized the behaviour of the reactionary classes, who had brought the country and its people on the verge of break down. He now gave a new turn to and new ideas in politics, as a real emancipator of masses and the most representative patriotic leader of his country. In short, the basic principles of the party announced by Bhutto were as under:

Islam is our Faith
Democracy is our Policy
Socialism is our Economy

He held the first public meeting of his party at the traditional Mochi Gate, Lahore, which is like Hyde Park of London for the political leaders and workers. In spite of rain, it was a successful gathering and Bhutto's performance as a leader of the opposition was well up to the mark even in his debut appearance as chief of a party and augured well for the future.

Ayub Khan and his lackeys started opposing him tooth and nail. The political parties criticized his past and his association with Ayub and the religious parties branded him as kafir. He and his political associates were put in jail for some time, but soon released by the superior court. False cases were engineered against Bhutto, but all went in vain, he grew stronger and stronger day by day. He became more and more popular as his opposition increased. Old people, younger generation, students and the women and even those who were deemed backward in politics, raised the thundering slogans of Jiye Bhutto, PPP Zindabad and Ayub Murdabad. None could check this storm, perhaps it was from above. Bhutto was bent upon setting Ayub regime on fire.

Another pertinent question arises, as to why he chose Lahore, why not Karachi, or any other city for launching his party? The reply is not far to seek, Lahore is admittedly the political heart of Pakistan, though geographically it is not centrally situated, but located on the border of Pakistan. In 1936, Mr. Jinnah called the first meeting of the All India Parliamentary Board of Muslim League at Lahore when all the unionist "choudhris", including Sir Mian Fazle Hussain and Sir Sikander Hayat Khan and all the most influential personalities were again him, when Punjab was the hub of politically omnipotent British Government and due to fear, none was prepared to come forward. He could call this all-important and first meeting of its kind at Delhi, Bombay or Calcutta, but Lahore has had its own importance,

unequalled by the other cities of India. Again in 1940, the All India Muslim League Session was called again at Lahore, where the resolution of separate Muslim home land was passed. The Viceroy of India and the Muslim League Premier of Punjab opposed the holding of the session at Lahore, where only two days ago, the atmosphere had turned very tense and extremely hostile due to the killing of more than thirty Khaksars. But the undaunted, Jinnah who was gifted with enviable courage and wisdom, refused to listen to these big guns. Thus the city of Lahore which has remained not only the center of political pains and pleasures, has also been the center of journalism, prose, poetry, education, sports and full of life from every point of view. It can be criticized also but what can not be criticized?

It is from Lahore that Bhutto proceeded to every province, every region every district, every city and every village. Now the national politics was not confined to intrigues in mansions or conspiracies in palace. He gave new directions and dimensions to politics, which were creative as well as appealing to the minds and conscience of the people. As the slogan given by the Quaid-e-Azam was not a merely slogan but a pathway to the programme of Pakistan, similarly the new slogan of "Roti, Kapra Aur Makan" (Bread, Cloth and Shelter) given by him were not a hood-winking phraseology, but the essence of party programme. After all the homeland was carved for certain purposes. The decrees passed by the 'Ulemas' were simply discarded; people had firm faith that it is God Almighty who provides maintenance to his creatures but not without efforts as ordained by Him.

He was a tireless worker. He visited every village, spoke to largest gathering in the towns and cities and explained not only rhetorically, but so sensibly and clearly almost to every citizen of Pakistan that none excepting Zulfikar Ali would be their sole future leader and spokesman.

While speaking at Abbottabad, Peshawar and other places, Mr. Zulfikar Ali openly and defiantly challenged the dictator, in his own province, said:

"I am not afraid of you.... Why don't you put me in jail? If you put me in jail, people will throw you out of the Government... you are running your Government with force and suppression.... We are struggling for democracy and we shall continue to struggle... 22 families have usurped the economic resources of the whole country.... It was said before Martial Law that there were 600 Zamindars and out of them only 200 were ruling the country. Now a score of families wield power. Even in America, the center of capitalism, such a wretched system does not exist... we demand justice and fair play." Further he said, "It is this Government which is drunk with power.... Brothers! I have committed mistakes in my life. I am human being and to err is human, but for my sins and blunders. I shall repent before my Creator and beg His forgiveness. I shall not go to the President... my greatest mistake had been that I was associated with this Government.... They have sucked the blood of

the entire country. They have usurped the wealth of the whole nation. It does not lie in their mouth to accuse us”.

Bhutto traveled through out the country like a whirlwind as against all other political leaders of West Pakistan taken together. They did not work as much as he worked. He was indeed a tireless worker, having a charismatic personality and an orator. He drew the masses like a most powerful magnet.

The most remarkable revolutionary poet, Habib Jalib had sung the song of “Twenty families have prospered, the rest are ruined; Zindabad (Long Live) Ayub Khan”, in a lyrical tone, in every city in December 1964, resulting in mounting wave of resentment against Ayub. Similarly in 1968, the rhetorical brave revolutionary Zulfikar Ali Bhutto not only created his party, but awakened millions of masses in his mammoth public meetings and raised unstopped voice against the police state. People were so cowed down by the cruelties of Martial Law and so ruthlessly crushed by the Nawabs, Khans, Sardars, Choudhris, Waderas and the wealthiest industrialists of Pakistan, that they had lost their self-respect and moral courage and dared not sit on a cot or chair, or vote against their orders. They were just like dumb driven cattle, servile like slaves before the tyrants of Ayub Khan regime. A small land holder and old worker related to me that Zulfikar Ali visited the Malakand area of N.W.F.P. in 1969 along with his friend Hayat Mohammad Khan Sherpao, the President (PPP), N.W.F.P. and other leaders and he requested him to visit their village, which was at a distance of about 5-6 kilometers; but Sherpao disapproved and said that the road was in a very bad condition; and further the Malakand Agency people had no right of vote (at that time), therefore it would be a futile exercise to undertake the journey. But Bhutto overruled him, visited the village and he exhorted and encouraged the villagers to fight the tyrant Nawabs and never bow before them and maintain their self-respect. According to him, Bhutto’s bold and illuminating speech had such a salutary and moral boosting effect; that the common men started revolting against the Khans in spite of their threats and refused to obey them. His contention was that Bhutto wanted to bring revolution and was not begging for votes, otherwise it was needles to visit the Malakand Agency, which at that point of time had no right of franchise.

But Bhutto was not merely an agitator, nor did he believe in a bloody revolution, he wanted change by evolution also. As a tireless worker, highly educated son of a feudal, he had abandoned the luxuries of life, he was prepared for all hardships and even to lay down his life.

In those days of opposition, a criminal case for hiring tractors on concessional rate was filed against him, but he did not have any such disreputation of being corrupt, and was a politician with clean hands. With speaking to the delegates he said “I can make mistake but I am not guilty of any impropriety. I never took undue advantage of my office as Minister.

However, I have committed one sin; and that is that I have been associated with this Government for eight years. Although I served the country to the best of my capacity... If like other ministers I wished to have my own factories and bank balance abroad, I could have done all that so easily. To hire tractors at half the fixed rate would be like picking up pennies, after passing up pounds”.

The charge seemed to be ridiculous and the people refused to believe it. But one thing is apparent; Bhutto did realise that it was his mistake to join the Martial Law government in spite of the fact that none else in the Government had served as much as he had, even Miss Fatima Jinnah, an avowed opponent of Ayub, had recognized the potentials of Bhutto as a politician.

Sometimes I visit the graveyard at Larkana, where my nearest and dearest relatives are buried. To my utter surprise. I find the illiterate and intoxicant addicts discussing not only provincial or national politics but international politics too. Were they taught politics in any school or college, or were there any adult education institutions of Government in the country? No, their School of politics was the University of Pakistan People’s Party, and its Chancellor, Vice Chancellor and Teacher was Zulfikar Ali Bhutto, the unforgettable Bhutto who is remembered and respected by multitudes of Pakistanis even after decades. Then why should he not be called the Quaid-e-Awam?

Many of his opponents alleged that he was greedy for power, he was weeping for power at the Lahore Railway Station. He was severely criticizing and condemning Ayub, but not for power. He was weeping because Pakistan was humiliated. He was weeping because the dictator was ruining Pakistan, which had been attained after great pains by his old, ailing but the most determined leader Quaid-e-Azam Mohammad Ali Jinnah; because he knew why it was attained, and what was its meaning and importance.

On March 16, 1966, Zulfikar Ali Bhutto had made a rarest speech of his life couched in superb and choicest wording, evidencing his deepest sense of patriotism and explaining the political philosophy that was behind the attainment of Pakistan. After Tashkent defeat in diplomacy, he said in the National Assembly:

“What are our objectives? What are our motivations? Pakistan is a great ideal. A member of this House has said that Pakistan is man-made country. It is a God-made country.... It is a beautiful thought. It is a creation of excellence. That is what Pakistan is.... But there is much more to Pakistan. It is a blessing of Allah. It is a creation of the surge of Islamic nationhood. Pakistan is a product of an earth shaking idea. It is a revolution out of the heart of history.... Pakistan is a live revolution.”

“Pakistan is a mystical idea.... Pakistan is the heartthrob of people, Pakistan is the culmination of the aspiration of Islamic order...”

Without naming Mr. Jinnah, Bhutto paid a most glowing tribute to him. This political speech proves beyond any doubt that he entertained limitless love for Pakistan and such a person could not madly run after power as suggested maliciously by his avowed enemies.

I think it will not be out of place to mention Mr. Bhutto’s meeting with his respectable neighbouring lady. Fatima Jinnah, whose residence Mohatta Palace was at a few paces from his 70 Clifton, where he lived:

“Soon after he returned to 70 Clifton, in Karachi that October, Zulfi received a message from his venerable neighbour across the road, Fatima Jinnah, who was eager to speak to him. I walked to her residence (Mohatta Palace), she was sitting in the hall, with her white poodle beside her”. Zulfi recalled, “she got up with a smile, waved her thin finger to me and said, “I told you to leave him. It is all your fault”. Her hair was as white as sari, and at 73, “Fati”, as her Great Leader brother called her, was in the last year of her life. She reminisced about Jinnah’s friendship with Sir Shahnawaz, the old boy in Bombay with Mr. Patel, and his tea parties and Liaquat Ali Khan and his Begum. But mostly she tallied about how she’d been “robbed” of the Presidency in the last elections, which she had felt so confident of winning. “She told me that rigging was done very shamelessly in the Punjab”. Zulfi remembered, “she said with some rancour.” Being old and alone”, I had to reconcile myself, with the situation... but I trounced Ayub Khan “That was the last time he spoke to her, but Zulfi felt no regrets at having refused to join her East Pakistan-dominated combined opposition”.

Miss Fatima Jinnah who was candidate of the combined opposition parties in the Presidential election, got most of the votes from East Pakistan, where Mujibur Rehman was the main worker of Miss Jinnah and the most important and effective leader of C.O.P. After assessing the political situation, Bhutto came to the correct conclusion that Mujib, who had already announced his six points programme and was the most popular leader of Pakistan, would be his rival. And it was not possible for her to prefer him to East Pakistan leader thus his refusal to join the C.O.P was justified. Was Bhutto refusal justified?

Bhutto had never underestimated the importance of East Pakistan while speaking in the National Assembly on 16 March 1966, he had emphatically stated: “If the people of East Pakistan think that Jammu and Kashmir is too far away and there are problems which do not directly affect them, then let them come here and say so, because without their support, there could have been no Pakistan, no matter how great might have been the struggle of Punjab, Sindh, Baluchistan and North West Frontier Province. There could have been no Pakistan if the people of East Pakistan did not support

Pakistan. This is a historical fact. So to take to its logical conclusion, it is the majority of the people of our country whose will must prevail. I can boldly and clearly say that even if every individual in West Pakistan is prepared to be destroyed, we can not espouse the cause of people of Jammu and Kashmir because the majority is here in East Pakistan. The determining factor is East Pakistan and they should guide us and they should tell us whether we should continue the process of self-determination or not, because it is for them to decide."

The decade of Ayub regime had destroyed the unity of Pakistan and had completely alienated East from the West, and in spite of his armed forces, he was morally afraid of East Pakistan and that was actually proved by subsequent events. Bhutto never for a moment had any doubt about their patriotic sense, but the problem was that he had formed his party so late, that the East Pakistanis had already joined the Awami League.

West Pakistan and especially Punjab and Sindh, were the stronghold of Bhutto and these two provinces had large number of National Assembly Seats. On 21 September 1968, a provincial convention of the Pakistan People's Party was held in Hala, District Hyderabad, which was attended by delegates from all over Sindh. He made a very galvanizing and challenging speech in the convention.

"My brothers, I wanted to resist Pakistan's enemies, but my opponents dubbed my patriotic feelings as emotional... After coming back from Tashkent, wherever I went the people received me with affection... My silence was exploited as cowardice. As a matter of fact, I am neither a coward nor emotional. I had kept quiet, only because the enemy forces were looking for a suitable opportunity. I knew that a single sentence from my mouth could spark a civil war in the country. I remained silent to avoid a civil war. But now those years have passed... Brothers, I am proud of having been trained politically by ever-conscious patriotic people of Pakistan. They are my real teachers. This is why the politics of the people and humanity are in my characters." He further added, "I am not greedy for wealth... I never unduly drew a single penny from the national treasury for my own person. In the land reforms, my family surrendered its 40,000 acres of fertile land for the people. Today, the Government accuses me of having taken an undue advantage of my official position..."

"I challenge all individuals who have been associate with the Government, to declare their assets before they entered Government, as these assets now stand. I will do the same". He called out to Ayub in particular, "Come on Mr. President, let us both take the initiative and account for out past and present assets. Let us tell the nation what you had before you became President and about all that I had before becoming a Minister. Let the people know what you gained and what I lost while in office... Are you willing to do that?" It was an open challenge to Ayub's honesty and integrity, both knew

each other fully well; Ayub's family had become multimillionaire, they were now big industrialists, as such Bhutto's challenge was unchangeable. He had by now become the most dominant undisputed and popular leader of West Pakistan, with all capabilities to run his country as its progressive and charismatic leader."

The most prominent politician, in West Pakistan at the time of Ayub's demise was Zulfikar Ali Bhutto. His long association with the Government, his intimacy with the foreign policy apparatus and the defence structure provided him with opportunities that other politicians could not hope to equal. Bhutto was familiar with the officers of the Junta and their thinking coincided on most issues involving Pakistan's interests". In fact no politician of Pakistan in either of the wings, could even claim to be of Bhutto's status in spite of his young age.

Ayub Khan used all his weaponry against Bhutto but it all proved blunt and in-effective. False cases were foisted against him. He and other party leaders and workers were jailed, but Ayub failed to stop the caravan of liberation and democracy led by Bhutto. The army that constituted his electoral college, was fed up with the attitude of Ayub Khan; the powerful bureaucracy on whose recommendation he had been appointing ministers of his cabinet, was so demoralized and over-awed by Bhutto, that they refused to support the crumbling regime of Ayub Khan. He then set out in Sindh to support One Unit and threatened Sindhis in order to please Punjab. "He made a number of speeches in support of One Unit and was very happy that he had not pulled any punches. He had warned the people of Sindh that he would not allow anybody to dismember One Unit." In his 'big' meeting at Larkana, people were brought from the rural area of Larkana District and the adjoining areas by the local administration to make the show successful. And in his dictatorial speech, he threatened and roared like a rough and tough Police Inspector, "Nobody's father can have the courage of breaking One Unit". But the audience at no time applauded his speech.

There was no clapping – real or even fictitious. I myself was present in that officially managed meeting. Bhutto, on the other hand was a firebrand and he was an orator pleading a cause that was pleasing to the people. In fact it was their own cause for which Bhutto was fighting this epic war against Ayub. The audience used to applaud, raise vociferous slogans and dance merrily when their hero Bhutto addressed them. In fact, Bhutto had completely identified himself with the people and Ayub or anyone else was politically no match for Bhutto.

The Pakistan People's Party was founded and led by Quaid-e-Awam. He was its moving spirit, he was the soul of the body politic of the PPP and was universally loved by the people of West Pakistan, in spite of very venomous and vicious propaganda. But the common men felt that he possessed all the qualities of an ideal leader. It is true that the Quaid-e-Azam's role was

unenviable, he was the architect of Pakistan; but after him, it was all dictatorship and darkness. The country was engulfed externally and even internally by intrigues and conspiracies. The mass awakening was created by none other than Zulfikar Ali Bhutto. He had given a true and clear picture of the conditions rampant in Pakistan and according to the vast majority of people, he alone could deliver goods, he alone could save the sinking ship of Pakistan as he was the heart and soul of his nation. Thus the political consciousness was solely the result of his efforts, he gave tongue to the dumb to speak face to face against any feudal lord, he taught what self-respect meant and how to preserve it. The politics of Pakistan was monopoly of twenty families; and confined in their palatial houses and a forbidden fruit for a commoner but Bhutto had snatched it from their controlling clutches and made the common men of Pakistan master of his destiny; What Jinnah was to Muslim League, Bhutto was to the People's Party and they were the sole spokes men of their country. The entire credit of destroying the political 'Somnath' built by Ayub goes to Bhutto.

CHAPTER 12

Bhutto Storms Ayub Regime

"Dictatorship usually present a formidable exterior. They seem, on the outside, to be hard glittering and irresistible. Within, they are full of rottenness"

Foster Dultes

God alone is supreme, but the short-sighted man, who acquires political power as an authoritarian, foolishly starts thinking that he is all powerful, but his days are always numbered. In 1958, Ayub Khan had, by the force of his army, dismissed the Civil Government, abrogated the constitution, imposed Martial Law and became Pakistan's dictator. A dictator considers himself wiser than the whole world and that was the lasting malady of Ayub Khan. Through his friend Iskander Mirza, he said:

"We cannot get men from the Mars. The same group of people, who have brought Pakistan on the edge of ruination, will rig the elections for their own ends. The constitution, which was brought into being on 23rd March, 1956, after so many tribulations, is unworkable. It is full of dangerous compromise, so that Pakistan will disintegrate internally, if the malaise is not removed."

Pakistan was unfortunately in the grip of political gangsters and gamesters; and Ayub Khan who had imposed the Martial Law, abrogated the constitution, cancelled the general elections destroyed the democracy, created 80,000 sycophants in the form of Basic Democrats to perpetrate his rule, humiliated the nation in 1965 war, accepted the Indian superiority in Tashkent Declaration by his poor diplomacy, had absolutely no national mandate to rule Pakistan. There was wave of resentment amongst the army to Ayub's mishandling in 1965 war and converting their victory into defeat in the Tashkent Declaration. He was bound to step down as he had failed to honor his with the nation:

"Let me assure everyone that whereas Martial Law will not be retained a minute longer than is necessary, it will not be lifted a minute earlier than the purpose for which it has been imposed has been fulfilled."

As if he was indispensable and innocent and the politicians were the most condemnable lot; but the fragile dictator Ayub Khan was celebrating the decade of his "green revolution" in 1968 to be – fool the people, while the nation was seething with discontent. Bhutto stormed his brittle regime which ultimately did not prove stronger than straw; and his dreams of kingship till

death were shattered to pieces. Moses had now come out to destroy the Pharaoh.

The fact is that the year 1968 was proving ruinous for Ayub Khan. He himself was not a high ranking politician, his heart disease had further weakened his will, he had dismissed his wise and popular friends from high offices. Even the Army Generals were not absolutely loyal to him, his political party was devoid of popularity, the bureaucracy as ever was sitting on the fence. Under these circumstances, he had practically rendered himself friendless and defenseless. It was impossible for him to face the deluge and wrath of the people both from West and East wings.

The nation on the whole was not happy with Ayub Khan. Even his own Generals had their own aspirations and ambitions. In November 1968, there was a clash between police and students in Rawalpindi; the police wanted to search the bus of students that was coming from Peshawar. The students protested, the police persisted as a matter of their false show of prestige, there ensued a clash between students and police, resulting in the death of a student. Mr. Bhutto took full political advantage of the situation, he would not like such golden opportunity to slip out of his hands and he would hit when the iron was hot. Political tactician as he was, he succeeded in arranging and organizing meetings, demonstration, processions, strikes, closure of markets all over West Pakistan, condemning Ayub Khan for the high-handedness of bureaucracy; non-availability of food articles specially sugar and serious violation of human rights. So Bhutto set the whole West Pakistan politically ablaze and became hero of student community. The Government again added fuel to the fire by arresting Abdul Wali Khan and many of his workers. Ayub Khan who was addressing a public meeting in Peshawar escaped, however the axe fell on the opponents.

It was during this period of agitation that Asghar Khan also came out to address public meetings against Ayub Khan, as Bhutto and other Pakistan People's Party leaders were behind the bars. These meetings were in fact arranged and organized by the PPP workers, in order to keep the agitation very much alive against Ayub Khan and they did succeed in their objective. Bhutto who was the moving spirit of agitation in West Pakistan, remained undaunted in spite being jailed. He had determined to see Ayub Khan removed and he had proved his worth as a defender of the country. It was for the first time, that Bhutto's charismatic, courageous, extraordinarily capable handling of global affairs, oratory and relentless struggle against dictatorship made the people realise that he was the only genuine opposition leader to emancipate them from the long and dark years of dictatorship.

EAST PAKISTAN

The situation in the densely populated East Pakistan was even worse. The population and even more so the students were infuriated against Ayub Khan. The agitation in East Pakistan was like a gushing perennial river, even civil servants were in a mood of revolt; the police firing daily killed students but without any effect on the revolt in offing.

Mujibur Rehman, the most influential leader of East Pakistan was in the military custody, as he was implicated in the Agartala case. This conspiracy case was taken to be a conspiracy against the Bengalis, he was already in jail, how could he participate in a conspiracy? His name did not appear in the first report but later on he was roped in. It may be borne in mind that almost all the senior politicians had been politically killed by Ayub Khan through the process of disqualification. That generation of politicians was sober and patient. Now the new generation of politicians was young. They were not prepared to suffer or be insulted by Ayub Khan, whose reading about politicians and political workers was much fallacious; and this had remained the mentality of every military dictator, and they suffered very badly in the long run; but none was prepared to learn any lesson. Their criterion being that an opponent of Martial Law was an opponent of Pakistan, as such every Bengali was a traitor.

But Ayub Khan's intentions and views seemed to be totally different about the two wings; he was certain that the day was not far when the Bengalis would secede, but he would still continue to rule West Pakistan; which was politically, geographically, ethnically and economically divided and its people were not politically so conscious as those in the East Wing. Moreover the Pakistan Army was West Pakistan based, therefore there would not be much difficulty in controlling and crushing East Pakistan. But how the dictatorship supported by guns could continue in any part of Pakistan?

Many may differ with this proposition, but the facts were admitted by his biographer Mr. Altaf Gauhar, who was quite chummy Information Secretary and Advisor in 1968. It was a very important disclosure about secession which Ayub Khan had not only visualized but had full knowledge of it. He knew what "justice" he had done with East Pakistan. Altaf Gauhar writes:

"The Information Secretary suggested that perhaps Bengalis had not a fair deal, to which Ayub reacted quite angrily, "you become quite emotional when it comes to the Bengalis". The Information Secretary was a little taken back but he did not give up. He argued that the Bengalis might be a highly emotional people, but they had genuine grievances. Even what had been promised to them, under the constitution, had not been delivered. For instance, the constitution required that the federal legislative and its secretariat should be located in Dacca, which was to serve as the second capital of Pakistan. What they had been given was a ghost town. All legislative work continues to be done in Islamabad, where the Assembly staff was permanently lodged. Ayub leaned back a little wearily "Listen my dear fellow, I gave them

the second capital, because they are going to need it one day. They are not going to remain with us.”

I have mentioned Ayub Khan’s reply, which is very vital. In fact the entire conversation is quite important. What prevented Ayub Khan to do justice with East Pakistanis when he was in power for more than a decade? Why was the legislative work out done in East Pakistan and the entire staff belonged to West Pakistan and permanently located here? These acts were clear evidence of the fact that Ayub Khan never wanted East Pakistan to remain with the West, because he knew it well that it was beyond the capacity of a dictator to rule the Bengalis. He therefore wanted Bengalis to secede and then it would be covenant for him to rule West Pakistan. To an astute politician like Mr. Bhutto, the intention of Ayub Khan could not remain a secret, he could conveniently read his mind and motive. Moreover, Ayub Khan had very shabbily treated him and Bhutto was not a man to forget such treatment.

The incompetent and unpopular Governors as they had amply proved, it was not possible for General (Rtd) Musa and Monem Khan to restore peace and political normalcy in their respective provinces. They were in fact not qualified for this job that had been thrust upon them. Ayub Khan, all above, with his weak heart and shattered health, but ambitious as ever, had lost confidence in himself. Moreover, the loyalty of his dear and near Generals was also most dubious and doubtful though General Yahya Khan used to say “Ayub Khan is like my father”. But kingship knows no kinship. It was also now a clandestine relationship; Yahya Khan had now his own ambitious; in keeping with the traditions of political ups and downs and changing loyalties of the generals. Time is always the essence of politics. There was almost total disarray between Ayub and his powerful supporters. He himself was in confusion and his companions were spineless, they failed to act in time, the agitation was gaining more and more momentum everyday as the number of killings and injured was increasing. In Dacca, Karachi and other big cities curfew was imposed, but the situation was getting worse everyday.

Five political parties united in the shape of Pakistan Democratic Movement and on January 5, 1969 they placed five demands as under:

- 1.** Direct elections on the basis of adult franchise.
- 2.** Full powers to a directly elected Parliament and Provincial Legislatures.
- 3.** Immediate lifting of the state of emergency.
- 4.** Immediate restoration of all fundamental rights.
- 5.** Immediate release of all political prisoners.

Bhutto and Moulana Bhashani were never agreeable for negotiations with Ayub Khan, they took it to be his dishonest political move to divide the parties and continue his rule. From Jail, Mr. Bhutto had challenged Ayub Khan to fight presidential election against him and cross swords directly with him. Therefore he was not prepared for any compromise at any cost. He could safely and rightly predict that Ayub would be losing day by day, and if he compromised with Ayub Khan, it would amount to his political suicide; therefore there was emphatic "no" from him. Moulana Bhashani did not enjoy much influence in Bengal, but Bhutto was by now the heaviest political weight in West Pakistan, though youngest in age. This decision speaks lot about his superiority and tactics in political field in relation to the old, experienced politicians of West Pakistan.

But astonishingly the above five demands were foolishly and contemptuously rejected by the most unscrupulous and tactless Monem Khan, and Ayub followed him faithfully, disregarding the trails of blood and curfew in both the wings and more especially in East Pakistan. In East and West, when the atmosphere of clashes and conflicts was aggravating and the suspicious against Ayub and his friends destitute of all political pragmatism were growing deeper and deeper, the hands of Bhutto were getting stronger and stronger everyday; according to the people of West Pakistan, his assessment was correct and Ayub was adopting dilly-dally tactics to avoid the bad day.

Yet another combination was formed by the opposition, namely Democratic Action Committee (D.A.C) comprising parties, five of the PDM, Mujibur Rehman's Awami League, Wali Khan's N.A.P. and Jamiatul Ulema. They added three more demands, that is (1) Repeal of the Black Laws, (2) Restoration of right to strike and (3) Freedom of press. On 12th January DAC called to strike and it was for the first time that no law enforcing agency was now called upon to control the deteriorating situation.

Ayub Government was now a sinking ship. Like a drowning man he was trying to catch straw. The gentleman who had made tall claims to strengthen the disintegrating nation, was now himself in the process of disintegration and was about to pay a heavy price for imposing the Martial Law, usurping the political power to his advantages; and causing irreparable damage to the country. But still, he was not finding fault with himself. He was blaming the nation and the political leadership; his days now seemed to be numbered.

Ayub was neither a political thinker, nor a man of strong will. His most important consultants were the higher ups in the bureaucracy and chiefs of the staff, more specially Yahya Khan. His Ministers Sabur Khan, Khawaja Shahabuddin, S.M. Zafar were there in the picture, but the subsequent facts proved that army had the upper hand. He had also sought advice from the former Minister Manzoor Qadir by middle of February 1969 and it would be worth while to mention what he had said:

“He advised Ayub to make an announcement that he had done his duty and it was now for others to takeover. In the mean time, he should take steps to organize elections to a new Constituent Assembly on the basis of direct franchise.”

It was a sensible, sincere patriotic and timely advice; if it had been acted upon; the situation could be saved. But Ayub Khan had many advisers each with varying views. However, he did feel that his continuance in the office was no longer possible or even safe for him. He had been giving thought to the situation in his own way and finally he directed the Information Secretary Altaf Gauhar to draft the statement as per instructions given by him.

In the meantime, the situation in Dacca started getting out of control. One under trial prisoner Sergeant Zahurul Haq was shot dead. “Over a million people joined procession of Sergeant Zahurul Haq, the under trial prisoner, who was killed in Dacca. A section of the crowd turned violent and burnt several government offices and houses of ministers; including Khawaja Shahabuddin’s house.”

The hard fact that was Ayub Khan was now trying to throw a net over the politicians to catch them like fishes. Bhutto was shrewd enough to understand this political game. Therefore he refused to be part of the D.A.C., he did not participate in the talks and discussion with him; he had remained with Ayub for eight years, so he knew his nature thoroughly well, he could not rely on Ayub, who was now his worst enemy. Maulana Bhashani, an extremist in his ways also flatly refused to go with the D.A.C, thus the D.A.C, was also in an awkward position. On 21st February, Ayub Khan read a statement as under:

“My dear country men, we are passing through a critical time. Agitation has assumed the form of frenzy. Pakistan had been my passion and my whole life has been dedicated to its service..... I know what decision I take today will have far-reaching effect on our future.... At all times and in all difficulties I have sought guidance from God Almighty. It is in the light of my faith that I have decided to announce today that I shall not be a candidate in the next election. This decision is final and irremovable. All the doubts, suspicious and misgivings must end with this announcement”. Altaf Gauhar who was part and parcel of Ayub, had now totally identified himself with him in these difficult times. He writes:

“Ayub’s statement was acclaimed by all D.A.C. leaders in West Pakistan. Even Bhutto sent a message of appreciation”.

Later Ayub explained why he had waited so long to make the announcement: “I have not done this in a foolhardy manner. I have tried to save my position too. Martial Law is coming. What else is there to replace the government.... I can influence a better man to get in. I tell you, Yahya would be the best man. All these other men are deadly poison”.

Ayub Khan was playing a double and dirty game. On this occasion every associate of Ayub was stunned. How rightly though the rage, his Minister Sabur Khan had said. "He has stabbed the country in the back. The whole thing is nauseating. If he wanted to withdraw, he should have done so after 1965. That would have been much more graceful".

The facts clearly revealed that Ayub had won the presidential election held on 1965 by rigging. Later on, the decisions taken by Ayub Khan in the war of September 1965 were fatal for the country, the Tashkent Declaration was simply a hoax, going against the best interests of the country. Now on one hand he was trying to befool the politicians by calling Round Table Conference and on the other hand he had already decided to impose another Martial Law and hand over the regime of Pakistan to the "best man" Yahya Khan! Thus he was throwing Pakistan once again from frying pan into the fire for protecting his personal interests. What was the use of calling the Round Table Conference when he had already taken a hateful decision of re-imposing Martial Law? It would be termed as one of the most dangerous act of hypocrisy in the political history of Pakistan; and playing with the future of his own country in the name of welfare of the country.

POWER SNATCHED BY YAHYA

To Ayub, nothing was dearer to him than the dictatorship of Pakistan, except of course his own life. He had first thought that the U.S.A. and U.S.S.R. would come to his rescue, as they were happy with his stance of obedience, but there he was sadly mistaken. He turned towards Yahya Khan, whom he had appointed Commander-in-Chief of Pakistan out of turn, but he too disappointed him. This is what Newsweek of U.S.A. wrote that Ayub was forced to go by the army.

"The fact is that Ayub's resignation was forced upon him by the army from extremely reliable sources I have learned that on February 18, the President asked his generals to impose Martial Law but they refused. Three days later, Ayub attempted to calm the storm by announcing that he would not seek re-election in 1970. But that was not enough Last week with the full concurrence of the office corps, General Yahya forced Ayub to resign as the price for restoring order. "You can be sure of one thing" a friend of the President's told me, "The old man did not go voluntarily." Believe it or not, the foreign media, specially the American know better than what our media knows or our leaders state.

ROUND TABLE CONFERENCE

It was merely eyewash, the fate of the unfortunate land was already decided by Ayub. The politicians who had gathered at the conference belonged to different parties, having different ideas, all heterogeneous

elements harping on their own tone. Mujibur Rehman had insisted on the acceptance of six points, which were rejected by all the leaders from Punjab. Bhutto opposed the conference vehemently on the ground that they had no locus stand to decide the further constitution of the country. The reason being: "When on one side of the table sat a totally rejected Government and on the other side, political leaders without any mandate from the masses."

Addressing a big public meeting at Peshawar he declared that he would not join the round table talks, unless the people of all parts of Pakistan allowed him to participate. He said that the people have not so far given him the permission and he felt that by remaining outside the RTC, he will see that nothing goes wrong against the interest of the people in the country.

Mujibur Rehman dissociated from the conference after the meeting of 10th March, for the obvious reason that the six points were not acceptable to almost all the leaders of West Pakistan. It was disgusting behaviour from his point of view.

Outwardly, a big show of the conference was made by Ayub. Meetings continued for hours, many leaders expressed their views, Ministers, Advisors and Bureaucrats were consulted. But it was all farce, all drama, and all mockery!

Ayub Khan had to abdicate, so he directed the Information Secretary as usual to prepare the speech for him. He called the Information Secretary, in whom he had confided many a secret:

"Here are the guide lines, I have given to Yahya. According to the guidelines, Yahya, after taking over, would arrest all the agitators and some of the more irresponsible political leaders and restore law and order..... Ayub put down his file and said. "He will carry out my orders, he has promised to sort out Bhutto though I think Asghar Khan is more dangerous than him. It was clear that Yahya had led Ayub to believe that the army would put down the agitation and eliminate his political opponents and put him back in power after three months."

What a hazardous and nasty game that Ayub was playing, neither in the interests of the country, nor ultimately in his own. He treated Bhutto as his worst enemy, to be eliminated from the political scene through Yahya. It seems that Yahya Khan had held out such sinister promises to Ayub Khan, that the latter had called him the "best man". One who eliminated Bhutto was really the best man from Ayub's point of view because Bhutto was responsible for his humiliating ouster. But after attaining power, Yahya had to play his own game. Ayub could no more issue orders and directives to him. The 'son' may obey his former godfather or not, that is left to his sweet will and expediencies of the hour. From Ayub's point of view, Asghar Khan could be more stringent than Bhutto, he did support Mujibur Rehman; but the real danger for him was his

former Foreign Minister who had all potentials to be the future Prime Minister of Pakistan; Ayub Khan was largely responsible for creating conditions of secession therefore he had written off East Pakistan. In West Pakistan, Mr. Bhutto was the only dangerous man for him and his elimination could guarantee Ayub's future.

PARTING KICK TO PAKISTAN

Ayub Khan abdicated in favour of Agha Mohammad Yahya Khan on 25th March 1969. He addressed the people:

"My dear country men, Assalam Alakum, this is the last time that I am addressing to you as President of Pakistan. The situation is fast deteriorating. The administrative institutions are being paralyzed, self-aggrandizement is the order of the day. The mobs are resorting to "Gheraos" at will and get their demands accepted, under duress and no one has the courage to proclaim the truth....

The economy of this country has been crippled. Factories are closing down and production is dwindling every day.... Unfortunately, the conditions continue to deteriorate from bad to worse. You are aware of the results of Round Table Conference..... I have always told you that Pakistan's salvation lay in strong center. I accepted the parliamentary system because in this way also, there is possibility of preserving a strong center. But now it is being said that country is divided into two parts. The center should be rendered ineffective and powerless institution. The defense service should be crippled and the political entity of West Pakistan should be done away with. It is impossible for me to preside over the destruction of our country....".

When Ayub Khan had taken in 1958, it was proclaimed that democracy was a danger to the life of Pakistan, though it was attained through democracy by the Quaid-e-Azam. Now at the time of abdication he expressed that the country was in the worst possible condition and was on the verge of destruction and division. But who was responsible for all the conditions, political and economic and law and order situation in Pakistan. Is the man who played with the destinies of the country, not responsible for such situation, for bringing the country on the brink of all types of bankruptcy? It was evident from the last statement of Ayub Khan that he alone was responsible for the deterioration as had been very rightly alleged by Mr. Bhutto. Ayub Khan had not asked Yahya for the elimination of any other leader except Bhutto. Ayub had prepared the last speech with the approval and approbation of Yahya Khan. He abrogated the constitution and the country, enveloped by miseries and misfortunes was gifted to the Junta of Generals.

CHAPTER 13

Bungling and Blunders of Yahya Regime

"Serving the Cause of Devil"

early a full year was given by the Yahya regime for election campaign to the N parties which was too long and feelings of voters were surcharged with sentiments and emotions. This was also the period of intrigues, conspiracies and internal controversies that further complicated and vitiated the political atmosphere of the country. In the mean time, India was not merely an onlooker of the situation, but was preparing to take the fullest possible advantage of internal squabble in Pakistan.

It must be remembered that the army generals, after enjoying the taste of political power, were not prepared to go back to the barracks. They had decided to have a substantial share in the power politics of Pakistan under the new constitution. Thus there were three main contesting parties in the political arena of Pakistan.

1. The Army Generals, who did not want to retreat to barracks.
2. The Awami league in East Pakistan, which enjoyed absolute majority in the National Assembly, but surprisingly it had no member from West Pakistan.
3. The Pakistan People's Party with overwhelming majority of members from West Pakistan, but no member from East Pakistan.

In his initial days, General Yahya Khan seemed to be sincere in his utterances to hand over the political power and take to the profession of a soldier, but in due course of time he entertained different desires along with his near and dear colleagues.

"Yahya thought that Shaikh Mujib and his restive Awami League would win perhaps 60% of the East's allotment of 169 Seats in the 313 member constituent Assembly. The remaining East Pakistan delegates, Yahya figured, would align themselves with West Pakistani Parties and would prevent Mujib from winning majority control over the entire country."

The pledges of all the ambitious military dictators proved nothing more than a farce and fraud on the people of Pakistan. "This situation at GHQ was also becoming complicated. Generals like Hamid, Omar, Gul Hassan and Pirzada, who seemed always to be opposed to any real transfer of power, were now planning for a Turkish type of Military Civilian (i.e. concealed) regime."

Who does not want political power? Mujib was now anxious for it, not only that, but he wanted Bengal to be an independent state, the Legal Framework Order was merely a paper assignable to waste paper basket. "Mujib was reported to have said to his inner cabinet that this sole aim was to establish Bangladesh. Yahya was presented with a tape-recorder account of these talks of Mujib with his close associates. Mujib was clearly heard to say "My aim is to establish Bangladesh; I will tear the L.F.O (the Legal Framework Order) into pieces as soon as the elections are over. Who could challenge me once the elections are over?" He also hinted to his colleagues about help from "outside sources". Now Mujib wanted transfer of power without a minute's delay after election.

After his astounding success in the elections, he was the unchallengeable leader of East Pakistan. He issued a statement on January 4, 1971:

"The Pakistan had been created by Bengalis and regretted, the dictator Ayub Khan had distorted the history in his "Friend not Masters." He said that Ayub Khan did not know the history, that the English people snatched away the throne of Bangladesh from Sirajuddolah, a Bengali and in Punjab from Rana Ranjit Singh. The first Independence Movement (Sepoy Mutiny) was also led by a Bengali, he added."

Mujib thereby wanted to say that in 1947 Bengalis were the true revolutionaries, while Ayub was a soldier and slave of Britishers; and that in Punjab there was no rule of Muslims and they did not fight the Britishers. Mujib was not prepared to visit Islamabad. Therefore Yahya who was feeling himself in a deep quandary, had to come down to the city of majority leader, had discussions with him and issued a statement while leaving Dacca:

"Yahya Khan told newsman at Dacca Airport that he had useful discussion with Shaikh Mujib-ur-Rehman and the Awami League during his stay in Dacca for last 3 days. The President said that Shaikh Mujib-ur-Rehman was going to be the future Prime Minister of the country. In reply, the President said, "when he (Shaikh Mujib) comes and takes over, I won't be there. It is going to be his government soon."

This categorical statement from the President of Pakistan was warmly welcomed and the people of East had felt very jubilant on such announcement. But for this propose, summoning of Assembly session was necessary.

After visiting Dacca, Yahya met the Army Generals of his confidence and visited Larkana along with General Hamid, who had nothing but hatred against Mujib and General Pirzada. All were closed together, and consulted about the future constitution of Pakistan. Bhutto later said "We discussed with the President about the implications of six points and expressed our serious misgivings about them. We, however, assured him that we were determined to make every effort for a viable compromise."

Bhutto had issued a statement at Rawalpindi:

"Some things will have to be accomplished before the leaders of all shades of opinion in West Pakistan, including those of the defeated parties. The constitution of the country should be a national one and not of one province and as such there should be consensus and equilibrium"..... Asked if in his opinion, the Awami League with its present absolute majority in the House was competent to frame constitution, Mr. Bhutto said "Legally speaking they can, but the question to be decided by the house is whether the constitution will be adopted by simple majority or two thirds majority. Since the question is of making a constitution and our geographical position is peculiar, the majority adopting constitution should include a consensus".... In this connection, he cited the example of One Unit, which he said", could not survive, because the idea lacked consensus of all the four provinces of West Pakistan. Parity was another question which had to be done away with, because East Pakistan did not like it."

"The Primary task that we face today, is to keep the country together, it is the supreme task and therefore, constitution making has top priority"... "As a staunch nationalist and a firm believer in the integrity of the country, he would not have to allow the onus of failure on this behalf to fall on him" he stressed.

Mr. Bhutto said that he stood for a federation with maximum autonomy for the provinces. On this he said "Such a structure of the Federating units was necessary. I am not under-steering the strength of the majority, but I am stating a general principal accepted by all over the world".

Bhutto spoke a like a statesman, his talks were not theoretic but practical and they rightly apply to Pakistan even at present with some variations. All that he wanted was consensus between the two wings and did not like to afford any opportunity to India for interference in their internal political affairs. Bhutto had broad vision, "I as a pragmatic politician and staunch nationalist of Pakistan would never like to see Pakistan dissipated or weakened by internal dissensions." A deeper study of the situation would disclose that there were immediate hindrances in the path of conciliation.

IMMEDIATE CAUSES

'Six points' were now the irrevocable manifesto of Mujib, but Bhutto agreed half way. He consented to all points except foreign aid and trade. Mujib with his brute majority would not budge even an inch from his demands as if they were gospel truth. Reason and arguments would not weigh with him. He was not even prepared even to talk on six points. According to Bhutto, Mujib was not demanding provincial autonomy, but sovereignty in the grab of six points, which was not acceptable to him in any case. Mujib's proposition of six points was not viable. He would have thereby made a gift of Pakistan to India. According to G.W. Chaudary, a Bengali intellectual, writer and Minister in Yahya Cabinet, the aim of Mujib by presentation of six points was to secede from Pakistan and not to be part of it.

Mujib was essentially, a stooge of India. This fact is clear from G.W. Chaudary's book:, "All India Radio, from its station in Calcutta was broadcasting a programme every evening, entitled "Apper Bangla oupper Bangla" (This side and the other side of Bengal), openly supporting the cause of Bangladesh. There were reports not only from the Pakistan intelligence services but also from others, including some friendly foreign countries that Indian money and arms were being sent to East Pakistan both for the success of the Awami League in elections and eventual confrontation with Pakistan army. There was evidence of India's involvement in the affairs of East Pakistan." Mr. Chaudary had personally spoken with Mujib about relations with India and China and he gave a very clear cut reply to him, which should have been an eye opener for Pakistan's intellectuals, political workers and leaders "Mujib used to describe Pakistan's friendship with China as "provocative". When one day I told Mujib that as future Prime Minister he might find China's friendship "valuable" his reply was friendship of china against whom? I have no dispute with India, why should I need China's help and assistance?

India would have long ago obliterated Pakistan, if China had not been there. She would have even occupied East Pakistan in 1965, if China had not seriously threatened India. Infact its forces were stationed near East Pakistan for facing any aggression against Pakistan. Mujib's foreign policy would have been most disastrous and damaging for West Pakistan and Kashmir. Bhutto was openly pro-China, while Mujib was all for India.

India was opposed even to the creation of Pakistan. There were clashes and wars between Pakistan and India. The Hindu leadership had even usurped Kashmir and made it a victim of her atrocities and terror. Not only that, but there was a conspiracy to destroy the Muslims of India, rioting and killing of Muslims and desecration of mosques was a sacred religious duty of the Hindu fanatics and no action was taken against them; except their open encouragement.

Once when Muslims took out a big procession against Israel for burning the Aqsa Mosque in Jerusalem, there was an organized attack by the Hindus. Killing, injuring and looting the Muslims became order of the day.

Unfortunately, the Indian Muslims were not treated as a loyal citizens of India by the so called secular government of India. Though China was much more powerful than India, she was always reasonable to reverse that policy. Thus Indian's tyranny could not be acceptable to Zulfikar Ali Bhutto, leader of the popular party in West Pakistan.

General Yahya and his cohorts had a dual hypocritical and vacillating policy. They wanted Mujib and Bhutto to fight with each other, so that the Generals could take advantage of their dissensions. They passed Legal Frame Work Order but never acted on it. Had they implemented it, the question of contesting election on the basis of six points could not have arisen, for the obvious reason that they were in total conflict with L.F.O. The sympathizers of Yahya defended him on the score that Mujib had promised with him that he would not press his six points after the election. In one of his earlier speeches Mujib had declared "Pakistan has come to stay and there is no force that can destroy it." Perhaps Yahya was misled.

The subsequent events proved that after his tremendous victory in elections, he was more insistent and emphatic for the implementation of six points. In January 1971, Yahya had made commitment in Dacca that Mujib would be the future Prime Minister of Pakistan; and then he came to Larkana, with his Generals to Zulfikar Ali Bhutto for consultation. In fact, he should not have made any commitment with Mujib, but when he stood committed, why did he come for consultations? This unwise act further worsened the situation and infuriated the Bengalis to the extent of rioting and taking arms against the regime.

Elections were held on 7th December, but in November there was such a deadly storm and dangerous tidal waves that it caused immeasurable disaster of life and property, but the Government of Pakistan demonstrated criminal negligence at this hour of calamity. The situation was described as under: "No one knew exactly, how many people had died. By the end of last week, the official tally had reached 153,000 fatalities. But already tens of thousands of corpses had been dumped, with neither ceremony nor count, into mass graves and many others surely must have been washed out to sea. It seemed likely moreover, the dying was not yet done, for hunger, thirst and disease threatened to claim many of the survivors before help could reach them. In Dacca, the capital of East Pakistan, some observers gloomily predicted that the toll might ultimately reach one million lives and perhaps many more."

For more than a week after the disaster struck, President Mohammad Yahya Khan's regime in Islamabad responded with seeming indifference. Supplies for the disaster victims were delayed by red tape and, to satisfy the bureaucratic demands of civil servants, desperately needed food was shunted into Government warehouses. Thus the miseries and woes of Bengalis were without limit; and the Islamabad Government was supremely indifferent even during an unprecedented disaster. This calamity proved an election boom for

Awami League, as Bengalis believed that Islamabad Government was lacking all human sympathy for the people of East Pakistan.

MUJIB DEMANDS ASSEMBLY SESSION

Mujib-ur-Rehman made repeated demands and issued warnings against delay in summoning the Assembly session. Therefore, on 13th February 1971, Yahya announced that the National Assembly would meet in Dacca on March 3. But Bhutto was very unhappy over this declaration. The difference between Mujib and Bhutto was:

- 1.** That Mujib commanded absolute majority in the House and he was determined to frame constitution on the basis of six points which would have a far-reaching effect on the political, economic and social situation of Pakistan. It was bound to flare-up irremediable conflicts and controversies between the two Wings. Mujib went to the extent of saying that West Pakistan could have a constitution of its own and the East its own. He wanted every matter to be decided in the Assembly and not by negotiations.
- 2.** That Zulfikar Ali Bhutto wanted that before calling the session, the leaders should sit together, discuss dispassionately and understand the peculiar situation prevailing in Pakistan and iron out the intricate problems of the country as whole and thereafter pass the constitution in the Assembly according to the consensus in the paramount interests of the Pakistan. The intellectual superiority and his rich experience in the world politics were unchallengeable, while the absolute leadership of Bengalis by Mujib was equally indisputable. However, the complex problems which go to the root of the state can be solved only by wisdom, unity and statesmanship. Brute majority in its obstinacy has never resolved the state problems.

On February 28, 1971, while speaking on the constitutional tangle of Pakistan in public meeting at Lahore, Bhutto said: "The six points were made known by Shaikh Mujib at the then opposition parties convention at Lahore in 1966 for the first time. The leaders who participated in the convention had rejected them outright"... "As Foreign Minister I had advised Ayub Khan to tackle six points on the political level... I had urged him to find a solution acceptable to East Pakistan. But he ignored my advice, instead of using political language, threatened to use the "language of weapon"... "The solidarity and sovereignty of the country should be preserved to end the exploitation. The country was created by Quaid-e-Azam and three hundred million Muslims of the subcontinent had made tremendous sacrifices."..... "I am prepared to accept a federation in which the federating units can enjoy equal autonomy. What is not acceptable to me is that one province having more autonomy than others. If East Pakistan is to have autonomy, a similar quantum of autonomy should be provided for the Punjab, Sindh, Frontier and

Baluchistan"..... "It had been pleaded that two wings of the country should have two separate economics. It has been subsequently maintained that their politics is different too. And finally it had been suggested that they should have two separate constitutions. If Pakistan is one country, it must have one integrated constitution. One document containing two different constitutions for East and West wings would be an oddity, which would not be acceptable to the people".... "Voting for the Awami League draft constitution will be like breaking the backbone of our national integrity. It will not be allowed. If the National assembly meets on 3rd March, my party will launch a campaign of protest."

Prior to that on February 22, 1971, while speaking at the Punjab University new campus, he said:

"The interests of East Pakistan are ours also, because East Pakistan is the majority province of our country. A great majority of Pakistanis lives there. If they say "Joi Bangla", we also say "Joi Bangla." For that is part of Pakistan. We have great respect for the people of East Pakistan, just as we have for Punjab, N.W.F.P., Baluchistan and Sindh. Their interests are our interests. But it is painful that slogans based on provincial prejudices are raised. Why do they not raise slogans for the whole of Pakistan?"

From these expression of Zulfikar Ali Bhutto, it is crystal clear that he believed inequality, fraternity, banishment of poverty and one constitution for Pakistan. He was well aware of the poverty, misery and exploitation of the Bengalis, but who was responsible for such lamentable state of affairs? The capitalist, the bureaucrats and the generals were responsible for it. Not in any case Zulfikar Ali Bhutto on his party. But the panacea for all these ills was to sit together, and find out the solution acceptable to all; and not to create any opportunity inviting the enemy for interference.

Earlier on 15th February 1971, Mr. Bhutto had made a very impassioned, sensible and states manly appeal at Peshawar, out of which some excerpts are produced. They will at once convince any reasonable reader and citizen that his approach was practical, realistic, patriotic and moderate.

Bhutto was open to arguments he believed in give and take, without compromising on principles. If Mr. Mujib was against exploitation and wanted to end poverty, he could not have a better friend than Bhutto. But he did not believe in moderation and arguments, he was bent upon six points like a dictator, which according to Mr. Zulfikar Ali would be the end of Pakistan.

"Mr. Z.A. Bhutto declared that his party will not attend National Assembly session starting on March 3 at Dacca unless it was made clear to him and his party men that there would be some amount of reciprocity from the majority party either publicly or privately".

Addressing a press conference he did not term his decision as boycott of the Assembly, but said, "we can not go there simply to endorse the constitution already prepared by a party and to return humiliated. If we are not heard and even reasonable demands put by us, are not considered. I don't see any purpose to go there." Mr. Bhutto said that his party had accepted the first and the last points of Awami League's six points (they relate to the basis of representation and the existence of the people's militia in the province, but he could neither accept a "two subject center" nor point relating to currency). "I am not without hope about foreign trade nor taxation" he added. Mr Bhutto said that his party had also accepted 10 out of the 11 points of the student. He said that his party could not accept that there should be a sub-federation in the West Wing.

He, however, said "I think we can work out some thing which will satisfy both of us. There is hope for understanding. But if we are asked to go to Dacca only to endorse the constitution which has been prepared by Awami League and which is not to be altered an inch here and an inch there, then you will not find us in Dacca."

Mr. Bhutto and his party was of the opinion that "the constitution based on six points could not provide a viable future for the country" "Nevertheless Pakistan People's Party, had tried to come as close to the Awami League's points of view as possible, even up to the edge of precipice, where after there is destruction."

He said that he had taken the decision as a big responsibility in the interests of the nation. The country is passing through a very critical phase and we may go one way or the other. He, however, said "I will not come in the way of constitution made by the National Assembly. Let them frame it with those who go there. The onus and odium will not then fall on Pakistan People's Party," he added.

He said that, his party had the greatest respect and admiration for the people of East Pakistan and had in its foundation papers conceded that the people of East Pakistan had been badly exploited and had a cause to feel aggrieved. It had even insisted for the removal of the internal colonial structure.

His party had abstained from taking any position on the six points, during the year long election campaign, since it felt that a "dialogue" was necessary for them.

He added, "we should have a guarantee that we could be heard and if our point of view was reasonable, it would be acceptable. Participation without such understanding would further 'vitiating' the situation." Mr. Bhutto also said that the participation in the present situation might lead to a deadlock, which was against national interest. "I do not want to deteriorate the situation," he

said, adding that he was only objective and reasonable. "We took no position on six points all through our election camping" he said, on the other hand the six points had been criticized by many a leader in West Pakistan. The irony was that those very leaders were now praising the six points, because the Awami League has registered a vast majority in the National Assembly".

"Other leaders of West Pakistan" he said "may go if they so desired, but the PPP members would go if there was room for adjustment and not to sign a dictated constitution". Bhutto said that he did not want to aggravate the situation. He conceded that in the past, some West Pakistan leaders had dictated to the East Pakistan, but he had nothing to do with it. What happened in the past should not mean that this dictation should now be repeated in West Pakistan. West Pakistan had thrown up a new leadership, which wanted to end the system of exploitation, not only in West Pakistan but also in East Pakistan, he said. A constitution imposed as vendetta on Pakistan would not be accepted, he said.

Bhutto, the chairman of Pakistan People's Party had remarkably and constructively elucidated his case and his stand. He was never rigid like Mujib but quite flexible in the national interests. A patriot would shudder to think as to what have been fate of the country if the constitution had been formulated blindly on six points. It would have simply shattered and effaced the country from the map of the world like Muslim Spain. No doubt the tragedy of secession is there and the hearts of the patriots might still be bleeding, yet a positive consolation is that its existence in one or the other shape is there on the map. A poor Muslim from West Pakistan (now Pakistan) does feel deeply if there is any calamity against East Pakistan (now Bangladesh) and vice versa.

Mujib-ur-Rehman's stand on the constitution was very rigid and not practicable, perhaps it was at the instigation of India, where the Awami League had made Calcutta as their Headquarter. Bhutto did not suffer from such constraint. He spoke and acted like a free, unfettered patriotic citizen and was prepared for any meaningful dialogue compromise provided it was not disastrous of the country. Other leaders from West Pakistan had no solution and nothing concrete to resolve the constitutional crisis.

MUJIB-UR-REHMAN'S STAND

"The man behind the split is Sheikh Mujib-ur-Rehman, the unchallenged political leader of the more populous, poverty stricken, eastern segment. "Pakistan as it stands today, is finished" Mujib told time correspondent Dan Coggin in Dacca. "There is no longer any hope of settlement". He urged that East and West Pakistan adopt separate constitutions and that his followers refuse to pay taxes to the Central Government, which is situated in the West. He seemed on the brink of outright declaration of independence for what he

calls Bangla Desh (Bengal state) which would become the world's eighth most populous nation....."

Was it now possible to call the National Assembly and frame the constitution? Mujib was now in a most aggressive mood, far from conciliation. Secession of East Pakistan was now a foregone conclusion.

"Two days before the National Assembly was set to convene in Dacca last week, Yahya postponed it indefinitely to give the political leaders a chance to reach on understanding. The postponement infuriated the Bengalis. "I am not imposing the six points program on West Pakistan", decided Mujib, "but the people of Bangla Desh are entitled to it and they will have it." "At week's end, Yahya Khan announced in a radio broadcast that the constituent Assembly would be convened after all on March 25."

But did the constituent Assembly go into session. Did they frame the constitution? Did they save the country? Did Martial Law preserve the hard earned largest Muslim State of the world as boasted by them?

CHAPTER 14

Six Points and Legal

Framework Order 1970

"That state is best ordered, where the wicked have no command and the good have"

Pittacus's

Sheikh Mujibur Rehman, the political disciple of H.S. Suhrawardy and the head of Awami League in East Pakistan, presented six points in the Conference of opposition parties held in Lahore on 4th and 5th February 1966. These six points were the result of disappointment of the Bengalis over their nonparticipation in the political affairs of the country and deprivation of their economic share in the National Exchequer. Some writers from the province of Punjab feel that the Bengalis were not justified and they had failed to appreciate the great economic strides made in East Pakistan. But they had forgotten that British Masters of United India had also introduced reforms but the Indians were not happy. These writers are sadly mistaken. The whole country was being ruled by a military Junta belonging to West Pakistan and the people were deprived of the participation in forming their own Government, their own policies, they had no voice in the administration. The leaders of Bengal had strong reasons to demand full provincial autonomy and that had been demanded by Mr. Fazlul Haq the Chief Minister of Bengal in 1954 and it was termed as "absolute provincial autonomy." Fazlul Haq was dismissed in two months time, instead of autonomy being granted to East Pakistan.

The six points were in fact a reaction to the rule of Army Junta of West Pakistan. The demands were of course based on extreme view, but it does not mean that everything demanded by them could be summarily and arbitrarily dismissed. They all had to live together; and had to negotiate their disputes amicably. Even the opposition parties of West Pakistan rejected the demands on the ground that they would result in dismemberment of Pakistan; but Mujib was also not prepared to budge an inch. Thus the confrontation between the two wings went on increasing. The fact is that the confrontation and conflict were the gifts of Martial Law and the aristocratic attitude of the bureaucrats of West Pakistan.

The perusals of six points will at once convince that they did not meant provincial autonomy, but virtually a separate state, that was not at all a practical proposition. The central authority would have been rendered a nullity and easily whittled down under six points. It seems that they met each other in

such a suspicious atmosphere, that they could not read and understand each other in a positive manner. During the twenty-five years history of Pakistan, no serious step was taken towards integration and solidarity. There are, on the other hand, many instances of Government policies and actions, which tended towards the disintegration of the country. The Government case is therefore indefensible, so was that of the Western Wing. No literature and no clarification papers were ever issued to remove the misunderstandings and the Government's information media miserably failed. The great strides made in social and economic fields in East Pakistan, as claimed by the Government thus remained unappreciated. One of the major political reactions was the emergence of the Six Points programme of autonomy presented by Sheikh Mujibur Rehman in February 1966, while addressing the All Pakistan National Conference in Lahore. They landed as a bombshell on the political fields of Pakistan. They were:

Point No 1. The character of the Government shall be Federal and parliamentary in which the election to the Federal Legislature and to the Legislatures of the Federating Units shall be direct and on the basis of universal adult franchise. The representation in the Federal Legislatures shall be on the basis of population.

Point No 2. The Federal Government shall be responsible only for Defense and Foreign Affairs and subject to the conditions provided in (3) below.

Point No 3. There shall be two separate currencies mutually or freely convertible in each wing for each region, or in the alternative a single currency, subject to the establishment of a Federal Reserve System in which there will be regional Federal Reserve Banks which shall devise measures to prevent the transfer of resources and flight of capital from one region to the other.

Point No 4. Fiscal policy shall be the responsibility of the Federating Units. The Federal Government shall be provided with requisite revenue resources which would be automatically appropriated by the Federal Government in the manner provided and on the basis of the ratio to be determined by the procedure laid down in the Constitution. Such Constitutional provisions would ensure that the Federal Governments, revenue, requirements are met consistently with the objective of ensuring control over the fiscal policy by the Governments of the Federal Units.

Point No.5 Constitutional provisions shall be made to enable separate accounts to be maintained of the foreign exchange earnings of each of the Federating Units, under the control of the respective

Government of the Federating Units. The foreign exchange requirements of the Federal Government shall be met by the Governments of the Federation Units on the basis of a ratio to be determined in accordance with the procedure laid down in the Constitution to negotiate foreign trade and aid within the framework of the foreign policy of the country, which shall be the responsibility of the Federal Government.

Point No. 6 The Government of the Federating Units shall be empowered to maintain a militia or a paramilitary force in order to contribute effectively towards national security.

The Legal Framework Order, 1970 President's Order No. 2 of 1970

Whereas in his first address to the nation on the 26th March, 1969, the President and Chief Martial Law Administrator pledged himself to strive to restore democratic institutions in the country;

And whereas in his address to the nation on the 28th November 1969, he reaffirmed that pledge and announced that polling for a general election to a National Assembly of Pakistan will commence on the 5th October 1970;

And whereas he has since decided that polling for elections to the Provincial Assemblies shall commence not later than the 22nd October 1970;

And whereas provision has already been made by the Electoral Rolls Order, 1969, for the preparation of electoral rolls for the purpose of election of representatives of the people on the basis of adult franchise;

And whereas it is necessary to provide for the constitution of a National Assembly of Pakistan for the purpose of making provision as to the Constitution of Pakistan in accordance with this Order and a Provisional Assembly for each province;

Now, therefore in pursuance of the proclamation of the 25th of March, 1969 and in exercise of all powers enabling him in that behalf, the President and Chief Martial Law Administrator is pleased to make the following order:-

Short title and commencement

1. (i) This Order may be called the Legal Framework Order, 1970.
- (ii) It shall come into force on such date as the president may, by notification in the official Gazette, appoint in this behalf.

Order to override other laws

2. This Order shall have effect notwithstanding anything to the contrary contained in the Provincial Constitution Order, the Constitution of 1962 of the Islamic Republic of Pakistan or any other law for the time being in force.

3. (1) In this Order, unless there is anything repugnant in the subject or context,

(i) "Assembly" means the National Assembly of Pakistan or a Provincial Assembly for a Province provided for in this Order;

(ii) "Commission" means the Election Commission constituted under Article 8;

(iii) "Commissioner" means the Chief Election Commissioner appointed or deemed to be appointed under the Electoral Rolls Order, 1969 (P.O. NO. 6 of 1969);

(iv) "Electoral Roll" means the electoral roll prepared under the Electoral Rolls Order, 1969 (P.O. NO.6 of 1969);

(v) "Member" means the Member of an Assembly;

(vi) "Speaker" means the Speaker of the National Assembly; and

(vii) "Centrally Administered Tribal Areas" has the same meaning as in the Province of West Pakistan (Dissolution) Order, 1970.

(2) In relation to the territories included at the commencement of this Order in the province of West Pakistan, references to a Province and a Provincial Assembly shall be construed as references respectively to a new Province provided for in the Province of West Pakistan (Dissolution) Order, 1970 and the Provincial Assembly for such Province.

Composition of the National Assembly

4. (1) There shall be a National Assembly of Pakistan consisting of three hundred and thirteen members of whom three hundred shall be elected to fill general seats and thirteen to fill seats reserved for women.

(2) In conformity with the population figures appearing in the Census of 1961, the number of seats in the National Assembly shall be distributed amongst the Province and the Centrally Administrated Tribal Areas, as set out in Schedule 1.

(3) Clause (1) shall not be construed as preventing a woman from being elected to a general seat.

Composition of the Provincial Assemblies

5. (1) There shall be a provincial Assembly for each Province consisting of the number of members elected to fill general seats and to fill seats reserved for women, as set out in Schedule II in relation to such Province.

(2) Clause (1) shall not be construed as preventing a woman from being elected to a general seat.

Principle of Election

6. (1) Except as provided in clause (2), the members shall be elected to the general seats from territorial constituencies by direct election on the basis of adult franchise in accordance with law.

(2) The President may, by regulation, make separate provision for election of members from the Centrally Administered Tribal Areas.

(3) As soon as practicable after the general election of members of the National Assembly, the members from a province for the seats reserved for women in that Assembly shall be elected by persons elected to the general seats from that province in accordance with law.

(4) The members for the seats reserved for women in a Provincial Assembly shall be elected by persons elected to the general seats in that Assembly in accordance with law.

Casual vacancy

7. Where a seat in the National Assembly has become vacant, an election to fill the vacancy shall be held within three weeks from the occurrence of the vacancy.

Election commission for conduct of election

8. For the purpose of election of the members of an Assembly and matters connected therewith the President shall constitute an Election Commission consisting of the following members, namely:

(a) The Commissioner, who shall be the Chairman of the Commission;
and

(b) Two other members, each being a person who is a permanent judge of a High Court.

Qualification and disqualification for being a member

9. (1) A person shall subject to the provisions of clause (2), be qualified to be elected as and to be, a member, if

(a) he is a citizen of Pakistan;

(b) he has attained the age of twenty-five years; and

(c) his name appear on the electoral roll for any constituency in the Province or Centrally Administrated Tribal Areas from which he seeks election.

(2) A person shall be disqualified from being elected as, and from being, a member if

(a) he is of unsound mind and stands to be declared by a competent court; or

(b) he is an undercharged insolvent unless a period of ten years has elapsed since his being adjudged as insolvent; or

(c) he has been, on conviction for any offence, sentenced to transportation for any term or to imprisonment for a term of not less than two years unless, a period of five years, or such less period as the President may allow in any particular case, has elapsed since his release; or

(d) he has been a member of the President's Council of Ministers at any time following the 1st August, 1969, unless a period of two years, or such less period as the President may allow in any particular case, has elapsed since he ceased to be a Minister, or

(e) he holds any office in the service of Pakistan other than an office which is not a whole-time office remunerated either by salary or by fee; or

(f) he has been dismissed for misconduct from the service of Pakistan, unless a period of five years, or such less period as the President may allow in any particular case, has elapsed since his dismissal; or

(g) such person is the spouse of a person in the service of Pakistan; or

(h) he, whether by himself or by any person or body of persons in trust for him or for his benefit or on his account or as a member of a Hindu undivided family, has any share of interest in the contract, not being a contract between a cooperative society and Government for the supply

of goods to, or for the execution of any contract or the performance of any services undertaken by Government:

Provided that the disqualification under sub-clause (h) shall not apply to person.

(i) where the share or interest in the contract devolves on him by inheritance or succession or as a legatee, executor or administrator, until the expiration of six months after it has so devolved on him or such longer period as the President may, in any particular case, allow; or

(ii) where the contract has been entered into by or on behalf of a public company as defined in the Companies Act, 1913 (VIII of 1913), of which he is a share-holder but is neither a director holding an office of profit under the company nor a managing agent; or

(iii) Where he is a member of a Hindu undivided family and the contract has been entered into by any other member of that family in the course of carrying on a separate business in which he has no share or interest.

(3) For the avoidance of doubt, it is hereby declared that a judge of a Supreme Court or a High Court, the Comptroller and Auditor-General of Pakistan, the Attorney-General of Pakistan and an Advocate-General of a Province are persons holding offices in the service of Pakistan.

(4) If any question arises whether a member has, after his election, become subject to any disqualification the Commissioner shall place the question before the Election Commission and, if the opinion of the Commission be that the member has become so subject, his seat shall become vacant.

Bar against candidature in certain cases

10. (1) No person shall at the same time be a member of more than one Assembly or a member of the same Assembly for more than one constituency.

(2) Nothing in clause (1) shall prevent a person from being at the same time a candidate for election from two or more constituencies, but if a person has been elected as a member for two or more constituencies and does not, within fifteen days of the notification of his election by the constituency by which he has been elected last, make a declaration in writing under his hand addressed to the Commissioner specifying the constituency which he wishes to represent, all his seats shall become vacant, but so long as he is a member for two or more constituencies he shall not sit or vote in an Assembly.

Resignation etc.

11. **(1)** A member may resign his seat by notice in writing under his hand addressed to the Speaker.

(2) If a member is absent from the Assembly without leave of the speaker for fifteen consecutive sitting days, his seat shall become vacant.

(3) If a member fails to take and subscribe an oath in accordance with Article 12 within a period of seven days from the date of the meeting of the Assembly after his election, his seat shall become vacant provided that the Speaker or, if the Speaker has not been elected, the Commissioner, may, before the expiration of the said period, for good cause shown, extend the period.

Oath of members of Assembly

12. A person elected as a member of an Assembly shall, before entering upon the office, take and subscribe, before a person presiding at a meeting of the Assembly, an oath of affirmation in the following form, namely:-

"I do solemnly swear (or affirm) that I will bear true faith and allegiance to Pakistan and that I will discharge the duties upon which I am about to enter honestly, to the best of my ability, faithfully in accordance with the provisions of the Legal Framework Order, 1970, the law and rules of the Assembly set out in that Order and always in the interests of the solidarity, integrity, well-being and prosperity of Pakistan."

Date of polling

13. Polling for election to the National Assembly shall commence on the 5th October 1970 and polling for election to the Provincial Assemblies shall commence on a date not later than the 22nd October 1970.

Summoning of National Assembly etc.

14. **(1)** After the close of the general election of members of the National Assembly, the President shall, for the purpose of framing a Constitution for Pakistan, summon the National Assembly to meet on such day and at such time and place as he may think fit; and the National Assembly so summoned shall stand constituted on the day of its first meeting:

Provided that nothing in this clause shall be construed as preventing the President from summoning the National Assembly on the ground that all the seats of the members have not been filled.

(2) After meeting as convened under clause (1), the National Assembly shall meet at such times and places as the Speaker may decide.

(3) The National Assembly shall, subject to reasonable adjournments, meet from day to day transact its business.

Right of address etc. of president

15. The President may address the National Assembly and send a message or messages to the Assembly.

Speaker and deputy speaker

16. (1) The National Assembly shall, as soon as may be elect two of its members to be respectively the Speaker and Deputy Speaker thereof and shall, so often as the office of Speaker or Deputy Speaker becomes vacant, elect another member to be the Speaker, or, as the case may be, Deputy Speaker.

(2) Until the Speaker and Deputy Speaker are elected, the Commissioner shall preside at the meeting of the National Assembly and perform the functions of Speaker.

(3) Where the office of the Speaker is vacant, the Deputy Speaker, or, if the office of the Deputy Speaker is also vacant, the Commissioner, shall perform the functions of Speaker.

(4) During the absence of the Speaker from any meeting of the National Assembly, the Deputy Speaker or, if the Deputy Speaker is also absent, such member as may be determined by the rules of procedure of the Assembly shall perform the functions of Speaker.

(5) A member holding office as Speaker or Deputy Speaker shall cease to hold that office:-

(a) if he ceases to be a member of the National Assembly;

(b) if he resigns his office by writing under his hand addressed to the President; or

(c) if a resolution expressing want of confidence in him is moved in the Assembly after not less than fourteen days' notice of the intention to move it and passed by the votes of not less than two-thirds of the total number of members of the National Assembly.

Quorum and rules of procedure

17. (1) If, at any time during a meeting of the National Assembly, the attention of the person presiding at the meeting is drawn to the fact that the number of persons present is less than one hundred, the person presiding shall either suspend the meeting until the number of members present is not less than one hundred or adjourn the meeting.

(2) The procedure of the National Assembly shall be regulated by the rules of procedure set out in schedule III; in particular the National Assembly shall decide how a decision relating to the Constitution Bill is to be taken

(3) The National Assembly may act notwithstanding any vacancy in the seat of a member and no proceedings in the Assembly shall be invalid by reason that some members whose election is subsequently held to have been void, or who, after election, had incurred a disqualification for membership voted or otherwise took part in the proceedings.

Privileges etc. of the national assembly

18. (1) The validity of any proceedings in the National Assembly shall not be called in question in any court.

(2) A member or a person entitled to speak in the National Assembly shall not be liable to any proceedings in any court in respect of anything said or any vote given by him in the Assembly or in any committee thereof.

(3) The exercise by an officer of the National Assembly of the powers vested in him for the regulation of procedure, the conduct of business or the maintenance of order, in or in relation to any proceeding in the Assembly shall not be subject to the jurisdiction of any court.

(4) A person shall not be liable to any proceedings in any court in respect of the publication by, or under the authority of, the National Assembly of any report, paper, vote or proceedings.

(5) No process issued by a court or other authority shall, except with the leave of the speaker, be served or executed within the precincts of the place where a meeting of the National Assembly or of any Committee thereof is being held.

Allowances and privileges of members

- 19.** The Speaker, the Deputy Speaker and the other members shall be entitled to such allowances and privileges as the President may, by order, prescribe.

Fundamental principles of the constitution

- (20)** The Constitution shall be so framed as to embody the following fundamental principles:-

(1) Pakistan shall be a Federal Republic to be known as the Islamic Republic of Pakistan in which the Provinces and other territories which are now and may hereinafter be included in Pakistan shall be so united in a Federation that the independence, the territorial integrity and the national solidarity of Pakistan are ensured and that the unity of the Federation is not in any manner impaired.

(2) A Islamic ideology which is the basis for the creation of Pakistan shall be preserved; and

(b) The Head of the State shall be a Muslim.

- (3)** (a) Adherence to fundamental principles of democracy shall be ensured by providing direct and free periodical elections to the Federal and the Provincial legislatures on the basis of population and adult franchise;

(b) The Fundamental Rights of the citizen shall be laid down and guaranteed;

(c) The independence of the judiciary in the matter of dispensation of justice and enforcement of the fundamental rights shall be secured.

(4) All powers including legislative, administrative and financial, shall be so distributed between the Federal Government and Provinces that the Provinces shall have maximum autonomy, that is to say maximum legislative, administrative and financial powers but the Federal Government shall also have adequate powers including legislative, administrative and financial powers, to discharge its responsibilities in relation to external and internal affairs and to preserve the independence and territorial integrity of the country.

(5) it shall be ensured that –

(a) the people of all areas in Pakistan shall be enabled to participate fully in all forms of national activities; and

(b) within a specified period, economic and all other disparities between the Provinces and between different areas in a Province are removed by the adoption of statutory and other measures.

Preamble of the Constitution

21. The Constitution shall contain, in its preamble and affirmation that-

(1) the Muslims of Pakistan shall be enabled, individually and collectively, to order their lives in accordance with the teachings of Islam as set out in the Holy Quran and Sunnah;

and

(2) the minorities shall be enabled to profess and practice their religion freely and to enjoy all rights, privileges and protection due to them as citizens of Pakistan.

Directive principles

22. The constitution shall set out directive principles of State Policy by which the State shall be guided in the matter of:

(1) Promoting Islamic way of life;

(2) Observance of Islamic moral standards;

(3) Providing facilities of the teaching of Holy Quran and Islamiyat to the Muslims of Pakistan; and

(4) Enjoining that no law repugnant to the teachings and requirements of Islam, as set out in the Holy Quran and Sunnah, is made.

National and provincial assemblies to be the first legislatures

23. The Constitution shall provide that-

(1) the National Assembly, constituted under this Order, shall-

(a) be the first legislature of the Federation for the full term if the legislature of the Federation consists of one House, and

(b) be the first lower House of the legislature of the Federation for the full term if the legislature of the Federation consist of two Houses.

(2) The Provincial Assemblies elected in accordance with this Order shall be the first legislatures of the respective Provinces for the full term.

Time for framing the constitution

- 24.** The National Assembly shall frame the Constitution in the form of a Bill to be called the Constitution Bill within a period of one hundred and twenty days from the date of its first meeting and on its failure to do so shall stand dissolved.

Authentication of the constitution

- 25.** The Constitution Bill, as passed by the National Assembly, shall be presented to the President for authentication. The National Assembly shall stand dissolved in the event that authentication is refused.

Purpose for which assembly may meet

- 26. (1)** Save as provided in this Order for the purpose of framing a Constitution for Pakistan, the National Assembly shall not meet in that capacity, until the Constitution Bill passed by that Assembly and authenticated by the President, has come into force
- (2)** A Provincial Assembly shall not be summoned to meet until after the Constitution Bill passed by the National Assembly has been authenticated by the President and has come into force.

Interpretation and amendment of order etc.

- 27. (1)** any question or doubt as to the interpretation of any provision of this Order shall be resolved by a decision of the President and such decision shall be final and not liable to be questioned in any court.
- (2)** The President and not the National Assembly shall have the power to shake any amendment in this order.

The entire Legal framework Order has been reproduced for the benefit of readers. They may urge how far the six points put forward by Sheikh Mujibur-Rehman, are in enormity with the L.F.O. If not, then how and why they were allowed by the Martial Law Government to participate in the elections!

THE FATE OF LEGAL FRAMEWORK ORDER 1970

The parties opposed to Awami League complained that the six points which formed part and parcel of the manifesto of Awami league struck at the very root of the integrity of Pakistan. There was no objection to the extension of full provincial autonomy to East Pakistan, but it would not mean the very dismemberment of Pakistan in the name of autonomy. Such provincial

autonomy as demanded by the Awami League was not available to any province of a country in the whole world. Even the leaders of East Pakistan like Ghulam Azam, Amir of Jamait Islami and Noor ul Ameen, the Muslim League chief of East Pakistan had opposed six points on the basis that they would destroy Pakistan.

All the West Pakistan parties including the Army Junta were openly opposed to six points, as they were bound to tear as under the two wings of Pakistan apart. Mr. Jinnah had already warned "If we begin to think of ourselves as Bengalis, Punjabi first and Muslims and Pakistani's only accidentally, then Pakistan is bound to disintegrate." He had further alerted them "I tell you once again, do not fall into the trap of those, who are enemies of Pakistan, unfortunately you have fifth columnists and I am sorry to say they are Muslims, who are financed by outsiders." The audience was over three hundred thousand.

Taking into consideration, all pros and cons of six points, Yahya Khan, in consultation with his Generals gave to the nation an eye-wash in the name of "the Legal Frame Work Order" in 1970 in order to prevent the baneful effects of six points. But the framework was ineffective throughout.

But how could a Legal Frame Work Order take the place of a constitution? A country without constitution is a building without foundation. The Martial Law had eroded the foundation of the country. It was now based on the will and whims of the generals fond of wine and women. The coterie was so self-conceited that it thought every citizen and every politician to be a fool. Now they were playing with fire, setting the country itself on fire. They were devoid of real wisdom and innocent of statecraft. They had by now, with the passage of decades, forgotten their profession, their duties and they thought that their only duty was to put on an army dress? Whether the army guided by such Generals and the country run by them could withstand the onslaught of their enemy, so heavily armed, so diplomatically supported, so stable politically and so wise in state affairs. The Indian Prime Minister was in search of such golden opportunity for years, that was now provided by the Generals of Martial Law. The foundation of the country had been so eroded that the country was just like a house of cards and one powerful stroke was enough to bring down the largest Muslim land, acquired with tremendous sacrifices of the Muslims of United India. Yes, admittedly their sword was very sharp against their own men, but blunt against enemies.

Though the L.F.O. contained the basic principles for constitution and some pious directives and conditions for participating in the election, but proved totally ineffective, the six points were being preached openly and audaciously. These points were being propagated in a manner as if they were making East Pakistan a sovereign state, the rural area people were being misled by poisonous propaganda and the licentious Indian agents enjoyed full liberty to abuse Pakistan. If Yahya Khan had not allowed the parties to

transgress the limits of Legal framework Order, there would have been no secession. After all, the Bengali Muslims had fought for Pakistan more than the Muslims of other Provinces. They were patriots, they were against Indian domination; they were not demanding, they only wanted their basic rights in an independent Muslim State as enjoined by Islam. Such was the state of things that the parties other than Awami League could not even hold their meetings. It was reported that the Indian money was being pumped in, to promote the election cause of Awami League that was openly preaching and preparing for secession. The result of this licentious politics was the dismemberment of Pakistan.

It will be very profitable to quote G.W. Chaudary, of East Pakistan, a very reputed scholar and writer, Minister in Yahya Government and eye witness of situation:

“Yahya would make some speeches now and then reaffirming his determination to “protect” the country against the threat of breakup, yet the young and student follower’s were freely carrying the gospel of Bangladesh every where in East Pakistan. On August 14, 1970 – Pakistan’s Independence Day – the students of Dacca University, had displayed a new map, showing the creation of Bangladesh and the flag of the emerging country were prominently displayed at a meeting to celebrate Independence Day. The meeting was presided over by the Vice Chancellor of the University, Justice A.S. Chaudary, former President of Bangladesh.”

There were reports not only from the Pakistan intelligence service but also from others, including some friendly foreign countries, that Indian money and arms were being sent to East Pakistan both for the success of the Awami League in the election and for the eventual confrontation with Pakistan Army. There was evidence of India’s involvement in the affairs of East Pakistan.”

In the light of these crystal clear facts, can any body say that the Awami League and its leaders were patriots? For what the L.F.O. and the Martial Regulations were there? Under these circumstances, the silence of Martial Law authorities was certainly criminal and un-condonable.

CHAPTER 15

General Election and Aftermath

"A good constitution is infinitely better than the best despot."

Yancanly

But how unfortunate it was that Pakistan had neither a good constitution nor even a good despot. Now under the "aegis" of another despot, Pakistan was going to have elections.

It was for the first and the last time that General Elections in Quaid-e-Azam's Pakistan were being held. It may be borne in mind that in India the Constitution was framed and elections were held in 1950. Though it was full of complicated problems – political, social, ethnic, religions, economic and so many others. In Pakistan, the Constitution was framed very late and that too was defective and controversial. They were framed and abrogated from time to time. A political mockery was made of the hard earned country; its natural resources remained unexploited, the process of democracy was thrown to winds and instead of seasoned politicians, the corrupt and inefficient dictators had occupied the chairs.

In the days of Ayub Khan, elections were held, but by no stretch of imagination, they could be called elections. They were the best form of force and fraud and nobody recognized them. On the contrary they further divided the country and paved way for secession.

After his dismal failure to save the country, he had handed over the reigns of the country to an incompetent General Yahya Khan. God alone knows what were his intentions; to preserve it or to destroy it as a natural consequence of Ayub Khan's policies.

Whatever General Yahya Khan was, he did some thing commendable at the beginning of his regime for the East Wing and the provinces of the West Pakistan. One unit was a sordid sore, a cancer which ultimately dismembered the country. This bane of one unit had reduced the majority of East Wing from 56% to 50% against all principles and norms of democracy. At the instance of shortsighted and selfish Punjab leaders, the vested interests and bureaucracy that the Bengalis, if allowed to have their majority will dominate the Punjab. What a foolish malicious thinking! Now after the secession, will they be prepared to accept the unjust parity against the rest of the Provinces? Definitely not. It simply proved the petty mindedness and short sightedness of the Punjab leaders. This artificial antidemocratic and the forced parity were one of the causes of deep and rightful resentment of Bengalis and contributed towards secession. Any way the new dictator Yahya Khan decided one vote one

man, and dissolved one unit. This step which was democratic in nature, created a new hope of political justice, equity and fairness. Thus he restored the confidence of political leaders.

On December 21, 1969, Yahya Khan promulgated the Martial Law Regulation, allowing unrestricted political activities in the country from January 1, 1970. Of course it included rules of conduct for the purpose of peaceful political activities.

Since General Yahya Khan had announced in the very beginning that he had no political ambitions and the power would be handed over to the politicians, political parties started their activities and political campaign.

In West Pakistan there were several political parties. Religious factions, had also jumped in election arena in the name of Islam, and as usual assuring the people that they could implement the Islamic laws and make Pakistan the citadel of Islam, but they were hardly believed.

The Jamiat-e-Islami was the only organized religious party, but practically it had no voice in the masses except for the big cities. The Awami National Party, headed by Khan Abdul Wali Khan, had its influence in the smaller provinces N.W.F.P. and Baluchistan, but Khan Abdul Qayum Khan equally shared the influence with Wali Khan. The Council Muslim League was presided over by Mian MUMTAZ Daultana, supported by Shaukat Hayat, M.A. Khuhro and others; No doubt he was intelligent, experienced, and learned, but he was so accustomed with the palace politics of intrigues and conspiracies, that he had lost his energies to work amongst the masses, and infuse a new life in the political movement in Pakistan. As such, the Council League was no political force.

Now the young rebel politician, a brilliant young man, full of vigour, ideas, programme and manifesto, appeared on the political horizon of West Pakistan; as tireless man, a power house with inexhaustible energy. He worked day and night and he went from Province to Province, District to District, Tehsil to Tehsil, and Village to Village, approached the masses, appealed to every class, entreated men, women, and students, to come out and save Pakistan with new programme that he had placed before the common men. The entire programme of the Pakistan Peoples' Party was contained in the slogans "Islam is our faith, Democracy is our polity, and Socialism is our economy". In the elections, all the rightist parties of West Pakistan opposed him tooth and nail, issued the "decree" to the effect that he was an infidel. But the people of West Pakistan had fully known the other leaders who were opposing him. They had done absolutely nothing for the masses when they were in power. He was the only politician in West Pakistan who had very effectively and most courageously opposed the dictator. He was put in jail, false cases were filed against him. Almost all the big Waderas, Choudhris, Khans, Sirdars, heavy weight Landlords, industrialists, old leadership and the religious leaders

opposed him with all force. But he exposed them all. The Ruling Junta was of the opinion that he would not secure more than 33 pc. Of Assembly seats in West Pakistan, but all predictions, all reports and all assessments proved very much incorrect. The biggest provinces of Sindh and Punjab in West Pakistan were the bastion of Bhutto's politics. His opponents alleged that due to his being pro-Punjabi, the people of Punjab voted for him but that is far from truth. The common Punjabi, was not party to the parity intrigues. Had they been, they would have voted for the originators of one unit and parity, and not Bhutto. In spite of his limited vocabulary in Sindhi and Urdu he proved to be a powerful speaker more powerful than the orators of Urdu language, more powerful than those whose mother tongue was Urdu, and they, received their instruction in schools, Madressahas and colleges in Urdu and possessed mastery over the language. The young Quaid-e-Awan had not received education in Sindhi or Urdu, but later on he had picked up the languages, all the same he had not been able to acquire mastery over the languages. But what actually mattered, was that he spoke with all sincerity, he put his heart and soul before the people, as such thought lacking the technical niceties he proved more effective and touched the most inner recesses of the heart of the audience. Was it not with the Quaid-e-Azam who could hardly speak in Urdu!

He worked day and night; and all the work done by all the heads of different parties together, was less than this single leader's work. Mr. Abdul Hameed Khan Jatoi, former M.N.A and a veteran political leader, told me that in 1970 when he went to stay with him for some time, he used to leave on 8 a.m. to address the election rallies and returned at 2.30 a.m. in the night. Mr. Jatoi has been against Mr. Bhutto and the Pakistan People's Party from 1973.

He worked with all courage in the elections without caring for his life. He was undaunted by the preplanned attack near Sanghar in Sindh, an area which is dominated by the disciples and Hurs (life sacrificing disciples) of Pir Pagara, an avowed opponent of Bhutto. An eyewitness, who was a middle class landowner in the Sanghar District, gave me the eye-witness account of the incident which happened just before elections. He told me that the information of the proposed attack had already leaked out and the police of Sanghar also conveyed this information and advised Bhutto not to undertake the visit. But the undeterred Bhutto refused to cancel his programme and proceeded to Sanghar. Just before reaching Sanghar, Bhutto and his workers who were coming in a small procession, were attacked by a number of persons armed with dangerous lethal weapons including rifles. According to his version, Bhutto rushed out of his vehicle much against the entreaties of his workers and while opening his chest, cried out "here is Bhutto, kill him if you want, but he will not abandon his mission". Then there was pitched battle between the parties, however, the police reached after some time and intervened, and the attacking squad made good their escape. However no action was taken against them, as they were said to be the men of influential Pir Pagaro.

That was the glaring difference between Bhutto and his opponents. In his election campaign, he spoke some times melodiously, sometimes violently and furiously and some times humorously. This brilliant young man had a definite programme for the uplift of the poor and dignity of his country. He was in the hearts of people, the peasants, the labourers, the students, the intellectuals and even the illiterate women were raising his slogan "Jiye Bhutto". He got even the much unknown persons elected in his name; there were cases when the voters did not know even the name of PPP's candidates, they had not even seen their faces, but they voted for Bhutto whose election symbol was "Sword". In Sindh and Punjab, everywhere was a cry "vote for the sword, vote for the sword, Jiye Bhutto. Even the peasants refused to vote for their big landlords, every where the ear had to hear the slogan of Jiye Bhutto. In beginning, the chances of Mr. Bhutto's party were never bright but now they were bright, in spite of the fact that on the whole, the press was not in his favour. But now his name was an avalanche for opposition, the scales of election had definitely swung in his favour.

I found something extraordinary about him. Though he did not offer prayers regularly, observe fasts, but he possessed very strong faith in Allah, loved his Holy Prophet intensely and immensely, respected Godly person dead or alive in this world, visited their shrines and went out of way to help the poor and oppressed. His speeches touched the inner most recesses of the hearts of audience as if he was a wizard. It is true that he was a feudal lord, but his heart was aching for the poor, for the miserable. He was so dynamic, charismatic and so brilliant that his sincere voice was echoing and sounding throughout the length and breadth of West Pakistan; it was some thing inexpressible and unearthly. His opponents in spite of their best efforts feel helpless to halt it.

Finally, on 7th December 1970, after a prolonged election campaign the results of National Assembly election in West Pakistan were as under;

	Punjab	Sindh	NWFP	Baluchistan	Total
P.P.P.	62	18	1	-	81
Muslim League (Qayoum Group)	1	1	7	-	9
N.A.P. (Wali Khan)	-	-	3	3	6
Council Muslim League	7	-	-	-	7
JUI (Hazarvi)	-	-	6	1	7
M.J.U	4	3	-	-	7
Jamait Islami	1	2	1	-	4
Independents	5	3	7	-	15
P.M.L. (C)	2	-	-	-	2
Total	82	27	25	4	138

From the above table, it is clear that Bhutto had an astounding and unexpected victory in the election.

WHY QUAID-E-AWAM?

Bhutto personally contested for five National Assembly seats, three from Sindh, one from Lahore and one from Dera Ismail Khan N.W.F.P. against Mufti Mahmood.

In his home town Larkana, he defeated Mr. M. A. Khuhro, Ex Sindh Chief Minister, former Defence minister of Pakistan and President of the Sindh Provincial Muslim League by an unimaginably large margin of votes. Mr. Khuhro had been getting elected from Larkana Town constituency for 35 years. He defeated Mr. Najmuddin Sirewal from Badin District, lower Sindh, who had been Minister in the Sindh Government and the West Pakistan Government and enjoyed good reputation in his area. He expressed in my presence that even his own peasants did not vote for him. In Lahore he gained victory over Mr. Javed Iqbal who is son of Dr. Mohammad Iqbal, poet of the East. Lahori voters said that politically Bhutto was the heir of Allama Dr. Iqbal and not his son Dr. Javed Iqbal. However, Mufti Mohammad won against him by a majority of about 12, 000 votes. Bhutto could not pay attention to the far flung constituency of Dera Ismail Khan due to paucity of time, and canvassing for his weak and unknown candidates otherwise he could have won this seat too.

The popularity of Bhutto had touched the highest possible level in West Pakistan. Therefore, he was titled as Quaid-e-Awam (Leader of the People) by the people

PROVINCIAL ASSEMBLIES IN WEST PAKISTAN

	Punjab	Sindh	NWFP	Baluchistan	Total
P.P.P.	113	28	3	-	144
P.M.L (Q)	6	5	10	3	24
N.A.P.(W)	-	-	13	8	21
C.M.L.	15	4	1	-	20
M.J.U.	4	7	-	-	11
J.U. (H)	2	-	4	2	8
P.M.L (C)	6	-	2	-	8
P.D.P.	4	-	-	-	4
J.I.	1	1	1	-	3
Others	1	1	-	2	4
Ind	28	14	6	5	53
Total	180	60	40	20	300

It would be noted that the Awami League had no member in either National or Provincial Assemblies of West Pakistan. From the above two tables, it would appear that the success of Bhutto was indeed astonishing. It can even be termed miraculous, looking to the late establishment of his party, existence of several nationalities, conflicting interests, mutual grievances etc. He was a falcon, and others were not even doves. But to be frank, it was the personal triumph of Bhutto, therefore he was rightly called Quaid-e-Awam. It was in away repetition of Quaid-e-Azam's performance. But the P.P.P. did not secure any seat either in National or Provincial Assembly of East Pakistan. Thus the two wings stood divided.

GENERAL ELECTION IN PAKISTAN

It has already been mentioned that East Pakistan was the victim of injustices, disasters and poverty for which the vested interests of Pakistan were largely responsible. This process had continued right from 1947 – 1948 when they were deprived of their legislative rights. Therefore, it was very natural phenomenon that they would unite to fight for their rights.

It may be noted that the leaders like H.S. Suhrawardy, Fazl-ul-Haq and Khwaja Nazimuddin had died when elections were held in 1970 were held. They were really great leaders though people might not agree with some of their views. Moulana Abdul Hameed Khan Bhashani had lost his credibility during the election of Miss Fatima Jinnah; he was the first leader to suggest the name of Fatima Jinnah to contest the presidential election. But when elections were held, he adopted an inexplicable behaviour. It is said that in this connection, Bhutto who was partisan of Ayub Khan, exercised his personal influence on Nasih-ur-Rahman, former M.N.A. and friend of Bhutto, and Rahiman happened to be the right hand man of Maulana Bhashani. How the things were managed, nothing can be said about it, but the people of East Pakistan held an ineffaceable adverse impression against Moulana Bhashani, and the Moulana could not cut much ice in spite of his fluent, vociferous and fearless speeches. He called himself a socialist, and before independence, he was the President of the Assam Provincial Muslim League.

So far the Muslim League was concerned, it was virtually washed out in the elections of 1954 in Pakistan when its Chief Minister, a prominent politician, was defeated by a student. The Muslim League secured only 9 seats while its opponents won 300 seats in the Provincial Assembly in 1954. For this humiliating defeat, not only the decadence of Muslim League leadership was responsible, but at the same time the ruling elite of West Pakistan, which bore the label of Pakistan Muslim League was more to be blamed. There were parties for example Jamat-e-Islami, Nizam-e-Mustafa, Islami Ganatautri Dal, Muslim League, Krishak Saramik Party, P.N.A. and many others. In both the wings of Pakistan, there was no dearth of political parties, but the popular parties were few and multiplicity of parties in fact created a problem for Pakistan.

H.S. Suharawardy, (1892-1963) amongst all the political leaders of East Pakistan was the most popular leaders, because of his extraordinary brilliance, political wisdom and, eloquence. But the luck never smiled on him. He came from a very learned family of Calcutta. He was Bar-at-Law, a well known advocate in the United India and remained as an all India Muslim League Leader, and held the Muslim League Ministry in Bengal before partition. He accepted to be Law Minister under Mr. Mohammad Ali Bogra, though the latter was politically much junior and inferior in talents. However, in 1956-1957, by way of compromise coupled with manipulations. He became the Prime Minister of Pakistan, but that did not last long. He continued for about one year. But as a realist with political talents he conducted himself commendably as Prime Minister and tried to bring about an atmosphere of conciliation and integration. But such a talented patriot Prime Minister was not acceptable to Iskandar Mirza and Ayub Khan and had to resign. But his popularity did not diminish in East Pakistan. He was the mentor of Mujib-ur-Rahman and the latter was expected to be his successor after him. Mr. Suharawardy died on 5th December 1963 in a Beirut hotel in a foreign country. Mujib and many others alleged that it was not a normal death, but Ayub Khan was responsible for it.

After the death of Suharawardy, Mujib-ur-Rahman now became the head of Awami League. He was a fiery speaker with tremendous organizing qualities, though he could not be compared with H.S. Suharawardy.

Tajuddin Ahmad was the General Secretary of Awami League but he was more impulsive, outspoken and fiery than Mujib-ur-Rahman. The constant injustice to East Pakistan gave birth to Bangali Nationalism in East Pakistan. There was nothing common between East and West wings except religion. They had opted for Pakistan because the Hindu capitalists had reduced them to zero, economically and socially and they were at the mercy of Marwari capitalist who was the financier of the All India congress. Now they had hoped to get justice from their Muslim brothers, and they pinned their hopes on the Quaid-e-Azam; but after his death, the vested interests of West Pakistan had made East Pakistan as their colony, exploiting them politically and economically. This deprivation had united them completely against the high handedness perpetuated on the oppressed Bengalis, and now they were behind Awami League. They had same language, same culture, same political and economic grievances. There were no feudal lords in their society as they had in West Pakistan. Therefore, they were unchallengeable, unbreakable and unanimous. They were no more prepared to be ruled by 22 families created by Ayub Khan to rule the country.

Shaikh Mujib and his political friends worked very hard to popularize the party and strengthen the Bengali nationalism as a separate nation. They were also enjoying the blessings of Pundit Nehru, his daughter Indira Gandhi, and Rajendra Parsad.

“He also talked with Rajendra Parsad who was then at the height of his power and influence. He did not share the prevailing Pakistani belief that India was the enemy, destined to be conquered, India was the friend to be won over if there was to be peace in the Subcontinent.”

Indeed here was the basic difference between Mujib and Bhutto; the former had assumed India, the Kashmir usurper, as a friend, while Zulfikar Ali was of the firm view that India was Pakistan’s enemy No.1, this was the same view as that of the Quaid-e-Azam. Shaikh Mujib unfortunately did not adhere to the views of his political mentor H.S. Suharawardy on this matter.

Any way, in the General elections Awami League was the most popular party, even the government officers supported the party openly. The other political parties were simply political in name and did not enjoy even the government protection. The Awami League leaders addressed the mammoth public meetings every where in Bengal and undoubtedly they enjoyed the mass support of East Pakistan. Finally the results in East were as under;

NATIONAL ASSEMBLY ELECTIONS

Out of total seats of 162, in the National Assembly, Awami League secured 160 seats, one went to PDP and the other to an Independent.

PROVINCIAL ASSEMBLY ELECTION

Out of 300 seats in the Provincial assembly, the Awami League got 288 seats, one each to N.A.P. (W), Jamait Islami and other; seven to Independents, and 2 to P.D.P.

BHUTTO’S COMPLICATED PROBLEMS

True Zulfikar Ali Bhutto had won the majority of seats in West Pakistan, but the Awami League proved a steamroller against the other parties. Out of 300 National Assembly seats in Pakistan. Mujib had 160 votes in his pocket. That means he was in absolute majority and could dictate terms. On the other hand, Bhutto’s Pakistan People’s Party, which was the second largest party, had 88 votes only. He could claim to be representative of Pakistan, but all the same he was in minority; the other West Pakistan Assembly members were also not supportive, because of their personal prejudices and election contest in West Pakistan.

Bhutto’s victory under the circumstances was more glorious than that of Mujib, though the mathematical calculation in counting number of seats is patently in favour of Awami League. But the problems of Bhutto were intricate and complicated.

1. Bhutto started his party just on the eve of elections, that is 1st December 1967, and he had not enough time at his disposal to organize his party, as elections were to be held in 1970. He could not even fully tour West Pakistan, which has a very big area.
2. Bhutto never entertained any political programme or political manifesto, which was for one wing. "Islam is our religion, socialism is our economy, and democracy is our polity. This programme was meant for the entire country and not for a particular area, while the six points on the basis of which Awami League had fought the election, were only made out for protecting the rights and privileges of Bengalis, and tended to separate East from the West and they declared the same on 5-2-1966 at Lahore through Mujib. All the parties, participating in conference had opposed these six points, including Awami League President Nawabzada Nasrullah Khan. But Mujib went on with his six points without any restraint or injunction. As opposed to it Bhutto presented a positive programme and constructive manifesto before the nation. Mujib's programme in reality was negative and destructive; and had deceptive features which misled the people of Bengali.
3. Awami league was openly propagating six points which were repugnant not only to the Martial Law Provisions, but also cleanly contravened the Legal Framework Orders prepared by Yahya Khan. Although no party could advocate its case against the L.F.O. before the people in any meeting or by writing, but with all audacity and in complicity with Yahya Khan the Legal Framework and Martial Regulations were thrown to winds by Awami League and no action was taken by Yahya against this flagrant violation.

Speaking about the difficulties of Bhutto, G.W. Choudhry, a Minister in Yahya Khan's cabinet writes.

"Bhutto told me once 'Mujib has only one slogan: prevent exploitation of Bengalis by giving votes to my party. Bengali nationalism as pointed out earlier had acquired sufficient momentum from various factors as analysed in earlier chapters. But Bhutto had no such simple path. The Bengalis of East Pakistan constituted a homogenous group, but in West Pakistan, there was subregionalisms in Sindh, Balochistan and the North-West Frontier Province. Then in West Pakistan, the rightist elements were not altogether discredited as they were in East Pakistan."

After this sensible, analysis Mr. Choudhry has attempted to plead for Yahya, but his argument was most untenable and not worthy of a writer of his caliber.

"He accused Yahya and his Government of tolerating Mujib's preaching of his six-point plan. In a sense, Bhutto's charge against Yahya Government

was correct, but Yahya relied on Mujib's repeated and firm pledges that he would modify his six point plan as soon as the elections were over."

This version is not far from being correct, but surprising too. Legal framework was ostensibly passed by Yahya Khan to save Pakistan which was on the volcano of disintegration; and this threat of disaster was the natural result of six points. It was not only Zulfikar Bhutto who had warned Yahya Khan against the consequences of six points but this frustration was shared by others also. What was the material before Yahya Khan to believe that what Mujib was telling him regarding change of six points was a gospel truth. If this alleged assurance of Mujib-ur-Rehman was true and sincere, then what had prompted Yahya Khan to pass Legal Framework How was it possible for Mujib to back out of six points when six points had been the common cry of all Awami League Leaders?

Yahya Khan was neither a sober man, nor was he a powerful dictator like his predecessor Ayub Khan; but the ambition of both of them shared full similarity. Yahya Khan had his clever adviser like General Pirzada, and he would not politically move without his advice. Yahya Khan was also not so simple as thought by some people or mentioned by some writers. Yahya Khan and his cohorts had never imagined that any single party would gain absolute majority, but on December 7, 1970, an expected and a novel situation came into existence. In spite of this position, the Army Junta had not lost all hopes but they started playing a new game, a very dangerous, a very suicidal game, which ultimately resulted in the dismemberment of the country. General (Retired Fazal Muqam Khan has rightly mentioned:

"But later events proved that "Yahya Khan actually strove to play Bhutto and Mujib against each other. However, from now, the destiny of Pakistan lay in one man's hand and that was Mujib-ur-Rehman."

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CHAPTER 16

East Pakistan: Brothers or Slaves

Slavery is a system of outrage and robbery:

Socrates

Muslim kings and rulers had their way for centuries over India; they permanently settled in India, and never thought of going back to the land, from where they had migrated, and along with them the millions of Muslims settled on the soil of India, and tried their best to live as brothers with those who were already in India.

The colonial powers from Europe had their eyes on India, and in the fraudulent guise of merchants and businessmen, the Britishers first came down to Calcutta. Asia remained backward in science, literature and modern technology, but the Industrial Revolution had now revolutionized the Europe; and the tireless, talented and greedy Britishers, occupied Bengal by and by and finally they defeated its young Muslim Ruler Sirajuddolah in 1757 in Battle of Plassey by purchasing his uncle Mir Jafar and the other important officers of his army. Now they became the masters of Bengal. The Britishers patronized that section of population, which cooperated with them and terrorized those who opposed them.

The wise and crafty Hindu fully cooperated with them, got lands, business, industry, services, education and other benefits which were hitherto enjoyed by Muslims; who as true patriots boycotted and hated the Britishers. The well to do families were converted into wood hewers and water-drawers; thus ultimately they were visited by poverty, ruination, Government wrath and illiteracy. The famous Nawabs of Dacca were no more wealthy and powerful landlords, and were reduced to weak and helpless state. They were called Nawabs as a matter of courtesy.

MUSLIM LEAGUE ESTABLISHED

Compelled by circumstances prevalent in those times, the All India Muslim League was established in 1906 by Nawab Vaqarul Mulk and others; and His Highness Sir Aga Khan, a young man of twenty nine years, was elected its first President. This was the beginning of political awakening amongst the Muslims of Bengal in twentieth century.

After his total disappointment and dismay with the Indian National Congress, a fully Hindu political body, national only in name, and totally communal in its character, Mr. Quaid-e-Azam Ali Jinnah, the founding father of Pakistan, started reorganizing and rejuvenating the Muslim Leagues and in 1940 he demanded separate home land for Muslims in the Lahore, All India session of Muslim League, due to the adamant and orthodox attitude of anti-Muslim congress. This demand for separate land was made by Mr. Jinnah, the Godsend saviour of Indian Muslims, on the basis of the right of self-determination. He proclaimed emphatically, logically and with political sagacity that the 100 million Muslim of India were a separate nation by any definition of a nation. It was now an irrevocable and unshakable decision of the greatest Asian statesmen that he would accept nothing short of Pakistan. Amongst the Muslims and non-Muslims of India there was no leader of his caliber and status. Zulfikar Ali Bhutto, the future national leader of Pakistan, was his most ardent admirer; he was then a schoolboy in Bombay, but had access to the founding father of Pakistan.

ATTITUDE OF BENGALI MUSLIMS

The Muslims of Bengal, who constituted 40% of the total Muslim population of the United India, were primarily and preeminently poor agriculturists, businessmen and most dominant in Government services, business and industry. They were the main financiers of All India Congress. The Muslims of Bengal, though immeasurably stricken by poverty and penury were highly democratic religious-minded and were politically very conscious. They suffered from lack of education, hence apparently backward, as such the Hindu capitalists fully exploited their weakness and treated them as their serfs and slaves like Britishers. So it can be safely said without any fear of contradiction that they were bitten by the sharp teeth. Jute is the main crop of Bengal and is grown in the region, which is now called Bangladesh, but all the Jute Mills were owned and located by the blood-sucking Marwaris in Calcutta, which is not only the biggest city of India, but the most important center of trade and Industry; and this Industrial empire continues to be controlled by the Marwari Banias, the financiers of Congress in the capital of Bengal and the biggest city and port of India.

BENGALIS MAIN PLANK OF PAKISTAN

Now, throughout United India, All India Muslim League assumed the status of the sole representative political organization for the Muslims, under the leadership of the Quaid-e-Azam Mohammad Ali Jinnah, but the Muslims of Bengal formed the vanguard of the party. "There were one million National Guards of the Muslim League, out of which three hundred thousand young men had volunteered from Bengal alone. In the General Elections of 1946, Muslim League won 113 seat out of 119 seats, securing 96.7 percent Muslim votes, thus the opponents who had fought the election under the leadership of

veteran Moulvi Fazlul Haq with all support and sources of congress were very shamefully trounced by Muslim League. This fact alone proves Muslims. They lent maximum possible support to Pakistan, more than Punjab or any other province, on the clarion call given by their leader Mr. Jinnah. Thus Muslims got the Promised Land. But the main question that arises hereafter is, why dissent and dismemberment? Why the genocide of Bengalis? And who is responsible for this unprecedented massacre, rape and finally the most heartless tragedy of tearing Pakistan? The tears that flow from the hearts of patriots will continue even in the grave.

DISPUTES BETWEEN EAST AND WEST PAKISTAN

The Quaid-e-Azam had achieved Pakistan by democratic process. The future of United India was decided by ballot and not by bullet. Democracy, and not the blind dictatorship, was destined to be the future.

BACKWARD BENGAL

The United Bengal was rich in industry, language, science and literature, and it was so rich that it could form an independent state with a population of over 70 millions, but the leaders of All India congress at the instance of the Marwari industrialists and capitalists settled in Calcutta, had opposed this proposition tooth and nail, out of old enmity and proverbial bigotry, as the proposed state would have a narrow Muslim majority.

The Western Bengal was very developed area from every point of view and it had Hindu majority, but the East Bengal area where Muslims were in majority, was lamentably under-developed. There was no industry, no universities, no means of communication, no big port and its biggest and historical city of Dacca was in shambles. This state of affairs was indicative of the apathy of Britishers and the Hindu leaders of India. They preferred to establish and encourage the Marwari Industrialists and business tycoons from the western part of India in Bengal Metropolis Calcutta and their attitude towards Muslims of Bengal was highly hostile and contemptuous and they did not make any secret of this hatred. They invested every thing in Calcutta to make it the most prosperous and advanced city of India, as it was the British Capital of India up to 1911. Pandit Jawahar Lal Nehru, who was propagated as a progressive and highly educated socialist leader of all India congress, and the future Prime Minister of India, had even refused to recognize the East Bengali Muslims as Bengalis. Such was the plight of the oppressed, illiterate and hated Muslim populace. But now with the advent of Pakistan, hopes had arisen in the minds of Muslim Bengalis that they would get a fair deal and justice would be done to the forsaken, neglected and backward Bengal; and the region converted into hell by Hindus of East Bengal would be a land of paradise. But all these hopes were shattered and frustrated and the people of East Pakistan got no substantial respite to have a sigh of relief as they deserved.

In my humble opinion, if the Quaid-e-Azam had appointed Mr. H.S. Sahrawardy as the Prime Minister of Pakistan, in place of Liaquat Ali Khan, there would not have been Pandora box's problem in Pakistan and especially in the East wing. This opinion is shared by many whom I interviewed. Besides the fact that he would have represented East Pakistan, he was brilliant politician with rich administrative experience.

AGONIES OF EAST PAKISTAN

"The Government is a trust and the officers of Government are trustees, and both the trust and the trustees are created for the benefit of the people."

Henry Day

None will disagree with what has been mentioned above. Since this chapter deals with the most tragic dismemberment and the actors responsible for it, facts and grounds will have to be analysed honestly with due care and caution and not superficially, in order to separate chaff from the grain. The profound pangs suffered by the poor but patriotic people are not denied by any author but many of them have deplorably distorted, exaggerated or minimized the crystal clear facts. Let us deal with the subject objectively, chronologically and systematically, as far as possible.

LANGUAGE CONTROVERSY

The Bengalis being in majority of 56% in Pakistan, speak and write one language that is Bengali. It was one of the richest languages of the United India, and produced internationally and intellectually famous literary luminaries like Rabindra Nath Tagore, Kazi Nazrul Islam and several others. Any language spoken by any individual from childhood is one of the most valuable cultural treasures that he cherishes in his heart all his life, so was and is the case of Bengalis.

Mr. Jinnah had made Karachi, the capital of Pakistan, for which there were strong and cogent grounds. It was growing and developing new city, with the biggest seaport and airport in Pakistan. Though a provincial seat only, it had the capacity to accommodate the federal capital, with vast open lands outside the city. Karachi was the nearest city to East Pakistan, and its weather quite agreeable and suitable for Bengalis. They willingly conceded to their Quaid's decision, as it was in keeping with reason and national interest.

So far the main languages of Pakistan were concerned, they were Bengali, Punjabi, Sindhi, Balochi, Siraiki and Pashtu. Urdu was not the language of any province, but it was medium of instructions in the educational institutions of Punjab, N.W.F.P. and Balochistan. Amongst the Mohajir class, Urdu was the mother language of one section only and the rest spoke different languages. In Bengal, Bengali was their mother tongue, and their medium of

instructions in East Pakistan, so was case with Sindh. Urdu was however understood in big towns of West Pakistan, but not in the Eastern wing.

In March 1948, Quaid-e-Azam toured East Pakistan, spoke to various sections of the people, like seasoned statesman and father of the State, addressed several public meetings, and also cautioned them against the machinations and mischief of the Indian agents, because Indian leaders proposed to nip in bud, the newly created largest Muslim Country. To speak frankly their hearts were burning with fire due to the existence of Pakistan.

In Dacca, Mr. Jinnah declared in a public meeting of three hundred thousand in unequivocal terms that Urdu would be the state language of Pakistan. This statement from the creator of Pakistan was unpalatable to Bengalis as they did not want Urdu to be the sole lingua franca of Pakistan. They keenly desired Bengali also to be one of the two state languages of Pakistan. The younger generation was more emphatic about it; as the Bengalis were in majority, and they had sacrificed and suffered more than the other regions of the United India. The Quaid was undoubtedly a farsighted statesman, and seriously thought over the strong protest of students in the matter of language. He might have reviewed his decision about the language issue, declaring both Urdu and Bengali as the state languages of Pakistan. But before making any such announcement, he breathed his last. In spite of the deep resentment in respect of language controversy, there were no disturbances in Bengali due to the immense respect the Bengalis had for Mr. Jinnah.

In 1951, the legendary political and spiritual personality of His Highness Sir Aga Khan gave a very sensible and statesmanly proposal that Arabic be made the state language of Pakistan. He wrote a long letter, which was published in Daily Dawn Karachi. This writing was of course prompted by his deep love for the biggest and the most powerful Muslim State in the world. He contended that Urdu was not the language of Muslims and it had developed during the decadence of Muslim power in India, the adoption of Arabic shall not be a discriminating and disadvantageous factor to any province, rather it will help Muslims in appreciating their own religious and would serve as unifying factor with the other Muslim countries. The proposal was strongly supported by Mr. Zahid Hussain, former Finance Minister of Hyderabad Deccan, and Pakistan High Commissioner to India. This suggestion, if accepted, would have buried the language controversy and solved this acute issue permanently. But the West Pakistan Press and the so-called intelligensia opposed this bonafide and most reasonable proposal so vehemently, viciously and vociferously that the dissent assumed dangerous proportions, and even the Prime Minister Liaquat Ali Khan refused to pay any heed to it; with the result that the relations between the two Wings went from bad to worse; and solidarity of Pakistan was undermined.

This dictatorial and diabolical attitude on the part of the ruling elite, a minority of five percent of articulate population, the self styled cultured class and the literary monopolists of West Pakistan and press propaganda drove the 56 pc population of East Pakistan, especially the students to revolt against such behaviour, for the protection of their language and culture. If the West Pakistanis had acted with wisdom, patience, restraint, understanding, in understanding and adjusting the point of view of East Pakistan, there would have been no clashes and conflicts. The armed revolts started over the language issue, which assumed serious proportions; due to political compulsions.

In 1953, the Constituent Assembly of Pakistan framed a constitution but it never came into effect as Ghulam Mohammad, the paralyzed and cunning Governor General of Pakistan, refused to give his assent to it and he took to task the weak Prime Minister Mohammad Ali Bogra from East Pakistan on the ground as to why the Constituent Assembly had deprived him of all the power that he had hitherto been enjoying and exercising under the old constitution. The point to be emphasized in the making of 1953 constitution is, that it had recognized both Urdu and Bengali as state languages, and if Ghulam Mohammad had given his assent to the newly framed constitution, the controversy would have been solved permanently. But Malik Ghulam Mohammad, with the proposed deprivation of powers, went so mad that he lost all senses, abused Bogra, and refused to give assent to the constitution. Here after we will witness bloody clashes over the sensitive and serious issue of language, for which Bengalis were not to be blamed.

After the demise of the Quaid-a-Azam, the problems of Pakistan started multiplying and worsening. Instead of handling the language issue like a statesman, Khawaja Nazimuddin in his capacity as Prime Minister of Pakistan, made an announcement in Dacca in 1952, that Urdu alone would be the state language, a proposition which had been opposed tooth-and-nail by Bengalis in 1948. This statement added fuel to the fire in Bengal, the Government had to resort to shooting which resulted in the death of a number of students. Making of such a controversial statement, without preparing any ground or atmosphere for it was an unpardonable folly. This blunder gave a deathblow to Muslim League in 1954 elections. The agitation continued unabated, and the gulf of differences went on widening day by day; problems were multiplying every day.

POLITICAL POWER

Political power had always remained the most controversial contention between East and the West wings. The Quaid-e-Azam, Governor General of Pakistan did not belong to the East Pakistan and so the Prime Minister Liaquat Ali Khan; and East Pakistanis felt that they had no voice in policy making. After them, the real power vested into the hands of Political bandits and Pundits of West Pakistan, i.e. Ghulam Mohammad, Iskandar Mirza, Choudhry Mohammad

Ali and other leaders of West Pakistan. They were basically bureaucrats and became the masters of Pakistan without any elections. Khawaja Nazimuddin, Mohammad Ali Bogra and Chowdhry Mohammad Ali who did become Prime Ministers of Pakistan, were mostly ineffectual and they cared more for the Junta and never for the people. In 1954, the Muslim League was thoroughly routed in election and Moulvi Fazlul Haq, the most popular leader of East Pakistan was elected as Chief Minister of the Province; but shortly thereafter the Assembly was dissolved and Fazlul Haq was dismissed. Thus the majority of 56 pc was being virtually ruled by Punjab. The haughty and naughty bureaucrats of West Pakistan treated the poor Bengalis as their slaves and serfs and not their brothers, as was the aim and object of the Quaid-e-Azam. The East Pakistan was being treated as a colony as Hindus and Britishers had treated it. Not only the forest of Sunderbans alone, but the entire East Pakistan was the happy hunting ground of the proud, self-conceited bureaucrats from West Pakistan. In view of this state of affairs in Pakistan the sensitive and self-respecting Bengalis deeply resented and objected to the misbehaviour of the Ruling Junta and the bureaucrats of West Pakistan, and they were not prepared to suffer it at any cost. The ruling Junta was thus unfortunately preparing ground to dismember the country by a subconscious process through their inexcusable blunders and behavior.

The misfortune of Bengalis was that at the time of partition, there were officers from Punjab, officers from the Indian Provinces, who had opted for Pakistan and only two joint secretaries were from Bengal, in central superior services. Even the respectable leaders and representatives received scant respect or attention from the West Pakistan bureaucrats. I had the experience of the behavior and treatment of East Pakistan officers. They were unassuming, just, well behaved, patriotic and cultured, they were never pompous and proud.

Due to merciless mishandling of the situation, in Chandragana, in the Adamjee Jute Mill, there were terrible riots, resulting in the death of four persons. Instead of massacring, if the officials had closed the Mills, the situation would have been saved. It happened in 1955, and people of Bengal were brimming with hatred against the Junta.

THE ARMY

In the United India, the Muslims in the army were about 30 percent, and they come mostly from Punjab and some from N.W.F.P. As such after Independence, the entire army belonged to West Pakistan. On defence the Government had to spend 70 percent of its budget, due to its highly strained relations with India.

In Pakistan, there was virtually no recruitment from Bengal and Sindh in the Army. I remember that in fifties, a high powered committee had been to Larkana and Major General Sher Ali was one of its members. Though he himself was not a very able bodied officer, I heard him saying rudely that the

rules and regulations framed for recruitment by Britishers would not be changed or relaxed for accommodating any Sindhi. Automatically the 56 percent Bengalis were ruled out and consequently they were not the beneficiaries of the defence budget. In other words the same treatment was to be meted out to the Bengalis, as had been deliberately planned by the Britishers; as if, it was mere change of masters. The recruitment was not to be made for wrestlers and boxers but for intelligent persons who could be trained in the methods of modern warfare skill and technique. The result was that very few Bengalis could be recruited. But the history of our Army will prove that in the war of 1965, the Bengalis proved better fighters in Air Force and fought like lions. Squadron Leader Mahmood Alam of Bengal was the hero of Air Force. His was an outstanding name in the Pakistan Air Force. He was a havoc for Indian force and had destroyed several Indian planes. But his services did not get much appreciation and recognition as he happened to be Bengali. In the war of 1971, the Pakistan Air force made a poor show, it was a dilapidated force as there was absence of Bengali brains. That was a big blow to the young educated Bengalis who could not get employment in the army in spite of their right and legitimacy.

Eighty percent of the Armed forces hailed from the Punjab and the rest from N.W.F.P, not because people of other province were of inferior stock, because the Punjabis were treated as the elite by our erstwhile masters... Smaller provinces had rightful reason to grouse when they found that a major part of our budget and of foreign aid was being spent on the Punjab Army in addition to other benefits accruing to Punjabis, such as jobs in the Civil Services.

At another place, he writes "Unfortunately other Muslims belonging to the West Pakistan Civil Service, posted in East Pakistan, which was devoid of any trained official behaved worse than the Colonial Masters, thus the major population of our country was deprived even of the fruit of freedom or their due share in the services or participation in the government. They were treated as subject people and were victims of the same deprivation, they had suffered under the British Rule, perhaps even worse. This colonial attitude was the basis for the revolt by those poor underdogs in 1971." Shaukat Hayat was a Punjabi leader and he had swerved as commissioned officer in the Armed Forces.

ECONOMIC EXPLOITATION AND DEMAND OF FULL PROVINCIAL AUTONOMY

Since Dacca was separated by a hostile country distancing more than 1000 miles, and injustice after injustice, insult after insult, atrocity after atrocity, were being perpetrated on Bengalis, their popular representative and Chief Minister Fazlul Haq came down to Karachi "to negotiate the relationship between the center and the provinces". While in Karachi, he gave interview to a Karachi correspondent of the New York Times in which he stated that he was in favor of absolute autonomy for East Pakistan". It was 1954. These details are

being given in order to show whether Mr. Bhutto could be held responsible for secession by any stretch of imagination. He was not even in politics in those times. In other words, six points demand or some thing equivalent to that, was being demanded even in 1954, for reasons, shown in this long chapter, which is meant to disclose the real story, that developed every day for dismemberment. "Absolute autonomy" was being emphatically demanded by the veteran Bengal, leader and Chief Minister Fazlul Haq for the simple reason that the East Pakistan was being ruled by the dictators of West Pakistan from Karachi. They had no say in their political, economic, social and educational spheres. Poverty was so terrible. According to the prominent writer and an Army Officer from West Pakistan namely Siddique Salik who was eye witness to the tragic incidents, his wife employed two maid servants, because she could get two maids for the same salary which was payable to one in West Pakistan.⁷ They were so hard working, that they used to plough their lands even at night hours, but still the problems aggravated, because:

- 1.** East Pakistan was very densely populated. They needed more help, but on the contrary they did not get even their legitimate rights.
- 2.** They grew valuable Jute crop and it was being exported by Pakistan, earning billions of dollars but the foreign exchange earned thereby was not paid to the East Pakistan and was thus deprived of the fruits of their own labour.
- 3.** The East Pakistanis did not get their share in civil and military services there fore the unemployment went on multiplying every day and it became intolerable for the younger generation. They were now wood-hewers and water-drawers.
- 4.** The West Pakistan was being industrialized while the East Wing was being criminally neglected. Very few industries were setup in the East Wing, and their owners lived in West Pakistan, they did not make East Pakistan their home, they did not link themselves with East Pakistan; as such they were no better than foreigners and strangers, visiting and doing business in East Pakistan simply for their gains. In fact they should have become part and parcel of East Pakistan, which they refused to do. The labour of East Pakistan also treated them as foreigners and not their own.
- 5.** Since there was difference in wealth and prosperity between the two wings, the vested interests of West Pakistan refused to befriend the poor but the self-respecting East Pakistanis. The West Pakistanis had big mansions, limousines, army of servants, best educational institutions in big cities for their children, while the East Pakistanis, were unfortunately deprived of these facilities what to talk of comforts and luxuries: I myself heard the wealthy West Pakistanis calling the East Pakistanis 'rats', and that they were a heavy liability on West Pakistan. Big and

lucrative contracts were given to the influential families of West Pakistan and the industries were set up by them. The real power vested in the Central Government and the corrupt and proud bureaucrats of West Pakistan. Heavy loans were advanced on very favorable terms to them; the Bengali labour was paid inadequately saying that they were lazy and slack and called them "Bhooka Bengalis." Thus the entire fabulous amounts earned by them were brought to West Pakistan. It was a misfortune but a hard fact of life that the societies in both the wings were diametrically different; the only common factor was religion. But had West Pakistan rulers been faithful to religion, there would have been no dismemberment; the highly placed Muslims of West Pakistan to a great extent were only skin deep Muslims, while those of the East wing were genuinely religious. I think that there could be no meeting point between truth and hypocrisy.

CYCLONES

East Pakistan has been the victim of tidal waves, and sea cyclones visited quite frequently and besides destroying the houses, properties and cultivation, they uprooted hundreds of thousands of human beings and took toll of thousands of human lives. The meager provincial resources were too inadequate to alleviate the sufferings caused by the devastating floods. Under these appalling circumstances, it was the moral, legal and constitutional obligation of the federal Government to come to the rescue of the marooned. The federal Government was simply oblivious and apathetic to such disaster, saying that they were helpless, it was a natural calamity, it was an act of God. The assistance that they rendered was quite nominal and never commensurate with the calamity, they were simply busy in palace conspiracies and intrigues. No attempt was ever made to evolve a permanent solution against this calamity, otherwise in this era of scientific advancement and engineering technology, it was not an impossible proposition.

POLITICIANS OF BENGAL SHABBILY TREATED

All the top ranking East Pakistan Politicians, including those who had made immense sacrifices for Pakistan, organized the Muslim League and, followed the Quaid-e-Azam faithfully, were shabbily treated and practically they had no voice in the policies and administration of the country, not even in their own backward and the down trodden Province; I would specially make mention of Moulvi Fazlul Haq, Hussain Shahedd Suharawardy and Khawaja Nazimuddin who were universally respected.

1. Khawaja Nazimuddin's Ministry was dismissed by Governor General Malik Ghulam Mohammad, a characterless, unprincipled, intriguing and

unelected bureaucrat. It was in clear contravention to the constitution of the country.

2. Mohammad Ali Bogra of East Pakistan was appointed by Ghulam Mohammad as his puppet Prime Minister, but when the constituent Assembly framed the constitution against the wishes of Ghulam Mohammad, Bogra had to suffer filthy abuses from him. He meekly submitted to Ghulam Mohammad who was supported by Ayub Khan and almost the entire Punjab leadership was involved in fascism.
3. Moulvi Fazlul Haq's Government was dismissed and the Assembly was dissolved in 1954, because the Muslim league was routed in General elections in 1954 due to its unpopular and foolish ways in running the Government.
4. In 1954 Tamizuddin Khan who was the Speaker of the Constituent Assembly filed a writ petition in Sindh Chief Court against the shameful dissolution of the Assembly and he won the case, but the Federal court set aside the judgment. Tamizuddin Khan, Speaker of the Constituent Assembly, hailed from East Pakistan. When Liaquat Ali Khan, the first Prime Minister, publicly abused Bengali leaders after the death of the Quaid-e-Azam, was it not a directive to the West Pakistan bureaucrats to hate, and disobey the East Pakistan's leadership? While making his long speech on 11th September 1950 in a public meeting on the occasion of Quaid-e-Azam's death anniversary, he openly said about Suhrawardy and others:

"For whose benefit, I ask is all being said? The enemies of Pakistan have let loose these dogs that talk like this. I say they are traitors, liars and hypocrites."

The readers would realize that the language was not only un-parliamentary but also highly derogatory and abusive. The most respected leader of Bengal, whose sacrifices and brilliance far exceeded those of Liaquat Ali Khan, was being spoken of in such a foul and insulting language. When Liaquat Ali Khan had practically not permitted the revered Fatima Jinnah to speak on Pakistan radio on the Anniversary, of her great brother what could be expected of him for others. Ayub Khan also felt very happy and elated while repeating what Liaquat Ali had uttered about Suhrawardy. This contemptuous attitude continued through out by the "big bosses" of Karachi and Islamabad, right from 1947-1948 against the politicians and people of East Pakistan by the "sages" of West Pakistan.

AYUB PREPARES FOR SECESSION

The Artificial Field Marshal Ayub Khan was scared of Bengalis. Therefore surreptitiously he was adopting ways and means to separate East from the

West. The politically conscious East Pakistan had no feudal or capitalistic society and such society was neither envisaged by Mr. Jinnah nor by Mr. Bhutto because they wanted to establish democracy which was not possible without socio-economic reforms. Mr. Jinnah was not in favor of such Pakistan, which was ruled by feudal lords. Bhutto though a big land-owner himself was also fully aware of state craft, therefore the steps that he had taken in West Pakistan for socio-economic reforms, clearly testify that he was in complete unanimity with Mr. Jinnah. As if in unison with the hearts of Muslim Bengalis, Jinnah spoke on 24th April 1943 in the 30th session of All India Muslim League, warning the absentee land lords as under.

“Here I should like to give a warning to the landlords and capitalists who flourished at our expense by a system which is so vicious, so wicked and which makes them so selfish, that it is difficult to reason with them. The exploitation of masses had gone into their blood. They have forgotten the lesions of Islam. Greed and selfishness have made these people subordinate to the interests of others in order to fatten themselves. It is true that we are not in power today, you may go anywhere to the countryside. I have visited the villages, there are millions of our people who hardly get one meal a day. Is this civilization? Is this the aim of Pakistan? Do you visualize that millions have been exploited and cannot get one meal a day! If this is the idea of Pakistan, I would not have it. If they are, they will have to adjust themselves to the new modern conditions of life. If they don't, God shall help them, we shall help them!”

What Jinnah and Bhutto had said, was totally in keeping with the teachings of Islam, and it was a clear-cut demand of Islamic Values. But the feudal lords and capitalists wanted to make a Pakistan a state of their choice where the poor could have no place, where the poverty stricken East Pakistanis would continue to remain their slaves. Thus there was world of difference between economies of two wings, socially they stood poles apart and politically they were a colony, thus the divided houses of Pakistan had lost its defence capacity.

This was the correct interpretation of Islam, the aim and object of Muslim League on socio-economic side. If this way of life had been adopted as ordained by Mr. Jinnah, there would have been rivers of milk and honey flowing in both the wings of Pakistan, God had gifted them with innumerable, sources; they would have lived happily and harmoniously like brothers and the question of dismemberment would not have arisen. The achievement of Pakistan by the Quaid-e-Azam was nothing short of a miracle, but the implementation of socio-economic reforms by Bhutto was a stupendous task, and no other leader prior to that had made any serious effort to construct Pakistan on those lines. And this is what the Bengalis actually wanted, but there was none to fulfill their aspirations, to meet their needs, to treat them like brothers. The behaviour of the Ruling Junta and the vested interest of West Pakistanis was far from the Quaid's concept of Pakistan. It was not a mere slogan, it was not a mere cry of Islam without its essence it was not for

branding Mr. Jinnah and Mr. Bhutto as kafirs (infidels), they proposed to change destinies of the poor.

General Ayub belonged to a family of mediocre means, but after becoming President, he was the owner of Gandhara and what not. Mr. Mohammad Muneer (Retd. Chief Justice of Pakistan) has stated that Ayub did stand for secession of the East Wing.

“When in 1962, I joined Ayub’s cabinet for a short time...Every day was spent in listening to the long speeches of the East Pakistan members, of exploitation of East Pakistan and step-motherly treatment of that province... none of the members or ministers of the Assembly whether from East Pakistan or from West Pakistan rose to rebut those allegations. I spoke to Ayub and suggested that there could be no fusion or common good between the two provinces and whether it would not be better that instead of putting up with this nonsense, East Pakistan is to take their affairs in their hands. He suggested to me that I should talk about it to some influential leader from East Pakistan. One day while I was talking to Mr. Ramizuddin, who had been a Minister in Bengal or East Pakistan, I brought the matter to him. His reply was prompt and straight. He asked me whether I suggested secession. I said yes, or something like it as confederation or more autonomy. He said “Look here, we are the majority province and it is for the minority province to secede because we are Pakistanis.”

From the above version, about the truth, of which there can be absolutely no doubt, it is abundantly clear that Ayub was for secession and he had no mind to mitigate sufferings of Bengalis. The Bengalis were opposed to secession they were true patriots, more than Ayub him self, which is apparent from the honest and straightforward reply of Ramizuddin.

Field Marshal President Ayub Khan was in fact afraid of physically weak but morally strong Bengalis. His friend Altaf Gauhar writes:

“The main threat to Ayub’s system, however began to develop in East Pakistan, where the feeling of economic exploitation and political repression was taking the form of a secessionist movement.” The irrefutable fact is that the seed of secession had been sown in West Pakistan, but the undeniable reality is that the Bengalis were deadly opposed to his system, which was purely authoritarian and suicidal.

Ayub Khan proposed to appoint merciless Governors in East Pakistan in order to crush the politically articulate Bengalis; it is why he removed General Azam Khan from the Governor ship of East Pakistan. Major Jilani who had worked as ADC to 15 Governors of East Pakistan says:

“General Mohammad Azam who was Governor of East Pakistan from 15th April 1960 to 10th May 1962 was most popular and successful amongst

all but it appears that he could not be tolerated by Ayub Khan, hence was removed on the ground that he was seeking cheap popularity." He had to resign. In East Pakistan people called him mother, father of the poor and downtrodden, veritable Messiah. In their reception, the students said "your selfless devotion to duty, selfless efforts and boundless energy to building up the nation will be written in letters of gold, in the pages of history." Monem Khan the Bengali Governor appointed by Ayub was perhaps the most hated Governor to be continued for 6½ years, from 25 October 1962 to March 1969. His Governorship ended with the President ship of Ayub. He was a nail in the coffin of Ayub regime."

There can be no better and stronger proof than Jilani's writing who was eyewitness to every thing happening in East Pakistan. It proves that Bengalis did not want separation, but it was forced upon them by Ayub. The matter does not rest here; there are irrefutable fact of history and politics on record which prove beyond any shadow of doubt that there was a preplanned scheme of Ayub Khan and some Generals to get rid of East Pakistan. There is further evidence, which is provided by Altaf Gauhar. In 1968 he was discussing about East Pakistan with Ayub because he happened to be the nearest person to Ayub Khan and was also the Information Secretary of Pakistan. According to his writing, Ayub Khan had plainly told him that East Pakistan would not remain with West Pakistan; as such he had given them a new capital in Dacca. While speaking to Altaf Gauhar, he said, "My dear fellow, I gave them the second Capital because they are going to need it one day. They are not going to remain with us."

Some people are suffering from this misunderstanding that Ayub Khan had developed Dacca as a matter of a generous and graceful act to East Pakistan, but the disclosure (conscious or subconscious) by Altaf Gauhar makes it clear that behind the development of Dacca, there was a sinister idea of Ayub Khan to separate East wing from the West in a planned method. It was not love for Bengal but a preemptive act of separation in action.

SHIFTING OF CAPITAL

Ayub Khan's most political punches were aimed at the poor Bengalis. He knew that his dream to rule Pakistan as long as he was alive, could not materialize so long Bengal, the majority wing was part and parcel of Pakistan. The Bengalis though badly stricken by poverty were by nature both sensitive and revolutionary; they were not the followers and worshippers of Sardars, Nawabs and the Army Generals; and the were good Muslims, bowing before only Almighty Allah. The feudal lords and capitalists, possessing vast wealth would make Ayub Khan their worldly god but not the people of East wing. This fact was evident from the presidential election of 1965 against Miss Fatima Jinnah.

Ayub Khan ordered the shifting of capital from Karachi to the Potohar area, which is now called Islamabad. This move served dual purpose. Karachi was 1000 miles away from Dacca, now for Bengalis Islamabad was 2000 miles away from Dacca. In Bengali, the weather is not cold but in Islamabad, it is extremely cold, in winter, it is a snow-covered area. The Bengalis are very averse to the cold weather, because it is not bearable for them. What to speak of a common Bengali to visit Islamabad, it was even difficult for the Members of National Assembly to attend it, they would fall ill. The result of Ayub Khan's policies was that Bengalis did not visit the West and the West Pakistanis did not frequently visit the East. This behaviour gave rise to tendency of alienation, as if we were living in different countries, with different languages with different cultures, with conflicting economies, with opposite social set up. Pakistan had in fact provided us a golden opportunity to be blood relations, to speak the language common to both and to have the identical values of life. If Karachi was becoming over crowded, there were vast tracts of even and leveled land between Karachi and Hyderabad with best climate all the year round, and to build a capital there, would have been financially a much cheaper proposition. But Ayub Khan had his own intentions, he constructed such a costly capital with such palatial buildings that it proved disastrous for the economy of Pakistan. Bengalis had no food to eat, they were flooded with tidal cyclones causing colossal damage and Ayub did nothing to ward off the permanent calamity of the fellow citizens, and brothers. About the expenditure on Islamabad Robert Pyne writes:

"Built at a cost that Pakistan could ill afford, it seemed to symbolize by its immaculate tall buildings and air-conditioned luxury the gap between the rulers and the ruled."

This opinion is shared by many foreigners belonging to rich countries. Islamabad was built at the cost of mortgaging the country.

East Pakistan, now Bangladesh is really a beautiful land, full of greenery and superb scenes, its people are clean hearted, but the smile of their life was gradually and cruelly robbed by the ruling junta headed by Ayub Khan.

If the historical facts are clearly and honestly brought on record, there will be no two opinions about this national tragedy that Ayub Khan was mainly responsible for tearing the largest Muslim country, which Jinnah had attained. Ayub Khan and some of the important Generals, whose duty was to preserve the frontiers of the country, were responsible for breaking it.

SENSE OF INSECURITY

In the war of 1965, the entire Pakistan Army was engaged in West Pakistan, and in East Pakistan, only one division was there to protect, where as it was surrounded by hostile India on all sides. If India had wished, it could over-run East Pakistan in hours and it could not have been defended by the one division of Pakistan Army.

Serious apprehensions were raised by the members from Bengal in the National Assembly that they had been left undefended, but to this charge, there could be no other satisfactory reply that China had threatened India that in case, Indian Army invaded East Pakistan, China would not hesitate sending its forces to rout the Indian Army. The Indian Army was already demoralized so far China was concerned, therefore it did not undertake the adventure of conquering East Pakistan due to China's fear. However, this explanation was far from being logically satisfactory from Bengalis' point of view; they did not want to be at the mercy of any other power how much friendly that might be.

AGARTALA CONSPIRACY CASE

On every front, conditions were worsening for Ayub Khan after 1965; even his own Electoral College, that is the army was not behind him. In December 1967, Ayub Khan visited East Pakistan, where an attempt was made to kidnap and assassinate him, but it proved abortive. The news was hushed up in Pakistan, but it was published on foreign media, including Radio Broadcast in India. The version of Altaf Gauhar who had accompanied Ayub Khan to East Pakistan, is as under:

"Ayub Khan was in East Pakistan in December 1967. He was due to visit a paper factory in Chandragona, but the visit was called off because of a report that an attempt was likely to be made to blow up President's plane,"

The famous Agartala conspiracy case was disclosed in January 1968, to the effect that a conspiracy was hatched for secession of East Pakistan with Indian aid at Agartala. In this case, some 28 persons were arrested. Investigation was made by the agencies and they were challaned in the court for trial. There was an attempt to kidnap and assassinate Ayub in December 1967 while he was on tour in East Pakistan. The plot was unsuccessful and all India Radio also broadcast it with the usual exaggeration. It affected Ayub's image with his armed forces: he was no longer regarded as "supreme boss." This plot and the proposed action did not cause much stir or resentment in Bengal, though the list of accused contained the names of Government officers. Agartala is a place in India, where it was alleged that the plot was hatched with the assistance of the first secretary of India namely Mr. Ojha.

But the case took a very serious turn when Mujib-ur-Rehman was also implicated as the leader of conspiracy at the time, when the case was about to proceed. All the papers and people alleged it was a false case to victimize the Bengali Leader who was innocent and on the date when the conspiracy was said to have been hatched, Mujib-ur-Rahman was in jail. The people got so much out of control that they attacked the state guesthouse Dacca, where Justice S.A. Rehman, head of the Tribunal was staying. With the assistance of a loyal Bengali servant, he could escape absconded and saved his life. Mr. Manzur Qadir, of Lahore the former Minister of Ayub's Cabinet, was the prosecutor. As such the Bengalis were under this ineradicable impression that there was a heinous conspiracy to kill Shaikh Mujib-ur-Rahman – the judge

was Punjabi, prosecutors were Punjabis and the prosecution counsel was a Punjabi. It may be noted that Ayub Khan "had thrown him into prison in October 1958 and released him after two years. Later in April 1966, Ayub Khan again threw him into prison until January 1968. Then again he was arrested by some military officers...."

Under these circumstances, the Bengalis were constrained to think that Ayub Khan had decided to kill their national hero Shaikh Mujib-ur-Rahman at any cost.

Ayub Khan was held responsible for all that he had done against Bengal's most popular leader Shaikh Mujib-ur-Rahman. The pages of history clearly provide all evidence that during his regime of more than a decade, he had antagonized the Bengalis, at the instance of the most unpopular Governor Monem Khan; he was never in favor of Governors like Azam Khan who killed the Bengalis with kindness, and won their hearts by generosity. Fact of the matter is that the entire country was in suffocation, and especially the East Pakistan was converted into a prison camp.

CHAPTER 17

The Abject Surrender

"He is not dead who depart from life with a high and noble fame; but he is dead, even while living, whose brows is branded with infamy."

Tieck

"Do not be afraid of death, our religion teaches us to be always prepared for death. We should face it bravely to save the honour of Pakistan and Islam. There is no better salvation for a Muslim than the death of a martyr." Jinnah knew well the secret of rise and decline of a nation, therefore, he had exhorted the Muslims to be prepared for death because unless the citizens of the country and especially the Army, is prepared for death the State cannot survive with honour and dignity in the comity of nations. You cannot kill your enemy unless you are prepared for death. While returning from England in December, 1946 after the dismal failure of negotiations with the British supported All-India Congress, he stayed in Cairo (Egypt) and warned them in clear words against the designs of the Hindu leadership in the following words:

" I told them of the danger that Hindu Empire would represent for the Middle East and assured them that Pakistan would tender cooperation to all nations struggling for freedom without consideration of race or colour... if Hindu Empire is achieved it will mean the end of Islam in India, and even in other Muslim countries. There is no doubt that spiritual and religious ties bind us inexorably with Egypt. If we are drowned all will be drowned."

By the end of April, 1971 the Mukti Bahini forces were defeated and driven, and they crossed over to India along with a number of other Awami League leaders and reached Calcutta which was the Capital of Bangladesh Government in exile. In the month of May, there was superficial peace in East Pakistan, in fact it was lull on the surface of the political ocean of Bengal but there were strong currents beneath the surface. According to G.W. Chowdhury:

"Of course the Bengali Muslims as I have already pointed out, did not like to see Pakistan destroyed particularly by Indian forces but Army's atrocities left the Bengalis-whether Awami Leaguers nationalists with no choice. The army's actions particularly Tikka's and subsequently Niazi's policy of collective punitive actions" under which village after village was burnt and destroyed, turned the entire population against the Pakistan Government."

Whether he was Tikka or Niazi, it made no difference for Bengalis. For these generals, there was no distinction between the patriot and a traitor, between innocent and murderer, between fair and fowl because they were so intoxicated that they had lost judicious discretion and distinction.

General Niazi enjoyed the self-styled title of "Tiger" and he seemed to be an apt choice to tame the Bengal Tigers, "His failings which were to be highlighted by the December debacle were generally hidden from the people."

About his high character Siddiq Salik writes:

"General Khadim Raja, GOC told me later that when he had handed over the command of troops, General Niazi had asked him "when are you going to hand over your concubines to me?"

The Generals of such credential, characteristic qualifications were sent by Yahya to remedy the wrongs in Bengal. Birds of the same feather flock together. It was by the end of November, 1971 that Indian forces started surreptitious entry in East Pakistan but openly they had started on December 3, 1971. In six months' time that Pakistan had at its disposal, no serious and sincere efforts were made by General Yahya and His other friendly Generals to gain the sympathy of the people and try to solve the most serious problems.

The cruel rod of authority and atrocity continued its operation against the Bengalis instead of adopting a policy of appeasement, love and affection towards them – the deeply wounded Bengalis. The important army officers of Pakistan who administered East Pakistan, were unfortunately short-sighted, heartless and ignorant of evil designs of India thinking that all trouble was over in Bengal and India was sleeping. They were foolishly making all efforts to destroy the vestiges of East Pakistan. They Army Generals were under this self-deceptive, false and misleading impression that East Pakistan had no genuine grievances. Their rights were intact and it was simply on the Indian instigation that the disruptionists had risen in revolt and they had been so crushed that the crisis had ended forever. But the fact was that India was making every preparation to destroy the Army of Pakistan and dismember Pakistan. Unfortunately this impression of ignorance was shared even by General Yahya before August, 1971. Such warnings were given but they went unheeded. Sajjad Hyder was the Ambassador of Pakistan in India at the crucial hour. He reports that when he got audience with Yahya Khan he submitted:

"After I had explained at some length why I thought war was so inevitable and why my estimation, the month of November would be a month of peril for us, President Yahya Khan proceeded to dismiss my fears..... as baseless through and through. He said that he had received so many assurances from President Nixon to the effect that there would be no war.... I replied with respect that preservation of peace between Pakistan and India depended besides Americans, on one other party namely the Russian.... This

clear enough reference to our unwise act of summary rejection earlier in the year of President Podogorny's proposal to reach a political settlement with our brethren seemed to have touched a raw nerve."

It was enough to annoy Yahya and he ordered to recall Mr. Sajjad from India by way of punishment. General Gul Hasan was the Chief of the General Staff at that time. According to Sajjad Haider he broke into a torrent of complaint about the "airy fairy" reports coming out of New Delhi Mission "What is this about Sam Manek Shaw threatening to wrap up the whole Pakistan in three weeks"..... I told Gul Hasan, he was free to believe as he liked but that would not prevent us in New Delhi from sounding the alarm bells, we had been doing since March 29..... The air of unreality in Islamabad had to be seen to be believed."

THE ROLE OF OUTSIDE POWERS

"By July the Pakistan Government had received reliable reports from friendly great powers to the effect that the Indians had begun to prepare for military confrontation. The most immediate factor was Henry Kissinger's secret trip to Peking via Rawalpindi. Further Kissinger was reported to have told the Indian Ambassador in Washington after his visit to Peking that China would intervene if India attacked Pakistan, and the United States might not come to India's help as it had done in 1962 and 1965, when it had warned China against intervention. This caused consternation in India, as their plan to dismember Pakistan by direct military intervention was placed in grave danger by the so-called "Sino-US-détente". Sirir Gupta of Nehru University, New Delhi, wrote, "However, great the reluctance of the Indian optimist to admit it, the fact is that the Sino-US rapprochement has altered the international context in which India has to conduct its local struggle and that on the specific issue of Bangladesh, the entire weight of this development can be thrown against our country."⁸ On learning about Sino-US contacts, Indira Gandhi was at once on her alert and she anxiously entered into a treaty with Russia for fracturing Pakistan.

Mrs. Gandhi lost no time in accepting the proposal which the Russians had been pressing with little success since 1969 and within a month signed with them a treaty of peace, friendship and cooperation. Clause IX of the Covenant which India admittedly invoked on the eve of her military offensive, in East Pakistan, stipulated that in the event of either party being subjected to an attack or threat thereof, high contracting parties shall immediately enter into mutual consultations in order to remove such threat and to take appropriate effective measures to ensure peace and security of their countries.

After this treaty there was perennial flow of arms to India, thus India was fully equipped and trained by the Russian experts; even the Ministers came to look after the preparations made by India to invade East Pakistan. Even otherwise Soviet Russia had reasons to settle her old scores with Pakistan

and teach Pakistan a lesson for its close political friendship and alliance with hostile China; this unholy alliance suited both the big countries. "On this serious occasion the aid from China was only verbal or nominal, for which it had strong reasons:

"China gave Pakistan strong verbal support through the period of tension but did not give India an ultimatum comparable to the one she had delivered in 1965. The main reason of course, was that this time she definitely would have to reckon with the Soviet Union, who in 1965 had taken a neutral stance, in the Indo-Pakistan dispute. Obviously China did not wish to give that super power a pretext for preemptive strike against the nascent China's atomic capability which the Soviet Military Commanders are said to desire so much."

There were only two super powers in the world i.e. America and Russian, Undoubtedly, China had abiding friendship with Pakistan but it was surrounded by its own limitations. China's forces were there on the border of India but Russia brought 45 Divisions of her army on the border of China. China genuinely feared that Russia would certainly attack her in case China attacked India. China was still in its initial stages of building up, therefore, it would have been fatal to fight against Russia directly.

Though President Nixon of America was not in favour of Indira Gandhi, his attitude towards Pakistan was lukewarm. No material help was advanced to Pakistan and on the contrary an embargo was placed on supplying of arms to Pakistan. Thus Pakistan was deprived of help both from China and America.

India had and has never recognized and tolerated Pakistan because it stands in the way of her policy of expansionism. Mr. Nixon had talked with Pandit Nehru on the subject:

"Nehru spoke obsessively and interminably about India's relationship with Pakistan. He spent more time railing against India's neighbour than discussing either US-Indian relations or other Asian problems. He strongly opposed controversial proposal of U.S. aid to Pakistan and I was convinced that his objection owed much to his personal thirst for influence, if not control over South Asia; the Middle East and Africa." His greed for domination and expansion was insatiable.

In the very first page of this chapter Mr. Jinnah's opinion about the designs of the Hindu leadership as explained in Cairo have been mentioned. What he said in 1964, has been proved true in toto by the Memoirs of Nixon. His daughter Indira Gandhi was even worse than her father in this respect. She was not a brilliant politician like her father but more despotic and cunning than her gifted father. To crush her opponents she did not even hesitate to apply state of emergency and suspend fundamental rights, send her opponents to jail and did not hesitate to put her father's efficient and elegant sister Viiyalakshmi Pandit in extreme harassment and misery. President Nixon writes about her;

"Mrs. Gandhi had purposely deceived me in our meeting. I was also concerned that the Soviets had ignored several clear signals from us that we would react very unfavourably if they supported India in an invasion of Pakistan. I felt that one of the primary Soviet motives was to show the world that, despite much heralded Sino-American rapprochement, the U.S.S.R. was still the premier communist power. In fact the Soviet moved troops to the Chinese border in an unsubtle attempt to tie up Chinese forces and prevent them from going to the aid of Pakistan."

After living in fool's paradise for a considerable time, Yahya Khan realized that East Pakistan was indefensible, and the military Junta headed by him had made the country friendless, and the people of East Pakistan isolated from West Pakistan. But the damage so caused was now beyond repair.

"Finally, Yahya Khan recognized that he should follow the course of action. We had been recommending that he could no longer defend East Pakistan and that he should concentrate his force in the defence of West Pakistan, in which event, I indicated he would have my complete support. On December 9, Pakistan accepted the U.N. General Assembly call for a cease-fire. India rejected it. However, and tension was still rising along the border in West Pakistan, as I wrote another letter to Brezhnev, calling on him to join me in ending the crisis before we ourselves were dragged into it. I began by stating that in our view his proposal for political independence of East Pakistan had been met by Pakistan's own action."

According to Mr. Nixon a question of principle was involved and it was this:

"It involved the principle of whether big nations supported by the Soviet Union would be permitted to dismember their small neighbors. Once that principle was allowed the world would have become more unstable and unsafe.

The fact is that America was in a position to help Pakistan effectively as against Russia but it did not want to involve herself in East Pakistan and advised Yahya for some kind of settlement with Bengalis. However, in order to pacify Pakistanis, he did send his Task Force but everybody knew what was that, and it was nothing more than a false show of sympathy. "At the height of fighting in Pakistan, President Nixon ordered the U.N. Task Force of Seventh fleet to patrol the Indian oceans, ostensibly to evacuate American citizens, if it became necessary, in fact to relieve the pressure on the beleaguered Pakistani Forces."

But the USA exerted her influence, which ultimately proved fruitful in as much as, India refrained from invading Azad Kashmir as it had originally planned. However, Muslim States were quite concerned about the integrity,

solidarity and future of Pakistan but due to their limited capacity, and the countless follies of Pakistani rulers they were helpless.

“The Muslim states of Middle East felt especially concerned at the danger Pakistan faced at the hands of India. Saudi Arabia lent Pakistan 75 war planes in October 1971 and Jordan sent 10 during the war.”

ZULFIKAR ALI BHUTTO’S ROLE

Mr. Bhutto had tried his level best to impress upon General Yahya Khan and his cohorts that the problem of East Pakistan would never be solved through operation and repression. He was openly against the killings of the innocents, burning of villages, and rape of the Muslim girls, and thus playing a satanic and shameful role. But he was helpless and on the contrary his opponents carried on false, and malicious propaganda that he was involved in the dismemberment of Pakistan. Had it been so, Yahya Khan would not have sent him to Tehran for seeking help:

“Yahya sent Zulfi to Tehran in July to seek more support from the Shah for the war in the East, which would have become more costly and militarily exhausting than any of his generals had anticipated. The democrat-controlled U.S. Congress had imposed an embargo on shipment of arms to Pakistan as news of the genocidal murders reached the west. Iran was one of the closest major storehouses of U.S. weaponry that could be tapped without publicity. The Shah, moreover, was especially friendly to his Shiite neighbours, Yahya and Zulfi. From this time at least Zulfi became a close friend of the Shah, inviting him regularly to Larkana, feeling he could rely on this new Persian “King of Kings” for all sorts of financial as well as military help.”

President Yahya also requested Mr. Bhutto to approach China for help in this critical hour:

“Zulfi accepted Yahya’s urgent invitations to fly to Peking as Pakistan’s Special Envoy to request China’s Military support. Should India invade in the East he was promised “everything” by Mao and Chou”

Bhutto publicly spoke in favour of East Pakistan trying to convince the ruling junta that “East Pakistan is in flames, the whole country is in ruin. How will Pakistan be rescued if fires erupt in either parts of the country. And they will erupt if the people’s rights are not reconginsed.”

But Bhutto was simply helpless. His heart was burning and bleeding at the apathy and cruel behaviour of the rulers. Later on Bhutto was sent to the Security Council to plead the case of Pakistan, as there was none else efficient enough, conversant with global affairs to fight for Pakistan in the council. His role in the council was that of a great patriot, an exceptional orator with impressive and logical arguments, but the matters in the council are never

decided by justice, fair play and equity. However, his historic role was unforgettable and would form part of the history of United Nations. The details of his performance will be given to some extent later on in this chapter at the appropriate place.

From the facts narrated above it is clear that no major power was prepared to help Pakistan in war against India which was supported by all its might and men by Russia. Russia's policy towards Pakistan had been hostile from the days of Liaquat Ali Khan who had annoyed and insulted Russia and preferred to be the Camp follower of America. Muslim countries though numerous in number, were helpless against the super power Russia. Under these extremely exacting circumstances it was seemingly impossible for the solitary Pakistan to face the joint onslaught of Russia and India. The hostile Russian attitude was abundantly apparent from the threat issued by Kossygin to Yahya "It was this meeting that the Russians made it plain to Pakistan that simultaneous friendship with Moscow and Peking would not be tolerated. Yahya asked Kossygin how the Soviet Union could insist on simultaneous friendship with India and Pakistan. The reply was "What is possible for Super Power is not possible for a smaller power."

The same unfriendly attitude continued even there after when Pakistan's astute Prime Minister Zulfikar Ali Bhutto visited Moscow in March 1972. He was told bluntly by his Russian hosts. "If history were to repeat itself we would again take the same position referring to the Soviet role in the dismemberment of Pakistan because we are convinced that it was correct."

WAR

Jinnah the far-sighted statesman and founding father of Pakistan had warned the people in his speech on March 21, 1948 in a public meeting at Dacca attended by over three lacs of people:

"But I want to tell you that in our midst there are people financed by foreign agencies who are intent on creating disruption. Their object is to disrupt and sabotage Pakistan. I want you to be on your guard and not to be taken in by attractive slogans and catch words". But neither the future rulers of Pakistan, East Pakistan nor the Muslim Leaguers who were in political powers, listened to the Quaid-e-Azam, with the result that Pakistan was now breaking.

On the morning of 22nd November, 1971, the India troops fully equipped and organized with a master plan in their hands, crossed into East Pakistan under the command of General Jagjeet Singh Aurora on the false pretext of emancipating the oppressed Bengalis on humanitarian grounds. It was a patent high handedness and breach of International law by the powerful, and unprincipled neighbour who otherwise had no right to enter East Pakistan, as it was an internal affairs of Pakistan. On the other hand, the reigns and destiny of Pakistan was in the hands of such Army Generals who were drowned

in lavish luxuries and did not even know the ABC of politics and much about their own profession.

G.W. Choudhury had advised General Yahya in a personal meeting with him lasting for three hours:

“There could be no military solution to the crisis. Mujib must be released and talks must begin with him and his exiled Government in Calcutta. The Americans with his knowledge and approval, had already started talks with the exile government and the Americans were also being given facilities to negotiate with Mujib.... Yahya then told me that he was relying heavily on Nixon for the success of this final attempt; the help of Shah of Iran was also referred to.

“Pakistan has a total of 14 F-86 E Sabres so far the Air Force is concerned but these few planes could not participate in the duel because they had no night capability. Pakistan had nominal Naval Force. Therefore it was impossible for them and unthinkable to face the huge Indian Naval Task force which was fully equipped. The East Pakistan was hinging on forty-five Thousand military and Seventy Thousand Para Military troops. General Niazi was the incharge of the war on behalf Pakistan. Now it was for him to prove his moral courage coupled with his guiding ability; and his troops have to prove their physical and moral courage and decide the issue.

The actual war had started on 3rd December and on the first day passed without causing damage to runway. On December 6 the Indian M.I.G. 21S escorted by fighters came over. The anti aircraft guns tried to meet the challenge but in vain.

The enemy bombers released six modern Russian bombs, weighting 500 Kilograms each, two of which fell on the runway.” So powerful and damaging were they, that they made the runway unusable. 22 to 24 Indian aircrafts of war were rendered useless and seven Sabres went out of use. On 7th evening there was waive of another attack leaving damaged the airport which was being quickly repaired. Due to heavy bombing by the Indian Airforce both old and new airports of Dacca went out of action. The fact is that PAF with its small force had done its duty as such it has no regrets. Under the circumstances they could not have withstood for more than 24 hours but it was creditable that they held the fort for 60 hours. Dacca was without air cover, the gunners had done their duty and their capability was now exhausted. Similarly, the small Naval, Air Force was practically wiped out by the Indian Task Force. Now it all depended upon the military and the para military troops to face the enemy for quite a number of days.

General Niazi had pinned all his hopes of break-through on the West Pakistan border but they had failed to cause substantial damage to the enemy, therefore by December 6, General Niazi had lost all his hopes. His courage was

questionable, he had no planning and he never moved out of his Headquarters in Dacca to encourage his Army, which was fighting with all valour and courage in the East Pakistan without guidance and planning.

TIGER GENRAL NIAZI LOSES ALL COURAGE

“General Rahim realized that the enemy was advancing along the Chandpur road and would soon hit his Headquarters. He asked for orders. When the request reached Headquarters, Eastern Command on the night of December 8, General Niazi was informed about the predicament of his ace General. He came out of room wearing a dressing gown of printed Stain. He gave the historic decision.

“Tell Rahim to comeback to Dacca. How can he stay in Chandpur with his back to the river.”

That is how he was conducting war against a superior power. He was perhaps busy with his beautiful concubines that he must have got in heritage from his predecessor General Khadim Hussain as stated by Siddiq Salik. But the readers will notice that the Pakistan army was fighting heartlessly in spite of their inferiority in number as well as arms:

“It was during this period that Brigadier Klere of the Indian Army sent a letter to Lieutenant-Colonel Sultan, asking him to surrender. Sultan gave a soldier’s reply enclosing a bullet in his letter. He asked him to give up the pen, take up the sten and fight it out. This confident reply was enough to prove that it was all well there in Jamalpur Fortress. But something went wrong in Dacca.

During the same Period, the British Broadcasting Corporation (BBC) announced that General Niazi had flown to West Pakistan leaving his troops in the lurch. This directly effected his public image and he felt bitter about it. He made surprise appearance at the Hotel Inter-Continental on 10 December and said to the first man he saw in the lunge ‘Where is the BBC man’? I want to tell him that by the grace of God almighty I am still in East Pakistan I never leave my troops.” (It was on the morning of 8 December that Headquarter Eastern Command for the first time admitted that the situation was extremely critical.

Why had General Niazi gone to West Pakistan? The only reply to this question would be that he had gone to meet his fellow Generals in Islamabad. He had no guts to fight, no strategy to formulate, no plans to execute and visit the fighting areas. The Pakistan Army was fighting on their own with much lesser quantity of arms and number of soldiers and above all they were leaderless. General Niazi had no will, no spirit, no brain and no heart to continue fight. He proved to be a paper tiger. “From all the evidence available, General Niazi kept the surrender negotiations to himself. The troops in the field and even most of the officers in his Headquarters did not have any inkling of

the messages being exchanged between him and the President and arrangements being made for a cease-fire. The discipline of the forces was still intact. Their morale was unshaken. The troops present in Dacca which were mostly service troops, were keenly preparing to fight the battle for Dacca..... Colonel Lodhi, GSO-I Operations, was advising everyone that they should fight till the last man and be killed rather than surrender. He maintained that such an action would serve as an example to our future generations.

The Razakars were offering an example to future generations. "by December 10 the writing on the wall was so clear that Major General Jamshed started exercising his duties as the defender of Dacca. General Niazi was thus relegated further to the background.

Now the options open for Martial law General Niazi were

- (1) to make merry and pas a jolly life or
- (2) to defend his country and die an honourable death. But the continuous Martial Law, right from 1958, had totally deprived many officers specially the senior ones of such bravery and courage; though there had been still a number of officers and soldiers prepared to sacrifice their lives for the honour and dignity of their country.

On 11th December, the journalists bombarded him with barrage of questions. Replying them he said: "I will fight to the last man, last round." "Dacca will fall over my dead body. They will have to drive a tank over this (indicating his chest).

General Fazal Muqem has made a useful appraisal:

When the war came in 1971, the armed services were no longer professionally oriented. Their involvement in Martial Law and the country's politics had seriously harmed their professionalism. The greed of certain officers who took advantage of the prevailing atmosphere during 1970 and 1971 to grab land and money and the wide spread misuses of man-power and equipment had obliterated the sacredly held values of a soldier."

BHUTTO'S WARNINGS AND HISTORIC BATTLE IN THE SECURITY COUNCIL

To give a semblance of democracy in Pakistan, Yahya appointed Nurul Amin as Prime Minister and Mr. Zulfikar Ali Bhutto was appointed Deputy Prime Minister on the eve of war between India and Pakistan. It will be remembered that Mr. Bhutto had already "opposed a military solution of the East Pakistan problem and he had proposed reconciliation between East and West Pakistan. Once he remarked that he was willing to attend the National Assembly if necessary with Shaikh Mujib as Prime Minister.

Though Mr. Bhutto enjoyed the support of 86 member from West Pakistan and Mr. Nurul Amin had no support from East Pakistan yet he agreed to be the Deputy Prime Minister under Nurul Amin.

Opportunism, intrigues and self-aggrandizement were the rules that governed Pakistan's politics after demise of Mohammed Ali Jinnah. When rats were made free to play foul, when the principles of political science and history were thrown to winds; it was natural that survival of such a coterie a national coterie-would be nothing short of a national calamity. Without naming anybody, Z.A. Bhutto warned:

"We have been inherited a terrible legacy of unforgivable mistakes. We have become answerable for the sins of the Old Guard. Superficial minds without an elementary knowledge of politics, without any sense of history, have made fundamental political decisions which have brought Pakistan perilously close to ruin."

He warned the Generals incharge of East Pakistan, not to take action indiscriminately, but take to task the persons who acted as Indian agents, thus he shared the view of G.W. Choudhry:

"The Army will have to act with alacrity but not with brutality. The rebels will have to be fretted out individually. Mass destruction will not do. It will only aggravate the problems. Innocent people will get exposed to military action thereby making them enemies, and further military action necessary."

The situation in East Pakistan had become so complicated and so serious, that the Military Junta felt totally helpless to face it, Even the defeated political parties were not in a position to save integrity of Pakistan by any stretch of imagination. The only ray of some hope was Zulfikar Ali Bhutto, who by his diplomatic skill and experience was able to do something for Pakistan, which was on the brink of breaking.

He accepted to be the Deputy Prime Minister purely in the best interests of state and in order to save the country from total collapse. It may be borne in mind that in Pakistan there were no diplomats of world class, nor any foreign policy was there to guide the direction. Therefore, the nervous President Yahya Khan requested Zulfikar Ali Bhutto to present Pakistan's case in the Security Council of United Nations. Accordingly he proceeded to New York on 8th December. In the Security Council he fought valiant and memorable battle full of powerful arguments and marvelous courage as a bravest and seasoned son of his soil before the statesmen of the world. The word surrender was not in the dictionary of Bhutto.

He simply knew how to fight courageously like a hero and die a martyr's death. Bhutto had to bear the entire brunt and fight the lost battle on the platform of the Security Council. The highly seasoned and practical Foreign

Affairs Secretary of America, namely Mr. Kissinger, who knew every politician and diplomat of the world thoroughly, made the assessment of Mr. Bhutto as under:

“Elegant, eloquent, subtle Bhutto was at last a representative who would be able to compete with the Indian leaders for public attention. The legacy of distrust engendered by his flamboyant, demeanour and occasionally cynical conduct haunted Bhutto with our Government..... I found him brilliant, charming, of global stature in his perceptions. He did not suffer fools gladly since he had many to contend with, this provided him with more than ordinary share of enemies. Kissinger advised him that ‘that Pakistan would not be saved by mock tough rhetoric’. It is not that we do not want to help you. It is all to very well proclaimed principles, but finally we have to assure your survival..... the next 48 hours would be decisive. We should not waste them in posturing for the history books..... Bhutto was composed and understanding. He knew the facts as well. He was a man without illusions prepared to do whatever necessary, how painful to save what was left of his country.”

Here was the assessment by world-renowned politician Henry Kissinger, totally free from sentiments, realist and no reason to flatter Bhutto. Mr. Kissinger, an expert of highest order, representing the world’s Super Power would never waste his words and pay tributes frequently and cheaply. It was a unique honour for Pakistan to be represented by Z.A. Bhutto in the mightiest forum of the world. But the behaviour of the rulers was so sad and bad that Bhutto could not help his country. On his arrival, they were greeted by Agha Shahi with a copy of message from the East Pakistan Governor. It had been delivered at 9:00 a.m. on 10 December, to Niaz Naik, a member of the Pakistan delegation by Robert Guyer, Lerner, Under Secretary General for Political and Security Affairs at the United Nations. It contains the following startling proposals. “The details are given in later pages. The proposals virtually amount to admission of defeat. Mr. Bhutto fully grasped the advice of Mr. Kissinger and he proceeded with his performance to plead Pakistan’s case with his unusual ability and exceptional flair in the Security Council, keeping in view the advice of Mr. Kissinger. Bhutto rose to speak on the subject after Mr. Swaran Singh, the Indian foreign Minister had finished his arguments.

“Time is running out..... I know Mr. Swaran Singh very well..... I am not going to indulge in glib rhetoric or semantic contrivances because the situation is for too serious. The fat is in the fire and the time has come for us to act..... Either we act individually or collectively.... We have made mistakes, man is not infallible, mistakes have been made everywhere.... By the Roman Empire, by the British Empire, by every state in the world but states are not penalized for their mistakes..... We are prepared to rectify those mistakes in civilized spirit, in a spirit of understanding and cooperation.

We are too poor. There is too much misery..... It is unfortunate that today we should be pitted against each other and one of us should dream semi

barbarically of the liquidation and annihilation of another..... It is simply not possible, because then India will be pitted against 120 Million people, valiant people with a great past, fighting for independence, fighting for their dignity. So we are prepared to die. We are not afraid to die. Our people are brave and India has a shared thousands years of history.... Believe Mexico might occupy Unites States. Denmark might occupy Germany, Finland might occupy Soviet Union..... but Pakistan will not be occupied by India in any circumstances. Remember that we shall fight and we shall fight and we shall fight for one thousand years as we fought one thousand years in past. We can continue..... So I offer a hand of friendship to India." The spirited scholarly and emphatic statement of Bhutto made a very convincing, and conciliatory impression on the Security Council but it would not move from its pre-determined designs, decided in collaboration and consultation with the ruthless super power Russia.

On the other hand General Niazi (Tiger) commander of the East Pakistan Armed Forces while answering the questions in Hotel International in Dacca, said: "What you fellows don't know is our hidden strength. I tell you things are going to happen very quickly, amazing things. By tomorrow the next day the whole situation will be changed It does not matter whether we have enough men to defend the city. If you stay around, you will see our men dying gloriously.... We know what we are dying for. What does the enemy know? Remember, even one Muslim is worth ten Hindus."

"We shall give a good account of ourselves. Gentlemen the great battle for Dacca is yet to begin." How many knew the 'tiger' of Pakistan was simultaneously in communication with India? "When General Niazi returned to the Governor's palace, he had many urgent affairs to attend to. The most urgent of them was to save his own skin, for he had no faith in the great blows from the north and south. He was already in secret correspondence with the Indians, and he was already preparing to surrender, a fact which he had not communicated to Islamabad.

It was obviously hypocritical and boastful speech of the General Niazi. Not a single drop of blood was shed in defending Dacca. Infact, this historic city where the Muslim League was born, went undefended and handed over to the Indian army as a Christmas gift in a golden plate. What a matter of shame! Mr. Bhutto by his eloquent and irrefutable arguments was defending and putting to shame the Indian Foreign Minister Sardar Swaran Singh and super global supporter on the floor of the Security Council. Challenging the Sardar he roared: "Listen Sardar Swaran Singh golden Bengal belongs to Pakistan, not to India. You can not take away Bengal like that from Pakistan. We will fight to the bitter end, we will fight to last man.

Mr. Zulfikar Ali Bhutto knew that the ruling junta of Pakistan had absolutely no political sense and was spineless. It had lost all of valour, honour and technique on the very day when they had imposed Martial Law in the country, they started indulging in the vain luxuries of life. The coterie was

without any national vision, and imagination. A country without such leadership must perish. Therefore, General Niazi's speech was merely misleading, raising an empty slogan when he said that ten Hindu were equal to one Muslim. The proposition might be basically correct but it applied to real Muslims and not to hypocrites and cowards. This was amply proved by General Niazi. Again why should Swaran Singh care for Bhutto's powerful speech when he knew the Pakistani Generals better. They were hand in glove with India.

Mr. Bhutto did not know what was happening in Pakistan in his absence. He did not know that they had virtually surrendered when he was making his spirited speech in the United Nations.

"So what if Dacca falls? What if whole of East Pakistan falls? If the whole of Pakistan falls? We shall build a new Pakistan. We will build a better Pakistan.... Mr. President you referred to the "distinguished when his hands are full of blood, his heart is full of venom..... I extended a hand of friendship to him the other day.... I am talking as the authentic leader of West Pakistan, who elected me at the polls in a more impressive victory than the victory of Mujibur-Rahman received in East Pakistan.... But he did not take cognizance of it.... I say what Cato said to Romans "Carthage must be destroyed". If India thinks that it is going to subjugate Pakistan, East Pakistan as well as West Pakistan, we shall tell our children, their children (At that time Ms. Benazir, his daughter was sitting just behind him) we will fight thousand year's war..... India is intoxicated today with its military success..... So you will see..... This is the beginning of the road. Today it is Pakistan. We are guinea pigs today. But there will be other guinea pigs.... You want us to lick the dust. We are not going to lick the dust... I am not a rat. I have never ratted in my life. I have faced assassination attempts. I have faced imprisonment. I have always confronted crisis. Today I am not ratting but I am leaving Security Council. I find it disgraceful to my person and my country to remain here a moment longer,..... legalise aggression. I will not be party to it. We will fight, we will go back and fight. My country beacons me.... You can take your Security Council, here you are, I am going "Mr. Bhutto had every reason to get angry. He contemptuously tore his papers on the Resolution in the Security Council and walked out of the Council Hall. Ms. Benazir's version is that her father said "Now Pakistan will have to face the shame of surrender to India. There will be a terrible price to pay."

All that Mr. Bhutto had demanded from the Security Council, "was cease fire, the withdrawal of Indian forces from Pakistan territory the stationing of U.N. forces and means to ensure that no reprisals take place in East Pakistan. But his pleas fell on deaf ears.

There could be no better advocate than Bhutto to plead the case of Pakistan against the Indian atrocious invasion. He argued a very important brief of his political life vehemently strenuously and logically, but the nasty game of power politics played its part against Pakistan and the members of the

Security Council were reluctant to adjudicate this case of naked high handedness and heinous act of aggression with any sense of justice and equity.

The tenor of the Council appeared to be tilting in favour of the aggressive India. The weaker and smaller nations though victimized by the bigger, stronger and high handed nations, have never been able to get justice from any International forum as proved by the history and their sufferings are indeed irremediable.

Mr. Bhutto had not only to face the problems in the Security Council but his own people had created insurmountable hurdles for him. Out of personal rancor Asghar Khan and others started criticizing that Bhutto had torn the cease fire resolution in the Security Council; while the fact was that he had torn and threw away his notes on the draft resolution of December 14, which could not be acceptable to any Pakistan.

General Niazi who was the incharge of the East Wing Command and boastful of his bravery, started showing the signs of cowardice and defeat. A devastating note was handed over to Mr. Henry Mark Paul, Assistant Secretary General to the U.N.O. by Major General Farman Ali, Advisor to Dr. Malik, Governor of East Pakistan on 10 December:

Note begins: "It was never the intention of the Armed forces of Pakistan to involve themselves in all-out war on the soil of East Pakistan. However, a situation arose which compelled the Armed Forces to take defensive action. The intention of the Government of Pakistan was always to decide the issues in East Pakistan by means of a political solution for which negotiations were afoot. The Armed Forces have fought heroically against heavy odds and can still continue to do so but in order to avoid further bloodshed and loss of innocent lives I am making the following proposals. As the conflict arose as a result of political causes, it must end with a political solution. I therefore having been authorized by the President of Pakistan do hereby call upon the elected representatives of East Pakistan to arrange for the peaceful formation of the government in Dacca. In making this offer I feel duty bound to say the will of the people of East Pakistan would demand the immediate vacation of their land by the Indian forces as well. I therefore call upon the United Nations to arrange for a peaceful transfer of power and request. One: An immediate cease-fire. Two": Repatriation with honour of the Armed Forces of Pakistan to West Pakistan. Three" Repatriation of all West Pakistan personnel desirous of returning to West Pakistan. Four" The safety of all persons settled in East Pakistan since 1947. Five" Guarantee of no reprisals against any person in East Pakistan. In making this offer, I would to make it clear that this is a definite proposal for peaceful transfer of power. The question of surrender of Armed forces would not be considered and does not arise. If this proposal is not accepted the Armed Forces will continue to fight to the last man. Note ends. General Niazi has been consulted and submits himself to your command.

Once the cease-fire was before the United Nations, it could not be kept secret from the world. Some important foreign stations broadcast its contents. It at once weakened Pakistan's case at the United Nations where Mr. Z.A. Bhutto, Deputy Prime Minister (designate), was pleading our case to obtain a favorable decision. Consequently, a Government spokesman in Rawalpindi denied outright the cease-fire proposal, at a press conference on 13 December. He said, 'I would like to challenge anybody to produce a document or statement in which even the idea of surrender has been suggested'. Dacca was also informed that 'your proposals have gone too far' and that 'you were expected to take the decision within the framework of a United Pakistan'. Major General Farman Ali, is generally considered to be the author of these proposals."

This note was prepared with the consent and concurrence of Yahya Khan and the Governor of East Pakistan. Obviously this note could not remain a matter of secrecy from the members of the Security Council. It would be a fallacious view that when the ruling junta of Pakistan had admitted their defeat, the members of the Security Council would vote in favour of such a country in preference to the victorious India and not the defeated and humiliated Pakistan. Thus there could be nothing more damaging and destructive than the note delivered by General Farman Ali to Mr. Henry, even the masterful representation made by Mr. Bhutto could not help Pakistan. In case the damaging note had not been presented and the Pakistan Army had resisted for some time as it was actually prepared for resistance and sacrifice of their lives by the soldiers, there was every possibility that Mr. Bhutto would have been able to save the situation and maintain honour and integrity of Pakistan. After all America and China were not in favour of dismemberment of Pakistan. They were keen about some sort of permanent settlement between the East and West, therefore they were prepared to help Pakistan. But every country has its global interests and the American President had to take stock of the internal constraints. The Congress in America was dominated by the Democrat Party, while Nixon belongs to the Republican. Therefore, the latter was not free from limitations. The cease-fire resolutions were also placed in the Security Council but they were vetoed by Russia as the Russian leadership was waiting for the fall of Dacca.

PREPARATION FOR SURRENDER

Yahya Khan had lost his interest in the affairs of the country and specially so after 3rd December; and never came to his office."

Major General Fazal Mugeem writes: "The time came when the President attended the office only from 1100 hours to 1300 hours and as a normal practice called for certain files after sunset."

The ruling junta through the Governor Dr. Malik sent a flash message to General Niazi while disclosing the unclassified signal said: The Governor's flash message to my reference. "You have fought a heroic battle against overwhelming odds. The Nation is proud of you and the world full of admiration. I have done all that is humanly possible to find an acceptable solution to the problem. You have now reached a stage where further resistance is no longer humanly possible nor will it serve any useful purpose. It will lead to further loss of lives and destruction. You should now take all necessary measures to stop the fighting and preserve the lives of the Armed Forces personnel, of those from West Pakistan and of loyal elements. Meanwhile I have moved U.N. to urge India to stop hostilities in Pakistan forthwith and to guarantee the safety of Armed Forces who may be the likely target of miscreants."

This important telegram originated from Rawalpindi at 13-30 hours on 14 December and arrived in Dacca at 1530 hours (East Pakistan Standard time). What did the presidential telegram signify? Did it mean surrender orders for General Niazi or could he continue fighting if he so desires? I leave it to the readers to construe the above telegram for themselves and draw their own conclusion. Was this conduct in keeping with the courage, dignity and patriotic spirit of the Head of the State? Or was a matter of shame.

SURRENDER

General Niazi, was very anxious to say good-bye to arms and surrendered with all humiliation and disgrace before Lieutenant General Aurora of India. The Indian General entered Dacca with a handful of soldiers and lot of pride. That was the virtual fall of Dacca. It fell quietly like a heart patient. Neither its limbs were chopped nor its body hacked. It just ceased to exist as an independent city. Stories about the fall of Singapore, Paris or Berlin were not repeated here. It was 16th December when Dacca fell calmly without resistance, without any scratch Dacca was gifted in silver plate to General Aurora.

Thus the "Brave Tiger" of Pakistan Army without shedding a single drop of blood made Dacca the old historic city, capital of Bengal a Christmas gift to India without breaking even a brick of it. The golden Bengal was now in the hands of India. In the 2nd World War, who knew that the Germany would not be able to defeat Russian, but the Russians fought fearlessly and valiantly, there was even hand to hand fight in the city and ultimately the Russians emerged gloriously triumphant. It was better for General Niazi and the Pakistan Army under his Command to have died honourable death and lived eternally in the world history and the paradise of Almighty Allah. But the ninety thousand Pakistanis were the prisoners in the hell of Indian jails where they were insulted, abused and disgraced by the Indians as cowards and shameless

people. In the early afternoon, General Niazi drove to Dacca Airport to receive Lt. General Jageet Singh Aurora Commander of the Indian Eastern command. He arrived with his wife by helicopter. A sizeable crowd of Bengalis rushed forward to garland their liberator and his wife. Niazi gave him a military salute and shook hands with him. It was heart breaking sight for the Pakistani patriots. The victor and the vanquished stood in full view of Bengalis who made no secret of their sentiments of love and hatred for Aurora and Niazi respectively.

Amidst shouts and slogans they drove to Ramna Race Course (Suhrawardy Ground) where the stage was set for the surrender ceremony. The vast ground bubbled with emotional leaping Bengali crowds. They were all keen to witness the public humiliation of the West Pakistani General who represented Pakistan. The occasion was also to formulate independent state of Bangladesh.

A small contingent of Pakistan Army was arranged to present guard of honour to the victor, while a detachment of Indian soldiers guarded the vanquished. The historically humiliating "surrender deed" was signed by Lt. General Aurora and Lt. General Niazi in full view of nearly one million Bengalis and scores of foreign media men. Then they both stood up, General Niazi took out his revolver and handed over it to Aurora to mark the capitulation of Dacca, with that he handed over East Pakistan." Ninety Thousand prisoners of war were taken, including General Niazi.

Lt. General Niazi, Major General Farman Ali, Rear Admiral Sharif were taken as prisoners of war to India. The writer and Army Officer Siddiq Salik was also amongst the prisoners. Dacca the capital of East Pakistan, once the center of Muslim culture and civilization where Muslim league was founded in 1906, was now in the hands of General Aurora. Siraj-ud-Daula the ruler of Bengal had not surrendered and fell martyr to the Britishers along with his army, never caring to preserve their lives, but now there was no Siraj-ud-Daula, there were only traitors like Mir Jaffer. Never in history of the world, such a large number of the army personnel had thrown itself unto the mercy of the enemy and accepted ignominious conditions. It was all to save their temporary lives. Lt. General Amir Abdullah Khan Niazi, the so-called Tiger of Pakistan army, had perhaps come for holidaying and taken charge of concubines from Maj. General Khadim Hussain. He did not go in the interior of Bengal to organize the Army and plan any strategy against a very formidable enemy but preferred to remain in Dacca all the time according to Siddiq Salik. He enjoyed the hospitality of Indians in the Cells of their prisons and thereafter came to Pakistan and tried to become National leader with his past glorious record in East Pakistan. Had he fought for a fortnight more, the relentless fight by Mr. Bhutto for United Pakistan might have proved fruitful.

The tragedy of Bengal reminds this writer about the exhortations that the dying Mr. Jinnah, founding Father of Pakistan had administered to this

Nation in a mammoth meeting at Lahore University Stadium on October 30, 1947. "Do not be afraid of death. Our religion teaches us to be always prepared for death. We should face it bravely to save the honour of Pakistan and Islam. There is no better salvation of a Muslim than the death of a martyr for a righteous cause."

How unfortunate it was that the Muslims of Pakistan and specially the Generals of the Army Junta had so conveniently and quickly forgotten the solemn will of the Founding Father of Pakistan.

Z. A. Bhutto had done his best in the Security Council, but it is not the United Nations that decides the fate of a country, it all depends upon the inherent strength of a nation as Mr. Jinnah had said.

TWO NATION THEORY

Some people would argue that the breaking of Pakistan belies two-nation theory propounded by Mr. Jinnah but the argument suffers from logical and historical fallacies. A true and practical Muslim firmly believes in justice, equity and fair play; according to him, "justice is an attribute of God". The theory would not apply to those Muslims who believe in injustice, atrocities, tyrannies, immoral acts and their misdeed. It is very correctly put:

"It is not so much the concept of Islamic solidarity which has been proved wanting, as the un-Islamic conduct of those who purported to follow that idea. If West Pakistanis had behaved like true Muslims, they would have displayed greater brotherly love towards their eastern brothers, during the last quarter of a century and greater willingness to share their wealth with them." Mr. Bhutto has very convincingly and strongly repudiated the charge. He says: "Despite the fact that Pakistan was created by the free will of Muslims of the Subcontinent, there are many foreign observers, who still persist in saying that Pakistan is an artificial state. One may well ask: What is natural state and what an artificial state? If Pakistan is an artificial state, how is Czechoslovakia or Yugoslavia for instance to be considered natural states?..... On of the most important states of Europe, indeed of the world, is Germany. Having one race, one language and one culture with enormous pride in its destiny, Germany is today nonetheless divided into the states. Then again the origins of Germany are not exactly natural. Had it not been for Bismark and the wars he fought in 1964 against Denmark, in 1866 against Austria in 1870 against France, the German nation might not have come into existence."

If Pakistanis have not learnt any lesson from the catastrophe of 1971; and fail to follow the Islamic principles of life, continue in bickering, then the survival of the present day Pakistan is too doubtful. No nation can afford to break the law of nature and expect to live with honour, dignity and respectability in the comity of Nations. Justice is an attribute of God; and no state can prosper or even survive without justice to its components. The pitch

dark night of dictatorship for over thirteen years, resulted in the dismemberment of Pakistan. God alone knows what is in store in future!

“There is no doubt that the army action had led to the break up of Pakistan. Political observers had rightly anticipated that the atrocities had been such that it will never again be possible for East Pakistan and West Pakistan to live together in a single state. Army action in Pakistan proved to be the last straw on the proverbial camel’s back. Consequently, it turned even the pro-Pakistan elements hostile and tarnished Pakistan’s image all over the world, as well. Yahya and his junta had visualized that the Army action would ensure Pakistan’s unity, but infact it marked the end of United Pakistan.” United we stand, divided we fall.

DR. HENRY KISSINGER ON U.S. ATTITUDE – ALLIANCES WITH U.S.

“Yahya made numerous concessions at the urging of the U.S., most important was his agreement to restore Civilian government in East Pakistan before the end of 1971; this in turn would surely lead to autonomy. To calm the situation, he also agreed to withdraw his troops from the borders with India. Yet New Delhi rejected the moves as inadequate. On November 22, Just 17 days after Mrs. Gandhi left Washington. Pakistan broadcasts reported that India had launched an all out offensive against Pakistan..... But what caused the war was India’s determination to establish its preeminence on the subcontinent.....

Yet our paramount concern transcended the subcontinent. The Soviet Union could have restrained India; it chose not to . It had actively encouraged India to exploit Pakistan’s travail in part to deliver a blow to our system of alliances...

Nor were we defending abstract principles of international conduct. The victim of the attack was an ally.... Clear treaty commitment reinforced by other undertakings dated back to 1959. One could debate the wisdom of these undertakings, but we could not ignore them. Yet when Pakistan invoked the 1959 bilateral agreement between US as the basis for U.S. aid, the State Department was eloquent in arguing that no binding obligation existed. The image of a great nation conducting itself like a shyster, looking for legalistic loopholes, was not likely to inspire other allies who had signed treaties with US. The issue burst upon us while Pakistan was our only channel to China; we had no other means of communication with Peking....”

There could be no statement more authoritative than that of Henry Kissinger. It was a clear case of betrayal of Pakistan by the U.S.A.’ at such a crucial hour when the very existence of Pakistan was being fractured by India, enemy number one of Pakistan. Such sad experiences and tragic events were bound to guide the Foreign Policy of Pakistan, formulated by its President and subsequently Prime Minster Bhutto, after the exit of Yahya Khan who had

desired to be a descendent of Nadir Shah. But what has been the policy of the U.S. during the last three decades? She has always been wooing India and looking down upon Pakistan: It is for the politicians and intellectuals of the country to think and act, else Pakistan might have to face another tragedy-much bigger and much worse.

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CHAPTER 18

Bhutto Presides Truncated And Humiliated Pakistan

Uneasy lies the head that wears crown! "Statesmanship is the art of changing a nation from what it is into what it ought to be."

W.R.Alger

The Quaid-e-Azam Mohammad Ali Jinnah had achieved Pakistan single handed in the teeth of opposition, both from the Indian National congress and the Britishment Government, and also by a number of Muslim leaders and parties. It was at the cost of this aged and ailing statesman's sweat and tears that had reduced him to bones. But in spite of that fatal physical state he had to assume the onerous responsibilities of the Governor General of Pakistan to kill himself, but save the country. Was it greed of power as maliciously alleged by his malevolent political enemies? No sane man would be prepared to accept such a malicious charge. The whole world knew that India, the inveterate enemy of Pakistan, had not mentally accepted the existence of Pakistan and they had decided to liquidate it within six months. This unquestionable leader of the Muslims of United India and thereafter of Pakistan, who lived lonely in the world of his ideas, concepts and national construction, continued his relentless struggle to save Pakistan and he did succeed. But after him, started the process of political degeneration and debacle which finally and unfortunately culminated in the fall of Dacca on December 16, 1971, the blackest day in Pakistan's history. The country that was presided over by Yahya Khan and his military Junta stood dismembered after a most shameful defeat of Muslims in the world history.

In December, 1971, when Dacca was about to fall, Yahya Khan appointed Nurul Amin, a veteran leader from East Pakistan as Prime Minister of his newly formed Government, and Z.A. Bhutto, as Deputy Prime Minister and Foreign Minister of Pakistan. Bhutto accepted the Ministership much against his will, and his acceptance was purely from national point of view. He was sent to New York to fight the losing battle of his country in the Security Council, as there was no other Pakistani with such strong nerves and exceptional ability to face the heavy odds in the council. While he was performing this historic and memorable job so courageously and efficiently, the Government of Pakistan surrendered with all humiliation before its worst enemy India, and Mr. Bhutto was now helpless; but still he refused to be party to such ignorable surrender. Yahya was not prepared to step down and still he wanted to continue as President in spite of such an ignominious defeat, a war in which most of the

soldiers had not even fired a single shot. Most of the officers and army general were not prepared to allow Yahya to continue; and he was forced by Air Marshal Rahim and Lt. General Gul Hasan to step down, which he did reluctantly. Bhutto met President Nixon who pledged his support to him, and he returned to his country as he received message after message to come back, for there was none else in the whole of Pakistan, neither any politician, nor any general, nor any high bureaucrat to take over the charge of the truncated Pakistan, which was on the brink of disintegration. It was not Bhutto who asked for power, but the circumstances were so serious and critical that there was no option but to request him for taking over the charge of Pakistan. On December 20, 1971, he took charge of the country as the Martial Law President in place of Yahya. Since there was no constitution, he had to assume the charge as Martial Law President. He had to accept this office in the same way as Mr. Jinnah had accepted the Governor Generalship of Pakistan, their mission being the protection of Pakistan. A moment of reflection over the historical events would lead a person to think that providence had perhaps sent Jinnah for creation and Bhutto for preservation and redemption of Pakistan. Sir Morrice James who had remained in diplomatic services as High Commissioner and Deputy High commissioner of India and Pakistan for several years, writes: "Like Churchill at a similar near-catastrophic point in British history, Bhutto possessed the qualities of leadership which his country now suddenly and desperately needed: courage, drive, energy, imagination, eloquence, long experience of men and affairs and sense of history." To it, Lawrence Ziring adds: "The scene was set for a saviour and Bhutto moved to fill the role with enormous energy and self confidence. He was an indefatigable worker and his domestic programme and foreign tours were all calculated to create a dynamic atmosphere as well as a new course." The decision of history, backed by the political thinkers is that it was Bhutto who stood between death and Pakistan.

THE NEW ERA – BASIC POLITICS ENUNCIATED

With the assumption of office by Bhutto as President of Pakistan, a new era ushered in the country, and the nation felt thankful to God that He had sent Bhutto as saviour of his motherland. The speech of the new President which briefly enunciated the future policies and plans of his Government, was broadcast to the nation on television on December 20, 1971 though due to paucity of time, he had not been able to reduce it to writing. Though it is not possible to reproduce his full speech, but some excerpts are given here for the benefit of readers. They are applicable even to the present day political and economic conditions of the country. He proposed to transform the very destiny of the nation and make Pakistan a model and modern state in the world. The speech is reflective of his concept, ideas and the future edifice of Pakistan. Appealing for cooperation, he said:

"I need your cooperation, I am no magician, I am a fallible individual and without your cooperation, I simply cannot succeed. But with your cooperation and with your support, I am taller than the Himalayas. I must

have that cooperation, your cooperation and understanding. You must give me time my dear countrymen and I will do my best. Ever since my return, I have been working round the clock and that is why I have not been able to prepare a text for this important statement." It was extempore.

The humiliating surrender of the Pakistani forces before India, its enemy number one, and dismemberment of Pakistan were most painful to honour-loving Bhutto. He expressed: "In the first instance let me tell you, I wish I were not alive today... I never knew that I would live to see the day when Mr. Jagjiwan Ram, the Defence Minister of India would be saying what he is saying. But Mr. Jagjiwan Ram should know that this is not the end of the world. This is the beginning and he should not gloat over temporary military victory. In the whole history of the subcontinent, from the beginning of the time when Muslims set foot on the subcontinent, from the beginning of the time of Mohammad Bin Qasim, Muslims have not faced such a difficult situation as we are facing today. But the Muslims have a proud heritage in the subcontinent and this is only the beginning." Such words of national honour and the past history of the Muslims could come only from the falcon of Pakistan. The wound caused by India on his mind could be healed only when he would be in a position to right the wrong inflicted by India.

He was now speaking as a true representative, and an authentic leader of the people of Pakistan. Their hearts were with him, and he opened his heart to them."

"I have been summoned by the nation at this critical hour when we are at the edge of precipice to lead this nation... I am speaking to you today as the authentic voice of the people of Pakistan and not by virtue of office that I hold, but by virtue of the verdict that you gave in the national elections. I am not power hungry. If I were power hungry I would have compromised at Tashkent... I have been in jail, I still have on my back the marks of lathi charges. I was tear-gassed. Five assassination attempts were made on my life. I stood by the people. I was isolated from those who matter in the land. The press gave all sorts of wrong impressions. They distorted my statements... I want the flowering of society. I want initiative in the hands of people... This is the way, civilized countries are run. Civilization means civil rule. Civilization means institutions. Civilization means democracy... we have to rebuild confidence. We have to rebuild hope in the future. We have to rebuild situation in which common man, the poor man in the street, can tell me to go to hell. "I do not believe you" and "I do not like you." We have to make government accountable." This was the voice of his heart. He wanted to make a state of that pattern, in which people would be masters of the state and run it in a most civilized manner, and make Pakistan blossom like a flower.

But the leader of the people (Quaid-e-Awam) had not forgotten his mothers and sisters in East Pakistan, who had suffered beyond any calculation. He had never forgotten their sacrifices for Pakistan. He wanted to be with

them. He said with heavy heart: "Now my heart and the heart of my friends are with our brothers in East Pakistan. East Pakistan is an inseparable and indissoluble part of Pakistan. The heroic people of East Pakistan had a great role to play in the creation of Pakistan. They are the majority of our land and I am fully convinced that they want to remain with us. I appeal to them not to forget us but forgive us if they are angry with us. "Is it imaginable that the false allegations leveled against Bhutto by the "false friends of East Pakistan could be true. "His heart was bleeding over the separation of his sincere and sad brothers and he was pleading to them for forgiveness.

He had not forgotten the Armed Forces of Pakistan who were rotting in the prisons of India for the commissions and commission of their luxury-loving Generals. He now vowed to do every thing possible for them. "I have just taken over, but I will see that there is an honorable return to normal conditions and that you are not humiliated. Your humiliation is our humiliation, and we will bend backwards to see that not a moment is wasted for the correct results... But we must be given opportunity to negotiate settlement between ourselves within the concept of one united Pakistan But having said that, I say, we are prepared to discuss the modalities for future arrangements without conditions. The only condition is that this should be within the framework of one Pakistan. It can be very loose arrangement but must be within the concept of Pakistan and we must be given opportunity to that. Settlement between East and West Pakistan, must come about between the leaders and people of East Pakistan and leaders and people of West Pakistan, without any foreign interference and certainly without Indian occupation."

It was a very wise and statesmanly suggestion as he believed in one Pakistan and any intervention by India according to him would create further complications. Encouraging his Armed Forces, Bhutto said "The truth is that Pakistanis are one of the best fighters in the world. And when I say that, these are not the words of Zulfikar Ali Bhutto. These are the words of a distinguished foreign General, a great British General who said that the world has not seen a better infantry soldier than the Pakistani. So please do not lose heart."

"I appeal to my young friends in the armed forces. I appeal to the Jawans that we will redeem this day. We will take revenge and we will see to it that this temporary humiliation is put right, if of course India wants to go on the path of revenge, if India does not want cooperation and understanding based on justice and equity; based on the rights of Pakistan and rights of the subcontinent, because we live in the same continent." It was crystal clear that Bhutto undoubtedly felt himself wounded deeply, but he was neither subdued nor demoralized. He stood for revenge, not based on hatred but for justice and equity. He never considered his life dearer than the national honour of his motherland.

The Quaid-e-Awam squarely and stoutly pleaded for the political, economic and social rights of the labourers and the tillers of the soil. He keenly

desired a very substantial increase in the production for which the cooperation of the toiling class was badly needed; he was the last man to tolerate the merciless attitude of the big landlords and the industrialists towards those who formed the backbone of Pakistan's economy. He seriously warned: "For economic and social justice, I will move as fast as necessary to see the burden of the common men lifted. I will move as fast as necessary to see that the disparities are removed. I will move as fast as necessary to see to it that corruption, nepotism and mal-administration are handled, and when I say I mean that. I mean it. I know we have been using these words loosely in the past. But I will come down with a very heavy hand on corruption. I warn the bureaucracy to do its job, to do its duty like I work day and night. I expect the bureaucracy to day and night. I am a man who works 24 hours a day. For me, there is no question of sleep or rest and I expect the bureaucracy to do the same. The tea parties must come to an end. The bluff and bravado must stop."

It was a very plain speaking; he was one of the most hardworking politicians in the Indo-Pakistan subcontinent. He was against corruption and nepotism like Founder of the State. Here we see him speaking in the similar vein and tone.

Zulfikar Ali Bhutto assured the common men that they would be respected and never humiliated, as was always being done all along in the past. "First thing is that I want to ensure the security of the common man, the respect of the common men." The common men, the poor men, the peasants and the laborers have been subjected to too much humiliation. The whole nation has been humiliated for 24 years, Pakistan as a nation would not have been humiliated today."

It is also very important to note that he assured the common man that his family members would never interfere with the administration, and no favor would be given to them. It has always remained a prominent feature in Pakistan's political life that the "Charity at home" was the first and the foremost principle, and it is being acted upon with vengeance after the Quaid-e-Awam (leader of the people), "My family is the people of Pakistan. No body will do "Sifarish" through my relations or through people known to me or through my party. I will never brook that, because the people of Pakistan are my family... You can rest assured that I have got children and I have got wife. They will not come into the picture. They will be nowhere in the picture and if my children and my wife think that they can exploit my position, they are sadly mistaken" Everybody knows that neither his spouse nor his children exploited or misused the high position of Mr. Bhutto, and no stigma was caused by them; and none in Pakistan could claim to influence his decisions.

He appealed with all earnestness to the industrialists to behave as humanitarian and true patriots with the labourers. "I would now appeal to the industrialist class. I will tell the industrialist class. "Do not have lockouts, do not throw out labourers, because labourers are our masters". I will tell the

labour community "Please be a little patient. We will do every thing in our power to put resources of the nation at your disposal, because you are producers of wealth, and have nothing to fear". To all those who work with their hands, all those who toil, "Please do not fear, our Pakistan has come into being today. This applies to every segment of society. Also I tell the farmers, "You are the backbone of our nation. You will not be ejected by Waderas. You will not be ejected by Zamindars. You will have your rights". Thus President Bhutto pledged to guarantee the rights of the labourers and the peasantry; and it was some thing novel in Pakistan. He further warned the industrialists and capitalists against flight of capital from Pakistan, because they had been transferring their assets from Pakistan due to uncertainty, due to lack of any financial and economic system in the country. It had become a land of looting and dacoity as if it was being run without any constitution. Jungle Law was prevailing all along and throughout the country.

He was never oblivious to the student community, because he knew that "Child of today is father of tomorrow" These students would be the leaders and run the country while thanking them, he assured the students, "I am thankful to you, My students are my children. I told the student community that we will not interference with your internal politics. I have no party in the student community. Whichever party wins elections, whichever party gains in the students community we will allow the student community to flourish, to come to its own decisions. Those are the elite..... They are the masters of tomorrows. I am going to every university in Pakistan..... To the students I say " I am going to bring many reforms in educational fields, and I will make you the masters of your destiny, but that destiny is the destiny of Pakistan, so that I know that you will reciprocate with the same sense of responsibility" He wanted to inculcate the sense of responsibility, hard work and patriotism in the student community in order to make Pakistan a land of glory and greatness.

President Bhutto was an exceptionally hard-working genius. Therefore he would love talented Pakistanis to serve the nation. He appealed them to come back and make Pakistan a real Paradise. "I want the talent of Pakistan internally. I want the talent of Pakistan that is outside Pakistan. I want to draw in the talent of Pakistan to responsible positions. Not on the basis of "Sifarish" or favouritism but on the basis of talent. I appeal to the talent of Pakistan to come and help me. I am an individual. I can not do this all by myself. I want you all to come and help me.

After assuming the responsibilities as President of Pakistan he decided to remove the ban on the National Awami Party that had been founded by Khan Abdul Ghaffar Khan, father of Wali Khan. Bhutto had acute political differences with them as they had opposed the creation of Pakistan and were propagating for "Pakhtoonistan". But as a matter of good-will and for the smooth running of the country he lifted the ban, saying "I will also like to say that I am withdrawing the ban on the National Awami Party. Now, I know that there are misgivings, many controversies, but I have done it in good faith. I am doing it

in good-faith. I will start with a clear slate. I am assuming that we all are patriots and that we all want to serve Pakistan. So I am withdrawing the ban on the NAP.....” President Bhutto had differences with the NAP and many persons were against it. It had the reputation of being pro-India, and specially on the tragic occasion of dismemberment of Pakistan by India through a highly aggressive invasion and armed conflict. This was clear evidence of his magnanimity and liberality.

Foreign policy of a country is a most delicate and difficult subject and is to be dealt with all care and caution; every Tom, Dick and Harry cannot handle it. President Bhutto had all experience of it. Without committing himself, he said, “Foreign policy has to be recast and redone. It will be naturally an independent foreign policy motivated towards the higher interest of Pakistan. Foreign policy which is positive and which is constructive. I do not want to say much more on this sensitive subject. But this much I like to say that we want a constructive and a positive foreign policy”. He had all experience and ability in the matters of foreign affairs and he was the most competent man in Pakistan on this subject.

Finally he held out an assurance to the depressed citizens of his country within the broad and precious Islamic principles to serve his country with all devotion and working day and night for it. “I am simply nobody. I cannot be carried on a gun or a bayonet; I can only be carried in your heart. I will never deceive you. I will not betray you. I will stay by the people. We will march to a great and more glorious Pakistan. This we will do because we have faith in Islam which is the last message of God. Islam that gave brotherhood, equality and a feeling of tolerance and association. Inshallah Ta’ala we will triumph. I have no doubt in my mind.” Bhutto had very strong faith in Allah Almighty and his message that came in the shape of Islam. He was looking for the day when Islam would be the driving force of the world politics. But the Islam that he had spoken of, was not the narrowly interpreted religion consisting of mere dogmas and rituals but a powerful polity and an irresistible force that would give guidance and happiness to the anguished mankind. Bhutto was true to his promise. He did not deceive any one but he was deceived by others.

APPOINTMENT OF HIS LIEUTENANTS

It was his immediate necessity to appoint the Governors and his cabinet for running the country. He made following appointments.

CABINET.

Mr. J.A. Rahim, Minister for

Presidential Affairs, Culture, Planning and Agrovilles

Mian Mahmood Ali Qasuri

Minister of Law and Parliamentary Affairs.

Mr. Justice (Retd) Faizullah Kundi,

Minister for Establishment

Dr. Mubashir Hasan,

Minister for Financial and Economic Affairs, and Development

Shaik Mohammad Rashid,

Minister for Social Welfare, Health and Family Planning

Raja Tridev Roy,

Minister for Minority Affairs

Mr. Ghulam Mustafa Jatoi,

Minister for Political Affairs, Communication and National Resources

Malik Meraj Khalid,

Minister for Food, Agriculture and Underdeveloped Areas.

Mr. Abdul Hafeez Pirzada,

Minister for Education, Information and Broadcasting

Mr. Mohammad Hanif,

Minister for Labour, Works and Local Bodies.

Minister from N.W.F.P and Balochistan, Minister for the portfolios of Commerce and Industries, Tribal Affairs and Kashmir were to be made shortly.

GOVERNORS OF THE PROVINCES

Mr. Ghulam Mustafa Khar

Governor of Punjab

Mr. Mumtaz Ali Bhutto

Governor of Sindh

Mr. Hayat Mohammad Sherpao

Governor N.W.F.P.

Srdar Ghous Baksh Raisani

Governor of Balochistan

Mr. Yahya Bakhtiar, prominent Barrister from Quetta was appointed Attorney General of Pakistan. Mr. Nurul Amin, the Veteran Politician and former Chief Minister of East Pakistan, was sworn in as Vice President, though the post was not specified anywhere.

RELEASE OF MUJIB-UR-RAHMAN

In March 1971, Mujib had been arrested from Dacca for the offence of sedition and brought to West Pakistan where he was in prison for trial. The trial ended in death sentence in August 1971 and Mujib was awaiting his hanging. General Yahya wanted to execute him, but the sentence could not be carried out as Bhutto had strongly opposed such a foolish and impolitic action as its consequences would have been shocking and shuddering. On January 8, President Bhutto released Mujib unconditionally and he was treated with all honour that he deserved as an undisputed leader of the people of East Pakistan. Bhutto requested him very earnestly and emphatically not to

separate Bengal permanently and for all purposes from the West, and appealed to him for some type of confederation. He gave option to Mujib to accept any of the two main posts in the government, either President or Prime Minister But Mujib expressed his inability to commit as he was out of touch with his people. The Muslims of East Pakistan were so averse and antagonistic to the West, and specially against the Punjabi generals and commanders for their atrocities, that it was impossible even for Mujib to manage any kind of loose confederation with the West. On January 10, he declared before a big crowd that had gathered at Dacca Airport to greet and welcome their great leader, that all links between Bangladesh and the West Pakistan had come to an end for good. Several countries of the world, including Britain, recognized Bangladesh. Of course the United States, China and the Muslim Countries withheld their recognition. Compelled politically, President Bhutto took his country out of the Commonwealth on January 30, 1972, due to its recognition of Bangladesh without even consulting Pakistan, member of the Commonwealth.

Now the people of Bangladesh don't repent for their separation from the West They feel happy. They feel that there is equal treatment for all. There are no capitalists, no big landlords, no nationalities and comparatively they are better Muslims too. They have been protesting against the anti-Muslim attitude of the Indian government in a more befitting manner and holding big religious rallies in their country.

NATIONALISATION AND LAND REFORMS

In the regime of Ayub Khan and Yahya Khan, the finance and economy of Pakistan was controlled by twenty-two families and they were the defacto rulers of Pakistan. In 1959, Ayub Khan had introduced land reforms in the country, ostensibly to benefit the peasantry, but virtually these reforms benefited the big landlords. So these were the eye wash reforms. President Bhutto taking advantage of his unquestionable powers under Martial Law, nationalized the big industries under the Economic Reforms Order of January 1, 1972.

Resultantly iron and steel, the assembly and manufacture of automobiles and trucks, heavy engineering, cement, gas, electricity oil refineries and basic chemicals were brought under the state control. Later, on 18th March life Insurance business was also nationalized, and so also the banks. Bhutto was trenchantly criticized by the industrialists that it was not done in the national interest but simply to hit hard the industrialists, divest them of their political power and strengthen the landlord community as he himself was a big land holder. But this criticism could be conveniently repelled as he had reduced the holdings of the landlords substantially without any provision for the compensation of the surrendered land. His own family had also to surrender

thousands of acres of fertile land. By these Industrial reforms, the labourers benefited a good deal. They were no more at the mercy of the industrialists who could throw them out at any time without any legitimate reason and rhyme. The state gave more facilities and provided better working conditions for the labour community. There is no doubt that the idea behind nationalization was laudable, but many of those who managed the mills after nationalization were not efficient and honest enough to look after the business; and many lacked motivation from national point of view. But it did not mean that no improvement could be brought in the working of the nationalized mills. It was only a matter of time. The aim and objective of Bhutto behind the nationalization was more production, better facilities for the labourers and equitable distribution of wealth. He had now taken a silent and peaceful programme of economic revolution in hand. But thereby he turned the industrialists of his country as his unforgiving enemies.

However, the undeniable outcome of these reforms is that the industrialists and the landlords lost much of their grip over the labourers and peasants. They were no more masters of their employees and the peasantry to dictate terms and orders. Their relations were regulated by a new law. The working class felt itself more secure and confident. Many landless haris became small landholders without paying a penny for it. Therefore their economic conditions were substantially improved. It was a healthy step towards political consciousness and democratic process. But President displeased the big landlords too. However, the fact remains undeniable that the part played by bureaucrats in carrying out the schemes remained far from satisfactory.

HAMOOD-UR-RAHMAN COMMISSION

On assuming the reigns of Martial Law government, President Bhutto knew no rest or sleep; while his predecessor general Yahya and his cohorts during the most critical days when the very existence of Pakistan was seriously threatened, had fully and criminally absorbed themselves in merry-making and indulged in shameful luxuries.

On December 24, 1971, on the 4th day of his office, he appointed a commission of enquiry to examine the facts and circumstances that had led to the defeat and dismemberment of Pakistan. It comprised Mr. Justices Hamood-ur-Rahman, Chief Justice of the Supreme Court of Pakistan and the Chief Justices of Lahore and Sindh; it is known as Hamood ur Rahman Commission. Mr. Justice Hamood ur Rahman was of Bengali origin and a highly reputed and hard working Judge of Pakistan. They made thorough enquires as far as possible and submitted their report on July 8, 1972 to the President. On return of the prisoners of war from India, and eight weeks were allowed to them to record the evidence of prisoners, as a result, more facts were added in the report. This was a very important report prepared by the Chief Justices after full enquiry about the most humiliating national tragedy that shook the people of Pakistan.

It was a matter of utmost importance to take the people of the country into confidence, and apprise them how and why the Pakistani nation suffered such a degradation and humiliation which had made them a laughing-stock in the world. The commission was appointed with this purpose of informing the nation how this tragedy had happened. But the report did not see light of the day and President Bhutto did not make it public. His adversaries started tirade of misleading propaganda that Bhutto did not publish the report because he himself was responsible for the miseries of East Pakistanis and the dismemberment of the country. It is absolutely untrue. The fact was that the army generals were against the publication of the report, and President Bhutto could not disregard their stand. He had his own limitations. If Bhutto had really been responsible for tearing Pakistan asunder as alleged by his opponents, he would not have appointed the Chief Justices on this commission immediately after the dismemberment. Many, and especially the leftists had been demanding the publication of commission's report for judging the role played by the army, because there was intensely venomous international propaganda that three million people had been butchered by the army. A documentary film was shown in those days by the Pakistan T.V regarding the humiliating surrender of the Pakistan armed personnel before General Aurora of India. President Bhutto had hosted a dinner in Murree, and he had invited senior army officers also in that function. After dinner, the Army officers strongly protested against the exhibition of the documentary, which was nothing short of a shameful and scandalous spectacle. Thereafter, it was never shown on the P.T.V. The whole world had witnessed the dismemberment drama through films outside Pakistan; but the Pakistan, who were most concerned with this heart-renting tragedy were kept in dark about it. The readers know it well that the report was not published even after the exist of Bhutto from power. If Bhutto had been responsible for the separation of East Pakistan by the commission, his most hostile successors would not have hesitated from publishing it. It is a most shameful and totally unbelievable lie of his adversaries to shift the charge for which Bhutto was not at all responsible.

ORGANISATION OF THE ARMED FORCES

Pakistan was now reduced to West Pakistan only, which was not even half of the original Pakistan. As a result of clumsy and cowardly behaviour of the general incharge of Pakistani forces in East Pakistan, the Pak military had to surrender before the Indian general without real resistance against the enemy and they were lodged in Indian prisons. This disgraceful surrender had a very demoralizing effect on the entire armed forces of Pakistan.

Bhutto was aware of these facts more than anybody else. In his very first speech as President he had encouraged the armed forces that they are always guardians of the frontiers of their country. He had vowed to take revenge, in case India did not decide the mutual disputes in a just and

equitably manner. It is rightly said that to a void a war, the best way is to prepare for War. Now President Bhutto proposed to reorganize the disarrayed forces on modern and scientific lines. Pakistan had the best stuff, but the woeful lack of organization, equipment and encouragement had rendered it ineffective.

There was one Commander-in-Chief for all the Forces, that is Land Forces, Air Force and Naval Force. The job and duties of each force are of different in nature and character. As such the Pakistan military was now reorganized and headed by different Chiefs and they were. Chief of the Army Staff, Chief of the Naval Staff and Chief of the Air Force. These Chiefs were now made directly responsible to the Chief Executive of State, that is the Prime Minister. This division was in fact necessary for greater efficiency and better discipline. In numbers and equipment, India had a much superior force, and it was aided and supported by powerful countries. Bhutto had to invent means and methods to face India successfully and restore national honour that had been lost in the wars of 1965 and 1971. He therefore re-organised the Armed Forces of Pakistan that were in a torn and tattered form. Some people allege that it was a blunder on the part of Bhutto to make the Army so powerful. According to them, the Province of Sindh had no representation in the army, they were hardly one percent. Therefore Bhutto was unprotected in case the army instead of fighting for a cause, thrust coup on country. They contend that his fate would not have been so tragic if he had thought of his own survival and Sindh had given representation in the Army like N.W.F.P. another minority province of Pakistan. Bhutto did not belong to this school of thought. He was a brave national leader with broad thinking. He always kept national interests above regional, provincial or personal interests. As a student of history and politics he was fully aware of frailties and treacheries but as head of the state, he had to take care of his country first. Kashmir was always upper most in his mind and he wanted to capture it and emancipate its people at any cost. And he had decided to fight for their righteous cause. Fruitless talks and negotiations were merely wasting of time and they were meaninglessly continuing for decades. The cause of Kashmir, according to Bhutto, could be solved only through force; and the use of force for a right cause, and dying for a right cause is sine qua non for an honourable nation. Perhaps he did not even imagine that regionalism would prevail over nationalism for some time.

For the sake of discipline, President Bhutto had to change the commanders. The attitude of General Gul Hasan and Air Marshal Raheem Khan was that of a king-maker; they would try to foist their own views, go their own way and even flout the President at times. President Bhutto could not be taken for granted like the past Prime Ministers of Pakistan. Their attitude tended to weaken the Army organization, and affect the recently started democratic process quite adversely. Therefore, they were ousted out of the army and dispatched as ambassadors to Europe much against their will. Thus they were left without the stinging teeth. President Bhutto appointed General Tikka Khan as Chief of the Army Staff in place of General Gul Hassan. After four years,

General Ziaul Haque, seemingly a pious, religious, obedient and purely a professional soldier was appointed in place of Tikka Khan. Prime Minister Bhutto had failed to understand Zia ul Haque, who was apparently very humble and meek in his ways. He was promoted to this highest rank in preference to the other senior generals in the Army. The astute Prime Minister failed to read the mind of a sinister general.

INTERIM CONSTITUTION

After the abdication of Ayub Khan, General Yahya Khan had imposed Martial Law on the Country, and abrogated the constitution of Ayub Khan. The Country was now without constitution. President Bhutto felt that the constitution was a 'must' without which no politically civilized country could be run. He desired an interim constitution to be framed first, and then a permanent constitution be prepared by the Assembly for the country. The People's party was of course the largest political party in Pakistan but there were other smaller parties like NAP, JUI, and the Muslim League which were again divided in two factions, that of Qayum Khan of the N.W.F.P. and Mian Mumtaz Mohammad Daultana of Punjab. President Bhutto desired a unanimous constitution for which he had to reach at some settlement with the other parties, especially the NAP of Wali Khan, and JUI of Mufti Mahmood, as they had united and thus commanded majority in the provinces of N.W.F.P. and Baluchistan. Though he could impose his constitution by the force of his overwhelming majority in the Assembly but the President Bhutto would not prefer that course to be adopted. It proved that he was not only democratic, but also believed to rule the country by taking the other parties with himself. The PPP leaders with instructions from President Bhutto, had continuous talks with the NAP-JUP leaders, and finally on March 6 they reached an accord with main features as under:

- 1.** The interim constitution will be for presidential system at the center, and parliamentary system in provinces.
- 2.** The National Assembly will meet to adopt the interim constitution, pass vote of confidence in the President, and approve the continuation of Martial Law up to August 14, 1972.
- 3.** In Baluchistan and N.W.F.P the ministries will be formed jointly by the NAP and JUI, and the persons, nominated by them will be appointed as Governors of the two provinces.

The interim constitution was passed unanimously on April 17, 1972, along with the vote of confidence in President Bhutto. It came as a happy surprise to all, Assembly members as well as the common people, when the President in his speech announced the immediate end of Martial Law instead of waiting for August 14, 1972. The constitution came into force with effect from 21st April. All the Assembly members including the progressive, had voted for continuation of Martial Law.

PROVINCIAL GOVERNMENTS IN N.W.F.P AND BALOCHISTAN

In these two provinces, the PPP had no majority; while the NAP-JUI combination had majority in these areas. Khan Abdul Ghaffar Khan and Mufti Mahmood who had opposed the creation of Pakistan tooth and nail, were the architects of the National Awami Party and the Jamiat-ul-Ulema-I-Islam respectively. As a majority combination, they claimed their right to form the cabinets in these two provinces, and have Governors of their choice. These two provinces are boardening with Afghanistan that had been hostile to Pakistan and had refused to accept the Durand Line as an international border between Pakistan and Afghanistan. India had been playing the dubious game of instigation against Pakistan, thus trying to keep the two adjoining Muslim countries at daggers drawn.

Ghaffar Khan was ready to make N.W.F.P. as part and parcel of India, but not of Pakistan, therefore the bogey of "Pakhtoonistan" was raised exactly at the time of partition. Ghaffar Khan's hatred against Pakistan was beyond any limits; he did not even want to be buried in the soil, of his motherland where he was born, but in Afghanistan. In Balochistan, the young nationalists and Sardars had demanded independent Baluchistan at the time of partition of United India. Some of them went even to the extent of visiting India for accession, but Maulana Abdul Kalam is said to have impressed upon them that it would be a great folly on their part to seek accession with India. They, however, could not meet the Indian Prime Minister Jawahar Lal Nehru. All these facts were within the knowledge of President Bhutto. It would be relevant to state that Pakistan had been broken very recently and some influential political elements were hoping for the total disintegration of Pakistan. No doubt, Bhutto enjoyed support of overwhelming majority of the National Assembly members, he was the most popular leader of Pakistan and the only politician of his country known throughout the world. But heavy responsibility to save, consolidate and strengthen his country was squarely on his shoulders. People had voted his party to power because of their implicit faith in him. In spite of all these factors and the historical back ground. Bhutto was insistent on introducing the democratic process and handing over political power to his adversaries in the two-strategically provinces. This step could be taken only by a democratic minded statesmen; especially in a country where democratic process was practically dead for all the years of its existence.

On April 29, 1972 the President Bhutto appointed Ghous Bakhs Bizenjo as Governor of Balochistan and Arbab Sikandar Khan Khalil, Governor of N.W.F.P, both of them were members of the N.A.P. In N.W.F.P Mufti Mahmood, leader of the JUI formed coalition cabinet and in Balochistan Ataullah Khan Mengal N.A.P leader was made Chief Minister of the coalition Ministry with the JUI. They were also offered posts in the Federal Cabinet, but they refused to accept. Bhutto did all that he could to patch up with the NAP and the JUI and

accommodated them, hoping that they would also reciprocate in a friendly manner for smooth running of the country.

In area, Baluchistan is the biggest Province of Pakistan, but in population, it is the smallest. The population of Baluchistan is sparse and scattered; education, communication and political consciousness have been in a state of infancy except of course the big towns. The tribal sardars of Balochistan, who rule the uneducated masses in the deserts and arid areas of Balochistan, are against the introduction of mass education, modern culture and politics. Srdar Ataullah Khan Mangal, instead of adopting a policy of cooperation with the Federal government, for improving the lot of backward Balochistan, resorted to confrontation and refusing to attend the meetings called by the Prime Minister. He started using his position for achieving independence for Balochistan, James Morrice writes:

“Balochistan was and is a land of vast spaces arid hills and feuding tribes of which the most prominent are the Bugtis, the Marris and the Mengals. What little the Balochis know of Pakistan, they did not much like. Their loyalties were narrow and they looked for the leadership to their Sardars or tribal Chieftains who wielded wide powers over them including taxation and imprisonment... Because of these sentiments, the Balochis were receptive to anti-Pakistan propaganda and subversion from neighbouring Afghanistan with its irredentist claim to those portions of Pakistan territory that were occupied by the Pathans and Balochis”

Balochistan was not peaceful even in the days of Ayub Khan. But with the ushering in of democratic era under the liberal leadership of Z.A. Bhutto and compromise with the NAP, it was hoped that a new chapter of peace and amity would open in the history of Pakistan. However, it did not happen. Again there was unrest and clashes in Pakistan between the militia and the tribesmen. Arms from the Iraqi Embassy for Balochistan were discovered by the Government of Pakistan. Bhutto’s fund of patience was now exhausted, he had not come to preside over the liquidation of Pakistan.

He had no option but to dismiss the NAP cabinet in Balochistan; and Governor Bizenjo due to the unpatriotic and unbecoming conduct of the NAP Sardars.

The dismissal of Balochistan’s Governor and the cabinet on February 15, 1973 by the President Bhutto had a sharp and prompt reaction in N.W.F.P. Provincial government here, too resigned in protest. Thus the alliance between the PPP and the NAP was short lived. In politics, especially in Pakistan where the political atmosphere was surcharged with suspicious and mistrust, the adversaries of Pakistan were in search of occasion to tear Pakistan in pieces. An astute politician and a statesman of global character with falcon’s eye, refused to give long rope to the sentimental and the self-conceited leaders of the NAP to play with the destiny of Pakistan. If they had conducted themselves

like true patriots and seasoned politicians in the national interest, it would have proved a blessing, not only for the parties, but for the whole country. Resultantly, the relations between the parties went on straining.

SIMLA SUMMIT

There were very complicated negotiations between the Prime Minister of Pakistan and Indira Gandhi the Indian Prime Minister, from June 28 to July 3, 1972 at Simla, the biggest hill resort and the summer capital of India. The talented Prime Minister Bhutto was empty handed, without any card to play, while Indira Gandhi, the conqueror of East Pakistan, with her pride of performance, had all trump cards with her. More than five thousand square miles of Pakistan's land was in Indian possession and nearly one hundred thousand Pakistani officers and men were rotting in the Indian Jails, suffering every insult and humiliation. The closest relations of the prisoners mostly belonging of Punjab were in a state of deep grief and anxiety for the release of the prisoners. It was a test of Bhutto's diplomacy, a trial of political acumen and war of wits. The nature of talks was so delicate and difficult, that there appeared remote chance of success but the leader of the vanquished country did not return without substance in his hand. It was his memorable and historic diplomatic victory in those tough negotiations and in circumstances that were personally most disadvantageous to him. He was the man who had fought for Kashmir all along. He was the man gave very tough time to the Indians in the security Council, and he was the man who had called Indira Gandhi "a mediocre." Newsweek wrote:

"Until now, Indira Gandhi and Zulfikar Ali Bhutto having not been on speaking terms. The Indian Prime Minister is known to harbor a profound distrust of the 49-Year old Pakistan President, and who has got record on holding her in outright contempt "I have always seen her like this; a diligent and hardworking student, a woman devoid of intelligence and imagination." Bhutto recently told Italian journalist Oriana Fallaci "with all her saris and red mark in the middle of her forehead, her little smile..... She irritates me. God! Don't make me think about it... Mrs. Gandhi holds the high cards, six months after the cease fire, New Delhi still occupies 5139 square miles of what used to be Pakistani territory and perhaps more important, holds more than 91,000 Pakistani Prisoners of war... Sheikh Mujibur Rahman, the Prime Minister of Bangladesh has announced that he will demand a voice in any repatriation agreement. And Mujib's terms are tough. Not only does he insist that Bangladesh must be compensated for destruction visited on it by the Pakistan Army, he also wants partial compensation for the foreign exchange, which East Pakistani Jute and tea earned for the Pakistani government in the years before Bangladesh broke away... Mujib's determinations to hold a massive war crime trial- A sort of Asian Nuremberg - to punish the alleged misdeeds of 1500 Pakistani soldiers and civil servants. Asked last week if he would consider abandoning plans for such trial, Mujib thundered; "How can you expect it? There million people were cold bloodedly murdered. Two hundred thousand

girls have been raped by the Pakistani Army. Ten million people had to migrate to India, and 15 million moved from place to place out of fear. The world should know what has happened. Given this emotional climate, no major break through is expected to emerge from the conference at Simla.....

“Don’t expect too much” continued Bhutto before leaving for India. And one Indian diplomat reflecting a widespread view in New Delhi remarked “ It will be sufficient if the two talk rationally and the summit goes to its conclusion without a walkout” such was the tense and hostile atmosphere at the Simla Summit; was any breakthrough possible for Bhutto? Obviously not.

In this background and with such mounting tension sentiments, hatred and personal rancour, it was very difficult, rather impossible to expect any tangible and favourable results. Bhutto had rightly cautioned his people not to be too optimistic. Bhutto had been working day and night without any respite but the dust had not yet settled in Pakistan; the civilian authority had not yet fully established. In a short time of six months. Bhutto had settled number of complicated problems, but still there remained many to be solved, especially the release of prisoners and threat to try the Pakistani officers were occupying the mind of Punjab and the Army. Benazir was with her father in this important trip to Simla.

The heights of Bhutto’s diplomatic skill could be judged from the Simla Accord, which was his singular and most significant diplomatic victory. Talks were held by the two leaders, sometimes in presence of the delegation, some times in presence of their inner cabinets and sometimes one-to-one. Indira Gandhi was in a position to dictate Pakistan, while Bhutto was to advance his arguments, his logical and political grounds to convince her about the correctness of his stand. Nobody was optimistic about the results of the Summit, because Indira felt and rightly felt that she was at the peak of power, while Pakistan had been humiliated vanquished and torn into pieces on account of their unpardonable follies, and blunders in the eyes of the whole world. It seemed at one stage that the talks had failed and there was dead lock in the negotiations. But the hard fact is that one-to-one talk between Z.A.Bhutto and Indira Gandhi had resolved the issues, according to Rafi Raza an important aide of Bhutto “on the last evening he had an hour long meeting with Indira Gandhi, their famous walk in the garden. It was their main one-to-one meeting. Reports later circulated that it was this, which led to the successful out come at Simla. However... she remained adamant on the text of the agreement prepared by the officials.”

The real unanimity on the accord had been reached by the two leaders, in spite of the fact that all hopes about reaching the accord were lost, a day prior to the accord. However, this obstacle was also removed by the competent aides and officials of both the sides on July 3, 1972. The Simla-accord would be remembered as a masterstroke of President Bhutto’s diplomacy in the

history of Pakistan; but credit must also go to Indira Gandhi who listened to reason and reached the Accord.

According to the accord, it was agreed that the Indian forces would be withdrawn to their international borders. Automatically, the Indian forces had to evacuate the territory of Pakistan that had been occupied by them. The other important point was that both the countries would resolve their differences through bilateral negotiations or by any other peaceful means mutually agreed upon. The third crucial point was that the basic issues and the causes of conflict that had bedeviled the relations between the two countries for the past twenty-five years were to be settled by peaceful means. It was further provided that in accordance with the United Nation's Charter, the countries would refrain from the threat or use of force, against each other's territorial integrity or political independence.

So far the prisoners were concerned, they were not released by Indian. Their stand was that the Bangladesh had serious objection to their release due to their heinous and immoral acts of murdering three million Bengalis, raping two hundred thousand girls etc, and that they be tried for these offences as war prisoners. It was also urged that Bangladesh was not party to the negotiations, therefore the question could be settled after talks with the Bangladesh authorities. Here the most important gain of Pakistan was that as per agreement in Simla Accord, the Indian forces evacuated the Pakistan territory, which was more than five thousand square miles, equivalent to the area of one district. It would have been most problematic if this important question had not been resolved in the Accord. So far the prisoners were concerned, it was not possible for India to keep them in detention for long; the solution of this problem was comparatively much easier for a distinguished diplomat and outstanding politician like Mr. Bhutto to resolve. He was, of course, criticized by some fanatics and his avowed opponents that by entering this accord with India he had bartered the freedom of Kashmiris. But this criticism was without any force and foundation. It was criticism for the sake of criticism. President Bhutto had never agreed to this suicidal condition that Pakistan had withdrawn from Kashmir issue, for which he had fought all along and had even resigned from the high post of Foreign Minister, and dethroned Ayub Khan. There was absolutely no detrimental or secret agreement in respect of Kashmir. Even after a lapse of more than 26 years, no body has been able to substantiate this wild allegation. Another false charge of not getting the prisoners released is nothing short of a fabrication. No body else excepting President Bhutto could have gained as much in the Simla Accord for Pakistan. Later on he got the prisoners released, and that was nothing short of political miracle.

In the wider national interests, Bhutto wanted to recognize Bangladesh, as without this recognition the question of release of Pakistani prisoners would have been difficult and complicated. After all Bangladesh being a Muslim country, could not be boycotted and antagonized forever. But he would do it

only after moulding the public opinion in favour of his point of view, and the charismatic Prime Minister Bhutto succeeded in his mission. After dismemberment, he toured the Western Muslim Countries frequently and extensively and even extended his help to them in every sphere. He tremendously impressed them before the Islamic Summit conference, a delegation of seven Muslim countries met Mujib and convinced him to attend the summit on February 22, 1974. he agreed and came to Lahore on 22nd February and was warmly welcomed by Bhutto like a brother. The Prime Minister Bhutto announced the recognition of Bangladesh amongst cheers by the participants in this fraternal gathering. The conference proved very meaningful and beneficial to all the Muslim countries. Thereafter, trilateral talks between India, Pakistan and Bangladesh were held at Delhi on April 5-9, 1974, the Bangladesh Foreign Minister made it clear that as a matter of clemency, his government had decided not to proceed with the trial of any Pakistani prisoner. By April 30, all the Pakistani prisoners of war numbering 72, 795 were repatriated and 17, 186 civilian were also released. Thus the question of prisoners was amicably resolved with Bhutto's skilful diplomacy.

PERMANENT CONSTITUTION OF PAKISTAN

Constitution has been defined as the organic and fundamental law of a nation or state, which may be written or unwritten, establishing the character and concept of its government, laying the basic principles to which internal life is to be conformed, organizing the government and regulating and distributing and limiting the functions of its departments and prescribing the extent and manner of the exercise of sovereign powers. A charter of government, derives its whole authority from the governed.

In the matter of 'Constitution,' Pakistan has been one of the most unfortunate countries in the world. Any citizen of Pakistan who is asked about the constitutional history of his country, will speak with pain not with pride. The first democratic draft constitution that purported to manifest the will of the people of Pakistan, did not see light of the day and the Governor General Ghulam Muhammad was so enraged and annoyed that he dissolved the Constituent Assembly under the umbrella of the bayonets of the commander-in-chief of Pakistan in 1954. Again in 1956, another constitution came into existence during the Prime Ministership of Chowdhry Mohammad Ali with the blessings of Governor General Iskandar Mirza and Commander-in-Chief Ayub Khan. Iskandar Mirza thus became the first President of Pakistan. This constitution based on malignant and sinister parity, reduced the 56 % populated East Pakistan to 50 %, and 46 % west Pakistan's to 50 % in the "Islamic Constitution" of Pakistan. But that too was scrapped by Mirza and Ayub Khan and Martial Law was imposed upon Pakistan. After two weeks, Iskandar Mirza was also expelled from Pakistan, unwept and unsung, and Ayub Khan became the sole master of Pakistan. He thrust his dictatorial and bureaucratic constitution on the unfortunate people of Pakistan, but that too

did not last long. The mass movement against Ayub Khan forced him to abdicate in favour of his friend general Yahya Khan in March 1969, and the constitution was abrogated. There was no constitution worth name in the reign of Yahya Khan, there was law of jungle, and the country was ruled through Martial law Rules and Regulations. The wishes of the founder of Pakistan to give top priority to the framing of constitution were thrown to winds, thus the problems went on multi-playing and the foundations of Pakistan were shaken to its roots. What a mockery of the hardwon independence was made by the politicians and general of Pakistan under these circumstances. It was no matter of wonder that the country was broken, in a state of all shame and misery, with doubts about its future survival.

It was indeed an impossible task to keep the remaining Pakistan safe, secure and united. All the minority provinces were almost in a state of revolt, demanding emancipation and independence from the domination of the vested interests of Punjab. In then entire country, there was not a single leader of national stature except Bhutto, all other leaders were of regional or group character, not in a position to deliver goods on behalf of the people. He was the only man in Pakistan to save the sinking ship of his dear motherland.

President Bhutto gave interim constitution to his country in 1972 with unanimity in consultation with all other party leaders through the national Assembly. This miraculous unanimity on the earliest occasion was a sing of his statesmanly act. It was not at all a smooth sailing. He had to face many snags, controversies and complications and these thorny problems required a consensus. The atmosphere was surcharged with fear and suspicion against each other especially the majority province, therefore the task was not free from difficulties. The making and unmaking of the constitutions, promulgation of Martial Law from time to time, deviation from the constitution, political intrigues, injustices and consequent dismemberment of Pakistan, had made still made ti more difficult. Under the accord of March 6, a constitution committee was provided. Thereafter the committee met under a seasoned politician, prominent lawyer and Law Minister Mahmood Ali Qasuri on 22 April and 18 May, and discussed various aspects of the constitution and requested Mr. Qasuri to prepare a draft constitution report before the year was out, in order to submit it in the National Assembly that was working as Constituent Assembly also.

In the mean while, differences arose between the President and the Law Minister, which ultimately led to the resignation of the Law Minister. On October 5, 1972, the President reluctantly accepted the resignation, as he did not like to lose Mr. Qasuri. He was replaced by Abdul Hafeez Pirzada. Looking to the slow progress of the constitutional work, Bhutto took up the job in his own hands. He had the knack of sorting out even the most complicated problems with comparative ease and clarity. He was endowed with an extraordinary power of expression, political knowledge, understanding; and convincing not only his colleagues, but even opponents. He called a meeting of

all shades of the parliamentary leaders on October 17. It was attended by the NAP, both factions of Muslim League (Qayum and Daultana), Jamiat-I-Islami, JUI, JUP, Tribal Area members and Independents besides the PPP leaders. It continued for four days consecutively under the able guidance with accommodating attitude of President Bhutto. After labour of four days, a constitutional accord was reached on October 20, 1972. A work which would not be completed within months by other politicians and ministers, could be completed in days by Bhutto. This accord was his personal success and goes exclusively to his credit. Had he not involved himself, the constitutional tangle, the intricacies and complications would have multiplied beyond imagination to the detriment of the country. The Pakistani constitution could not be prepared from 1947 till 1956 by any Prime Minister, political dignitaries and experts of constitution inspite of Mr. Jinnah's emphasis and even his dying days instructions. This historic and miraculous accomplishment by him in four days time eloquently speaks about his extra ordinary abilities. Thanking all those who cooperated with him, he said in his public statement:

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

Again in February 1973, a serious obstacle erupted in passing the agreed draft constitution because of the dismissal of the NAP-JUI government in Balochistan and resignation of the N.W.F.P government headed by Mufti Mahmood, in protest to the dismissal of the Balochistan government. The situation was further aggravated by the bloody disruption of the opposition's public meeting in Liaquat Bagh, Rawalpindi. It gave rise to serious differences and tension between the PPP and the opposition.

On March 17, the proposed some insignificant amendments in the Constitution Bill. Instead of entering into correspondence with them, President Bhutto called a meeting for discussing those amendments and asked them for fresh proposals if any. Bhutto was prepared to accept their demands and concessions and left no room for their disagreement. For expediting the passage of unanimous constitution, he exercised his personal influence, and that it was imperative in the national interests to attend the boycotted National Assembly and pass the constitution with one voice when every demand of the opposition had been satisfied. In fact, the amendments were incorporated in the Bill without any hesitation. The opposition ended its boycott on April 10, 1973. The speed of Bhutto's work was amazing. A work that could be done today, must be done today and not left to tomorrow. The Bill was immediately and smoothly adopted by the Assembly without dissent. It was landmark in the history of Pakistan; everybody was surprised how President Bhutto convinced the opposition so conveniently and got the constitution passed with an unbelievable speed, without any opposition. The newly passed constitution

came into effect from August 14, 1973, and undoubtedly Bhutto was the architect of the new constitution.

With the imposition of Martial Law on July 5, 1977, the constitution though not abrogated in theory was painfully and totally mutilated, fundamental rights of the citizens were usurped, political activities were banned, sending the PPP leaders and workers behind bars, Judiciary was crippled and the federation was practically brought to an end. But the constitution of 1973 continued even after the discontinuance of Martial Law and many of its provisions were kept in tact. Whatever be the present shape of the 1973 constitution, Bhutto, whom the people consider a "judicially murdered" Prime Minister, was its architect. He is still a living factor in the country. The constitution is proof of his unchallengeable capability and immortality. Even today, the slogans of "Long Live Bhutto" are ringing through out Pakistan The white papers and the vast propaganda failed to efface his name from the hearts of the people, where he had wished to live.

QADIANI ISSUE

The Qadiani issue has remained sensitive from the very inception of the sect that was founded by Mirza Ghulam Ahmad Qadiani in 1889. He belonged to a town Qadiani in Punjab, now in India. He acknowledged the Holy Prophet Mohammad (Peace be upon him) as prophet but he claimed prophethood for himself while accepting the shariat of the Holy Prophet as the final one. In 1882, he had claimed to have a revelation from God that he had been appointed to revive the values of Islam as prophet.

He shared the Islamic view that Jesus Christ was saved from crucifixion by Almighty Allah, but later on he died in Kashmir. Ghulam Ahmad claimed ot be the "promised Messiah", prophet with those attributes. Obviously, anyone propagating and professing such un Islamic doctrines, would be outside the pale of Islam. He enjoyed a substantial following in Punjab. It must be said to their credit that the Mirzais, as they are usually called, have been industrious, educated and well organized. These people were in good books with the British government because the Mirza had twisted the concept of Jihad as a struggle through pen, and not armed struggle. This sort of interpretation of Jihad was most suitable to the British government, because the Indian Muslims treated it as Jihad to fight against the British slavery even by armed conflict. The British government had also showered its favours upon them by accommodating them in services and providing necessary protection to them.

After independence in 1947, Chowdhry Zafrullah Khan who was a Mirzai, was appointed Foreign Minister of Pakistan purely on the basis of merit, and he had very brilliantly advocated the Kashmir cause in the Security council in 1948, and resultantly the plebiscite resolution was passed. Pakistan has been relying on the plebiscite resolution for the past half century in support of the

Kashmir case. The Mirzais are true to their faith and belief and never budge an inch from their loyalty to their head Mirza Ghulam Ahmad Qadiani. Chowdhry Zafarullah did not even offer the funeral prayers (Namaz-e-Janaza) of the Quaid-e-Azam Mohammad Ali Jinnah, though he was present on the occasion. After independence, they established their headquarter in Rabwah, a town in Punjab.

The religious parties had been agitating against the Qadianis or Mirzais branding them as enemies of Islam and agents of foreign powers. In no sense they were loyal to Islam. However their contention was that they were Muslims, and their doctrinal interpretations did not make them non-Muslims. Amongst Muslim, there were schools of thought that treated, and are treating, even Khojas and Bohras as non Muslims. They offer their prayers separately and they have their own worshipping places and headquarters where the common Muslim has no access. Quaid-e-Azam Jinnah had kept these religious or sectarian differences and contradictions and conflicts apart from politics, because he did not believe in creating more problems and controversies that would harm the greater cause for which he had been fighting against the heavy odds. He would not sacrifice the high aims and objective of his political life at the altar of his personal, religious or sectarian disliking and views. He did not believe in quibbling like pettifogging politicians that would damage the precious and ultimate ideals of a statesman.

The Qadiani problem had attained serious proportions and the religious parties in Pakistan had refused to recognize them as Muslims. Referring to and quoting from the "Punjab Disturbances, Court of Enquiry Report, Rafi Raga writes; "A distinguished Qadiani Chaudhry Mohammad Zafarullah Khan was the first foreign Minister of Pakistan. The explanation, he gave of his belief while speaking on Islam as a 'Live Religion', before a public gathering at Jehangir Park Karachi on 18 May 1952 is noteworthy. He stressed the superiority and finality of Islam as a world religion. According to him, Mirza Ghulam Ahmad was a person commissioned by God for tajdid-e-din, that is for Islam, which had been distorted through the years, with a view to preserving its purity. God Himself implemented Ahmadiyyat and the plant had taken roots to provide guarantee for the preservation of Islam in fulfillment of the promise contained in the Holy Quran, he asserted."⁷ What he meant thereby, could be safely inferred that:

- (1)** There can be more Prophets after the Holy Prophet Mohammad (Peace be upon him) as and when found necessary by Allah almighty, on account of distortion of Islam, and the finality of Prophets is meaning less.
- (2)** Mirza Ghulam Ahmad was the recipient of message from Allah, to save Islam from distortion and revive the same. Islam had been distorted and required to be explained correctly.

- (3)** Ghulam Ahmad as Prophet enjoyed the same status as other Prophets including the Holy Prophet Mohammad (Peace be upon him).

Thus it would appear that there was not only fundamental difference between the Muslims and Mirzais but the Mirza is proposed to cut the very roots of Islam. After the speech of Chaudhri Zafrullah Khan, there were protests throughout Pakistan, and serious disturbances occurred in Lahore. The Government had to impose Martial Law temporarily in order to quell the riots. Peace was restored in Lahore after killings and very substantial damage to valuable properties. But violence has never been the remedy of problems, just as the imposition of Martial Law in Pakistan, and elsewhere has never improved the situation but created more complicated problems. The modus operandi adopted by the Qadianis was covert and clever, and their outward pronouncements seemed to serve Islam, but the fact was otherwise. It is a historical fact that the Muslims are never prepared to hear any insulting or blasphemous language against their Holy Prophet (PBUH) and they have killed a number of such persons who have indulged in such behaviour. Even a slight talk against the Holy Prophet (PBUH) is intolerable even if it comes from the mouth or pen of any person professing Muslim faith. In my opinion the religious anarchy thus created by Qadianis was also the result of political indiscipline after the death of Jinnah, Zafarullah could have made such speeches during the lifetime of Jinnah.

Prime Minister Bhutto was a liberal type of Muslim. He himself had admitted that he was not a devout Muslim but proudly pronounced that Islam was running in his veins and bloods and he proposed to bring back that light and glory which was preached and practiced by the Holy Prophet (PBUH). He had Qadiani friends also and had tolerance for all in spite of differences. But the fact remains that Qadianis are aggressive while Khojas and Bohras have peacefully worked for the welfare and prosperity of Muslims.

Even during his Prime Ministership, there were some riots against the Qadianis, though they were controlled. He thought dispassionately over the issue and came to the conclusion that this chronic and serious problem be referred to the National Assembly for its final verdict. On June 13, 1974, he announced that the issue would be referred to the Assembly. The National Assembly held its session in camera and after fully discussing it, declared the Qadianis as a minority and non-Muslims. Such an amendment was incorporated in the Constitution of Pakistan. After this decision the Qadianis became his worst enemies, though the decision was taken by all parties unanimously. The Prime Minister had no personal grudge or grievance against the Qadianis, but this issue had to be decided permanently, in the national interests. In those days, I was sitting with some friend in his house, where a Qadiani also came and started talking about the adverse decision taken by the Assembly. He vowed that they would not forgive Bhutto and the day was not far when he would pay a heavy penalty for it. No doubt, the Qadianis are intelligent, influential, secretive and organized. They must have been very happy when the agitation

had been started against Bhutto by the very religious parties in the name of Nizam-e-Mustafa, who had been appealing to and urging upon Bhutto to declare the Qadianis as infidels. Later on, the same religious parties labeled Bhutto as Kafir in 1977. The Prime Minister made it very clear on the Assembly floor "There should be no ambiguity in anyone's mind that we will not tolerate any kind of vandalism or insult and humiliy of any citizen of the country". He said that his government believed that every citizen of the country had right to practice his religion without any fear. This guarantee was also given by the constitution of Pakistan.

BMURDER OF SHERPAO AND ITS AFTER EFFECTS

Hayat Mohammad Khan Sherpao of N.W.F.P was one of the closest friends and colleagues of Bhutto. He had the honour of being one of those few who formed nucleus of the P.P.P's foundation. After dismissal of the Mengal Government in Balochistan and resignation of Mufti Mahmood Government in N.W.F.P, differences and tension went on mounting and the process of frequent bomb blasts had started in the N.W.F.P. Wali Khan's bitterness against Bhutto had touched its limits. In Balochistan, the situation was already tense and the Sardars were in revolt. Escalation of the same situation in N.W.F.P was bound to deteriorate the law and order situation from bad to worse. It was a clear-cut threat not only to Bhutto's power but to Pakistan's integrity too. Unfortunately, Wali Khan stated in a public meeting near Charasadda that "the time of appeals had passed and they would now meet 'force with force' to realize their rights."9 The activities, agitation, attitude and speeches were clearly indicative of NAP's determination for final and total showdown with Bhutto. Only Ghous Baksh Bizenjo was the seasoned, sober and farsighted leader in the NAP but the sentimental NAP leadership was not prepared to hear him. It was no politics but warpath and relentless enmity.

On February 8, 1975, Hayat Mohammad Sherpao was assassinated in Peshawar. He was one of the sincerest and thickest friends of Bhutto and had the credit of planting the PPP in NWFP. All the circumstances leading to the assassination of Sherpao proved that bullets and bayonets had entered the arena of politics.

Those who had been preaching for nonviolence all along, had resorted to guns and bombs. Bhutto who was in the United States at the time of assassination of Sherpao, hastened to return to Pakistan, as his personal friend and strong supporter had been killed as a result of political conspiracy that was infact directed against Bhutto. The murder of his lieutenant was a direct challenge and threat to Bhutto. He directed the arrest of all the NAP leaders, criminal case was registered against them and all of them were dispatched to the Central Jail Hyderabad, where they were to be tried by a Special Tribunal. When the 1977 agitation against Bhutto had subsided, there were talks of conciliation and compromise between the PPP and PNA representatives. Gen.

Ziaul Haq flatly refused to release them and thus created an obstacle for the parties to reach a final understanding. But surprisingly after the imposition of Martial Law, the General not only abolished the Tribunal, released the NAP leaders but also withdrew the criminal conspiracy case under which they had been charged. Wali Khan, who had always been blowing the trumpet of his unlimited love for democracy and had been opposing the military rule vehemently, strongly supported the foisting of Martial Law, praised Zia like his ardent admirer for his anti-democratic actions and promulgation of Jungle Law. His words as reported in the newspapers are: "He praised General Zia ul Haque for rescuing the country from the clutches of a ruthless dictator..... Unless the traces of Bhuttoism are removed from the body politic of the country, no positive achievement could be made in any direction."

But to the chagrin of Khan Abdul Wali Khan, Bhuttoism is still very much there in the N.W.F.P even after more than two decade of his death. That is the sign of true leadership, it is for the experienced Khan to think!

POLITICS – DEMOCRACY – HUMAN RIGHTS

Z.A.Bhutto was neither an industrialist nor an agriculturist by profession, though he was one of the biggest landholders of Pakistan, belonging to a wealthy family. He was a born politician, remained politician all his life, and died as a martyr-politician of Pakistan. He was scion of a most prominent, powerful and influential politician of Sindh, and his father Sir Bhutto had trained him to occupy a very high place in the political life of Pakistan. A man of tremendous potentials, most hardworking working, fully acquainted with the modern politics, possessing deep sense of world history, gifted with rare charisma and eloquence, Bhutto was the most popular leader of Pakistan and saviour of his country after dismemberment. He was leader of the Muslim world and one of the most outstanding political leaders of the Third world. Since he was the Prime Minister of comparatively a smaller country, torn recently, politically and economically in shambles and an avowed enemy of exploitation of the third world and the Muslim countries, he was not given his place by the western political writers that he really deserved. On the contrary, a dark and dismal picture of this brave, brilliant and scintillating statesman is painted by most of the westerns writers and his adversaries.

DEMOCRACY IN PAKISTAN

In Pakistan, democracy was just like a dream, as the achievement of Pakistan was a dream in the United India. Achievement of Pakistan seemed an impossible task, but it was achieved. However its achievement was not an end by itself but the happiness and prosperity of the people was the real goal. This objective was to be attained through democracy; but in Pakistan democracy became elusive, and no chance was given to it before 1972, when Bhutto assumed the charge of Pakistan. It is rightly said "democracy is both the best and the most difficult form of political organization. The most difficult because

it is the best". The country which Bhutto had to look after is varied in population, area, geography, society and economic conditions; while Bangladesh though small in area is a compact whole, politically, socially and economically homogenous in nature, with no fear from outside powers. Pakistan had of course India adjoining Punjab and Sindh, Afghanistan as its neighbour with N.W.F.P and Balochistan. Under these circumstances it is much easier to establish democracy, stability and economic equality in Bangladesh, but in Pakistan Bhutto had to face mountainous and multifarious problems in running the country, as such it would not be a matter of surprise if errors and excesses were committed in its administration. In many cases they put the Prime Minister Bhutto in a critical position and he had to right their wrongs. Take for example the case of Mr. Jinnah, a man of very strong character. After independence he appointed the best possible stuff to look after the country as Prime Minister and Ministers of Pakistan. But was he satisfied with their working and with their performance? As governor General of Pakistan, he was only a constitutional head of the country, but every important policy matter was to be approved by him. A perusal of Mr. Jinnah's speeches would convince the readers that such were the conditions and circumstance of Pakistan that he had to play the role of the defacto ruler of Pakistan. He had many grievances against his own men on whom he had placed full reliance before independence. He had realized that his lieutenants had failed to come up to his expectations, therefore he had to interfere as the country was in crisis. Bhutto was in worse situation, which he had inherited after the secession of East Pakistan. He had to face the same traumatic conditions like Mr. Jinnah. Most of the leaders of his party thought that they had come to rule without corresponding responsibilities but Bhutto was a thoroughly occupied man; he had no leisure hours, he worked day and night, and was almost sleepless. Due to hard work and worries the handsome Bhutto appeared older than his age. He was not angel, he was not infallible, if some excesses were committed, they were condonable. As a citizen of Larkana Town, having opposed him for years, I realized that for most of the omissions and commissions, he was not responsible. On the contrary wherever he went people rushed to him for the solution of their problems and he went to the extent of obliging even his opponents. That was the right way to establish a democratic and an egalitarian state. But the dust of the chaotic conditions takes its time to settle. If Mr. Jinnah was not happy with the performance of his colleagues and the latter had complained about their leader's attitude demanding quick, efficient and just performance, Bhutto had also to face not only his opponents, but even his own party leaders who lagged behind in speed, hard work and knowledge of the practical side of things. So the establishment of democracy and total protection of human rights takes its time. Before 1972, the question of democracy and human rights hardly arose; people were thrown in jails without trial, without reason and rhyme and even the judiciary could not come to their rescue. Before 1972, it was a totalitarian state and the law of savagery was rampant in Pakistan.

Prime Minister Bhutto had taken over the charge when the country was in a very unsafe and sensitive political situation. There was no politics, no

economy, no institutions, no safety and no organizations. There was woeful lack of cooperation to build the state; most of the leaders either wanted to destroy the state or build themselves. When Mustafa Kamal pasha (Father of Turkey) was passing through the turbulent times after defeating the Greeks, he resorted to very drastic action against those who opposed him. He openly threatened to do away with them if they did not abandon their negative attitude. History is replete with the violation of human rights in Turkey during those days, Bhutto's priority was the protection of Pakistan, based on democracy and establishment of democracy in a society that was divided in segments against each other in every field. The plant of democracy is very delicate, it grows and develops after years of care, patience, tolerance and hard work. It is not the arbitrary power like Martial Law, which can be easily established on the ruins of liberty. Happiness of the people is the supreme object of a good government, and that can be attained gradually and not overnight. Bhutto was trying his utmost. He worked day and night for the welfare of the people and the stability of his country which was threatened by the outside powers, through their inside agents. And he was extremely cautious in the matter of sovereignty and independence. Pakistan was presenting a most repulsive and shaky spectacle after its dismemberment. Therefore there was a heavy responsibility on his shoulders to see that none, how so ever high he may be, should be permitted to play with the destiny of Pakistan.

There was tremendous rather intolerable economic disparity between rich the poor. Though numerically the capitalists, industrialists, chieftains and big landowners were few, but they had a very strong grip over the government in the past. The poor were innumerable, but they had absolutely no voice or will. Rich were getting richer day by day and the poor getting poorer. Bhutto brought reforms to ameliorate the economic condition of the peasant and the labourer, and made them politically conscious to speak out their inner agonies and vote independently. The change thus brought about was economic, social and political. In Pakistan's society, poor man was being treated as criminal and a wealthy man, though a real criminal, was respectable. "through tattered clothes, small vice do appear, robes and furred gowns hide all". This was the state of affairs rampant in Pakistan, which Bhutto wanted to change and did change considerably. But he did not believe in bloody revolution, through evolution, he proposed to bring revolution. His greatest and the valuable contribution and service to the cause of democracy was that he gave awakening and self respect to the common man and prepared him to fight for his rights. But this was not acceptable to the small but most influential segment of the population, that was ruling the country without any accountability and responsibility, and the common man was virtually their slave. After the martyrdom of this dashing hero of the people of Pakistan, the society has again reverted to the old miseries. It is very true, if I say; "society is comprised of two great classes; those who have more dinners than appetites and those who have more appetites than dinners". That is why the people of Pakistan still remember Bhutto. He did not want to see any Pakistani with a

begging bowl in his hand. Such a government could be termed as government of the people, by the people and for the people.

In the polity of Pakistan no other system except democracy is suited to the nation. Mr. Bhutto stated categorically in his affidavit "Democracy is certainly... like a breath of fresh air, like the fragrance of a spring flower. It is melody of liberty, richer in sensation than a tangible touch. But more than feeling, democracy is fundamental right, it is adult franchisee, it is the secrecy of ballot, free press, free association, independence of the judiciary, supremacy of the legislature, controls on the executive and other related conditions which are conspicuously absent in the present regime's system." Many political thinkers and statesman have defined 'democracy', but Bhutto's definition has its own beauty, colour, fragrance and substance. But it is a universally demitted fact that democracy is both the best and the most difficult form of political organization. The most difficult because it is the best.

HUMAN RIGHTS

Human rights do not mean the so called rights of a privileged class in Pakistan that has always been victimizing the common people, and there has been no hearing against such tyrannies. It was for the first time in the history of Pakistan that the general elections were held in the country on the basis of adult franchise in 1970-71; and Bhutto took over as Martial Law President on December 20, 1971 when the country was passing through fire. He introduced many reforms, solved several complicated political and economic problems, gave democratic constitution to his country; and made Pakistan an honourable state in the world. But it was a grave error to think that within a short span of time, rivers of milk and honey would start flowing in Pakistan. He had started from a scratch, and took Pakistan to unbelievable heights. The Prime Minister Bhutto was gifted with many qualities of head and heart. He loved the people and the people loved him. At least eighty percent members elected on the PPP ticket to the National Assembly and Provincial assemblies totally owed their election to Bhutto's popularity, hard work and dynamic leadership. Almost all the Ministers of his cabinet and the provincial Chief Ministers and other ministers were inexperienced. They had no knowledge of administration of the country. Security of the state was the highest law of the state; as such the integrity and consolidation of his country were articles of faith with him.

India is known as the biggest democracy in the world. But how many Sikhs have been killed in India, the sacred temple and how their Golden Temple in Amritser was desecrated by the secular Indian Army, how the tanks and planes were used to attack, the head quarter of Sikhs and blood was spilled in the vast area of their most sacred temple by the Indian rulers. This was the treatment by the secular India with Sikhs whom the Hindus call their co-religionists. How was the Babri Mosque demolished and more than two thousand Muslims were killed while saving the mosque? And the injunction orders of the courts against occupation and demolition of the mosque were

flouted arrogantly, and above all the provincial and central governments of the "biggest democracy in the world" were the sponsors and the instigators of this havoc against Islam and its followers. Most of the Hindu have inborn abhorrence for the Indian Muslim. "Between 1959 and 1954 and 1959 only, 367 clashes were recorded... In 1967 alone, there were more than 200 outbreaks. The number almost doubled last year, the worst since independence. 'It is very difficult, asserts Professor Balraj Madhok of the Pro-Hindu Jana Singh party, 'for Muslims to be patriotic-Islam does not believe in territorial nationalism". The Hindu leaders are not prepared even to recognize Muslims as Indians simply because they are Muslims. The Muslims are even prepared to merge themselves with Hindus and accept their anti-Muslim heroes as their heroes, but this offer too has been contemptuously rejected. "Bhiwandi's most prominent Moslems agreed to join the Hindus in an anniversary procession, honouring the 17th century warrior Shivaji who is remembered for his rout of the Muslim Moguls who dominated India for over 200 years..... Midway through the parade, however a few marchers began to shout scurrilous slogan calling the Muslims thieves. Soon stones, acid-filled light bulbs and Molotov cocktails began flyingA force of 600 policemen firing teargas and then bullets were unable to keep the fighting from spreading". Thus the Hindus were not prepared to accept the Muslims even if they accepted all their terms and conditions.

Citing another example, the same Magazines writes:

"In Jalagoon, 200 miles away, Hindus forced an entire Muslim wedding party into a building and set it a fire; 19 Muslims including small children died. In the town of Baroach, 300 people rioted after a pedicab knocked down an eight-year old boy. In Bhiwandi, Hindus chased six Muslim moneylenders into a thicket, set it fire and hacked the men into death as they fled the flames".

The Indian governments, which claim to be democratic and secular in their nature and outlook, are not what they claim to be whether it is congress government or non-congress one. Their attitudes are similar. They have an inborn hatred for their Muslim citizens. This class-ridden Hindu society has not abandoned their beastly behaviour even towards the untouchables (shudras) who are their co religionists. "Prime Minister Indira Gandhi admitted last week at a congress party meeting in Dehra Dun "untouchability persists". India she said "must hand her head in shame" reports Times, Dr. Ambedkar, the most prominent Acchut leader gave the gift of constitution to India as Law Minister had no option but to embrace Buddhism along with his half a million followers. Even Jawahar Lal Nehru the most popular and the strongest Prime Minister of India failed to get them the guaranteed constitutional rights, in spite of his continuance as Indian Prime Minister for 17 years. But it is surprising that in spite of all the blackest record the western world certifies India as "secular"

Indians with all pride in the world, claim that theirs is the biggest democracy and the human rights are well guarded. Dr. Radha Krishnan, the

philosopher President of India had to admit: "What we have in India, is not real democracy, only a phony-democracy. If we were real democrats which I may say we are not, there would not be much dissatisfaction and ill will." I think there can be no better authority on Indian democracy, and human rights. I think that it would be a very mistaken view to assume that Bhutto could give an unadulterated democracy to Pakistan as it exists in England. The Britishers had attained their democracy after a prolonged struggle for it. Pakistan was passing through a perilous stage, and the people could get their legal and constitutional rights only after they fulfilled their obligations; and that too in a state of peace and patience and not in tumult and turbulence. It must be admitted that the PPP government had its own failings like other parties and democratic government. But the tremendous services rendered by Bhutto in a short span of time cannot be conveniently and ungratefully ignored. After the Quaid-e-Azam Mohammad Ali Jinnah, the founder of Pakistan, I don't think that there was any other Head of the State, Prime Minister, or any one else whose performance was so scintillating as that of the Prime Minister Bhutto. Like Mr. Jinnah, speed, action and implementation were the essence of his politics. Therefore if there had been any minor errors, they would not affect his greatness.

THE INIMITABLE PRIME MINISTER

The Prime Minister Bhutto was indeed inimitable – he was prince amongst politicians. The more you read, understand and know about his statesmanship and genius the more you will be convinced of his greatness. But surprisingly you might get confused seemingly about his complex personality with many facets. He had not only seen every inch of his land and knew most of the people but many of them by their names, as no other politician has been so conversant with and close to his people. He was unquestionably the most popular leader of his country with his exceptional charisma and courage. It was nothing short of miracle that he formed his party under most severe circumstances but he made it the largest and the most popular movement of West Pakistan (Now Pakistan) within a year's time by his indefatigable efforts in spite of all the obstacles by the government of Ayub Khan, Bhutto had many colleagues, Ministers, Advisers and Special Assistants Most of them were under the deceptive impression that they were extraordinary intellectuals and claimed the entire credit for getting the highest political status to Bhutto in Pakistan. Later on, quite a number of them left the Prime Minister due to some misunderstandings or self-conceit. Prime minister Bhutto's colleagues belonged to different shades, thinking and classes and every section thought that the Prime Minister would be accommodating it to the total exclusion of the rest. They were respected by the people mostly because they were 'friends' of Bhutto, but when they left the party, they went either into the abyss of anonymity or lost much of their importance.

Politicians like Mahmood Ali Qasuri, Mairaj Mohammad, Rana Mukhtar, J. A. Raheem, Khurshid Hassan Mir, Ghulam Mustafa Khar, Abdul Hameed Jatoi,

Mir Ali Ahmad Talpur, Rasool Bakhs Talpur, Haneef Ramay and some others either resigned or were expelled from the party. There after they started opposing Bhutto vehemently, but that did not make much difference so far his mass popularity was concerned. But it must be admitted that with their exit, there was substantial increase in intrigues and conspiracies against him and they proved quite damaging. However, there were elements in the party, who did not differ from the Prime Minister; but it was a matter of convenience and not conviction. Neither they had any love for their leader, nor for the nation, nor they had any scruples in their political life; their sole aim was to build themselves. Unfortunately the unadulterated sincerity has been a rare commodity in the politics more especially that of Pakistan. Such self conceited attitudes and sycophancy have proved most damaging to the country.

After the martyrdom of Bhutto, quite a number of prominent leaders like Ghulam Mustafa Jatoi, Mumtaz Ali Bhutto and Pirzada Abdul Hafeez said goodbye to the PPP and formed their own parties, but they have not been able to cut much ice.

The workers of PPP and the masses acclaimed Benazir Bhutto as political successor of her father as she was endowed with most of the qualities that Bhutto himself had possessed. Though young and inexperienced, she fought fearlessly for more than a decade and had to undergo countless sorrows and sufferings.

Bhutto was a politician and nothing else; but a politician, continuously struggling and ultimately dying for the objectives of his life and that was his destiny. He held those immensely precious objectives dearer to his heart than anything else in the world, even dearer to his own life. He was neither a barrister, nor a landlord, nor an industrialist by profession. He was every inch a politician. His opponents criticize that he had lust for power, but definitely not. Political power was not his end but it was means to the end. He wanted to achieve the purpose of life that he had set before himself and stated them in unmistakable terms in his speech of April 1, 1948 on "the Islamic Heritage" in the University of Southern California at Los Angeles, U.S.A, as a student. He had virtually repeated it in the Islamic Summit Conference held in February 22 to 24, 1974 at Lahore. That was, in my opinion, the manifesto of his life. The objectives of this great leader in my opinion were briefly as under:

- i) Transformation of Pakistan as an egalitarian and democratic state on the basis of the broad Islamic Principles and socialistic doctrines in conformity with Islam. But this objective did not find favour with the narrow-minded religious Muslims, who took him to be a "Kafir" nor with the so-called "socialists" who branded him an "Aggressive Muslim Landlord." How unfounded, unreal and contradictory these views are!

- ii) Pakistan to be so invulnerable that India, the inveterate enemy of Pakistan, from his point of view, dare not damage Pakistan in any case. It was therefore, that he chose to make Pakistan a nuclear power in spite of the worst opposition from superpowers.
- iii) Cultivation of friendly relations with India could be possible only when the latter agreed for plebiscite and right of self-determination to the oppressed kashmirs. As a totally committed leader he was, every common countryman was rightly proud of his passionate, principled, patriotic stand and eloquent advocacy on this all-important issue. Every member of the Security council listened to him with apt attention when he rose to speak with unusual flair and force on the subject. It was indeed a treat to hear him.
- iv) It was his sacrosanct dream to bring back the past glory, greatness and renaissance of Islam, not by empty slogans but by concrete steps, strong and speedy actions. He wanted to revive that chapter of the world history, when the beacon light of Islam was the guiding force of the world. For the achievement of this historic objective, he brought all the Muslim countries of the world on one platform in February 1974 at Lahore and took decisions on vital matters affecting the Muslim World. It was without any precedent. But the dream was shattered through a "Great Betrayal." He had to sacrifice his life and which ruler has done it?
- v) He was determined to unify the Third World and the Muslim World for extricating them from the cruel political and economic exploitation by the super powers and the rich industrial states. The process was in full swing, when the interested powers brought it to a sudden collapse through their agents.
- vi) The criterion of his foreign policy was that the friends of Pakistan were his friends and the enemies of Pakistan were his enemies.

Bhutto was a pragmatic revolutionary, bravest statesman and not a mere theoretician. The task that he had undertaken was uphill but he had his solid plans for its implementation. His opposition was of international character and most powerful. In spite of severe warnings, he was marching forward towards his goal. Instead of attaining his sacred goal, he was sent to the gallow. He preferred to die but not surrender. How truly it is said:

"It is more difficult and calls for higher energies of soul to live a martyr than to die one."

* * * * *

CHAPTER 19

Land Reforms

"The pleasures of rich are bought with the tears of the poor"

Thomas Fuller

The backbone of Pakistan's economy is essentially agriculture. Seventy five percent population is engaged in this profession, and the politics of Pakistan is almost totally dominated by the some feudal lords, who are masters of black and white in the rural areas. With this state of affairs prevalent in the country, the promotion of democracy and economic equality would be an absurd and ridiculous idea. Democracy means Government of the people, by the people, and for the people. It can not thrive in poverty and feudal dominance. There are land owners who own thousands of acres of land; vast areas and villages are under their complete control and with bureaucratic complicity, they are the unquestionable kings of those areas and no body dare vote against their orders. For the first time in 1959. Ayub Khan introduced the so-called Land Reforms in the country under Martial Law Regulation 64 of 1959, curtailing the areas of the big landlords to 36,000 Produce Index Units (PIU) plus, but he granted them so many unwarranted concessions in the retention of land. Each family member was given 6,000 units extra, therefore they virtually lost nothing and continued to remain the masters of their areas and surrendered only that area which was uncultivable, and compensation was paid for barren areas to them. The poor tillers of the soil had to pay its price to the landlords; thus the Land Reforms worked to the advantage of the big landowners. Moreover, on the pretext of "Shikargahs, " stud farms, live stock farms and orchards, hundreds of thousands of finest land was retained by them, as they were outside the scope of Ayub Agrarian Reforms. There were many "Shikargahs," but in one case it was more than one hundred thousand acres. What a cruel joke! The very purpose of so called reforms was only to befool the people.

Ayub Khan had in fact backed out of his commitment made in 1954: "But nothing much will be gained unless we carry out reforms in a scientific fashion. Possession of vast areas of land by a few is no larger defensible." Most of the landlords were able to transfer on paper, their excess holdings in the names of their sons, brothers and close relations. The feudal aristocracy emerged from the threat of land reforms almost unscathed. The tenants and land less classes were deeply disappointed and public interest and confidence

in Ayub Khan's reforms in other fields dwindled quite rapidly. Thus stands proved that Ayub Khan was hand-in-glove with the feudal lords.

Immediately after coming into power, the Quaid-e-Awam introduced Land Reforms in 1972, which benefited the entire peasantry of the country and helped in improving the socioeconomic condition of the country, which traveled to the root of the economic system.

SPEEDY AGRARIAN REFORMS

Basically, Mr. Bhutto believed in the progressive Islamic ideology and he was determined bring revolution gradually step by step at the earliest possible, without shedding a drop of blood, of any of his country men. But with the introduction of democracy in which a number of feudal lords had been elected in the National Assembly, the task to get the revolutionary bills passed by such Assembly's was not free from difficulties. At the same time, Quaid-e-Awam proposed to introduce the reforms in the country without any delay; as the people had already heavily suffered for centuries. Therefore he introduced Martial Law Regulation 115 pertaining to Land Reforms in March 1972 in his capacity as Chief Martial Law Administrator. Otherwise there was apprehension of undue delay by the class which was going to be affected by the Reforms.

HAPPY TIDING FOR THE PEASANTRY

"Tonight is your night, as I am speaking to you on land reforms to inform you of the vital decisions, we have taken to change the oppressive and iniquitous agrarian system which our people have suffered in silence for centuries. The reforms. I am introducing are the basic affecting the life and fortunes of the common man, more than any other measure that we may introduce in future. They will bring dignity and salvation to our rural masses, who from today will be able to lift their heads from the dust and regain their pride and manhood, their self respect and honour."

AYUB'S LAND REFORMS A FRAUD.

"The Land Reforms of 1959 were basically aploy. They were reforms in name only, to fool the people in the name of reform. Apart from providing a high upper limit of 36,000 units, concessions of all manner were made available to buttress and pamper the landed aristocracy and fatten the favored few. In fact, the units, thus made available ranged from 72,000 to as much as 80,000 units. Let me explain how? Over and above the upper limit of 36,000 units, individual owners were allowed to retain an additional 150 acres of orchards.

"Furthermore, an existing owner was entitled to gift to his heirs, an area equivalent to 18,000 units. Even each of his family's female dependent was allowed, without restrictions, 6,000 units. The runaway scheme did not stop

here. "Shikargahs" and stud and live stock farms, irrespective of their size were left entirely outside the pale of land reforms. To give an example of one of the exempted i.e. "Shikargahs", they were stretched over 100,000 acres. Similarly there were stud and live stock farms each of thousands and thousands of acres, so also were many trusts indiscriminately exempted. As a result of these fraudulent exemptions, peasants were deprived of valuable lands running into over one million acres."

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

"All Shikargahs will be resumed and land distributed to the peasants except for those historical "Shikargahs" which will be run by the state. Orchards, stud and live stock farms and defined trusts in excess of the prescribed ceiling will not be exempt."

RESTRICTIONS ON HOLDINGS OF GOVERNMENT SERVANTS

"Government has therefore decided that any Government servant having acquired more than 100 acres of land during the tenure of his office or in the course of retirement, such land in excess of 100 acres, shall stand confiscated to the State."

PEASANTS GET PROTECTION AND RIGHTS

"All state lands will be reserved exclusively for land-less tenants and owners of below subsistence holding, preferably in the same deh, or village in which the land is located..... Arbitrary or capricious ejections shall stop forthwith. In future, ejections will be possible if tenants fail to pay the batai share or rent or meet the requirements of cultivation. The liability of payment of water rate shall be shifted from the tenants to the landowner, throughout the country. More over all agricultural taxes shall hereafter be paid exclusively by the landowner. Similarly the present practice of tenant meeting the cost of seed shall cease and in future the landowners will be responsible for providing and paying for seed. The cost of remaining inputs shall be shared equally between the land owner and tenant."

LANDED ARISTOCRACY WARNED

"I know the power of the landed aristocracy, the overriding authority of the tribal sardars, the waderas and maliks. They will stop at nothing to frustrate and circumvent these Land Reforms, Let me declare that this will not be permitted."

The full weight of Martial Law will visit all enemies of the people. The art of your Government in defence of the peasant and in pursuit of justice of these reforms will run as much in the rolling plains of Punjab and Sindh as in the rugged mountains and hills of Balochistan and N.W.F.P., but to succeed, I need your help, I need your support, I need your courage and resolution. It is a momentous day, because with one stroke we have exercised the evil that had blighted this fair and beautiful land of ours for ages past. We have opened a brave new world for our children and their children. We have rescued the future of generations to come."

The above speech was delivered by Mr. Z.A. Bhutto on March 1, 1972 as Chief Administrator of Martial Law. In his historic speech, he made it abundantly clear;

"And the most important, I am transferring all the resumed land to the tillers of the soil. The tiller of the soil will not be required to pay a paisa for lands given to him under these Reforms. They will be the new owners free of cost. They will be the new owners without any encumbrances or liabilities. Only they are to be compensated under these Reforms by free transfer for their sweat and toil throughout the past centuries. Furthermore, any balance of installments due from farmers under 1959 Land Reforms will not be recovered."

Mr. Bhutto, though educated in United States and United Kingdom, had a thorough knowledge of Islamic teachings, values and principles; and was fully conversant with the trends of economics and politics and social science. He was a great political thinker; and he richly possessed the qualities, which are essential for any Head of a State. He knew it fully well that politics could not be run without the welfare and support of masses, and the achievement of their support was not possible, unless the Government provided prosperity and equality for them and their children. Therefore the socioeconomic reforms were a must for a popular government. He also provided better living and working conditions for labour class in cities and elsewhere. Before the introduction of these reforms, the landed aristocracy treated the tenants contemptuously as their serfs and servants, and they dared not speak against, or even vote against the wishes of their land lords. Even the dogs and swines were much better treated, than the human beings, best creation of Allah. It is said that some of the big landholders provided the luxury of air conditioners to their dogs wherever they were kept or even traveled; it was a mark of their "greatness". It was an unpardonable insult to a Sardar or big Zamindar, if any tenant occupied a chair and sat on a cot in their presence. He had either to stand or sit on the floor. Was there any possibility of a true democracy and establishment of a just and equitable social system in the country under such circumstances? Mr. Bhutto, the untiring campaigner of egalitarian society, political awareness of the masses, gave self-respect, confidence, better living and independent thinking to his countrymen. Addressing the National Assembly soon after these reforms, Bhutto, the redeemer of peasantry, said:

"I am not ashamed of what I have done to the people of Pakistan. I am proud of having galvanized them. I am proud that now there is a sense of dignity in the common man. I am proud that the hari can tell his Zamindar to go to hell and that he wanted his rights. If there is a chaos in the wake it is productive chaos, not negative."

Islamic ideology is that "Land belongs to Allah," no individual has any divine right to be the master of thousands of acres to the exclusion of millions of hungry, shelterless and half-naked human beings with begging bowls in their hand.

Some big and prominent Maulvis, who also happened to be the political leaders of their parties, issued edicts to the effect that according to Islam, any land holder could own and possess any area; and Islam had imposed no limitation so far the area was concerned. Thus the slashing of area was unlawful and against the fundamental rights as enunciated by Islam. Dr. Mohammed Iqbal the greatest Muslim thinker and the most authoritative interpreter of the Islamic concept in the 20th century refused to share such reactionary views and declared that such an interpretation was against the aims, objects and spirit of Islam. Even the Holy Prophet (Peace be upon him) said, "Poverty is my pride." Dr. Mohammed Iqbal was more conversant with the fundamentals of Islam than the "Moulvis" and entertained the most profound love for the Holy Prophet (Peace be upon him). He called upon the peasantry to revolt against such elements that had deprived them of their loaf of bread. Arise and awaken the people of my world. Shake the doors and walls of the palaces of the rich! Warm the blood of the slaves with the fire of faith! Set the humble sparrow at the hawk! The field that does not provide the peasant with food! Burn away every ear of the corn in such a field!

Bhutto had rendered very valuable service not only to the peasantry of the country but also those who were subjected to the law of jungle or dominated by the capitalists and the feudal lords hitherto. It was his step-in-aid of the democracy and society.

Arise and awaken the people the people of my world!

Shake the doors and walls of the palaces of the rich! Warm the blood of the slaves with the fire of faith!
Set the humble sparrow at the hawk!
The field that does not provide the peasant with food!
Burn away every ear of the corn in such a field!

ESSENTIAL FEATURES OF LAND REFORMS 1972

The Land Reforms Regulations 64 of 1959 was repealed, and in its place, Mr. Bhutto gave a new Regulation 115. I would like to state its salient features.

1. No person shall at any time; own or in any capacity possess land in excess of one hundred and fifty acres of irrigated land or three hundred acres of un-irrigated area.
2. In case of tube well or tractor, the owner will be allowed an area equivalent to three thousand units.
3. A person who on twentieth day of December 1971 was in possession of an area of land, shall not be entitled to possess any additional area of land under this paragraph until he has surrendered to Government land, in excess of area equivalent to twelve thousand produce index units.
4. No person who is or had been in the (civil) service of Pakistan and has at any time, between the 1st January 1959 and two years of his ceasing to be in civil service, acquired any land or any right or interest there in, by any means whatever either in his own name or in the name of any of his heirs, or any other person, shall own or possess any land exceeding one hundred acres.
5. All the areas under stud or live stock farms, whether state land or otherwise, allowed to be retained under the provisions of paragraph 9 of the repealed Regulation, shall, [whether or not the areas are held by the person who held them at the commencement of Regulation or by those to whom the leases were granted, there under or any other law] be resumed and vest in Government, free from any encumbrance or charge what so ever.
6. All areas under shikar-gahas in the possession or under the management of any person, shall be reserved and vested in Government free from any encumbrance or charge what so ever, and without payment of any compensation.
7. Land which vests in Government under provisions of Paragraph 13 or Paragraph 14, shall, subject to the other provisions of this paragraph be granted free of charge, to the tenants, who are shown in the Record of Rights to be in cultivating possession of it.
8. Land under orchards, stud or live stock farms, which is resumed and vests in Government under the Provisions of paragraph 15, may be utilized by the Government as it deems fit.
9. Subject to the other provisions of this Regulation, a tenant shall have the first right of preemption in respect of the land comprised in tenancy.

The provisions contained in the Martial Law Regulation 115 of 1972, highly benefited the tillers of the soil, and on the other hand, there was a wave of political awakening among the peasantry, which hitherto had been taking

much interest in politics. They had been under the impression that their political, economic and social destiny was still in the strong grip of the big landowners. This step politically popularized Bhutto and the peasant class now thought firmly that they had a staunch emancipator in the personality of the Quaid-e-Awam who was a statesman of deeds and not merely words. Though after this legislation, most of the haris became landowners themselves and their economic lot had improved very substantially, yet there was a general and genuine grievance that it had not been implemented fully, due to the corrupt practices of the officials, in conspiracy with the big land holders. The big landowners got the lands allotted in fictitious names, with the result that they remained owners of the land themselves, to the exclusion of genuine haris. But to speak frankly, Bhutto was like Jinnah and there is no wonder if the complete implementation of the Land Reforms had not achieved for which he could not be blamed. Had he lived longer, he would not have tolerated such land-grabbing.

The other very important aspect of Agrarian Reform was the preferential right of preemption that was conferred on tenancy basis. After fourteen years, the supreme court of Pakistan whittled the right of preemption that had been granted to the haris, holding it as un-Islamic. This judgment deprived thousands of tillers of soil of their right to preempt but now Bhutto was in his grave, haris were helpless, and damaging verdict had come from the Supreme Court of Pakistan whatever be the consequences. But it had to be obeyed implicitly.

LAND REFORM OF 1977

As already stated, Mr. Bhutto who was now the Quaid-e-Awam and man of ideas and actions, proposed to bring more land Reforms. He believed in the welfare of people and prosperity of country. He was determined to prepare and train his nation for some historic and glorious task. His fertile brain was full of ideas and programmes to reach the pinnacle of glory, but that was not possible so long the demon of economic disparity and extreme poverty were rule of the day. Z.A. Bhutto now embarked on fresh reforms, and further slashed the holdings.

Now he again proposed to curtail the size of holdings of bigger landlords in 1977. It was a gradual and peaceful programme to cut the size of individual holdings, though he himself was an important member of the same class, but he was not big for holdings and wealth to become a multimillionaire; his aim of life was to make his country rich and respectable.

The most "important provision in the new law that is called Land Reforms Act 1977 (Act II of 1977) is as under:

"Save as otherwise provided in this Act, no person shall, after the commencement of this Act, own or possess land, including his share in

shamilat, if any, in excess of one hundred acres of irrigated land or two hundred acres of un-irrigated land, or irrigated or un-irrigated land, the aggregated of which exceeds one hundred acres of irrigated land (one acre of irrigated land being reckoned as equivalent to two acres of un-irrigated land) or an area equivalent to eight thousand produce index units of land, whichever shall be greater.”

The purpose of Bhutto was to reduce disparity and by bringing equality, but he wanted to do it in phases and not all at once. He was a young man, the most brilliant statesmen of his country and never knew that an abrupt and internationally conspired coup would put end to his life and once for all end the missions of his life which he had cherished so dearly.

The Land Reforms Act of 1977 has not been properly implemented; it was Bhutto’s baby; his opponents wanted to kill that baby too but not publicly. However, the fact remains that his new law has been implemented half heartedly; and its purpose has yet to be achieved. Had he lived longer and remained in power, I think that the big holdings would have come to an end, and the nation would have advanced to economic equality. The big “Zamindars” are still flourishing in Pakistan and tenants continue languishing.

* * * * *

CHAPTER 20

The Second Islamic Summit Conference

"United we stand, and divided we fall."

John Dickinson

Much before the advent of French Revolution in Europe, Islam declared 'Equality, Fraternity and Unity' to be the guiding principles of humanity, when Europe was groping in darkness and America was yet to be known to the rest of the world. Pakistan, the largest Muslim State in the world, came into existence under the dynamic leadership of Mohammad Ali Jinnah on the basis of 'Faith, Unity and Discipline', much to the opposition and chagrin of the Indian National congress and the British Government. The Hindu leadership of India had yet to recognize Pakistan mentally; and in December 1971 Indira Gandhi, the Indian Prime Minister succeeded in dismembering East Pakistan from the West with the active assistance of Soviet Union, though the blaming for tearing Pakistan basically lay with the dictatorial rule that was unfortunately rampant in Pakistan for more than 13 years. It was after this tragedy, that the regions of Government were handed over to Z.A. Bhutto, who was the only politician amongst the whole lot to save and consolidate Pakistan that stood in the danger of dissipation from the map of the world. Such a disaster, humiliation and condemnation had hardly occurred in the history of nations. Therefore, this crisis was a crucial test to prove the genuineness of Bhutto's leadership.

Never in the history of modern age, an Islamic Summit Conference was called in the world with such pomp and grandeur producing such tangible results for Pakistan and the Muslim World. It was held in Lahore, the heartbeat of Pakistan from February 22 to 24, 1974. It was indeed a landmark in the history of Pakistan; thus Bhutto succeeded in bringing Pakistan from the lowest level to the top of the global politics. It was, I think, the fulfillment of the dreams of the Quaid-e-Azam Mohammad Ali Jinnah.

Bhutto was a keen student of the political history, architect of Pakistan's foreign policy. He was a practical politician, and not a drawing room theoretician who lives in dreams and shadows. He knew it well that the survival of Pakistan and the Muslim world was not possible without the unity of the Muslim countries. They were sandwiched by the West on one side and the highly developed India on the other side; and both West and India were busy in dividing and weakening the Muslim World; they were responsible for creating the cancers of Kashmir and Palestine. Both wanted Muslim countries

to be their camp-follower. And the Muslims who had ruled the world for more than six hundred years, gave guidance and radiated the light of literature, science, philosophy, medicine, civilization and culture to the humanity. They were now at the mercy of their adversaries. This fact has been acknowledged and depicted by Richard Nixon, former President of the U.S.A in the following words:

"Few Americans are aware of the rich heritage of the Islamic world. They remember only that sword of Muhammad and followers advanced the Muslim faith into Asia, Africa and even Europe and look condescendingly on the religious wars of the region. While Europe languished in the Middle ages, the Islamic civilization enjoyed its golden age. The Muslim world made enormous contributions to science, medicine, and philosophy. In his book "The Age of Faith", Will Durant observed that key advances in virtually all fields were achieved by Muslims in this period. Avicenna was the greatest writer on medicine, Al-Razi the greatest physician, Al-Biruni the greatest geographer, Al-Haitham the greatest optician, Jabbar the greatest chemist, and Averroes one of the greatest Philosophers. Arab scholars were instrumental in developing the scientific method. As Will Durant commented "When Roger Bacon proclaimed that method to Europe, five hundred years after Jabbar owed his illumination to the Moors of Spain, whose light had come from the Muslim East. When the great figures of the European Renaissance pushed forward the frontiers of knowledge, they saw further, because they stood on the shoulders of giants of the Muslim world. These achievements represent what the Muslim world has been in the past. They also point out what it could become in the future, if the deadly cycles of wars and political instability can be arrested."

Such scintillating stars were produced by the Muslim world in the past who gave art, culture and civilization to the world of which the west is now presently boasting. Richard Nixon white further elucidating his point states:

"They cover a 10,000 mile-long swath of territory extending from Morocco to Yugoslavia, from Turkey to Pakistan, from Central Asian Republics to the Soviet Union to the tropics of Indonesia. More Muslims live in China than on the Arabian Peninsula and more live in Indonesia than the entire Middle East. The former Soviet Union with over 50 million Muslims has more than any Middle Eastern country, except Turkey. At current birth rates, there will be more Muslims than Russian in the former Soviet Union in the next century.

Only two common elements exist in the Muslim world: The faith of Islam and the problems of turbulence. Islam is not religion but also foundation of major civilization. We speak of "Muslim World" as a single entity, not because of any Islamic politburo guiding its policies, because individual nations share common political and cultural currents with the entire Muslim civilization. The same political rhythms are played throughout the Muslim World, regardless of the differences between individual countries..... This commonalty of faith and

politics breeds a loose but a real solidarity when a major event occurs in one part of the Muslim World, it inevitably reverberates in others.”

This writing indicates that besides having the knowledge of history and politics of Muslim world, he had read the mind of Z.A.Bhutto; The book was written after the martyrdom of Bhutto. This writing in fact reflects the vision and will of Mr. Bhutto to harbingers the Muslim renaissance once again in the Muslim World.

It may be recalled that the Hindu politicians of India were afraid of unity of the Muslim world; and it was in pursuance of that fear that Pandit Jawahar Lal Nehru was wooing the Muslim leaders in order to wean them away from the idea of Pan-Islamism. It would be profitable to reproduce the thoughts of Lala Lajpat Rai, the eminent Hindu congress leader of the Punjab expressing his misgivings about Muslims to C.R Das, the eminent and liberal congress leader of Bengal:

“I have devoted most of my time during the last six months to the study of Muslim history and Muslim law and I am inclined to think it [Hindu-Muslim unity] is neither possible nor practicable. Assuming and admitting the sincerity of Mohammedan leaders in the non-cooperation movement, I think their religion provides effective bar to anything of the kind.....can any Muslim leader override the Koran?..... I am not afraid of the seven crores of Musalmans. But I think the seven crores in Hindustan plus the armed hosts of Afghanistan, Central Asia, Arabis, Mesopotamia and Turkey will be irresistible.”

From the passages quoted above, it would be crystal clear that the terminologies of “Muslim World,” Muslim Unity,” “Muslim Civilization” and “Muslim Renaissance” are very unpalatable to the West as well as India. They want to see the “Muslim World” weak, warning and divided.

UNITY EFFORT ABORTIVE

Efforts were made from time to time to unite the Muslims, bringing them on one platform and work together for social welfare and political strength of the Muslim nations; but the petty differences between the individual nations prevailed over the sincerity of purpose; and the policy to “divide and weaken” followed by the interested powers proved fruitful and successful.

“Pakistan made efforts to come closer to the Muslim countries of Muslim Asia and to bring Muslim governments closer together. An unofficial Muslim World Conference was organized in Karachi, which was attended in February 1949 by delegates from 19 Muslim Countries. Prime Minister Liaquat Ali Khan emphasized in London that Muslim nations between Cairo and Karachi would play an important role between the two power-blocs..... At the second Muslim World Conference held in Karachi in “February 1951, Prime Minister Liaquat Ali

Khan talked of Pakistan's "mission"..... to do every thing in its power to promote closer fellowship and co-operation between Muslim countries.

Most of these efforts proved to be abortive, however, and proved disillusionment and frustration in Pakistan. "The belief in essential unity of purpose and outlook in the Muslim World," to use Callard's words, did indeed prove to be an illusion. "Other Muslim states did not take the same view of the relation between religion and nationalism and the concepts of Islamic unity and brotherhood were less decisive on the political level than national interests and priorities.

While "Pakistan sought to built an Islamic bloc and to obtain friendship and support of Muslim Countries which could be mobilized against its principal enemy, India, the leaders of most Muslim states wanted to avoid involvement in Indo-Pakistan disputes. Indeed, Gamal Abdel Nasser seemed more sympathetic and closer with India than Pakistan."

It was abundantly obvious that unification of Muslims, though need of the hour, was not an easy task. Mr. Jinnah did not live long after independence but it was his earnest desire of life to unite the Muslim World. Even on 27th August 1948, when he was on deathbed at Quetta he sent Eid greetings to the Muslim World in the following words:

"My Eid message to our brother Muslim states is one of friendship and goodwill. We are all passing through perilous times. The drama of power politics that is being staged in Palestine, Indonesia and Kashmir should serve an eye opener to us. It is only by putting up a united front that we can make our voice felt in the councils of the World."

CROWNING SUCCESS OF ZULFIKAR ALI BHUTTO

Zulfiqar Ali Bhutto, though not a devout Muslim, was deeply absorbed with the spirit of the Islam and was well conversant with teachings of Holy Prophet (Peace be upon him) and the services that Islam had rendered to the humanity at large. In his own words his interest was soaked in the political, economic and cultural heritage of Islam. From the very beginning of his life when he was a student he was preparing himself to play an important and historic role to bring back the golden age of Islam. In his speech of 1st April 1948, at Los Angeles, while he was the student in the University of Southern California, he spoke:

"I am not here to preach Islam to you or to threaten you with its dominate powers: I only want to tell you of the Islam that was a burning light of yesterday, the ember that it is today, and the celestial flame of tomorrow, for that is how I envisage the future of Islam. I must tell you that religiously speaking I am not a devout Muslim."

This spirited and illuminating speech of young Bhutto who was 20 years of age at the relevant time, sounds like the assertion of Mr. Mohammad Ali Jinnah, the sole spokesman of Muslim India against whom the Maulvis had announced their edict of "Kafir-e-Azam." It reminds me the speech of Nawab Bahadur Yar Jung who was addressing a very largely attended meeting in Delhi, which was presided over by the Quaid-e-Azam. When he came to deal with the charges leveled by the Maulvis against the Quaid he was so carried away by the tide of his eloquence that he declared that the Holy Prophet, himself had prophesied that the time would come when Muslims would be led to their salvation by a transgressor. At this totally unexpected and complete vindication of their great leader, the audience burst into a loud applause. When Bahadur Yar Jung sat down after the speech Quaid-e-Azam smiled and said "Never has any political leader been so severely denounced as a transgressor by one of his any strong supporters and never has such a denunciation been marked with such approbation."⁷ Perhaps the same thing was applicable to the Quaid-e-Azam Zulfikar Ali Bhutto, who in his own words, was not a devout Muslim but the greatest advocate of the cause of Muslim World.

The Muslim States in the world had many wise, able and experienced monarchs, administrators and political leaders but the most capable amongst them to deliver goods could be Zulfikar Ali Bhutto and Zulfikar Ali Bhutto alone. He was endowed with extraordinary capabilities by nature. He possessed global experience, new ideas, new concepts, exceptional charisma, political sagacity and was an unparalleled leader of Muslim World. The brief and indisputable assessment of his personality is stated as under:

"Bhutto was a tireless worker and reveled in international activity. Numerous trips were made to the Middle-Eastern Countries and relations were cultivated with Muslim rulers like King Faisla, Maummar Qadafi and Yasir Arafat. Bhutto's tactics paid off. His oratorical abilities, his broad educational experience, his familiarity with virtually all the world's leaders, his long experience in political limelight, his still young dynamic posturing raised him quickly to a position of third world leadership.

What Pakistan did not posses in material advantage, it more than made up for in trained and experienced personnel and Bhutto was epitome of an erudite, sophisticated informed and capable Muslim leader. Moreover, he seemed to sense his value in the larger Muslim community, if not the Third world itself. At every opportunity he spoke of the need to combine Muslim energies and integrate third world efforts."⁸ As such it is not at all surprising that the Muslim world that was torn by dissentions, willing and unanimously recognized him as its leader.

It may be noted that the Western powers and India, the arch enemy of Pakistan had spread a network of efficient emissaries and able ambassadors through out the Muslim World to divide them and set them up against

Pakistan. But by sheer dint of his ability and diplomatic capacity, he thwarted all their attempts.

It will be also equally relevant to state that Z.A. Bhutto's arguments to unify the Muslim countries and pool their energies to face the enemies of Muslim World assumed greater force in view of the 1973 war between Arabs and the Israel that had recently ended. The Arab countries now started feeling sincerely that instead of Arab nationalism, unity of the Muslim World would be more effective especially in view of the fact that they had no such capable leader like Mr. Z.A. Bhutto.

HISTORIC CONFERENCE AT LAHORE.

The Second Islamic Summit Conference attended by 37 countries of Asia and Africa, was held in Lahore in February 22-24 1973, four months after the Arab-Israeli war of 1973. It was sponsored by Pakistan and Saudi Arabia. The keynote address which contained the basic problems faced by the Muslim World was delivered by the Prime Minister of Pakistan, Mr. Zulfikar Ali Bhutto as a Chairman of the Congress. Though it is not possible to reproduce the entire speech but its important features which would appeal to the mind of the readers are stated as under:

About the historic importance of Lahore and the deep concern that the people of Pakistan felt in respect of Palestine and the Muslim World, Z.A. Bhutto said:

"This ancient city symbolizes not only Pakistan's national struggle but also its abiding solidarity with the Muslim World. Here in Lahore, lived that magnificent herald of Islamic renaissance, Mohammad Iqbal, who fathered the idea of Pakistan, who articulated the Muslims, anguish and his hope and whose voice sounded the clarion call of revolt and resurgence. Also here in Lahore, 34 years ago was adopted the celebrated resolution that inaugurated the glorious freedom struggle of the Muslims of South Asian subcontinent under the leadership of Quaid-e-Azam Mohammad Ali Jinnah. It is a fact of no small importance that the same session of Muslim League which adopted the Pakistan Resolution also adopted unanimously a resolution on Palestine. The resolution recorded, and I quote, "the considered opinion, in clear and unequivocal language, that no arrangements of a piece-meal character should be made in Palestine which are contrary in spirit and opposed to the pledges given to the Muslim world; the resolution further warned against the danger of using force in the Holy land to overawe the Arabs.....into the submission."

Referring to the speeches of Iqbal, and Jinnah, he said, 'on that occasion he (Iqbal) emphasized that the problem of Palestine, and I quote his words, 'does not concern Palestine alone but will have wide repercussions in the entire Islamic World: Later in October 1947, soon after our emergence, the Quaid-e-Azam warned that the partition of Palestine would entail, and I quote his words

'the gravest danger and unprecedented conflict' and that 'the entire Muslim world will revolt against such a decision, which can not be supported historically, politically and morally.'

About Pakistan' attachment with the other Muslim countries, the Chairman Bhutto added, "Pakistan's involvement with the issue whose scene is the Arab Middle East is accompanied by deep attachment to its dear neighbour Iran and to Turkey and by friendship and cordiality with other Muslim countries and if I specially mention Indonesia and Malaysia, I do not underrate our relations with others."

It was in this conference that the Prime Minister Bhutto declared his recognition of Bangladesh on account of the mediatory efforts of the Muslim Countries and without the Indian intervention. He said, "My Government has extended formal recognition to Bangladesh. We hope this mutual recognition, which is in the spirit of Islamic fraternity, will now bury a past that the people of both our countries will prefer to see forgotten." It will be relevant to mention that Shaikh Mujib-ur-Rahman had also participated in this historic conference.

This gesture of good will was appreciated by every Muslim Country. By alienating Pakistan from Bangladesh, Mr. Bhutto would have thrown Bangladesh in the lap of hostile India, and how would he even think of such a repugnant idea.

The Pakistani Prime Minister very adroitly and briefly explained the vexing problems that his country had to face. "Your host country, for instance has been victim of international conspiracies and unconcerned with an intense question, in which, it believes, its stand is based on nothing but justice and concern for the Muslim rights. However, we would be doing a disservice to the conference if we sought to exploit this platform to ventilate our national standpoints.

Mr. Bhutto mainly dealt with and stressed on the problems of the Arab countries created by the planting of Jews in Palestine, treating them as his own problems. He said: "Let me make it clear from this platform, that any agreement, any protocol, any understanding which postulates the continuance of Israeli occupation of the Holy City or the transfer of the Holy City to any non-Muslim or non-Arab sovereignty will not be worth the paper it is written on ... Not to give this warning would be to encourage an illusion which would be fatal to the establishment of lasting peace in the Middle East.

In this respect, there is a fire in our hearts which no skilful evasions on the parts of others, will ever be able to quench..... If it were not also tragic what could be more bizarre than the phenomenon of people being dispossessed of the homeland and condemn to live in agony and dispersion, not in imperialism's hoary past but in our day and age."

MUSLIM WORLD LAMENTABLY DIVIDED

Lamenting our the divided Muslim World, their present quandary, their petty differences, the Chairman said: "An intellectual lethargy paralyzed our thoughts..... From became important than substance, we broke ourselves into schisms; we became a collection of faction. This brought about the inroads and eventually the invasion, of western colonialism from Maghrib to Indonesia, the Muslim people came under the domination in one form or another, of Western Europe.

Our cultures were fragmented, our traditions captured and our mutual communication disrupted. The imperialist power belittled our heritage, pillaged our treasures, denuded us of our resources and the flower of our man-hood was sacrificed to serve their strategy. Muslim was turned against Muslim, brother against brother."

REMEDIES OF THE MALADIES

The Chairman Z.A.Bhutto dwelt in detail about the present state of Muslims in the nations of the World, their internal divisions and differences, internecine disputes and the victimization of the Muslims by the West. Thereafter, he suggested remedies for these maladies in his thought-provoking speech that went-long way to create apprehensions and dangers in the mind of U.S.A and the West which could emanate from his suggestions of far-reaching consequences.

He had fully studied the strategies of the West and the industrialized countries that had drained the Muslim countries and the Third World of their economic resources and made them politically dependent on them. Zulfikar Ali Bhutto asserted;

"The Third World has emphasized time and again that power and affluence cannot co-exist in the world of today. But apart from the scant response from the industrialized world, we ourselves have not fully realized the nature and value of economic power nor grasped the urgent need of developing science and technology for our progress, indeed for our very survivalSome far-reaching possibilities have been opened by the demonstrated ability of the oil producing countries to concert their policy and determine the price of their resource. This may well be watershed in history. It may well presage the end of deranged world order.....The Third World can now participate in the economic and financial councils of the world on an equal footing with the developed countries and will be able to acquire a due message of influence and control in international financial and economic institutions. Indeed for the first time, the Third World is potentially in a position to use its own resources for financing its development through cooperative effort. It can now forge its own financial institutions for bringing about rapid development of the less developed countries."

Z.A. Bhutto did not believe in mere delightful, empty speeches without any practical steps and results. He called upon the brother Muslim Countries to formulate concrete and practical schemes to achieve the purposes for which the conference had been called. His revolutionary programme for the future action plan must not have gone unnoticed by the Western Powers, when he said:

“There is danger which must be overcome by positive action. Concrete measures have to be evolved, institutions established and machineries devised which could channel the resources, now commanded by the oil producer in such a way as to release them from their dependence, on countries outside the Third World for their basic needs and services and also strengthen the Third World economically.....there is no power without economic strength.”

He embarked upon creating a new World free from economic and political exploitation, that would comprise Muslim World, third world, the people's of Asia, Africa and Latin America. The West considered in an unprecedented threat under the leadership of Bhutto, that they were likely to face in the history of modern age, Explaining the true concept of Islam and the underlying spirit of the Islamic principles, he exhorted:

“Through a conventional opposition, the East has been considered as spiritual and contemplative and the West materialistic and pragmatic. Islam rejects such dichotomies. The Muslims accept both world, the spiritual and the material.....thirdly it is inherent in our purpose that we promote, rather than subvert the solidarity of the Third World. This solidarity is based on human and not on ethnic factors. The distinctions of race are anathema to Islam, but a kinship of suffering and struggle appeals to a religion, which has always battled against oppression and sought to establish justice. This solidarity reflects the similarity of the historic experiences of the peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America. They have all suffered the same injustices, borne the same travail, and are engaged in the same struggle.”

It was the best interpretation of the concept of Islamic Brotherhood, that was prepared to fight, suffer and sacrifice for the oppressed peoples, irrespective of any caste, colour or creed.

As a realist, Z.A.Bhutto fully realized the existence of nations in the Muslim World. He did not deny the nationalism factor, but he effectively exposed the bane of nationalism that the West had experienced. He wanted to subordinate nationalism to Islam, in order to get rid of its damaging aspects and thus promote the worldwide brotherhood:

“Furthermore nationalism is a necessary tributary, to the broad stream of human culture. It takes a full understanding of one's own country, of its history and language and tradition to develop an understanding of other countries, of their inner life, and of our relations with them. Islam provides

both the spirit and the technique of such mutuality. Patriotism and loyalty to Islam can thus be fused into a transcendent harmony. As Muslims we can rise higher than our nationalism without damaging or destroying it.....Nationalism as a breeder of discord and as an agent of untrammled egoism has brought unfold sorrow to the Western people. It has limited mankind's horizons, constructed its sympathies. It has spawned wars. Its history is soaked in blood. Not we, the Muslims alone, but all the peoples of the Third World must despise that kind of nationalism.....But the important thing is our resolve that we shall not let these differences ever be so magnified as to impel one Muslim nation to go to war with another or interfere in its internal affairs."

It was a historic speech of Z.A. Bhutto in the historic Islamic Summit Conference. It was a very scholarly, most comprehensive and convincing address of a leader of international character for the unity of the Muslim World and the Third World countries, suggesting ways and means to be adopted for the achievement of the objectives. Finally Zulfikar Ali Bhutto reminded the distinguished guests that he had been nourishing the idea of Muslim revival and unity while he was student; thereby referring to his speech delivered in Southern California University, Los Angeles U.S.A on April 1, 1948, before the American citizens;

"As I survey this splendid gathering, I recall that I was a young student 26 years ago, I was asked to address the student body of a University, almost wholly not-Muslims, on the Islamic heritage. After making a youthful attempt at defining it, I spoke of Muslim Unity against exploitation and of Muslim revival, and sketched a plan for a Muslim Common wealth. I ventured to predict that a movement in this direction would take the shape in the next twenty years."

BHUTTO'S SINGULAR SUCCESS AS INTERNATIONAL LEADER

The holding of Islamic Summit Conference at Lahore proved to be a milestone in the modern age for emancipating the Muslim World and the Third World from the yoke of economic and political slavery of the West and the U.S.A. Prior to this, the Arab countries and the other Muslim states used to think in terms of nationalism, and Islam was not the guiding and binding force to unite them.

Bhutto's hectic efforts, convincing discussions and oratorical gifts made every Head of the State realize that their survival, and revival depended upon their unity as envisaged by Islam, and that the nationalism was to be subordinated to the higher aims and the nobler ideas of Islamic polity. This was in fact a revolution in the Muslim World and the Third World for which the entire credit goes to Bhutto, and all the participants acknowledged Pakistan as a citadel of Islam, and Z.A. Bhutto, an undisputed leader of the Muslim World.

RAY OF REVIVAL AND RENAISSANCE

The profound address of Zulfikar Ali Bhutto, and the touching scenes of Muslim unity aroused the hopes of revival of the golden era in the minds of the jubilant Muslims of Pakistan and especially those who had witnessed the scene in the city of Lahore. The extraordinarily talented Prime Minister of Pakistan had succeeded in revolutionizing the thinking process of the Muslim World. Those who were yesterday the champions of nationalism, had today become the torchbearers of Muslim unity and brotherhood. It was the most baffling even for India, as it had a tremendous effect on the Foreign relations of the Muslim States in favour of Pakistan. An eyewitness author writes; "The Muslims, particularly the Arabs found in him the leader they were looking for.....The Islamic leaders, when they went to Badshahi Mosque in Lahore to offer Juma prayers, were greeted by millions who joined them. Picture of King Faisal praying to God with tears in his eyes won the hearts of Pakistanis. Col. Qaddafi of Libya went to the stadium, named after him, with Bhutto and there he addressed a public meeting. People thronged to the place and applauded vociferously when Qaddafi declared....."Our resources are your resources, our strength is your strength". Bhutto's name became a household word in the Middle Est. Pakistan though reduced in size had gained in strength, and the credit for all this goes to Zulfikar Ali Bhutto."⁹

INCONCLUSIVE BUT AMAZING RESULTS OF MUSLIM UNITY

Z.A. Bhutto was not confined to jugglery of words, catch phrases, and beautifully prepared speeches but was a man of strong determination and action. Heads of the Muslim States fully appreciated and recognised his merit. He was their friend in need. "He provided material support to the Arabs in their war against Israel. Civilian technicians and military personnel from Pakistan were to be found throughout the Arab-World. Squadrons of Pakistani piloted aircraft were stationed in Syria primarily for purpose of defence. They were responsible for destroying a few Israel planes in Syrian skies. Libyan air operations were assisted by a large number of Pakistanis. Kuwait and other Gulf Emirates were also provided manpower. Training missions went to Egypt and also in Saudi Arabia."

Arabs now treated Zulfikar Ali Bhutto as leader of the entire Muslim World and radically changed their political attitudes and ideas, to fit in with those propounded by Bhutto.

"The real victory was won when Bhutto assumed power after debacle in East Pakistan. The Arabs were attracted by his socialist and anti-imperialist stance and rhetoric. Pakistan under Bhutto, became the actual leader of the Muslim World. Bhutto became the Chairman of the Islamic Conference. He did not speak about the problems of his own country. He only mentioned those faced by the Muslim World, particularly the Arabs. The Arabs felt drawn towards him."

"There was a new emphasis on Islamic unity and the beneficiary of this change was Pakistan. Before 1973-74 Pakistan was not receiving any direct financial assistance from any Muslim country. After the Summit Conference, because of the policies formulated by Bhutto a total of 993 million dollars were given to Pakistan by the Arab Countries and Iran. And the aid flow after that was regular until Bhutto remained in power. Pakistan exports to Middle East increased tremendously..... Until seventies, Pakistan's ties with the Muslim countries were uncertain and at times strained. With the emergence of Bhutto on the political scene, the relationship drastically changed."

MISCHIEF TO DIVIDE OIL AND NON OIL STATES.

Z.A. Bhutto's hectic activities and efforts to unite the Muslim States and Third World could hardly be acceptable to the rich and industrialized countries. It was a matter of serious concern for them.

Therefore underhand methods and diplomatic activities were started with full swing to rent asunder the mission that the Prime Minister had initiated with all vigour and valour much against the wishes of the powerful West. Mr. Bhutto decided once again to call the conference of the Third World countries to dispel the misunderstandings and nip the mischief of dividing the Muslim World and Third World States in bud. "In his interview with the "Tehran Journal." Mr. Bhutto said, that the unity could be expressed effectively when it was both aligned and non aligned. For this it was necessary that "all of the Third World the oil producing nations, the non-oil producing nations – all get together, to demonstrate their unity for better terms inside and for loans and for a change in the monetary system."

He referred to "deliberate mischief" of the industrialized countries to draw a wedge between non-oil producing and oil producing countries. The "whispers were telling the oil producers that the moves of the Third World countries were to embarrass them and the non-oil producing nations were being told that the "Oil producers do not care for you." The answer was to close "our ranks" because there was no conflict of interests, Mr. Bhutto said.

The Prime Minister said a conference of the "Third World Countries would help stop the "mischief." The rich industrialized countries felt most apprehensive of the plans and programmes of Mr. Bhutto; they knew that the conferences for the unity of the Muslim and Third World States were being master-minded by him and his presence on the political scene was a "sign of danger" for them in future. Mr. Bhutto was moving very swiftly to achieve his objective of the Muslim Renaissance; but he had to pay the penalty soon after it only July 5, 1977. The objectives that were latent in his speech were not cancelable and he took the entire Muslim world with himself and the west had determined to do away with him.

ADDRESSES THE SEERAT CONGRESS

A very grand first ever International Seerat Congress in Rawalpindi was organized in early March 1976, attended among others, by the Imam of Kaaba Sharif Shaikh Abdullah bin Sabeel and more than 100 prominent scholars and Ulema drawn from all over the Muslim World, America and Europe; some of them were Ministers and some with the status of Ministers. While inaugurating the congress Mr. Bhutto delivered a very eye opening and thought provoking speech on this very important occasion.

The teachings of Holy Prophet (Peace be upon him), Prime Minister Bhutto said, brought mankind, to a decisive turning point in its history and set into motion a great revolution in human thought. This was the reason that wherever the message of Holy Prophet (Peace be upon him) reached, it launched a new era of social change and intellectual curiosity, he added.

He said, Islam has been associated in history with the revolt of mankind against tyranny and oppression. "While it is a threat to the oppressors, the spirit of Islam inspires the oppressed to stand for their rights", Mr. Bhutto said the principles of equality and social justice in the Prophet's (Peace be upon him) teachings had always reinforced his (Mr. Bhutto's) faith in the relevance of his message for the modern men. Prime Minister Bhutto said the purpose of convening the International Seerat Congress was to promote, through discussion of the life and work of the Prophet (Peace be upon him) the ideal of Muslim solidarity and greater understanding of his message by Muslims and non Muslims alike.

He said we are on the right path, therefore need not be on the defensive. He said, after 1400 years, this was not the time to hold conferences merely to throw light on the true character of Islam and the great personality of the Holy Prophet (Peace be upon him).

Muslims, Mr. Bhutto said, did not owe any explanation to non-Muslims on the purity of Islam or the sterling character of the Holy Prophet (Peace be upon him).

Mr. Bhutto said the Holy Prophet (Peace be upon him) was the final Messenger of God, who clarified the monolithic concept of God. The Holy Prophet (Peace be upon him) continued to preach the Unity of God.

He said the Holy Prophet (Peace be upon him) did not suppress civilization which was just an accusation and was leveled because Islam is a challenge to vested interests. The sword was never used to spread Islam; actually it was used against Islam.

Bhutto cherished inestimable love for Islam and the Holy Prophet (Peace be upon him). He had thoroughly studied the Western politics, its culture and

civilization: he was an unexceptionable orator and master of English language; Socialism and Marxism were also his favorite subjects.

But his vast studies and rich experience had fully convinced that there was no remedy of the maladies of the Muslim World and the Third World except the teachings and principles of Islam that had been translated into realities of life by the Holy Prophet (Peace be upon him). True, he was not a devout Muslim, as admitted by him, but his Islam was not skin deep, he did not simply pay lip sympathy to Islam, but he had firmly decided to act on the golden principles of equality, fraternity and social and economic justice as enunciated by Islam. He proposed to shape Pakistan and the Muslim World as desired by his leader Mohammad Ali Jinnah; but the achievement of the great objective involved risk of his life and he had accepted that challenge.

He blamed himself and the Muslims for the state of decay and decadence, which was the result of not following the teaching of the Holy Prophet (Peace be upon him). This soul-stirring expression came right from the core of his heart;

“Therefore whatever best there is in us, and what ever good we have achieved so far, we owe to our adherence to the teachings of the Holy Prophet (Peace be upon him) particularly his concepts of equality and social justice..... Then why is it that we..... are suffering from social injustice, inequality, parochialism, prejudice, hate, exploitation and all such vices. Why is it that most of us are still living under the feudal distinction of tribes and castes? Obviously some thing has gone wrong with us, or we have failed to understand the teachings of the Prophet. Indeed it is a very disturbing situation.....May Allah bless this congregation and its deliberations.”

As a result of this conference, the Islamic Bank at Jeddah was established at Jeddah, to financially help the Muslim countries, summed up the benefits briefly that accrued to Pakistan due to be efforts of Zulfikar Ali Bhutto and Islamic Summit Conference:

“He gave Pakistan this linkage to the countries of the Gulf..... On defence lines, on economic lines, on foreign policy lines, he carved out this bloc of Islamic countries.....united the countries of the Muslim World, which gave birth not only to the Islamic Conference but also to the new-found assertiveness..... To have unified action he sent soldiers abroad, he sent labor abroad After my father’s death. Zia tried to say that he was a ‘soldier of Islam,’ but he was a soldier of the devil.”

CHAPTER 21

The Falcon of Pakistan

"The nation's honour is dearer than the nation's comfort, yes then the nation's life itself"

Woodrow Wilson

I call Zulfikar Ali Bhutto the "Falcon of Pakistan" because falcon soars very high in the sky and knows what is happening in the skies as well as on the earth. He combats the enemies and vanquishes them eventually. He may be criticized, caged or even killed but falcon always remains undaunted whatever be the circumstances. His qualities are that he possess a deep, sharp and matchless vision, he is powerful and indomitable, and fearless in his approach, his flying field is unlimited and the words like surrender, defeat and impossible, are alien to his language, so was Zulfikar Ali Bhutto. Like falcon, he discarded the bane of regionalism; he was not a narrow and negative minded nationalist, but an international citizen, with vast God-gifted potentials.

Mr. Bhutto believed in a life of honour, dignity, equality, prosperity and power for Pakistan. From the days of his school life, he came to believe firmly in the renaissance of Islam, and for that, Pakistan would be his springboard. The rulers of Pakistan had made it economically, socially and politically vulnerable and militarily indefensible. Pakistan solely depended on the U.S economic and military aid and they did not understand this basic reality that the USA and the West were out and out for India, and Pakistan was to play second fiddle in the region, virtually subservient to India.

Pakistan had reached a point of political isolation, economic disaster, and total diplomatic disarray by December 1971. Which country would like to be friend of Pakistan? Which power will advance any aid or loan to Pakistan? Which State would provide military aid to Pakistan for preserving itself against the Indian aggression under these circumstances? None! On December 20, 1971 when Bhutto assumed the reign of his country, all had been lost. Every thing was in doldrums, most of the institutions were dead and the rest were half dead. The military Junta who had all along blamed politicians, was no more prepared to rule after its dismemberment. No politician was coming forward to shoulder the heaviest possible and dreadful responsibilities, of such a vanquished, humiliated and pauper state.

"The Muslim States were reluctant to condemn India, Indian Prime Minister Jawahar Lal Nehru was a reputed Third World leader and no other Muslim country had reason to quarrel with India's activities. Pakistan therefore

did not receive even the verbal support that it so willingly provided to its co-religionists in the Middle East.”

Left with no other option, the Junta delivered the reigns of state to Z.A. Bhutto, the youngest politician of Pakistan, who knew what politics was, what state craft meant; how political stability could be achieved, and what was the secret of honourable national survival. He dawned like Messiah on the sad political scenario of Pakistan, worked day and night. He won support of the Muslim world, regained China’s full confidence in Pakistan’s leadership, played pivotal role in the Third World countries, developed working relations with the United States and the Western countries. He softened the belligerent Russian policy. His leadership was recognized throughout the world; and Pakistan gained a respectable place internationally. Before 1974; India had become a nuclear power and tested its nuclear bombs in Rajasthan in May 1974 and it could now annihilate Pakistan at any moment.

BHUTTO’S WARNING

Bhutto fully realized the grave threat, which India had posed with the help of her Western friends. He was already apprehensive of the proliferation of atomic weapons, and had repeatedly warned the United Nations time and again, but only empty resolutions were passed, no concrete steps were taken to prevent proliferation. On the contrary they encouraged India as the subsequent pages would reveal. Addressing the first committee of the United Nations General Assembly on October 19, 1960, he had stated:

“The survival of mankind is the race between disarmament and catastrophe. The race is heading towards the dangerous and accelerating crisis. We face the awesome possibility of nuclear war. Should it break out, civilization will be in shambles. Ideologies and social systems will be swept away in common ruin.”

The Third World countries were utterly helpless. The super powers paid scant attention, rather they provided necessary technology to India for developing nuclear power, in order to prepare her to face China, their potential future rival. Pundit Nehru was touring the Western block countries in hectic search for nuclear technology and the necessary material to make India a world power. But Zulfikar Ali Bhutto, the falcon of Pakistan, was keenly observing Nehru’s activities while he was Minister in Ayub’s Cabinet.

In his speech in the National Assembly on July 24, 1963 he said:

“I submit that people of Pakistan are deeply concerned about the military assistance which is being given to India. This concern is based on fact that India has committed aggression on no less than five occasions during the last fifteen years, principally against Pakistan. We have therefore every cause to feel concerned. Really and fundamentally, it is not because of their global interest that the great powers are giving this massive assistance to India. They

are giving it in order to make another Chung King out of New Delhi, to make another Kuomintang out of the present India regime. We know the fate of the assistance was given to Chiang Kai-Shek.”

Pakistan could not afford to remain a spectator or indifferent, when India was equipping herself with all sorts of weapons and Pandit Nehru was touring Europe and America in search of nuclear power. The heavily armed India raised hue and cry and would not even tolerate supply of small quantity of arms to Pakistan. Bhutto as Prime Minister was trying to boost up the morale of Pakistan’s demoralized armed forces and equip the empty handed army adequate against her enemy number one-Indian. But the problem was where from to procure the weapons? Muslim countries were without heavy armaments, Pakistan had few small ordnance factories far from catering to the needs of the country, the USA and the West were not prepared to provide even reasonable weaponry to Pakistan, and the Soviet Union was out of question. The only country, which supplied arms, was China, but China had its own limitations. Industrially it was still not so advanced and was not super power. The task of Prime Minister Bhutto was tremendous, stupendous and indeed bigger than Himalaya.

NEHRU’S QUEST FOR NUCLEAR POWER

In April 1944, when Pandit Nehru was in Ahmad Nagar jail, he wrote a book known as “Discovery of India” in which he made his intentions crystal clear about the future role of independent India; he would like to make it a super power of the world.

“The Pacific is likely to take the place of Atlantic in the future as a nerve center of the world. Though not directly a Pacific state, India will inevitably exercise an important influence there. India will also develop as the center of economic and political activity in the Indian ocean area, in South-East Asia, and right upto the Middle East. Her position has given it an economic and strategic importance in a part of the world which is going to develop rapidly in future.”

These were the dreams and determinations of Nehru, to which he gave clear expression in his book. Though with the creation of Pakistan, India had lost much of her strategic importance, and the dreams were shattered, still she entertained the idea of becoming leader of the Afro-Asian countries. But that was not possible unless they brought back Pakistan in India fold, and made India a nuclear power. That was a must for her “aggressive and ambitious” designs.

It was as early as in 1949, that Nehru flew to Europe:

“Nehru flew off to Switzerland where he met with many bankers as well as President Ernst Nobs of Switzerland confederation, with whom he ratified

Indo-Swiss treaty of friendship. After touring Switzerland, he went back to Geneva meet with King Leopold of Belgium. At this time he contracted for Swiss and Belgian high tech centrifuges and the other advanced machinery, required for nuclear processing, to liberate plutonium from Indian Mountains. Nehru personally retained control over India's top-secret nuclear energy programme, which was housed in New Delhi's department of scientific research. He recruited Homi. C. Bhabha, a brilliant nuclear physicist whose early death in plane crash in Switzerland was a serious set back, for India's program. Dr. S.S. Bhatnagar and K.S. Krishnan carried on the work, however, but the first plutonium bomb was not tested until a full decade after Nehru's death, when Indira was the Prime Minister. She too kept tight control over the developments of India nuclear weapons."

An ever-vigilant eye, agile mind and total dedication are required to make a nation strong and honourable. The Indian Prime Minister did possess these qualities but the leaders of Pakistan were sleeping soundly, without watching what India was doing silently but seriously. Thus Nehru completed his successful tour of Europe and also met and enjoyed the company of his beloved Edwin, the wife of Lord Mountbatten, to his heart's content.

"Being with Edwin at Broad lands was always exhilarating to Nehru. In some ways it seemed more remarkable than being Prime Minister, for that had been long his destiny. He was not quite sixty, still fit enough physically to enjoy every moments of it, all the passionate pleasure he had never known with Kamla....."

After such personal triumphs and national victories, Nehru returned to New Delhi, but the mission of life is endless. It will be relevant for the readers to know that Edwin died on February 20, 1960, thereafter Nehru's life was more desolate than a desert. However, he continued to perform his official obligations with all his capabilities till his death on 17 May, 1964. Man is mortal, individuals come and go, they live and dies, but the countries live in one form or the other. With one or the other name so long the world is there.

In October 1949 he embarked on his journey to the United States as President Henry Truman had invited him to visit America. Nehru was continuing his quest for nuclear energy to make nuclear weapons.

"This was one reason that he had sent charming Nan to Washington. He wrote her in early June to say how interesting he found the inherent conflict between England and the USA in courting India". If we deal with USA in regard to the sale of certain atomic energy material, they frankly tell us that they do not want us to sell to the UK, although the UK happens to be their close friend and ally. In England of course there is not much friendship in evidence for the USA, partly because they feel themselves dependent on America and do not like it. "Nehru astutely managed to take full advantage of these differences, thereby enriching Indian's economy as well as its military and nuclear

development from both sides of the mutually suspicious members of the Atlantic Alliance". He also insisted on saving enough time during his visit to United States to spend at least three days in Canada, where he concluded an agreement to ship heavy water to India's nuclear energy production plant on the island of Tara Pura off Bombay."

In a debate on atomic energy in Lok Sabha on July 24, 1957, Nehru replied:

"The subject is naturally one which excites imagination of every one and there is a feeling that we should not lag behindwe have no intention of lagging..... The fact remains that the development of atomic energy has been remarkably rapid and good..... I may inform the house that nobody in the government of India, anxious as we are, to economize and save money, has ever refused any urgent demand of the department, or come in the way of its development.....The Prime Minister's being incharge, merely shows how much importance has been given to work on atomic energy."

It proves beyond doubt that Pandit Nehru himself was the pioneer of atomic energy in India; from 1949 onwards he, his colleagues and the concerned bureaucrats were day and night busy with this all important project of national character. The countries namely United States, Canada, England and other European countries helped India generously to setup nuclear energy production plant. But the Indian scientists blasted the bomb in 1974, when Nehru had a died decade ago. The credit would naturally go to Nehru and not his daughter Indira for the achievement of India's historic national objective.

In 1949, Zulfikar Ali Bhutto was still a student, and in 1957, he had not yet entered in the politics of power. India was being strengthened every hour by her Prime Minister and politicians through their dedication, determination and devotion, while correspondingly the unelected and the unrepresentative Presidents, Prime Ministers and the coterie of army generals in Pakistan were every minute eroding and corroding the foundation of Pakistan. Resultantly, the law of the nature and the immutable rules of history made India stronger and stronger with the passage of times, and made Pakistan weaker and weaker with the lapse of time. India, though beset with multifarious problems, was endeavoring to solve her problems, while Pakistan in spite of rich in agriculture, mineral wealth and with much lesser problems, was geometrically multiplying its problems. Pakistani rulers were subjective, believing in their personal power and prosperity, throwing to winds the crying national needs; rich was getting richer, poor becoming poorer, the graph of hatred between different regions of Pakistan was mounting with every moment. But the short-sighted rulers never realized their own acts of serious omissions and commissions, their fallacious internal and external policies, and the ever growing injustice and weaknesses. The consequences ultimately manifested themselves through dismemberment of Pakistan, humiliation and degradation of national honour throughout the world.

BHUTTOS AIMS AND OBJECT.

Z.A.Bhutto was diametrically different from the rest of the rulers and politicians of Pakistan. His adversaries thought that he was a power hungry politician, but it was a totally erroneous and malicious assessment of this statesman, who like great Bismark believed, "the great questions of the day are not decided by the speeches and majority votes but by blood and iron". The Security Council passed plebiscite resolution with vast majority of votes, but did India care for it? Was any plebiscite held though more than half a century has passed? Fruitless talks were being held between India and Pakistan all along at the instance of super power in order to make people believe that the Kashmir problem which was the most important and thorniest of all the problems was in the process of being solved; and this sort of hypocritical diplomacy against the people is still continuing incessantly and vigorously. Bhutto firmly believed that safety of State was the highest law, therefore he would not remain a silent spectator of the situation against his motherland. In fact his alert and sensitive mind was always worried about the future of Pakistan and the Muslim World. Mr. Bhutto was fully aware of Indian activities, their efforts to become a nuclear power to keep Pakistan weak and subordinate. He had already warned the super powers and the international community about the Indian development in the field of nuclear energy which dangerously augured against peace but none listened. Bhutto therefore made up his mind to create nuclear energy for the development and the protection of Pakistan against any aggression.

INDIA'S NUCLEAR BLAST AND BHUTTO'S REACTION

After nuclear explosion by India, the Indian Prime Minister wrote a letter to Mr. Bhutto on June 5, 1974. Z.A. Bhutto's logical reaction is reflected in his letter dated: July 2, that he addressed in reply to the Indian Prime Minister. Since it is a long and detailed document, its excerpts have been reproduced:

"We have taken note of your assurance that you remain fully committed to the development of nuclear energy resources for peaceful purposes only and that you will continue to condemn the military use of nuclear energy as a threat to humanity, you will however appreciate that it is a question not only of intentions but of capabilities. As you know, in the past we have received your assurance regarding plebiscite in the Jammu and Kashmir in order to enable its people to freely decide their future, is the most outstanding example.

It is well established fact that the testing of nuclear device is no different from detonation of nuclear weapon. Given this indisputable fact, how is it possible for our fears to be assuaged by mere assurances, assurances which may in any case be ignored in subsequent years? Governments change as do national attitudes. But the acquisition of a capability, which has direct and immediate military consequences, becomes a permanent factor to be reckoned

with. I need hardly recall that no non-nuclear weapon state including India considered mere declarations of intent as sufficient to ensure their security in the nuclear age”.

Mr. Bhutto’s arguments and the contentions were based on hard facts of history and they were indeed irrefutable. He further added:

“Our policy for the last two years, has been to make every effort to establish relations between India and Pakistan on a rational neighborly basis. We do not wish to be deflected from the policy, as I said in my statement in Lahore on the 19th of last month. Your nuclear explosion, however, introduced an unbalancing factor at a time when progress was being made step by step forwards the normalization of relations between our two countries and we had reason to look forwards to equilibrium and tranquility in the sub continent. When Pakistan’s attempt to obtain even spare parts under treaty commitments cause an outcry in India not only unjustified but totally disproportionate, it would be unnatural to expect public opinion in Pakistan not to react to the chauvinistic jubilation widely expressed in India at the acquisition of a nuclear status”.

Mr. Bhutto was not like Mr. Chamberlain, the British Prime Minister in 1939 who was misguided and befooled by Hitler, the dictator of Germany that he would not initiate any war and firmly believed in peace. But Mr. Bhutto could conveniently and clearly see through the game that India was up to. He did not rely on the empty assurances of Mrs. Indira Gandhi, the Indian Prime Minister.

Indian leadership had reluctantly and with mental reservations accepted the creation of Pakistan. It was a dishonest plan of “Divide to unite” in the words of Mr. V.P. Menon, Advisor to Lord Mountbatten, the last Governor General of India. It will be quite profitable for the readers to judge the Indian attitude towards Pakistan as expressed by Richard Nixon, former President, writer and an intellectual of United States.

“With a population of 850 million and GNP of \$333 billion, India dwarfs Pakistan’s 107 million people and \$43 billion economy. More ever, New Delhi’s military is fourth largest in the world fields, twice as many combat aircrafts tanks and seven times more artillery than Islamabad.” The figures of military strength, economy and population as given by the well informed Mr. Nixon fully justified the achievements of nuclear capability by Pakistan, in view of dire threat to its survival by India:

“India after detonating nuclear device in 1974, has reportedly developed a small but significant nuclear stock pile.....since India’s leadership has yet to fully accept legitimacy of Pakistan’s existence..... and since New Delhi dismembered East and West Pakistan in 1971 war, Islamabad concluded that it had no choice but to try to acquire its nuclear deterrent..... We will not succeed

if we ignore the security concerns that originally prompted countries to seek a region-wide situation, based on Pakistan's proposal for a South-Asian nuclear free zone, that will not only advance out non-proliferation objectives but also enhance security and stability."

Pakistan moved resolutions in the United Nation from time to time to make South-Asia a nuclear free zone, but every time resolution was opposed by India. It left no options for Pakistan. The huge India had armed herself to teeth with the active assistance of its powerful allies and small Pakistan was far lagging behind in comparison to its strong and unreliable neighbour.

Z.A Bhutto was the most perturbed Prime Minister of Pakistan, after nuclear detonation on May 18, 1974 in Rajasthan. He was busy contacting the USA, China, France. Britain and other countries of the world and seeking umbrella against the Indian Atomic Power. On this occasion "The Christian Science Monitor" wrote: "The Prime Minister Zulfikar Ali Bhutto announced at a crowded Press conference in Lahore on Sunday that Pakistan would not be intimidated by nuclear blackmail and would seek political assurance or an atomic umbrella from the Big Five Powers against India's newly acquired nuclear weapons capability..... Mr. Bhutto said, he has instructed Minister of Defence and Foreign Affairs Aziz Ahmad to raise the issue in forthcoming CENTO meeting in Washington and urgently consult American officials. Mr. Ahmad will later visit Ottawa to explain Pakistan apprehensions to Canadian officials. Canada gave significant help to India's nuclear research program. Meanwhile, Pakistani, foreign Secretary is flying to China, France and Britain to convey Pakistan's alarm and need for a protective big power umbrella. Bhutto too will himself bring up the subject with the Soviet leaders when he visits Moscow possibly next month..... Although Mr. Bhutto declined to disclose what other steps he contemplated for countering the Indian atomic success, its likely that Pakistani Government will accelerate its own nuclear development programme which is at present way behind India's. The Prime Minister held urgent consultations with Pakistan's top nuclear scientists on May 18, hours after the Indian announcement."

CONSULTATIONS WITH MUSLIM COUNTRIES

The Islamic Summit Conference was held in Lahore in Feb: 1974, and Z.A. Bhutto was unanimously elected as its Chairman. It proved highly fruitful and successful, not only for Pakistan but for the entire Muslim World. The disarrayed Muslim countries were once again united under the leadership of Mr. Bhutto who had undoubtedly achieved his recognition as an international political leader. In his quest to have atomic energy for the protection, preservation and economic progress of the Muslim countries, the Arab Leaders and Pakistani scientists, like the Nobel Prize winner Dr. Abdul Salam and Mr. Muneer Ahmad, Chairman Pakistan Atomic Commission, and later on Dr. A.Q Khan became much active Mr. Bhutto negotiated for reprocessing plant with

France in 1973, as he knew that India, which was far ahead in the nuclear technology as against Pakistan, would soon explode the nuclear bomb. The Plant was however costing 300 million dollars a price, which Pakistan by herself could ill-afford. But the dynamic Bhutto who had taken an irrevocable decision to make Pakistan a nuclear power, had arranged for fabulous amount from friendly Arab countries for a noble common cause to serve as "Islamic bomb". When Christians, Jews, and Hindus had already possessed it, why not the Muslim world? The funds were provided by the Arab countries and its account has been given as under:

"Cairo, July 5, Arab countries contributed \$ 1.5 billion towards Pakistan's nuclear program in the 1970's the confidante of the late Egyptian President Gamal Abdul Nasser said in a report published on Sunday.

The revelations were made by Mohammad Hassnein Heikal former editor-in-chief of Cairo's influential daily Al Ahram and ex-Minister of information under President Anwar-Al-Sadat.

"Way before the announcement of nuclear tests in India, Pakistan had approached the Gulf looking for financment". When Zulfikar Ali Bhutto was President, Heikal wrote in opposition daily newspaper Al Arabi.

"In fact three Arab parties contributed with nearly \$ 1.1 billion at least to the Pakistan nuclear project. Bhutto had succeeded in presenting this project to the Arab parties, between 1972 and 1974 as an Islamic Bomb, which would serve as an additional guarantee against the Israel bomb", he wrote.

Heikal said Arab money between \$ 300 -\$ 400 million continued to pour into Pakistan even after Bhutto's execution in 1979. A spokesman for Heikal declined to name the countries involved."

The above information which hardly requires any verification or confirmation proves Bhutto's extraordinary ability, his love for the protection of the Muslim World against its inveterate enemies. How he convinced the Arab rulers, raised large amounts for nuclear energy, succeeded in his noble and revolutionary mission to provide an effective deterrent against Indian and Israeli designs, and procured big amounts for the benefits and welfare of Pakistan even after his martyrdom is really a "wonderful story" disclosed recently by a very reliable source.

After the Arab -Israel war of 1973, the Arabs realized that Z. A. Bhutto of Pakistan was the only capable person to unite the Muslim World and fight the Israeli aggression against the Arabs. As such they whole-heartedly cooperated with Bhutto.

"Negotiation were initiated during the visit of Mr. Bhutto in 1975. An agreement was reached in March 1976 for the supply, erection and

commissioning of reprocessing plant". But the agreement was not honoured as the Government of France was the pressurized by the USA which was the caretaker of the Israeli interest and entertained a soft corner for India.

APATHY OF PAKISTANI POLITICAL PARTIES

While Z. A. Bhutto was most committed to make Pakistan a nuclear power for which he had secured funds from the other Muslim countries and Pakistan had not to pay for it. He had such a convincing and marvelous personality that the Muslim countries especially the Arabs willingly donated for this cause. This far-reaching decision and his prompt action shocked the powers that were against the renaissance of the Muslim World. But it was most regrettable that the Pakistani political leaders have been totally indifferent to his project of far-reaching consequences, excepting the religious political parties. Air Marshal Asghar Khan, head of the Tehrik-e-Istaqlal, had opposed nuclear weapons. He has in fact urged to accept safeguards on Pakistan's nuclear facilities,..... The ruling party Pakistan Muslim League does not seem to have any opinion Awami National Party (ANP) accused of separatist tendency seems to have no interest in the issue.....

Though Bhutto had a very large following throughout the country, he was all alone in his mind and perception like Mr. Jinnah and was head and shoulders above the other Pakistani leadership. He understood what India was doing and he was preparing to face it. Speaking in the National Assembly on 14 July 1972, he said, "My mandate is to build Pakistan. I will build Pakistan..... It is for the future generations to decide whether they want to make it a progressive and prosperous and happy Pakistan.....We have to release great energies and I have also to unleash a great force. I am not ashamed of what I have done to the people of Pakistan. I am proud of having galvanized them. I am proud that there is now a cause of dignity in common man."

Now Bhutto was busy in the furtherance of his all important project of procuring nuclear energy for Pakistan. Bhutto's major secret agreements, however, were those, he reached with Libya and China. And he continued covertly but assiduously to pursue dealings with France for raw material and advanced technology. Pakistan required those fresh resources to build enough nuclear weapons to overcome the "temporary" military set backs suffered in 1965 and 1971. It could then defeat India in the next and it was hoped "final" round in the South Asia war.

TOUGH OPPOSITION OF USA –WHY?

There was nothing more unpleasant to the USA than Pakistan's attainment of nuclear energy. They took it as a challenge to America's superiority in the international arena. After all, why should the Muslims have it- "they are barbarous, they are terrorists and they are fundamentalists, the

worst in the world”, Unfortunately this feeling is persistent even amongst the educated Westerners, as Richard Nixon mentions “Many Americans tend to stereotype Muslims as uncivilized, barbaric and irrational people.” Further, he writes “few Americans are aware of the rich heritage of Islamic World. They remember only that the sword of Mohammad and the followers advanced the Muslim faith into Asia Africa and even Europe and look condescendingly on the religious wars of the region.” Thanks to Mr. Nixon that he correctly and appropriately depicts the working of an American mind. Why should they tolerate Bhutto who wants to provide the most dangerous weapons to the Muslim world? Unfortunately, the hostile view of Westerners against Islam is so pronounced that even the “Time” weekly wrote: “Are these collisions inevitable? The mutual misunderstandings of the West and the Islamic World have a rich patina of history. Jews, Christians and Muslims, all “people of the book” draw much of their faith from the same source. Yet from the time of the Muslim conquests and the crusades, West, and Islam have confronted each other by turns in attitudes of incomprehension, greed and fanaticism, prurient interest, fear and loathing.”

The United States had now been ruling the roost, as such they decided to dictate Pakistan. Any Muslim ruler who proved defiant to the dictates would pay the penalty. But Bhutto was bent upon winning an honourable and dignified place for Pakistan and the Muslim World, which according to United States posed a direct threat to the world peace through Muslim unity. However, Bhutto persisted, in spite of threats of dire consequences. “Prime Minister Zulfikar Ali Bhutto has warned that Pakistan’s relations with the West will deteriorate if Pakistanis denied access to nuclear technology.... In an interview with Hutchinson, deputy editor of the “Spectator” London, the Prime Minister also reasserted his call for a conference of Third World leaders to devise a strategy for new and fairer world economic order, a proposal described by Mrs. Thatcher (Britain’s conservative party leader) during her visit to Pakistan as a “very significant statement.” Zulfikar Ali Bhutto’s moves, statements, conferences, meetings with the leaders of the Muslim World and Third world were very perplexing and problematic for the West, being an obvious reason that the West wanted to impose their own manufactured World Order on the Muslim countries and the Third World; and their exploitation plan was being rendered anfractuious by Mr. Bhutto. His unshakable determination for the nuclear energy was also considered to be most damaging factor to the Western interests.

The USA was discouraging and dissuading Mr. Bhutto from the attainment of nuclear power, which Pakistan needed for its economy as well as defence. Hectic attempts were made by United States to prevent Bhutto from going ahead with his nuclear program through Henry Kissinger, but the former refused to abandon his “Hawkish policy” which enraged the Super Power. Bhutto told the Canadian Ambassador to Pakistan that in their August 1976 meeting, Kissinger had been all “brimstone and fire” warning that if Pakistan

went ahead with plutonium reprocessing "the Prime Minister would have to pay a heavy price." Bhutto loved Pakistan more than his own life.

Zulfikar Ali Bhutto remained undeterred by the serious threats and continued the nuclear processing unabated with all his might and vigour. Money was pouring in from the coffers of the friendly Arab countries; Bhutto possessed limitless talents, enthusiasm and thoughts of the Muslim Renaissance. Therefore he went on with his project with the help of the Pakistani scientists and he accomplished his long cherished mission of nuclear energy within a short span of four years; where as the Indian Prime Minister Jawahar Lal Nehru took seventeen years to make India a nuclear power besides the time taken by his daughter Indira Gandhi.

It was an unpardonable offense in the eyes of the West, but Mr. Bhutto did not worry for his personal security. It will be pertinent to state that Bhutto while a student in Bombay in 1945, had pledged with his leader Mohammad Ali Jinnah that one day he would sacrifice his life for Pakistan. It may be noted that Zulfikar Ali Bhutto, entertained profound respect for his leader; In his message; on the occasion of Mr. Jinnah's centenary in 1976, he said:

"A nation that grudges honour to its leader, is a nation that thinks little of itself.... The Pakistan People's Party derives its inspiration from Quaid's ideal and will never allow them to be submerged. The Quaid believed in democracy, we have brought it back.... The Quaid urged us to cultivate faith, unity and discipline. We acted on faith, we combat disunity and we do not countenance indiscipline. The Quaid despised chauvinism. He condemned obscurantism. He warned us against the dangers of provincial prejudice and schisms..... This describes exactly our outlook as well".

Zulfikar Ali Bhutto had better understood the Quaid and his thoughts on the political, social and economic structure of Pakistan, when he appeared on the political scene as an unchallengeable leader of his country. He was not afraid of death, he could be very rightly called "Tipu Sultan of Mysore" of 20th century. He used to say, either I'll die or I'll be killed.... He was obsessed with it.... At times he used to say, I feel like giving up and going away..... He was a man of intuition but always talked of death."

Bhutto had completed his mission as a most outstanding and patriotic Pakistan Prime Minister and Chairman of the Islamic Summit Conference in the matter of nuclear energy; but his adversaries did not forgive him. Sir Morrice James who remained High Commissioner of India as well as of Pakistan, a diplomat of a very high order, writes, "However it is with the United States as the principal custodian and champion of nuclear Non-proliferation treaty (NPT) system that the Pakistani government has lately encountered the greatest difficulties in its determination to maintain a nuclear option."

The USA had targeted and singled out Pakistan alone for its nuclear program but not any one else. "In the late 1970, Senator Stuart Symington

and John Glenn, both democrats, secured an amendment (known colloquially as the Symington Amendment) to the US Foreign Assistance Act to require a cut-off of economic and military assistance to any country that after 1977 imported or exported unsafe guarded nuclear enrichment or reprocessing materials, equipment to technology. Since then only one country Pakistan has been found by a US President to be in violation of this law." Obviously this law which was based on malafides, was made only to his Pakistan as hard as possible.

Now the only weapon in the hands of the USA was to win over some Pakistani generals and political leaders to finish the uncontrollable Bhutto and put an end to all trouble and botheration that he had created for the West. And finally they succeeded. It was not the question of atomic energy alone but many other global vexing problems for the West were in offing under the dynamic and daring leadership of Bhutto. The Falcon had to die as predicted by him before. Perhaps he had come for a short time in this world; but he had immortalized his name in the annals of history.

"God give us. A time like this demand
Strong minds, great hearts, true faith and ready hands,
Men whom the lust of office does not kill,
Men whom the spoils of office cannot buy,
Men who possess opinion and will,
Men who love honour and cannot lie:

The differences that arose between U.S. and Pakistan during the Prime Minister-ship of Bhutto were:-

- i.** The U.S was not treating Pakistan as an ally but a loyal and blind follower.
- ii.** Special treatment; heavy financial and military aid were being dispatched to India while Pakistan in spite of all obedience and loyalty was being neglected and taken for granted. In fact the U.S proposed to groom India as leader of Asia as against China.
- iii.** The U.S. was deadly against the friendship of Pakistan with China. But Bhutto was the last man to accept such suicidal directive for the obvious reason that in China he had found a reliable and powerful neighborly friend who had been very materially helping Pakistan in all respects.
- iv.** The U.S was against the unity of Muslim countries and the Third World, while Bhutto was their strong unifying leader. According to the West. The unity that was being forged, was extremely detrimental to the vested interests of the industrial countries. They wanted the Muslim Countries and the Third world countries to be their camp followers and dependents.

- v. Bhutto was determined to make Pakistan nuclear power, come what may. He did not care for the threats and consequences. But the U.S. vehemently opposed Bhutto against this step. The U.S sternly threatened him with dire consequences.

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CHAPTER 22

Larkana – A Land of Leaders

It is not the walls that make a city, It is men who make it.

Larkana district, though small in size, has been very fertile politically. It has produced outstanding and extraordinary personalities, very influential tribal Sardars and Nawabs like Chandios and Magsis. Sir Shah Nawaz Bhutto, his world famous son Z.A. Bhutto, M.A. Khuhro, Kazi Fazlullah, Chief Ministers of Sindh, Pir Ali Mohammad Rashdi, Jan Mohammad Junejo and Hyder Bakhs Jatoi were some of the most illustrious politicians of the district. Sardar Wahid Baksh, Nawab Amir Ali Khan Lahori and Khan Bahadur Ghulam Mohammad Isran had also been quite influential landlords. I have seen most of these personalities when they had been at pinnacle of their power.

However, Bhutto family has been more prominent in the political and parliamentary life of the country. It is a universally admitted fact that the personality of Zulfikar Ali Bhutto stood aloft, not only as the most outstanding Prime Minister of Pakistan, but also as a statesman of International repute, leader of the Third World, Chairman of the Islamic Summit, and a political thinker of high order. He was not Lilliputian leader, simply hankering after political power, but a world class statesman like Jinnah and Chou-en-Lai. He has left such a remarkable record of services and sacrifice that has immortalized him as a legend in the political history of Pakistan.

After the completion of his education in U.S and Britain, he returned to his native land in October 1953. By this time, he had attained mastery over the English language, but he could neither speak, read or write Sindhi or Urdu for want of instructions in these languages. He had lived almost all his life out of his province and even out of Pakistan. It was necessary for him to learn these languages in order to communicate with his own people, especially when he had decided to enter the political arena with all his vigour. Bhutto picked up these languages amazingly in no time, and soon he came to be known as a forceful speaker of these languages. In spite of his limited vocabulary in these languages, his performance as speaker was marvelous and magical. The effect of his speech was enviable even for the orators and masters of these languages.

After independence, Sir Shahnawaz Bhutto had retired from political life and he had poor health, but in spite of these limitations he was keen to groom his brilliant son for future politics. The District of Larkana was then politically dominated by M.A. Khuhro and Kazi Fazlullah; the former was a feudal lord,

while Kazi Fazalullah was a commoner and prominent advocate of Larkana; they were the controlling authorities of Sindh politics.

Initially both of them were very close friends, but later on they fell out and opposed each other vehemently. When Zulfikar Ali arrived in Larkana, he found it more convenient to align with Kazi Fazlullah who was a commoner. After his arrival, quite a number of petty politicians and aspirants turned against him as they realized that he possessed necessary talents, skills and resources, ensuring his bright future. Khuhro and Fazlullah were much senior to Z.A. Bhutto in age, at least by 27 years. In the heart of their hearts, these experienced politicians were not at all oblivious that this charismatic, handsome, brilliant and well equipped young man would soon be ready for a high flight in Pakistan's political firmament, and would eclipse all of them. This fear was always lurking in their minds.

There is no doubt, that they did possess qualifications and qualities as well as experience. Khuhro had remained member of the All-India Muslim League and both of them had been the Chief Ministers of Sindh also. But despite all that background, they were no match for the young Bhutto; and time too was not on their side. In his own district, he launched his political activities by being unanimously elected as President of the Abadgar's (Agriculturists) Association by a very well attended gathering of the district's agriculturists and political workers held at the residence of Kazi Fazlullah. It was an introductory political gathering, an initial fruitful exercise in the democratic politics.

General election were scheduled to be held in February 1959 and preliminary preparations were ahead throughout the country for the first general elections, promised to be held after more than a decade of Pakistan's birth. The young Bhutto had practically started his election campaign and he had all chances to come in the Assembly.

But instead of allowing the democracy to work and thereby lead the country to political stability. President Iskandar Mirza imposed Martial Law with the bullet power provided by the Commander-in-Chief Ayub Khan. The young Bhutto had fairly good relations with Iskandar Mirza, and the latter, fully aware of his exceptional merits, selected him as Federal Minister from Sindh with the approval of Ayub Khan. Immediately after the promulgation of Martial Law, most of the politicians, including Khuhro and Kazi Fazlullah were disqualified from politics for seven years under EBDO.

The people of Larkana, now started pinning their hopes on this young man and the Bhutto family, which was dormant after the exit of Sir Bhutto from the political life of the province. Unlike other Ministers, Zulfikar Ali Bhutto started working in the masses like their own representatives, meeting and helping every body, visiting each and every village, endeavouring to solve their problems. He was not behaving like an agent of the Martial Law dictator Ayub

Khan. He never relied on the sword of Ayub Khan for his political prosperity and existence but approached the masses who were the real and the ultimate masters of the country.

In 1962, elections were held throughout Pakistan, under a novel system of Basic Democracy, for National assembly as well as Provincial Assembly. Z.A. Bhutto, who contested for the National Assembly from Larkana, wanted to return unopposed; but Khuhro and Kazi Fazlullah were anxious to get him out of political life. They formed an alliance to defeat him just as they had many years ago done to his father Sir Bhutto. They proposed to setup either Mr. A.K. Brohi, a prominent lawyer of Pakistan, who originally belonged to Sukkar District, adjoining Larkana, or Khan Sahib Ghulam Rasool Khan Kehar, a retired bureaucrat, former Sindh Minister and a respectable landlord of Larkana Taluka. Both the prospective candidates seem to have realized that these were inner cracks and intrigues in the alliance against Bhutto therefore neither of them agreed to contest from Larkana. Abdul Fatah Memon, Advocate had also filed his nomination paper against Z.A. Bhutto but he too withdrew from the contest when the latter promised to get him accommodated as Ambassador. True to his promise Mr. Bhutto got him appointed Ambassador to Saudi Arabia. However, he did not want to disappoint Khuhro and Kazi either; he gave one provincial seat to each: Ali Gohar Khuhro from Larkana and Mohammad Haneef Siddiki Advocate of Hyderabad were elected from Warah as nominees of Khuhro and Kazi respectively. But the old political stalwarts, who had virtually ruled the province of Sindh for about a decade, could not get any on their nominees appointed as Minister therefore there could be no political conciliation in the District. However, Dur Mohammad Usto from Jacobabad was made Minister in the provincial cabinet on the recommendation of Kazi Fazlullah, as Nawab of Kalabagh, the Governor of West Pakistan, was his old personnel friend. However this appointment could not please Mr. Kazi.

In the year 1963, Z.A. Bhutto vacated the National Assembly seat because under the constitution, a Minister could not be a member of the assembly simultaneously. For the seat so vacated, Messrs Kazi Fazlullah and Khuhro setup Abdul Hameed Khan Jatoi of Dadu District as their candidate, and Zulfikar Ali Bhutto made his cousin Sardar Pir Baksh Bhutto contest from the seat. Abdul Hameed Jatoi was an old friend of Kazi Fazlullah. But there was a general propaganda in the election that Mr. Kazi imports candidates from outside Larkana to humiliate the people of Larkana, because he himself had hailed from Naushero Feroze. He worked for Shaikh Abdul Majeed of Karachi as against Sir Bhutto, for Mohammad Hanif Siddiqui of Hyderabad ignoring the suitable political workers from Larkana, for Aysa Aziz of Karachi in preference to any lady from Larkana district for the Sindh Provincial Assembly seat. This adverse propaganda proved very effective in the defeat of Abdul Hameed Jatoi. It is true that the Nawab of Kalabagh Governor of west Pakistan was a close friend of Kazi Fazlullah, but was in no position to help Abdul Hameed. However, the decisive point was that the political influence of Khuhro and Kazi had badly dwindled. Kazi Fazlullah was appointed Minister in the West Pakistan Cabinet

by President Ayub Khan presumably to face the storm created by the former Foreign Minister Bhutto. A false. Criminal case was foisted upon Bhutto, alleging the use of Government tractors without payment of charges. But in spite of best efforts, the government failed to him. As a result the President Ayub, General (rtd) Musa Khan, the Governor of West Pakistan, were highly displeased with him as he was the provincial Home Minister. Aware of the attitude of the higher ups, even the bureaucrats avoided to carry out the orders of Kazi Fazlullah who was the Home Minister of Province. He was totally helpless not finding favour with the higher ups thus he became exceedingly unpopular in the masses and lost his popularity that he had gained as a tireless worker and commoner before the imposition of Martial Law as Minister and Chief Minister of the Province. His hostile behaviour against Bhutto provided a legitimate ground for grievance to the latter. In 1970 there was a direct clash between Bhutto and M. A Khuhro over Larkana National Assembly seat, and the former inflicted a crushing defeat on Mr. Khuhro. In the other National Assembly constituency. Mumtaz Ali Bhutto defeated Kazi Fazlullah by a big margin. In the evening when results were announced, I was sitting with Mr. Kazi, he expressed that he was defeated not by Mumtaz Ali Bhutto but by Zulfikar Ali Bhutto. Thus in 1970 all the National and Provincial Assembly seats, were secured by the Peoples Party. It was infact a personal triumph of Mr. Bhutto thoroughly vanquishing his opponents.

In all these political duels, Z.A. Bhutto emerged victorious and he made a clean sweep of his opponents. But the important aspect in all these wranglings was, whether there was any allegation of rigging, manipulation or vandalism? Not a single election petition was filed in the election, no allegations were made, no charges were leveled, and all these elections were fought equitably and fairly. However, his opponents continued to have this grievance that their political influence was wiped out; and that they were vanquished in the elections because of Bhutto's tremendous personality and popularity.

It will be highly malicious and preposterous to make any wild vituperative allegations against Bhutto that he entertained any idea of revenge against Mr. Khuhro on any personal grounds. However, it is a different matter that politically they were opposed to each other and Khuhro had to suffer a humiliating defeat in elections besides losing his political influence in the District. Mr. Bhutto's soft and humanitarian attitude towards Khuhro family is explained by Dr. Roshan Ali Shaikh, personal physician of Mr. Bhutto, in his own words.

"Honorable Bhutto Sahib was a very compassionate man. His natural compassion extended even to his adversaries. One time he called me to attend his fever. As I was leaving my clinic going to the Sahib, I was approached by Mr. Mohammad Ayub Khuhro, ex Chief Minister of Sindh and political adversary of the Sahib. Mr. Khuhro implored me to immediately come to attend his sister who was suffering from severe kidney pain. After weighing the nature and severity of the relative illnesses, I accompanied Mr. Khuhro to his sister.

I then went to the home of Bhutto Sahib to treat him. When I arrived there I found him quite annoyed that I had not come earlier. However, after I explained the situation that had occurred, he acquiesced in my decision to treat Mr. Khuhro's sister first. He remarked to me. "It is universal law of humanity to treat first the most sick, irrespective of his collar" He acknowledged that Khuhro was his adversary but even still regarded him as his elder. Sahib was happy that Khuhro was served first.

BHUTTO AS PRIME MINISTER

Now he was the Quaid-e-Awam (leader of the People) for the obvious reason that he had proved his merit and services beyond any doubt, as leader of international heights. The district of Larkana was disregarded and discarded previously but he made amends for the past two and half decades of criminal negligence; he gave Medical College, a Library, Ladies Hospital, children's Hospital, Sambara Hotel, Larkana Institute of Nuclear Research, expansion of Moen-Jo-Daro airport, employment to educated young men, Construction of all-important Sukkur-Larkana road; and a network of roads throughout the district. No other politician of Larkana district could come up to the level of his caliber, charisma and invaluable services.

It will be very unjust to compare the other leaders of Larkana with him, as they were of the provincial stature at the most. Even Mr. Khuhro and Mr. Kazi with whom I had fairly good acquaintance never claimed to be of Bhutto's political stature. Once Khuhro said to me "Mr. Bhurgri, Mr. Bhutto is a man of profound caliber. He has a very fine library and he is voracious reader. And he has both dark and bright sides".

He had been very generous to Mr. Kazi Fazlullah even after elections, as the latter had admitted with me and I knew it personally too. Kazi Fazlullah proudly expressed that the Prime Minister had been inviting him to such important functions where no other person from the entire Sindh Province was invited, and was always prepared to go out of way to accommodate him. Whenever the Prime Minister visited Larkana, Mr. Kazi did call on him. But after the imposition of Martial Law and imprisonment of Bhutto, Kazi Fazlullah turned to be the worst opponent of the former Prime Minister and opposed the People's Party at all stages till he died in 1987. The fact is that he had not forgotten his defeat in 1970 at the hand of Mumtaz Ali Bhutto, for which he had held Z.A. Bhutto squarely responsible.

So far Mr. M.A. Khuhro was concerned, he was feudal lord like Bhutto and he had been in political power for a considerable time after the ouster of Sir Bhutto in 1937 elections. The arrival of young Bhutto, his unchallengeable potentials and popularity, his appointment as minister in the Central Cabinet in 1958, his rapid rise to power and on the other hand Mr. Khuhro's arrest, imprisonment and trial during Martial Law regime, his disqualification under,

EBDO, the slashing of his lands under the land reforms, and the virtual end of his political power, were factors that created bitterness between the two families. Bhutto family as landlord, had been reigning in upper Sindh, even prior to the advent of the Britishers but Khuhro family came into prominence only after M. A. Khuhro was elected member to the Bombay Legislative Council in 1923 and the land holdings of the family increased during his days. Prior to that they were neither so influential nor very big zamindars as Bhutto family. Sir Bhutto though very influential, believed in political coexistence with others; but Mr. Kazi who was a close friend of Mr. Khuhro, planned to eliminate Bhutto out of political power by convincing Khuhro, the senior most politician of the District, about the wisdom of his plans. Sir Bhutto, after his defeat in the 1937 election, again went back to Bombay as Member of the Public Service Commission. It was now a golden opportunity for Mr. Khuhro and Mr. Kazi Fazlullah to minimize the political importance and influence of Bhutto family. Nabi Bakhs Khan Bhutto and Khan Bahadur Ahmad Khan Bhutto, senior members of the family, were more of feudal lords than political personages of the District; therefore Mr. Khuhro had no difficulty in reducing them politically.

Zulfikar Ali Bhutto posed a serious threat. The young barrister and feudal lords, as I saw him was neither interested in legal profession nor much in agriculture. He was a full time politician and from his student life he had high aspirations to play a very vital role in the politics of his country, as he was capable of it. Kazi Fazlullah was a bachelor, but Khuhro had educated sons, and daughters, and every one of them was anxious to be a minister. As such a serious political clash between the two families was natural and inevitable, but the young Bhutto stood on a very high pedestal of popularity while Khuhro family did not possess the political spark, attraction and intelligence to vie with Bhutto or even as against his brilliant daughter Ms. Benazir who possesses amazing capability. It would be waste of time for the readers if political comparison is drawn between the two families. It would be a story of giant and a pygmy.

Mr. Khuhro's daughter Hamida Khuhro while writing the biography of her father has indulged in wild personnel attacks, unjustified criticism, and total distortion of facts which constitute another white paper against Z.A. Bhutto after his martyrdom – the first having been published by Ziaul Haq. It is needless to rebut such allegations which in reality serve to damage the value of Mr. Khuhro's biography. These imaginary allegations have never been substantiated or even seriously considered till today. If her father had been alive, I believe, he would not have allowed his daughter to indulge in such pettifoggery.

ANTI-DEMOCRATIC ACTS OF KHUHRO

It will be an act of dishonesty to say that Mr. Khuhro had rendered absolutely no services to the people of Sindh, But after independence, he committed such antidemocratic and unpopular acts that the people of Sindh,

and especially the young generation turned totally against him. Mr. G.M Sayed, a politician, a prolific Sindhi writer who was friendly with Khuhro and has acted as his defender in his book, writes: "In 1951, he again became the Chief Minister of Sindh, and during that period, he and his partisan Kazi Fazlullah committed very unfair acts, against which people started talking – In the by-election from Dadu seat, due to the disqualification of Pir Ilahi Bakhsh. Akhund Shafi Mohammad was prevented from contesting the seat against Mr. Abdul Lateef Panhwar, brother-in-law of Mr. Khuhro. But when he refused to withdraw, he was sent to jail during night hours. When Hyder Bakhsh Jatoi came to file the nomination, he was arrested by police at the gate of Deputy Commissioner house and was thrown at a place twenty miles away from Dadu. A son of Pir Illahi Bux was declared as minor by managing a certificate from the Civil Surgeon, Dadu, though he was father of three children. The nomination of Taj Mohammad Sahrai was also got cancelled, and Abdul Lateef Panhwar was made to be declared as successful candidate without any opposition from Dadu by the Collector of Dadu. Thereafter, Ahmad Sultan Chandio, a minor, was made to contest election from Larkana for the Seat that fell vacant due to his father's death. Ahmad Sultan was got declared as major. Hyder Bakhsh Jatoi, candidate for the seat and his 'Hari' workers, were beaten, tyres of their vehicles were torn'. But Hyder Bakhsh Jatoi, Chief of the "Hari Committee Sindh" has severely censured Mr. Khuhro for the irrefutable and cruel acts of high handedness, malfeasance and mal-practices. Besides the above acts, he has enumerated many other charges to impeach him politically.

"So long Mr. Khuhro was in power, I had restrictions imposed on me under the Sindh Safety Act. It was only after Khuhro Ministry was dismissed in January 1952, and the Governor of Sindh assumed the charge of administration under 92A of the Government of India Act 1935 that the internment orders against me were withdrawn".

Mr. Khuhro had got himself and his Begum elected unopposed from Sanghar and Sukkur respectively, by ordering the administration that those who wanted to fill nomination papers, be prevented by force and fraud from filing their nomination papers. Thus the 'loyal' administration obeyed the orders of the Chief Minister of Sindh, implicitly, throttling the process of democracy.

Mr. Jatoi, while referring to the pathetic speech of Shaikh Mujib-ur-Rahman in the National Assembly wrote "Even the Quaid-e-Azam had to contest in Bombay and Mr. Khuhro is elected uncontested. Even Mr. Fazlul Haq had to fight against Mr. Afzal and Mr. Afzal got 5,000 votes. For God's Sake, do not make a mockery with the people's sentiments. There will be very bad repercussions. Sir, another seat has been captured by Begum Khuhro. We are unfortunate citizens of the fortunate country. Begum Khuhro was elected unopposed. Every one will be elected unopposed so long Khuhro is there."

The catalogue of the high handedness and anti-democratic acts of Mr. Khuhro according to Mr. Hyder Bakhsh was inexhaustible. While referring to his behaviour with the members of Sindh Public Service Commission, in respect of their refusal to call his brother Ali Gohar Khuhro for selection of Deputy Collectors, the High Court of Sindh held "We consider that this charge has been fully made out and that Mr. Khuhro was guilty of gross misconduct in the discharge of his duties and responsibilities in interfering with the work of the Public service Commission in this matter."

The Commission was very independent in those days and they had not called Ali Gohar for interview on this reasonable ground that academically he was a third divisioner. However, in order to compensate his brother, Mr. Khuhro got him elected as President of the Larkana District Council. But the manner of getting him elected would put even a military dictator to shame. Mr. Jatoi writes, "Only a few months back, to get his brother Ali Gohar Khuhro elected as the President of the District local Board Larkana, Mr. Khuhro got rejected about 40 candidates nomination papers, an unprecedented event in the local bodies history of Sindh."

For the formation of "one unit," the notorious Governor General Ghulam Mohammad of Pakistan; found Mr. Khuhro fit to preside as the Chief Minister of Sindh in order to get the one unit resolution passed by the Sindh Assembly. He employed the cruel and crude methods of the tyrant Idi Amin of Uganda for getting the resolution of one unit passed. The people of Sindh were against it deadly, but the public opinion was kicked contemptuously. "Kazi Faiz Mohammad Advocate from Nawabshah and his associates waged relentless struggle against this grave injustice, but he was put behind bars. He did not spare even his old friend Kazi Fazlullah and the opposition to one unit was crushed mercilessly. This one act alone on the part of Mr. Khuhro was enough to make him the most unpopular man of Sindh; and after independence he politically lost, whatever he had gained before independence. It is very truly said that "power corrupts and absolute power corrupts absolutely".

Manipulations and rigging in the elections had become so common that in 1950, in provincial elections, people of Punjab had no voice in electing their representatives. But unfortunately Mr. Khuhro had gone a step further, he would not allow any opponent even to file his nomination form. This was now the height of high-handedness.

The people of Larkana were in search of a new leader for their emancipation, and when Zulfikar Ali appeared on the political scene, they thought that he was a heavenly gift for them.

1977 LECTIONS

Mr. Bhutto never wanted the 1977 election to be rigged; nor there was any need for him to manipulate the results. It is alleged that Maulvi Jan

Muhammed Abbasi of Jamait-I-Islami wanted to contest the National Assembly Seat from Larkana against the Prime Minister Bhutto. Maulvi Jan Mohammad had already filed his nomination paper for N.A Seat from Nawabshah. Mr. Bhutto enjoyed the strongest possible position in Larkana, and nobody could even seriously think of contesting the seat against him. If the opposition entertained any idea to contest the election, they should have put up Khuhro or Kazi Fazlullah against Bhutto, who could be termed as serious candidates. It was not even thinkable for anyone to contest against hi, or engage him even for a minute to contest in Larkana constituency, Therefore the allegation that he had got Maulvi Jan Mohammad kidnapped so as to avoid any contest, was wholly absurd and unfounded. There had been people like Hussain Bhai Lalji who filed their nomination against Quaid-e-Azam Mohammad Ali Jinnah, but that had absolutely no political significance. Quaid-e-Azam Jinnah never concentrated on his personnel election, the campaign was carried on by the local Muslim League leaders and workers, and Mr. Jinnah toured all the important places in India, to galvanise the election campaign of his party candidates. Hussain Lalji secured only 125 votes and his security deposit stood forfeited. Even if Maulvi Jan Mohammad had contested the election, the result would have been the same as that in case of versus Hussain Bhai Lalji. The Jamait-e-Islami has absolutely no influence in the District of Larkana, on the contrary, it was just like a dead weight, a disqualification for the candidate. In the partyless elections of 1985, which were boycotted by the PPP, Maulvi Jan Mohammad, who was candidate for the National Assembly Seat from Larkana, could hardly save his security deposit. Therefore it is bound to believe that Mr. Bhutto had got him kidnapped, in order to secure his seat.

When I interviewed Maulvi Jan Mohammad, he said that he was kidnapped, but he could not say whether it was at the behest of the Prime Minister. J.I had some influence in Nawabshah, therefore the filing of paper by him at Nawabshah had some meaning, though he could not be in a winning position there too. For the sake of argument, the act of kidnapping even if true, could not be imputed to the Prime Minister directly or even indirectly. But the press media that was working under a plan against Mr. Bhutto, gave such a miraculously malicious and Goblin sort of publicity that fiction looked like a fact.

Most of the people from Larkana are remembering Bhutto as their benefactor, as the services that he had rendered within a short span of five years are a matter of unparalleled record and have not been rendered by any other politician during the half a century after independence.

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CHAPTER 23

Abortive Elections - Treason and Treachery

"Of all the vices, to which the human nature is subject, treachery is the most infamous and detestable, being compounding of fraud, cowardice and revenge. The greatest wrongs will not justify it, as it destroys those principles of mutual confidence and security by which only society can subsist."

L.M. Stretch

The first general elections that were announced for the first time by any civilian government in the history of Pakistan, after three decades of its creation, were proclaimed by the Prime Minister Z.A. Bhutto on Jan 17, 1977. The National Assembly elections were to be held on March 7 and Provincial Assembly elections on March 10, This historic and laudable decision that was intended to strengthen the democratic system, instead of achieving its objective proved dismally tragic for Pakistan's most popular Prime minister and even for the nation itself. Not only the country was once again thrown into the dungeon of dictatorship but the political Simpson of Pakistan was chained through treason and treachery "No more popular leader has yet emerged from the soil of Sindh or Punjab or the harsh and rugged frontier, none was more admired, or worshipped by the impoverished peasants and simple labourers than the Quaid-e-Awam Bhutto."

By the sheer dint of his extraordinary abilities, and unimaginable heights of popularity, he made Pakistan a very honourable and important state in the world. But the avalanche of misfortune did not spare him and his country. The first general election held in Pakistan in 1970, had torn and humiliated the country; and the second general election held in 1977 by the civilian government was undone through a monstrously planned conspiracy and ultimately the country was again in the clutches of Martial Law.

In Pakistan there have been no strong political parties, with a well defined economic and political programme for want of leadership. The continuance of Martial Law for several years had almost finished the political parties and their leadership.

In the political life of Pakistan there grew numerous mushroom parties, but none could over-throw the dictatorship in spite of countrywide discontent. It was the People's Party alone which under the leadership of Bhutto had effectively challenged the dictatorship in the West Pakistan (now Pakistan) and

ultimately brought democratic era in the politically dilapidated Pakistan. There was no other mass organization in the country excepting the Pakistan Peoples Party.

BIRTH OF P.N.A

After the announcement of elections, the chief Election Commissioner, Justice (Retd) Sajjad Ahmed Jan, fixed 19 January as the last date for filing nomination papers to the national Assembly. The P.P.P nominated its candidates on 17 January 1977. At the time when Mr. Bhutto announced the elections, he was at the peak of power, and his popularity was unchallengeable. He had decided to hold elections, not only because he was a very powerful politician of his country at that point of time; but he had to get a fresh mandate from the people, as he had remained in power for five years.

In the past, there had been loose type of unity amongst the opposition parties; and never it proved effective. In 1965 Ms Fatima Jinnah was setup by the combined opposition parties against Ayub Khan as presidential candidate and the latter had won the election by force and fraud by a small margin. But it was not the strength of the opposition parties but the popularity and tremendous respect for Mr. Jinnah, the founding Father of Pakistan that the people had voted for his sister Ms Fatima Jinnah. Now after the announcement of elections, Pakistan National Alliance was abruptly formed with the blessings and encouragement of some hidden hands to fight to elections.

"An alliance of seven political parties called the United Democratic Front, had existed since 1972 with the Muslim League, Jamait-i-Islam, National Democratic Party, (previously the National Awami Party) Khaksars and the Azad Jammu Kashmir Muslim Conference. The Tehrik-I-Istiqlal had not joined this alliance and had campaigned on its own effectively..... It was decided that the JUP and Tehrik-I-Istiqlal would have 36 percent of the national and Provincial Assembly seats..... The remaining 64 percent of the seats would be divided among the U.D.f parties.

Maulana Mufti Mahmood, the Secretary General of the Jamiat Ulemai-i-Islam, was unanimously elected the President of the newly formed Pakistan National Alliance, with Rafiq Ahmad Bajwa of the JUP and Nawabzada Nasrullah of the Pakistan democratic Party as its Secretary General and Vice President respectively, A Parliamentary Board for allocation of seats with Pir of Pagara as its Chairman was also formed. By 10 January, some important decisions had been taken regarding the working of the alliance."

This sudden and immediate alliance within two day's time by the parties that used to be at daggers drawn with one another and issuing fatwas against the leaders came as a surprise to every citizen. This was indicative of hectic foreign political activity in Pakistan.

It was for the first time in Pakistan's history that such an important alliance came into existence so abruptly within a couple of days; even the Prime minister must have been taken by surprise by the amazing speed of those slow moving and divided elements. But behind this unification, a strong hidden hand was working.

Mr. Bhutto wanted to hold elections fairly and impartially in order to strengthen democracy and ultimately Pakistan. As a very hard working politician, he had the record of fighting and winning elections by decent and democratic means. Though he was certain to win the elections, but never would he like to use bureaucracy or any other agencies to rig the elections.

He himself was working very hard in the election campaign and even pulled up the top leaders of his party to gear up his own political organization to fight the general elections. He wrote to Mr. Sadik Hussain Quraishi, Chief Minister of Punjab, the biggest province of Pakistan on February 2, 1977 "although three weeks have passed since the announcement of elections, the party's electioneering campaign has not picked up the desired tempo in your province..... workers have not been mobilized. The apparatus is not functioning properly. Publicity lacks in vigour and punch, and to the top of it all, a bureaucratic stance is in evidence towards the elections. You know very well that the elections are a political process which have to be conducted and won politically. Since there is no time to be lost, you gear up the party apparatus and mobilize all tiers of the party from provincial to the village level.... In the end I must stress that you should not wait any longer to come into the top gear." He further told his Federal Minister Rafi Raza very plainly "He readily agreed 'I will call all the Commissioners in Punjab and tell them personally that the elections must be absolutely fair. When I returned to Islamabad, I met Rawalpindi commissioner at the airport, he had been summoned by the Prime Minister at Lahore". This attitude proves beyond any shadow of doubt that Bhutto never proposed to win election by taking rest in his drawing room. "He was Quaid-e-Awam (Leader of the People), not a drawing room politician.

I think the above letter is enough to prove that the Quaid-e-Awam never relied on rigging or bureaucracy. He relied on political process and upon the people. Had he based his political career on rigging and manipulation he would not have toured every hook and corner of Pakistan to contact the masses for creating political consciousness and giving them a sense of self respect which had happened for the first time in the national life of Pakistan. But that was not the case of his party leaders, most of them had neglected and ignored the common men, and they were busy building themselves. They even alienated their party supporters at the crucial hour of general election. Even a clear headed, sensible and influential ally from frontier Province like Khan Abdul Qayyum Khan who was a formidable opponent of Khan brothers was forced to leave the cabinet on the eve of elections. He had refused to join the P.N.A but

unfortunately he was offered such humiliating terms by the leaders of the P.P.P that he was left with no option excepting the parting of ways with them. "When it came to the division of seats in the frontier Province, Mr. Bhutto's advisers such as Hafeez Pirzada made it impossible for Qayyum to accept the poor terms offered on 12 January. He and Yusuf Khattak were formally asked to resign from the cabinet, thus leaving the P.P.P along against all other political parties". The swollen headed advisers could not see beyond their nose and they went on multiplying the problems and adding more enemies.

On January 20, during the course of elections in Pakistan, Jimmy Carter was elected U.S President and in his very inaugural speech he declared with determination to seek ban on nuclear arms. With carter's election, Mr. Bhutto lost all his links with the U. S administration that he had through Henry Kissinger. Now he had to face the American President who was totally against the political objective which Bhutto had set forth in his future plans. Thus the American President had indirectly announced his opposition to Bhutto's aims, ambitions and his election.

Throughout the elections, the Prime Minister addressed big rallies and mammoth meetings every where in Pakistan without any rest and relaxation to ensure his victory. No doubts were left in the minds of his adversaries that Bhutto's success was certain. But the foreign conspiracies were brewing up steadily to destroy Bhutto through his own countrymen to serve the purpose of super power. Bhutto, without doubt, was guilty of uniting the Muslim world and third world, for the prevention of economic and political exploitation, and had made Pakistan a nuclear power.

THE ATTITUDE OF OPPOSITION AND RIOTS

Though Maulana mufti Mahmood was President of the P.N.A; the real leader addressing the public meetings was Asghar Khan. Infact the P.N.A had concentrated in big cities, they had no roots in rural areas where most of the population lived. Asghar Khan and others addressed sizeable meetings in the cities but they were no match against Pakistan's Quaid-e-Azam, the Prime Minister of Pakistan. Even the foreign media that was not sympathetic to Mr. Bhutto on account of his global policies had predicted that he had enjoyed upper hand in the politics of Pakistan, and as such his victory was not in any doubt, in spite of the unified efforts of the P.N.A. "The un-charismatic Asghar Khan..... turned in an unexpectedly forceful performance in the campaign drawing tumultuous crowds wherever he went. Even so he was unable to counter the enormous respect Bhutto had earned....." If Ayub Khan and Yahya Khan could become dictators of Pakistan, why not Marshal Asghar Khan? After all Pakistan was the property of generals.

Z.A.Bhutto had been in continuous contact with the people from the days of the first Martial Law promulgated in 1958. It was a perennial stream of contacts and services. No other political leader of Pakistan had the guts,

courage in –exhaustible energy and an unconquerable spirit in politics as Bhutto had; he was born for politics. Realising that the P.N.A had no chances to win, Asghar Khan the leader and spokesman of the alliance started proclaiming openly in his public meetings before March 7 that elections or no elections’ the huge gatherings that he had addressed, proved that he had won the elections and that, they would not accept any results that would go against them. Asghar Khan declared that P.N.A had already won and no other outcome would be accepted.⁷ From such frequent utterances it could be safely gathered that he had not only lost all hope of winning the elections, but he did have the knowledge that after defeat in the election, they would start agitation and create grave chaotic condition in the country, under the patronage of foreign powers. After all, P.N.A. had nothing much to do with the survival of Pakistan.

The elections were held in March according to the schedule. The Prime Minister and eight other P.P.P candidates were elected to the assembly without any contest. Mr. Bhutto lost in Karachi as well as in Peshawar, but the victory that he had in Punjab where he secured 105 out 115 seats was unexpected. He himself was not happy with the results from Punjab. Undoubtedly he could safely win majority of seats from Punjab, though not to that extent. Over all the Pakistan National Alliance got 36 seats while 156 seats were won by the People’s Party. The P.N.A leaders had in advance prepared their programme of agitation as all the quarters interested against Bhutto had knowledge of his victory, though not to the extent as declared on March 8.

Immediately after the elections, the P.N.A refused to accept the results, directed the P.N.A members of the National Assembly to resign and boycott the Provincial Assembly polls. The leaders of the alliance gave country wide call on for general strike on March 11.

On March 11, the P.N.A demanded;

- (i) Announcement of the elections under neutral control.
- (ii) Removal of the Chief Election Commissioner.
- (iii) Resignation of the Prime Minister.

The P.N.A instead of talking to the Prime Minister about the election situation directly started inciting the people throughout Pakistan. The agitation thus started, resulted in riots, strikes, processions, arson and killing, in all the major cities of Pakistan, and Pakistan lost its political reputation and sustained irreparable economic damage. The Prime Minister was considerate and conciliatory. He was the last man to see the image of Pakistan spoiled and its image adversely affected. He immediately called upon the Chief election commissioner, Mr. Justice (Retd) Sajjad Ahmad Jan, who had been a Judge of an untarnished reputation “If some individuals have violated the law, it is my earnest desire that they be brought to book as quickly as possible.” Actually

the Commissioner did start proceedings against those who were alleged to have rigged the elections, and some were actually disqualified, but it was not enough for the P.N.A to be satisfied. The leaders of P.N.A wanted the Prime Minister to obey their dictates. They did not believe in reason and fairness; and also justice to country in which he lived. Rafi Raza, who had more or less dissociated from active politics, writes:

“In the past ZAB had always been dismissive about the consequences of unfair election, but this time he was not and we discussed the issue seriously. He was tired, drawn, and clearly dejected when he left.”

But the P.N.A, and especially the hard liner leaders who included Asghar Khan. Sherbaz Mazari, Begum Nasim Wali Khan, and Maulana Maudoodi were not prepared to listen to logic.”

But he was highly suspect among the most powerful P.N.A leaders and his words and promises fell on deaf ears.⁹ The Prime Minister rightly warned.... That he would not allow any act of destruction to the detriment of the country and its people. However, he was all for conciliation.

Things were getting worse day by day, therefore the Prime Minister had to call the military in aid of the civil administration, and was forced to arrest the P.N.A leaders who were bent upon destroying the constructed Pakistan and future of the poor, rather the country itself. The Muslim Heads of State, more especially the Arabs were deeply concerned with the stability and existence of Pakistan and they were fully conscious of the fact it was brilliant Bhutto who had raised honour of the Muslim countries, especially Pakistan. The American historian writes: “No more popular leader has yet emerged from the soil of Sindh, or the harsh and rugged frontier, none was more admired, even worshiped by the impoverished Peasants and simple labourers than the Quaid-e-Awam Bhutto.” At this hour of crisis, the Heads of the Muslim State directed their ambassadors to do their best in order to bring reconciliation and peace in Pakistan, when a man like Bhutto who had helped the Muslim World and the Third World was facing difficulties and conspiracies. According to Asghar Khan “Our first visitor was Mr. Riaz-ul-Khatib, the Saudi ambassador who came to see me on the day following my arrival with a message from King Khalid, asking us to try to reach a settlement with Bhutto. He was a frequent visitor to Sihala and did his best to persuade us to give up our stand about re-elections. The Foreign Minister of the United Arab Emirates also paid us a visit for the same purpose. During these visits we explained our point of view, which they conveyed to the Prime Minister. Mufti Mahmood had to be hospitalized a couple of time during our stay at Sihala and was visited there by the Foreign Minister of Libya. Foreign Minister had spoken with him as if he was one of Bhutto’s Ministers. After meeting with Mufti Mahmood, he had made a statement to the Press in which he had accused the P.N.A of collaborating with the United States of America; and of being involved in an international conspiracy... I therefore felt that the parleys with the ambassadors of Arab Countries were an exercise

in futility". The super power-prompted P.N.A for mysterious reasons was not prepared to listen to the Muslim countries who were the best friends of Pakistan.

From the above statement of Asghar Khan, it is clear that they were not prepared to listen to their neighbouring Muslim Arab States who were most interested in the integrity and welfare of Pakistan. Were they under the impression that the U.S would introduce Nizam-I-Mustafa after removing Bhutto? But, this much they knew that the fate of Bhutto was to be decided by the super power and not by the Muslim world or the Third world.

Thus the talks ended without any results. Unfortunately the great revolutionary giants Mao-Tse-Tung and Chau-en-Lai of China had died in 1976. They were the extremely helpful friends of Pakistan against any aggression. Militarily and economically they gave with both their hands to Pakistan; and they happened to be the closest friends of Bhutto for a long time. It was possible that their friendly and effective interference at such critical situation might have proved fruitful. But they were no more in this world, and Pakistan was destined to suffer.

The Prime Minister on his part was doing everything reasonable to bring sanity in the country, but the fire that was set to Pakistan was difficult to extinguish, "The leaders of P.N.A continued to refuse my father's offer to negotiate a peaceful solution. In the face of looting, arson and murder of PPP supporters, my father was forced to detain several of the P.A.A leaders. Perhaps the temporary silencing of their calls to violence would calm the country. But on April 20, the long planned "Operation Wheel Jam" paralysed Karachi's streets. The truck drivers were on strike and shops, banks, markets and textile mills remained closed. On April 21, in accordance with the constitution, my father called out the army to help the civil powers restore order in major cities of Karachi, Lahore and Hyderabad. The protests subsided. A massive demonstration and nation wide strike called for April 22 never materialized, nor a week later did the "Long March" the PNA's call for two million people to march to Rawalpindi and surround the Prime Minister's House. The failure of the Long March punctured the balloon of the PNA agitation, once and for all. My father drove through the streets of Rawalpindi, greeted by cheering crowds. But the PNA agitation had taken its toll. Thousands of new cars and buses had been burned. Factories in Karachi were closed or behind schedule. Millions of rupees worth property had been destroyed. Lives had been lost. I breathed a sigh of relief when the papers reported on June 3, that the PNA had finally agreed to talk with my father, while my father seemed amenable to the idea of dissolving his government in preparation for fresh election.

Reason seemed to be returning at last to Pakistan. Four days into the negotiations my father withdrew the army and a week later, the PNA leaders and others detained during the troubles were freed. Following my father's

announcement that he would hold new elections in October, even the most stubborn PNA leaders seemed optimistic about the future. 'I now see light at the end of the tunnel. Let us pray it is not mirage', one of the opposition was quoted as saying in the June 13 issue of Newsweek on meeting with my father.

The loss thus caused was colossal in the words of Attorney General Yahya Bakhtiar, while arguing before the Supreme Court, about the validity of the limited Martial Law, he said that from mid March to 25 May, 241 people were killed and 1198 wounded, several members of the security forces were also killed and wounded, 1622 vehicles destroyed and hundreds of buildings, including banks, cinemas, Offices and Shops had been destroyed or damaged.

It will be relevant for the information of the readers that the Prime Minister had given proposal for referendum in his speech in the National Assembly. He would submit to National referendum on whether he should continue in Power. "what we have gone through is a nightmare." "Bhutto told the National Assembly in an emotional 55-minute address. I place my fate in the hands of the People." It was a great challenge to PNA, but they refused to accept.

THE AMERICAN ATTITUDE

The U.S government attitude towards Pakistan has mostly remained casual and it was taken for granted, while India has been treated seriously and sympathetically. It was for the first time in Pakistan's history that young Bhutto on induction into the government in late 1958 made the U.S realize that Pakistan also existed in the world and had refused to accept the dictates of America. He was not against the U.S but wanted paramount attention and importance to be given to his own country and did what he thought best in the national interests. His policies were detested and his efforts and forceful speeches against aggression and exploitation especially by Israel and India were deprecated strongly. But now he wanted to create a new Muslim world and the Third world.

The United States government always preferred to play the role of 'King Maker' in order to serve their global interests. This is such a notorious fact that the world politicians used the terminology of "American agent" for Pakistan as an abuse. It is admitted even by the pro U.S writers that the changes in the Government of Pakistan have continued to take place at the behest of the United States "It is Commonly perceived that U.S has always had an all pervasive-role in Pakistan. Certainly in the case of all-sudden changes of regimes which have occurred in Pakistan since 1953, the blessings of U.S have been sought, even if they did not play a direct role."

Mr. Bhutto thinking himself to be the defacto Prime Minister of Pakistan and not an "Agent General" of any power, had deviated from the policies of his predecessors. He had many differences with the United States, but the latest

one which had enraged the American administration, pertained to nuclear energy for which Bhutto was working day and night, while the U.S was strongly opposed to it. The Prime Minister had his meetings with Dr. Henry Kissinger, for which Ms Benazir writes: "The meeting had not gone well and my father had been flushed with anger when he returned. Henry Kissinger, he told me, had spoken to him crudely and arrogantly. The U.S secretary of State had made it clear that the Reprocessing Plant Agreement was not acceptable to the United States. The agreement either had to be cancelled or delayed for several years until new technology excluded the possibility of the nuclear device option. During the meeting, Kissinger had claimed that he considered my father, a brilliant statesman. It was only as a 'well wisher' that he was warning him that is reconsider the agreement with France or risk being made into a horrible example."

Ms Benazir has further elaborated the reasons of American anger against the Pakistani Prime Minister, "I could picture the C.I.A dossier on my father. Here was a man who had spoken out against American policy during the Vietnam war, who had promoted, normalized relations with Communist China, who had supported the Arabs during the 1973 War, and advocated independence from the Super Powers at third World Conference, was getting too big for his boots."

Now in elections, a golden opportunity was provided by the circumstances in Pakistan and certainly they would not miss the bus and spare Bhutto. Mr. Rafi Raza says "equally certainly, as should have been clear to any student of international relations, the U.S was inimical to his ambitions and it would have been most unlikely for them to lose this opportunity to encourage, if not stir up the trouble for him. However the role they actually played, is difficult to determine, because of lack of direct evidence." The leniency of Rafi Raza is understandable. He did not want to spoil his own relations.

No such violent movement had ever been launched, nor such modern and meticulous methods of creating anarchy were ever employed in Pakistan. Those who were impartial witnesses of the situation could safely say that billions of rupees must have been provided to paralyse and destroy the Bhutto government, which was the most crucial object of the Carter administration. Men can speak lie but not the circumstances. Circumstances Speak so eloquently against the U.S administration that there is no need of any other direct evidence. After all conspiracies would not be hatched on the top of roof. It is all done with care, caution and secrecy. A dollar in those days was selling at Rs.7/- while earlier it was selling at Rs.10/-. Where from the anxiously sought treasure of dollars arrived in Pakistan? Mr. Benazir writes about the plenty of dollars in Pakistan in the following words: "People had fistfuls of American dollars and were leaving their jobs, my friend Samiya wrote, including my Cousin Fakhri's servants and those of their friends; "We got better pay by demonstrating for the PNA', the servants claimed. Since March she wrote, the flood of American Currency had driven the value of the dollar in

the black down by 30 percent. Without apparent financial loss, private truck and bus drivers had gone on strike in Karachi, forcing a factory slowdown because the employees could not get to work. Those same trucks and buses, were however available to transport the people to PNA demonstration.'

The sale of any kind of arms and ammunition to Pakistan was cancelled by the U.S administration, and even the supply of tear gas was refused to them, apprehending that it might be used against the demonstrations for over throwing the Bhutto regime." Trattner specifically denied that the sale had been blocked because of U.S displeasure, with Pakistan' Prime Minister, who last week opened a dialogue with his political foes in an attempt to solve the country's grave political crisis and who has broadly hinted that U.S is behind much of the bitter opposition he has faced since Pakistan's March 7 elections. Tattner also denied that the arms decision was intended to please India, which has been increasingly friendly with the U.S under the leadership of the new Prime Minister Morarji Desai." The statement abundantly proves the contention of Ms Benazir Bhutto. The Carter administration was keen to sabotage the talks.

There had been more than a thousand years of wrangling by West against Islam, therefore blind fold to realities and equities, they directly interfered with the internal affairs of the Muslim countries; and in a matter like this, Carter administration galloped forward to lead the opposition and weaken Pakistan. The same government had subsequently tried to ruin Iran, the newly sprung Muslim State on the Principles and traditions of Islam, but It was miraculously save.

It is very far from truth to say that the U.S government was not deeply interested in eliminating Bhutto. Even in the matter of execution of Bhutto the Chairman of Islamic Summit Conference, they were totally callous. Therefore the P.P.P leaders while approaching the ambassadors of the other countries for saving their leader's life, did not meet the U.S ambassador. They knew the 'noble' part played by the Carter administration.

PART PLAYED BY GENERALS.

The Pakistani General had received their training from the U.S as army officers. Arms and equipment were also purchased mostly from the same country. They also conducted their military exercises in conjunction with the American soldiers; therefore for all these reasons and many others, most of them were deeply influenced by America. The Socialist Countries had in fact not much attraction for them, though the Pakistani Prime Minister was endeavouring to change their ideals to suit the interests of Pakistan and the Muslim World.

Taking him to be a God fearing, humble, devout Muslim and unambitious, Bhutto had promoted Ziaul Haq out of turn to the highest rank of

Chief of Army Staff. No honour could be greater than that; He became more powerful than the President. The "outward piety and implicit obedience" displayed by Zia, succeeded in deceiving the ever vigilant Bhutto. If Julius Caesar could be deceived, why not Bhutto!

The Behaviour of General Zia was being closely watched by Lt. General Jilani who was director General of ISI. On December 3, 1976, he sent a "SECRET" message to General Zia with a copy to the Prime Minister's House, warning of a handwritten Urdu Poster found in the Multan's Barracks calling in red ink for "Army revolution" and listing a number of grievances and demands..... The personnel are most susceptible to religious appeal. The Mullah is omnipresent in the units. The Mullah has his own brand of religious affiliations..... Above all, there is the influence of the JI and JUI..... The JI and the JUI have been making ingress into the armed forces. The JI has the advantage and the benefit of the teachings of Maudoodi. The JUI has advantage of Maulana Mufti Mahmood's influence in..... Multan and surrounding areas."

"On July 1, 1976, Zia gave copies of Tafhimul Quran by Maulana Maudoodi as Prize to soldiers, who won a debate managed by the Army Education School. The Tafhimul Quran was then proposed to be included in the examination for the promotion of captains to the rank of Major, and Bhutto was sufficiently concerned about the highly injurious impact of such emphasis on religious duty for all officers."

The Prime Minister had not very correctly judged General Zia, who in fact was follower of Maulana Maudoodi. There had been substantial number of officers and Government servants inside and outside the pale of army. The ideology behind the creation of Pakistan which could be acceptable to all schools of Muslim thought and practical in the modern politics was placed before the nation very plainly in unambiguous terms. It was different from the narrow and contradictory interpretations of Islam propounded by the religio-political factions on warring terms with each other, leveling fatwas of "infidelity" against each other. The gap of time between the Quaid-e-Azam and Z.A Bhutto was so large that the concept of Quaid's politics did not exist any more. The compatriots of the Quaid-e-Awam also seemed to be supremely indifferent to the intellectual undercurrents. Maulana Maudoodi and Mufti Mahmood were deadly against the creation of Pakistan and its founder, they did not care much about its existence. Rather they wanted to prove that the struggle for Pakistan was "UnIslamic," but it was being done very intelligently and carefully. The West was the real sponsor of the PNA agitation, because they knew it for certain that the elimination of Bhutto from politics meant the end of Bhutto's dream of Islamic renaissance, greatness and glory; and the PNA or the Army Generals how so ever religiously devout, would remain at low level. They had neither the vision nor capability that the Prime Minister had. The subsequent events that happened in Pakistan and the Muslim World proved that none could replace Z.A. Bhutto. He was indeed leader of the

Muslim World and Third World and fought relentlessly and valiantly against injustices perpetuated on them. Islam was on march during the Bhutto regime. Apparently the heads of the armed forces of Pakistan seemed to be loyal to the Prime Minister. In their joint statement the Chiefs of the Staff of the Army, air force and Navy gave full support by declaring that the officers and men would defend the country's independence "even at the risk of their lives." But the undercurrents were different from what appeared on the surface of the political ocean. They were telling a different story.

The P.N.A leaders had started inciting the army officers for revolting against Bhutto. Asghar Khan addressed a letter in May 1977, to the Army not to support the PPP government. It was infact an attempt on his part to get Bhutto ousted through the army.

He said:

"This, my friends, was not a just and fair election. Bhutto has vitiated the constitution and is guilty of a grave crime against the people. It is not your duty to support his illegal regime, nor can you be called upon to kill your own people, so that he can continue a little longer in office. "In other words, Asghar Khan advised the Army not to obey the Chief Executive of the Pakistan Government and establish some other extra constitutional regime. This letter of Asghar Khan was distributed throughout the military units in Pakistan, and it did have its desired results. A near-correct assessment of the situation was reported in the Newsweek "How the army would handle this volatile situation was not known. The Army Chief of Staff General Mohammed Zia Ul Haque and several other top officers were hand picked supporters of the Prime Ministers, but the loyalty of junior officers was in question. The opposition hoped the army would oust Bhutto and call new elections.... Last week the army was moving continuously and trying to avoid confrontations. I Lahore it was widely believed that Punjabi soldiers never fire on Punjabi civilians." In fact the army generals ultimately went much beyond the assessment of the Newsweek a long night of political darkness pervaded the country. On April 9, police opened fire on a crowd in Lahore and according to official report, eight were killed and seventy-seven were injured. After this serious incident of firing the law-enforcing agencies refused to fire on the rioters.

The Generals had a secretive attitude, which they maintained up to the last. The politicians were hopelessly divided while the generals of the army were united in those times of the political up-heavals. They maintained their secrecy up to the last, and used the PNA as their tool. The Prime Minister was however apprehensive of the conduct of the Generals. "Aziz Ahad, the new Foreign Minister, maintained that General Zia had without Foreign Office clearance, given a dinner for U.S ambassador which was attended by several senior officials. Mr. Bhutto was most concerned by this reference to what he might have been considered questionable loyalty on the part of the Army Chief. "Zia did it with audacity in breach of rules. It was an outrageously illegal

behaviour on the part of hitherto humble and flattering Zia. Was U.S-Zia axis formed by now?

General Gul Hassan and Air Marshal Rahim Khan who were made to retire from army, and were now ambassadors in Greece and Spain also sent their resignations on April 13. They entertained deep and undying prejudice against the Prime Minister as he had made these ambitious generals retire from Army and appointed them as Ambassadors.

The letters of resignation were quite venomous against Bhutto regime. But why they remained as Ambassadors for such a long time during his regime. These resignations were also meant to set the army officers against the Prime Minister and prepare them for a coup. Now the situation was such that Mr. Bhutto could not rely on General Zia and many other officers. During the days of the British rule, the army was totally apolitical, but after their exit from the United India, and the death of Mohammad Ali Jinnah, the army generals were drawn towards politics in Pakistan; and now they had become more of politicians than soldiers. The country was now in agonies, and the democracy established by Bhutto was breathing its last.

TABLE OF NEGOTIATIONS.

Zulfikar Ali Bhutto never disregarded public opinion, nor was he afraid of holding and fighting elections. All that worried him, was the attitude of General Zia and the army generals and their meetings with the U.S officials against rules. The attitude of the United States administration had been invariably against Bhutto; who was removed from the Foreign Ministership of Pakistan by Ayub Khan, at the behest of American President Johnson. The army leaders in Pakistan had yet to reconcile themselves to a secondary role in the governance of Pakistan. The U.S. administration was totally in favour of Bhutto's elimination for his unbending attitude towards nuclear power and global politics. The petty politicians, the vested interests and the sentimental citizens of Pakistan failed to understand the far-reaching implications of Bhutto's elimination and the colossal loss that Pakistan and the Muslim World were bound to suffer resultantly.

The Prime Minister rightly apprehended that the secret alliance between the U.S administration and the army leaders might prove most disastrous for him and the country itself. He was therefore prepared to sit with the P.N.A for negotiations, fully agreeable to the holding of fresh elections. Negotiations started on June 3 between the PPP and the P.N.A. The situation in Pakistan was much better and the agitation was no more in existence. The PPP team was represented by the Prime Minister along with Abdul Hafeez Pirzada and Maulana Kausar Niazi, while the PNA was represented by Maulana Mufti Mahmood, Nasrullah and Professor Ghafoor Ahmad. Both the teams were in a positive mood to arrive at settlement, though there was a degree of mistrust between them. The difference between the two teams was that the PPP team

had full authority for concluding the negotiations, while PNA leaders who constituted the team were not fully authorized to settle the terms. The PNA comprised nine parties, it was heterogeneous combination, and therefore its team lacked necessary authority. They could not finalise any accord without the consent of Asghar Khan and Begum Nasim Khan who never relied on the Prime Minister, and wanted his ouster at any cost. Bhutto wanted to save his country and save the system at any rate. He was not greedy for power; he wanted power for Pakistan and the exploited World. These momentous talks proved that he was an international citizen. He wanted to live in history and a man who desires to live in history would not seek power for himself. Even before the negotiations, he had made it abundantly clear in a press conference "I am not going to ruin my political standing with the country by conceding that I have rigged elections. I would say that I have committed a grave crime and let history give its verdict. What the hell is the office of the Prime Minister. I am more concerned about my place in history." It would appear that there was wide gulf of differences, views and thinking between Bhutto and the P.N.A. leaders whose sphere of politics was very narrow.

Without conceding to the charge of rigging, the Quaid-e-Awam (Leader of the People) sat for negotiations in order to go again to the people, so that the history might not blame him for any deadlock. "On May 4, the PNA presented its demands in the form of a detailed draft Accord, prepared by its team of lawyers from the dissolution of all Assemblies, the holding of general elections on 7 October and elections to the Provincial Assembly on 10, October, the recalling of the Army from Balochistan, the repeal of amendments to the constitution and the termination of all special tribunals, to such minute details as to how the election results would be announced." The attitude of the Prime Minister was quite positive and he was prepared to agree to any reasonable demand. On 15 June, Ghafoor Ahmad and Kausar Niazi addressed Press Conference in optimistic terms about an agreement. At the same time, however Asghar Khan told the press separately that any agreement was worthless, unless all the details were settled". Now the leaders of the PNA themselves were proving stumbling block in the matter of accord. They started creating hitches, because they wanted some thing other than accord and amity. The details were also worked out as desired by Asghar Khan. In the words of Asghar Khan "In the talks, Bhutto agreed to hold elections in October and also to the creation of an Implementation committee with equal representation from the PNA. The Prime Minister was to be its chairman with a casting vote in the event of disagreement. At the conclusion of the talks, it was announced to the Press that the government and the PNA had reached an accord and the final meeting would take place the following day." In spite of conceding to the demands of the P.N.A. and the acceptance of the accord by the P.N.A team, the P.N.A. Council did not approve it, which again created suspicions against the bonafides of the PNA leaders. 'After hearing them, the PNA council met again in the evening. The consensus was again that the proposal was unacceptable, and I was asked to speak to the Press to explain the position". The unreasonableness of the PNA was taking the country to

darkness and dictatorship; but the Prime Minister was determined to conclude the award in the larger national interests. According to Rafi Raza "Again all through the night of July 1, until dawn the next day, most of the points were thrashed out again between the two teams.... Asghar Khan vehemently opposed the draft and he was supported by Sher Baz Mazari and Begum Wali Khan." The real trouble was that the PNA was recipient of instructions from the U.S and was also in concert with the generals in command of the situation. General Zia was also under the direct influence of U.S. because it suited the purpose of the Super Power as well as Zia; and the PNA leaders too were not against the idea. They were indifferent towards the larger interests of Pakistan and the Muslim World. They knew it for certain that in case of election, Bhutto was bound to come out victorious; and even such a thought was most repugnant to them. But the Prime Minister who was insistent on accord, had decided to reach the accord without a moment delay. All that Bhutto wanted, was that Pakistan should live as an honourable democratic state, and for that purpose, he was prepared to accept every condition.

The matter was then considered the following day at a meeting in which General Ziaul Haq was also present. That night Mr. Bhutto invited Mustafa Jatoi, Mumtaz Bhutto and Hafeez Pirzada for discussions. Pirzada still maintained that there was no urgency, but Mr. Bhutto held a press conference at mid night to announce that the agreement would be finalized the next day. Unfortunately, the next day was not to be on Mr. Bhutto terms, at 1:30 a.m. 'Operation fair Play' was put into action by General Zia."

Milton said "Satan was the first who practiced falsehood under saintly cover." This was followed by many including some highly placed Muslims who were ostensibly "devout Muslims." Sher Baz Mazari also maintains that until the very end, the 'two main sticking points,' namely the withdrawal of the military to their barracks in Balochistan, and trial in ordinary courts of those arrested before the Hyderabad Tribunal, remained unresolved, General Zia had rejected them, although after the coup, he accepted both positions'. This conduct of General Zia was highly unfair, dishonest rather hypocritical, as he had always been putting the Prime Minister in awkward position.

Asghar Khan's version is that Zia and his other Generals had already decided for coup-de-tat, and they were against any settlement between the Prime Minister and the PNA "On the evening of 4 July, Bhutto held a meeting with his senior advisers, at which Zia-ul-Haq was also present. The political situation was discussed and Bhutto told them that he would be reasoning the dialogue with the PNA leaders the following day and intended resolving the deadlock. The possibility of an accord being reached between the government and the PNA was not to his liking and Zia-ul-Haq decided to act without delay to obviate that risk. The plan for a coup which had been ready for some time was immediately put into action..... The details had been already worked out by the coup commander at Rawalpindi, Lt. General Faiz Ali Chishti and the whole operation was completed before dawn of July 1977."

The decision of the Prime Minister to hold election and to establish democracy in Pakistan and save its honour, thus ended in the imposition of Martial Law and his arrest. Picture of the final scene of this chapter was painted as under by an American Magazine:

They made their move in the middle of the night, apologizing for their coup. Shortly before 2 o'clock, last Tuesday morning, a group of officers descended on the Prime Minister's residence, in Rawalpindi. "Sir the troops have come" a servant advised Prime Minister Zulfikar Ali Bhutto. The Prime Minister took the news stoically, gathered his own wife and children on the lawn of the official residence, had coffee and ordered his bags packed. He then moved to the Governor's mansion in nearby hill resort of Muree, 30 miles away. Behind padlocked iron gates guarded by paratroopers, Bhutto was comfortably confined with an aide and a special shipment of books..... The head of Bhutto's Federal Security Force, several of his intelligence chiefs, and most members of his cabinet were also rounded up and placed in "temporary protective custody."

CHAPTER 24

Trial And Tragedy

The best people need afflictions for trial of their virtues. How can we exercise the grace of contentment, if all things succeed well; and that of forgiveness, if we have no enemies?

Tillotson

Even during their agitation against Z.A Bhutto, the P.N.A leaders had realized that it would not be possible for them to win the elections in spite of their being under the care and patronage of the army junta and the selected judiciary. They preferred even the devil's rule instead of democracy in which people voted Bhutto to power. They were planning and conspiring to get rid of the Quaid-e-Awam by any fair or foul means. They were never sincere for Nizam-e-Mustafa, but they had used this slogan as a hoax for achieving their end. It will be observed that no movement or agitation was launched with such vigour in Pakistan after the martyrdom of Bhutto, and it has never been pressed to introduce Nizam-e-Mustafa. The name of Holy Prophet (Peace be upon him) was used against the interests of Islam and the country. What a hypocritical politics!

The Military Junta of Pakistan, and more especially General Ziaul Haq was initially under the impression that after the PNA agitation, and after the promulgation of Martial Law in the country, depriving Bhutto of his power, he will succeed in wiping out Bhutto politically. He had made a show of his piety, reciting Holy Quran in his speeches and spoke of the Islamic order; but all that could not reduce Z.A. Bhutto's influence; because people had genuinely believed that it was Zulfikar Bhutto alone who could bring back renaissance of Islam, make Pakistan once again an honourable country in the comity of the world nations, and none else had even the capacity to do it.

THE PROMISED GENERAL ELECTION

"We promise according to our hopes but perform according to our selfishness and our fears."

The self-styled "soldier of Islam", upon whom Tufail Mohammad, a former Amir Jamat-e-Islami, was audacious enough to confer the title of "Ghazi Salahuddin" a noblest hero, history maker and a great warrior of Islam, made many pledges to the nation and broke them one by one with impudence and indignity.

In the evening of 5th July 1977, General Zia ul Haq addressed the nation. Its sum and substance was:

1. The army-takeover is never a pleasant act, because the armed forces of Pakistan genuinely desire the administration of country to remain in the hands of the representatives of the people, who are the real masters. The people exercise their right through their elected representatives, who are chosen in every democratic country through periodic elections.
2. I genuinely feel that the survival of this country lies in democracy and democracy alone.
3. The constitution has not been abrogated, only the operation of certain parts of the constitution held in suspension.
4. I want to make it clear that neither I have any political ambitions nor does the army want to be taken away from the profession of soldiering. I was obliged to step in, to fill in the vacuum created by the political leaders. I have accepted the challenge as a true soldier of Islam. My sole aim is to organize free and fair elections, which will be held in October this year.
5. Soon after the polls, power will be transferred to the elected representatives of the people. I give a solemn pledge that I will not deviate from the schedule; during the next three months, my entire attention will be concentrated on holding elections. I would not dissipate my powers and energies on any thing else.

ZIA'S INITIAL EXPRESSIONS FOR BHUTTO

Professor Ghafoor Ahmad, one of negotiators on behalf of the P.N.A, writes:

“By the middle of July, General Ziaul Haq, while expressing his regrets in an interview, said that he had to extend such treatment to a person, for whom, he had entertained very high regard in his heart. He stated that Mr. Bhutto was a man of iron-will and had full sense of history. In his opinion the allegation of rigging against Mr. Bhutto was wrong; he had not indulged in rigging. However, the army had the evidence of rigging at the level of the executive. He further expressed that even if there had been no rigging, victory of Mr. Bhutto was certain.”

This announcement was very heartening for the people. “The Martial Law government by its frank announcement and exemplary attitude had won the hearts of the people. The common man, treating him as emancipator was grateful to him. As a result of such steps, an opportunity was being afforded to run the country on democratic lines.”

In his press conference of July 14, he said "My intention has all along been.....to lay tradition that the army will not meddle in politics, let politicians decide things by themselves..... We are determined to do our constitutional duty and perform over constitutional obligation, namely the support of government....unfortunately as we have seen, the law and order situation deteriorated.....It is the job of army, infact its duty to act if some body is looting or destroying public property, or trying to disrupt the pattern of normal life."

Ziaul Haq had fixed October 18 for the general elections. Accompanied by General Faiz Ali Chishti, General Akhtar, general Arif and Ghulam Ishaq Khan, Ziaul Haq visited Muree on July 15, 1977 and had along meetings with Bhutto and PNA leaders. In the course of his discussions, he assured them that the elections would be held according to the schedule. The purpose of PNA had stood served by the imposition of Martial Law; their enemy Bhutto was overthrown out of power. However, Zia ul Haq's meeting with Z.A. Bhutto was far from cordial. He pulled up Ziaul Haq for committing an act of high treason by subverting the constitution. Perhaps this was the turning point which made Zia ul Haq, a blood-thirsty enemy of Bhutto. On the same day, he appointed Maulvi Mushtaq Husain as Chief election Commissioner of Pakistan. A.K. Brohi, Sharifuddin Pirzada and Naseem Hasan Shah were appointed members of the committee to frame the rules. All these gentlemen were avowed enemies of Bhutto.

After appointing such a hostile commission, Zia must have heaved a sigh of relief. Again on July 27, he reiterated his pledge in his press conference: "The world shall witness this great nation electing its representatives in free and fair elections which lead to the establishment of National Government to which the Armed forces of Pakistan will hand over power that they now hold in trust.

In so far as my personal view about the restoration of democracy is concerned, I believe that the democracy has not been given a chance to flourish in this country, during last 30 years.... Despite this, I firmly believe that the tender plant of democracy shall not only take root in the country, but eventually shall become a full tree."

Instead of tending the tender plant of democracy Zia and his cohorts cut the very roots of it with exceptional expertise and revenge, burnt them and buried the same fathoms below in the earth, so that it could never be planted again. But the revenge of nature was more cruel, and disastrous. The bones and flesh of the General were reduced to ashes in an air crash and nobody knows where they are.

RAISON D'ETRE FOR ASSASSINATION

In my opinion there were two groups in the influential sector of the army – the first group wanted to overthrow Bhutto, hold the elections, get the Pakistan People’s Party defeated, and hand over Bhutto to the PNA. The other group proposed to do away with Bhutto physically. This opinion is fortified by facts and circumstances. It seems that Zia was leading the first group, otherwise Z.A Bhutto would have been assassinated on the spot in the Prime Minister’s house as was done in case of Mujib ur Rahman by the army.

But after Bhutto’s meeting with Zia in Muree, holding the latter responsible for the violation of Article 6 of the Constitution, his uncontrollable popularity, his mammoth meetings, rallies and his trenchant criticism of the imposition of Martial Law, united all the anti Bhutto Generals united under the leadership of Ziaul Haq to assassinate Bhutto.

When the Martial Law was imposed on July 5, 1977, Khalid Ahmad Kharal, Deputy Commissioner of Larkana, who later on became Federal Minister in 1993, told me in his interview that the officials had instruction from the Martial Law Government to extend the same protocol to Bhutto like Prime Minister, excepting the flag. But according to him this protocol continued only up to July 27, for the reason that Bhutto had become intolerable for them. I interviewed another gentleman, namely Mr. Imdadullah Unar, who was deputy Commissioner at Sanghar during the regime of Mr. Bhutto and six “Hurs” were killed in his days. He was later on involved in the murder case of those hurs, but was ultimately acquitted. His version was that immediately on the imposition of Martial Law, he was contacted and asked if he was prepared to implicate the former Prime Minister in the case of Hurs; but he flatly refused. According to him, they wanted the murder case of Sindhis to be foisted on Mr. Bhutto, in which the prosecutor, prosecution witnesses and the trial judge would all be Sindhis. He had made a categorical statement in the court also that he was asked to implicate Bhutto. These two statements would reveal that at the initial stage, there were two groups in the army, which unified themselves after Mr. Bhutto’s interview with Zia, and the subsequent events which proved beyond any doubt, that Bhutto was getting tremendously popular in the masses and it was beyond the prowess of the PNA and the Generals to face that storm. They knew that the ‘Iron-willed’ Bhutto would never forgive the generals, responsible for subversions, Bhutto was a man with clear conscience and clean hands, therefore he emphatically demanded in a press conference that “I had suggested to Ziaul Haque that before holding elections, he should appoint a Tribunal where he should be afforded an opportunity to vindicate his honour and dignity, because that is the only asset of a politician.” He had further assured him that it was his promise that he would not agitate the constitutional legitimacy of Martial Law, before or after the elections.”

Bhutto knew that the people of Pakistan loved him, adored him and that they would never let him down. In the meeting of the Pakistan People’s Party’s Central Executive Committee that was held from August 1 to 3, it was decided that the party would participate in the elections. It was a practical and

pragmatic decision; the boycotting of elections would have been very unwise. This unexpected decision was a bombshell for the disgruntled and divided PNA as well as for the demoralized Martial Law Junta. They were in receipt of unanimous confidential reports from their own intelligence agencies and the Civil Administration that the PNA was out of question and victory of the People's Party was a forgone conclusion. It was most alarming for Zia.

PNA LEADERS IN TRUE COLOUR

On August 27, Z.A Bhutto had a meeting with Ziaul Haq which lasted for three hours. Bhutto tried to impress on Zia that the crying need of the hour was to hold fair and impartial elections. It was not the question of distributing the seats. Since the country was in deep crisis and its very survival was involved, the nation had to elect a leader, who would be in a position to steer the ship of nation safely to the shore out of the troubled waters. But the PNA leaders who had all along been proclaiming on the top of their voice that they were the champions of democracy, fair and free elections, opposed the holding of elections tooth and nail though Bhutto was in chains, and his workers were the victims of lashes and thrashings. Asghar Khan, Mahmood Ali Kasori, Sher Baz Mazari, Meraj Mohammad Khan, and Begum Naseem Wali Khan who had publicized themselves as crusaders for the holy cause of democracy, fair and free elections, issued several statements, advised Zia personally and demanded trial for the heinous offences committed by the former Prime Minister before holding the elections. Now they believed in the use of bullets, continuance of dictatorship and the cancellation of the election schedule. Such an advice from their agents and sycophants was very much to the taste of the army Junta.

At the same time, Zia prepared four retired High Court Judge for the performance of an unfortunate and ugly job of demanding the postponement of elections and trial of Z.A Bhutto. These gentleman were Mr. Justice Kaikans, Mr. Bashiruddin Chief Justice (Rtd) of N.W.F.P, Mr. Mohammad Siddik and A.R Changez of the West Pakistan High Court, all retired judges. The Press media was also managed by the civil and military leaders to plead for long lease of life to Martial Law. "Pakistani news papers have been filled with highly sensational allegations of corruption, police high handedness and financial misappropriations linked to the former Prime Minister's regime. The courts too have been inundated with damage suits filed by private citizens charging Bhutto and his associates with gross misuse of state authority." These manipulations paved the way for Zia ul Haque.

On October 1, 1977 Ziaul Haq the self styled soldier of Islam, breaking all his solemn pledges in violation of the injunctions of Holy Quran and the traditions of the Holy Prophet Mohammad (Peace be upon him) and throwing his cloak of piety and devotion to winds cancelled the elections. He said through broadcast to the nation:

"You will recall my speech in which I had unconditionally made a pledge that fresh elections would be held in October... Even now I hold on to that position, that except in a crisis, the army should not be holding power.... The right to rule belongs to the people alone, who should run the government through their chosen representatives... But will it be proper to apply the term democracy to whatever has happened during the last three months...

Everyone is indulging in character assassination of the opponents. Even the actions and deeds of certain individuals which are under investigation by courts of law... have been made the subject matter of political debate. Is this how the political parties visualize their roles towards the restoration of democracy? In order to prop up their leadership, certain elements have made inflammatory speeches... Are elections synonymous with violence? We have great respect for the institutions of elections, but I can't allow the country to face disaster for their sake... today the unfortunate position is that the common citizen is suffering from the sense of fear and anxiety, and is victim of uncertainty."

AN UNFORGIVABLE BETRAYAL

It was an all-damaging betrayal in the history of Pakistan, when General Ziaul Haq backed out of all oaths and pledges and unabashedly refused to hold elections. It was nothing but a usurpation of people's trust and defrauding the nation at every important juncture. In October 1958, Ayub Khan did not allow the nation to go to polls scheduled in February 1959 and thus laid the foundation stone of East Pakistan's secession. In the second Martial Law, there was the most humiliating national tragedy when Pakistan was dismembered during the regime of Yahya Khan. Now it was the turn of usurper Zia in 1977 that he deprived the real masters of their power on gunpoint; and as a "fake soldier of Islam," refused to fulfill the promise of holding elections in 90 days. Thus Pakistan was made laughing stock in the eyes of the whole world by the three Martial Law dictators who enjoyed unfettered and unchangeable powers and the people of Pakistan were their hostages all these decades. Pakistan was thus made a state of slavery.

An analysis of Ziaul Haq's statement indicates that it was vague, misleading and factually wholly incorrect; on the contrary he was guilty of victimizing the Pakistan People's Party, rather throwing the nation almost perpetually in the abyss of ignominy.

- 1.** In elections it is usual and natural that during the campaign, there are usually serious clashes in which many are killed and numerous are injured. But in the campaign of 1977, there were no such incidents and the allegations of violence were utterly false. In Indian elections, hundreds of people are killed, but in 1977, not a single man was killed. The readers will be surprised to know that in the local bodies election of Punjab, "at least 31 people including two candidates were killed and

hundreds injured in clashes which erupted during the local council elections through out Punjab. When Shahbaz Shareef was the Chief Minister of Punjab.

2. Most of the daily newspapers were against the PPP The Campaign of character assassination was vigorously but vainly launched by the PNA leaders against Z.a. Bhutto their main victim. How could Bhutto reply the wild allegations leveled against him while in jail? The PPP leaders who were allowed to remain outside, never indulged in abusive or vilification campaign, but criticized politically and they imposed strict restraints on the party workers also.
3. So far the cases in courts are concerned people do talk about them, but it does not involve the question of contempt of court. However, if the judges openly played the role of partisan, they should thank themselves. Some judges had wrought havoc in the Martial Law regime, therefore they might have been subjected to some criticism. But the memory of the people is not so short. In 1977, a big vulgar mob led by the M.N.As, senators M.P.A's and prominent leaders of the Muslim League stormed the Supreme Court of Pakistan where they indulged in very shameful, derogatory and destructive activities and abused the honourable judges right and left. The judges were searching places to protect themselves against the vandalism. There is no such shameful and degrading incident in the history of judiciary, but in 1999 the alleged contemnors were honourably acquitted, by the full bench of Supreme Court, after protracted proceedings. Is it not the duty of Judges to act impartially with dignity?

MURDER CASE REGISTERE – BHUTTO ARRESTED

When the military Junta could not get any case filed against Bhutto in Sindh, they managed to get a complaint filed on July 30, 1977 by Ahmad Raza Kasuri, about the murder of his father Ahmad Mohammad Khan, in which Zulfikar Ali Bhutto was named as the Principal accused. The former Prime Minister was arrested in such a disgraceful, and degrading manner that not even the worst criminal would be arrested that way. The episode as described by Ms. Benazir Bhutto, who was an eye witness of this saddest and highly insulting incident, is reproduced as under:

“September 3, 4 a.m. Clifton Karachi. I am asleep in my bedroom, when I hear the loose step on the stairway creak. As it is the fast of Ramzan, I think it is one of the staff bringing me the pre-dawn meal. Instead five men suddenly burst through my door, dressed all in white. I recognized them immediately as commandos of the Pakistan Army, with their crew cut and strong physique. How often, I had seen them on duty at the Prime Minister's House. But why are they in plain clothes?

They point their machine guns at me, while a sixth jumps around the room, sweeping every thing of my dressing table, yanking my clothes of their hooks, throwing my books off the bookshelves, smashing my table lamp and ripping the wires out of the telephone on my bedside table.

"What do you want?" I ask, terrified. Men never come into the room of Muslim woman like this. 'If you want to live, keep quiet', says their leader. He and his team move to the door, leaving my room in shambles. If you know what is good for you, don't move', he says waving his pistol at me... quickly I throw on some clothes over my T-shirt, snatching anything from the pile on the floor. My sister rushes in a panic. 'Don't! don't! Where are you going? They are going to kill all of us', Sanam cries... Kya aap fauji hain? I ask the man at the kitchen door in Urdu. 'Are you Soldiers? They look at each other, but in keeping with military discipline, do not answer. I take a deep breath. 'Look at these soldiers' I say loudly to my sister in Urdu. 'How can they be so 'besharam' so shameless? It was their Prime Minister Zulfikar Ali Bhutto who brought them back from the camps of India, where their Generals had left them to rot. And this is how they repay him by entering his home and violating its sanctity?'

My father motions me to sit down, next to him. In an image that seems particularly grotesque, a fast thug of a man lolling on one of Mummy's delicate blue white brocade Louis XV chairs. 'Who is he?' I whisper to my father. Saghir Anwar, Director of the Federal Investigation Agency, he tells me, "do you have an arrest warrant?" My father asks the F.I.A. Director, 'No' he replies awkwardly, looking down at the carpet. 'Then under what charge you are taking me from my home? My father asks. 'I am following orders, to take you to Military Head quarters. Anwar Says. 'Whose orders?' My father asks, 'General Zia the man replies"

Can any one imagine the horror and terror perpetrated on his benefactor and former boss by a person who had been behaving like a cringing sycophant, only two months before. After all what was the fun of sending armed military commandos at midnight to arrest the world famous Prime Minister, statesman and Chairman of the Islamic Summit, scale over the walls, break open the doors and enter the rooms at such an odd hour, without caring for the sanctity of the holy month of Ramzan, like mannerless brutes, where the Former Prime Minister's daughter were sleeping. Could he not be arrested quietly in the morning hours or daytime in the ordinary course? Was he likely to resist or abscond? Did Islam permit such indecent violation of purdah and privacy? Was there Islamic sanction behind the highly insulting, objectionable and uncultured behaviour? But all this was done under the orders of Ziaul Haq who observed five times prayer and fasts regularly, undertook pilgrimage to the holy places. This reminds people of god's wrath against the person who undertook to introduce Islamic order in the country. A celebrated Persian poet rightly said: "If this is the Islam that the preacher practices, there would be thousands of

laughters by infidels against such Islam". Shakespeare also referred to such people in the following lines:

Blow, blow thou winter wind, thou
Art not so unkind as man's ingratitude,
Freeze, freeze thou bitter sky, thou
Dost not bite, so nigh as benefits forget.

Shakespear

Bhutto was arrested in such a humiliating way, but he behaved like an experienced, seasoned and dignified person, while his young, inexperienced but brave daughter Ms Benazir remained undaunted and vocal. On September 13, he was granted bail by Justice K.M.A Samdani of Lahore High Court, caring little for the animosities of Chief Justice Mushtaq Ahmad. On the same day Z.A Bhutto flew to Karachi and thereafter to his hometown Larkana.

Bhutto knew it more than anybody else that he would be soon rearrested and Zia would never spare him. It was a temporary release. Bhutto had the experience of the party leadership and keeping it in view, he appointed his wife "Nusrat" as acting Chairperson of the party. On the night between September 16 and 17, he was arrested by the commandos, who scaled over the walls of Al-Murtaza, when the whole world was sleeping, they knocked down the guard, entered the house and arrested "the People's Leader," took him to Sukkur and then whisked him away to Punjab, where he was imprisoned for trial.

HERO'S WELCOME

Mr. Bhutto was released from detention in Muree on July 28, 1977 and he was welcomed spontaneously and profusely like a hero by hundreds of thousands every where both in urban and rural areas, while P.N.A. was now a dead body and its leaders were nobody. It seemed as if French hero, the great Napoleon Bonaparte (1769-1821) had escaped from Elba and on reaching his country, the entire nation almost lay prostrate to welcome their political chief. On his release, Zulfikar Ali proceeded to 70 Clifton Karachi, a city which was the center of agitation against him. Karachi was different now. Huge crowds of over one million anxiously awaited to greet him, regardless of the open hostility of Zia and the rigours of Martial Law. Even those who had been raising slogans against Bhutto, during PNA agitation and severely criticized him, joined the welcoming crowds, dancing joyfully and raising slogans of 'Jiye Bhutto' rhythmically to the utter astonishment and disappointment of anti-Bhutto factions.

The Quaid-e-Awam was never greeted so cheerfully and overwhelmingly by the people of Pakistan, as was being demonstrated now by them. In the PNA agitation at Lahore quite a number of people had been killed and injured, and several processions had been taken out against Pakistan People's Party at

Lahore. But on August 8, when Mr. Bhutto reached Lahore, the city was totally transformed. It was all love for the "Quaid-e-Awam". The crowd that hailed Zulfikar Ali Bhutto in Lahore that August, was the largest and more enthusiastic than any crowd ever to have greeted any leader of national stature. "He was more than ever loved and admired."⁸ Lahore, the heart of Pakistan had offered all political romance for Bhutto. The recent past was now a completely forgotten chapter. Bhutto visited every big city of Pakistan, and every where he received enthusiastic ovation.

The enormous love and ecstasy, the huge enthusiastic crowds greeting their leader very where, miles long processions raising sky-renting slogans, mammoth public meetings critical of the coup d'etat, were most unpalatable to the military Junta and more so to their leader Ziaul Haq. This change in the attitude of the people was almost unexplainable. Those who despised the Pakistan People's Party, took out processions, closed the markets, schools and offices, burnt buses and buildings yesterday, again flocked to Bhutto as his loyal and loving followers. The opinion of intellectuals is that the agitation against the People's Party was the result of highly unfair treatment by the party leaders.

But the subsequent events opened their eyes; when they saw their popular leader was in their midst, their grievances melted and evaporated. On receiving unanimous report from all his agencies that the winning of elections by Bhutto, was a writ large and the spineless PNA and its leaders were no match for Bhutto, coupled with the entreaties from PNA leaders, Ziaul Haq and his inner cabinet realized that it would be highly disastrous and ruinous for them to hold elections. The General postponed the elections indefinitely with out any hesitation due to nervousness and fear. Initially Zia was doubtful if Bhutto would participate in elections. "At first, it seemed whether the army would allow Bhutto to take part in the election campaign... Zia emphasized that the former Prime Minister was free to participate. In fact added Zia "I hope that he will come back and stand for election. Whether brilliant, mercurial Bhutto will decide to do so, is not clear. He is still popular with the peasantry and may well come out of detention to rally his supporters, perhaps denouncing the army."

ZIA APPOINTS "FRIENDLY" JUDGES

Gen. Ziaul Haq and his cohorts were now determined to put an end to the life of Z.A Bhutto, the most popular, powerful, patriotic and the ablest leader of Pakistan. The falcon of Pakistan was in a grave danger at the hands of Superpowers and the abrogaters of the constitution and their abettors. They planned to get him assassinated through a "Judicial Verdict" because Pakistani Generals were proud to possess plenty of the "honourable Judges" who would approve any diabolical act of the Martial Law authorities for pleasing masters. The irreplaceable M.R Kayani, who had openly and bravely flouted the dictator was no more in the world. They now master minded a plan to kill Bhutto. But

why to soil their own hands with his blood? Gen. Zia now decided to get a favorable decision through his favourite judges and shift the stigma to the judicial history of Pakistan, forever. And for the achievement of this end, he started his manipulations in the judiciary.

The first thing that Zia did, was to oust the impartial and independent Chief Judge of Supreme Court, that is Justice Yaqub Ali Khan. He was proceeding methodically for the achievement of his objective. "Zia himself had forced the courageously independent Chief Judge of the Supreme Court, Yaqub Ali Khan appointing his friend Shaikh Anwarul Haq to the position on 23 September 1977. Anwarul Haq had no legal training but entered the Judicial Service by its backdoor as its administrator... and later was elevated to the High Court, and then to the Supreme Court, thanks to his mentor and old friend Justice A.R Cornelius three days before he had forced to retire Chief Justice Yaqub Ali who had permitted Begum Bhutto to file a petition in Pakistan's Supreme Court, challenging the constitutionality of her husband's detention."

Unfortunately, Mr. Cornelius was against Sindhis. It may be recalled that he was Law Minister in the Martial regime of Yahya Khan, where the military Junta required him to prepare a constitution of their choice. Cornelius prepared the draft constitution about which Mr. G.W. Choudhury a very learned Bengali Minister of Yahya regime wrote: "so the constitutional draft, prepared by the Cornelius committee, which used to meet under the chairmanship of the Rasputin of regime, Pirzada, was worse than Ayub's constitution of 1962". Bhutto and Cornelius were therefore not on good terms with each other on constitutional matters, and the latter Cornelius entertained an adverse and unwanted opinion about Sindhis. It is presumed that Anwarul Haq must have got his judgment against Bhutto approved by his mentor and friend Cornelius. He said: "I am sure they did the right thing... I decided to throw my lot with the Punjabis and settled down in Lahore, because you can not trust a Sindhi."

The other step that was taken by Ziaul Haq, was the appointment of Maulvi Mushtaq Hussain as Chief Judge of the Lahore High Court on 13th July. Thus he appointed such a person as Chief Judge who was avowed enemy of Bhutto. It will be pertinent to state that Mushtaq Hussain was twice superseded by his juniors, when Bhutto was the Prime Minister of Pakistan. And he was the man whom Zia had also appointed Chairman of the Election Commission of Pakistan. Writing about Yahya Bakhtiar's opinion of Maulvi Mushtaq Hussain, Wolpert contends, "Yahya Bakhtiar was of no help to him now, though Zulfi asked his old friend and former Attorney General to "appear for him" in the Lahore High Court 'I said no sir' Yahya recalled. "With Maulvi Mushtaq Hussain, who was the Chief Justice, he does not believe in fair trail. I think in all his career as a Judge, Maulvi Mushtaq has not decided one case on merit. Not one case! So I told him I will not appear I kept out of it."

So, the credit goes to General Ziaul Haq in selecting Chief Judge who would dispense justice according to Zia's desires. It will be profitable to point out that in Begum Nusrat Bhutto's case, the Supreme Court not only upheld the imposition of Martial Law, but it also permitted to make any changes in the constitution so as to perpetuate his rule. The decision fully strengthened his hands to stretch them without any limits. This was a crowing victory of Zia ul Haq through the blessings of the apex court.

The prosecution case was that Bhutto wanted to get Ahmad Raza Kasuri M.N.A killed through Federal Security Force. His car was attacked on 10th November 1974 in Lahore at night time. But instead of Ahmad Raza, his father Mohammad Ahmad Khan was killed. It was reported that the attack was made at the behest of the Prime Minister Bhutto. In this case, Masood Mahmood, former Director General of Federal Security force was the main witness as approver. It is indeed surprising to note that the same Ahmad Raza Kasuri, who had nominated Prime Minister Bhutto as the principal accused in the murder case of his father, had joined the Pakistan People's Party in order to secure the party ticket for contesting the elections scheduled to be held in 1977. What could be the character of such a man! What reliance and credibility could be attached to the testimony of such a man! But the Courts placed their reliance on his evidence to convict the persons nominated in the first report by a man of depraved moral character, supported by an approver, who blackens himself as murderer.

General Ziaul Haq was responsible for destroying the judiciary. It is a simple proposition and an internationally admitted fact that the judiciary can not maintain its independence when its very existence is dependent on the pleasure of a dictator. Pakistan's Judiciary had been crippled by the Martial Law dictator so much so that many judges of the Superior Court were removed by him, and a number of honest, independent and efficient judges had to say 'good bye' to such a type of subservient judiciary.

It was surprising that Zia leveled allegations against Bhutto on October 2, 1977 that the latter had tried to discredit and destroy judiciary. It looked as if devil was quoting scripture. In his rejoinder of October 10, 1977, Bhutto stated very rightly and appropriately: "An independent judiciary is the anti-thesis of Martial Law. An independent Judiciary can only function under the umbrella of constitution and not under the shadow of the gun of a brown Duke of Wellington. An independent judiciary exists side by side with an executive chosen by the people, and a legislature elected by them. But the people's executive is in jail. The assemblies....have become silent as the graveyards. Can one flower flourish in a garden turned into desert..... It is a part of barrack logic, the respondent (Zia) has alone destroyed... the judiciary by his illegal acts of 5th July 1977". The Martial Law died with Zia's death, but unfortunately the judicial prestige and dignity were never retrieved. The fountains of Justice were shaken, polluted, the flower of democracy dried, and the high image of Pakistan distorted. What a tragedy!

GLIMPSES OF JUDICIAL APROCEEDINGS

Ms. Benazir Bhutto, the brilliant and faithful daughter of Bhutto did not leave Pakistan. She stayed back to look after her father's criminal case and the party itself. She attended the Court hearings invariably. The attitude of Justice Mushtaq Hussain was far from Judicious and honest. D.M. Awan was working in very disadvantageous conditions and tense atmosphere. The Bench of five trusted judges was carefully chosen by Maulvi Mushtaq and they proved fully cooperative with him and demonstrated their unflinching loyalties. He excluded Justice Samdani, who had earlier granted bail to Z.A Bhutto, thereby earning the displeasure of Ziaul Haq; and the Maulvi.

"Zulfi's trial for conspiring to murder Ahmad Raza Kasuri had by now been under way for a month in Lahore's High Court, where the Acting Chief Justice Maulvi Mushtaq never attempted to suppress or hide his personal animus against the man, who as President and Prime Minister had demonstrated similar feelings of disdain and dislike for the Maulvi. It of course never occurred to Mushtaq Hussain that he should recuse himself from the trial". The attitude of Justice Mushtaq Hussain was highly harsh and threatening towards the counsel of Mr. Bhutto and one could easily understand what the judgment would be, whether there was evidence or no evidence. "Irrefutable evidence that the whole murder case been fabricated, came when my father's lawyer obtained a copy of the ballistic report on the actual shooting. He position the assailants claim to have fired from, did not match the bullet holes in the car. There had been four assailants, not two as prosecution had claimed. Moreover, the FSF guns which the 'confessing accused' claimed to have used in murder attempt did not match the empty cartridges found at the scene.

We have won the case' Rehana Sarwar, the sister of one of my father's lawyers and a lawyer herself, said to me jubilantly in the Court-room." Ms. Benazir was very happy to hear about this report which contradicted and falsified the prosecution case. No independent Judge would convict the accused on such concocted and unacceptable evidence. She rushed to her father in order to apprise him that the falsity of the case had been exposed by the ballistics report.

"I rushed to tell my father during the tea break, wasting no time. While the 'confessing accused' were allowed to chat with their families in the courtroom for as long as they liked, my father was often hustled off to a little room in the back under heavy police guard. 'Papa, we've won! I said to him, telling him about the ballistic report. I'll never forget the look of kindness on his face while he listened to my excitement. 'You don't understand, do you, Pinkie,' he said gently. They are going to kill me. It doesn't matter what evidence you or anyone comes up with: They are going to murder me for a murder I didn't commit." Mr. Bhutto had much better understanding of the

biased and poisonous Maulvi Mushtaq Hussain. He was not an independent and honest Judge and was bound to obey the instructions of General Zia. The attitude of Maulvi Mushtaq was so rude, rough and partisan that the expectation of justice from him amounted to living in "fool's paradise," Benazir writes "John Mathews Qc a lawyer from England, who came to attend the trial in November was shocked by the proceedings. Particularly I was concerned at the way a witness's favourable answer would be the subject of immediate interruptions from the Bench, who would take over the case and cause him a whittle down or change his answer, he told an English man later. The defence counsels were even more concerned. At the end of the trial, not one of the objections they raised or the contradictions in the evidence they pointed out, appeared in the record 706 pages of testimony."

It will be relevant to mention that the Martial Law Government had published volumes of white paper against Bhutto in 1978 before the conclusion of trial, and had made them available to everybody on nominal price. "Zia had bluntly spoken of his former President – Prime Minister as a "murderer," insisting to shocked foreign officials and journalists who could barely believe that he would thus speak of the man he still held under trial, "I have seen the evidence with my own eyes! Zia asserted, there were "secret files" dossiers on "Bhutto's opponents," along whose margins Zulfi had scrawled, "Eliminate him!" Not one of those "files" has ever come to light, however, nor is there any reason to believe that one ever will". After such irresponsible and malicious dictates, which Judge will muster courage to follow the dictates of his conscious and acquit the former Prime Minister! All the Judges of the superior courts were not only subordinate to Zia but totally at his mercy. Bhutto was very correct in his assessment that Justice Mushtaq and the bench constituted by him would never dispense justice to him. On March 2, 1978, the Lahore High Court unanimously sentenced Bhutto to death.

In fact, this case had been decided against Zulfikar Ali Bhutto much before the announcement of the Judgment by the Lahore High Court. This important disclosure was made by Sirdar Shaukat Hayat Khan, a prominent Muslim League leader from Punjab and colleague of the Quaid-e-Azam Mohammad Ali Jinnah. He was one of those leaders who had fought and struggled for the achievement of Pakistan. "I happened to be visiting the High Court on some work and passed the door of Chief Justice's chamber.

I inquired if he was present. On receiving an affirmative reply, I asked his Secretary, If he could check whether the Chief Justice was free to see me. He called me in and showed me all respect. I said, Mushtaq, I hear that you propose hanging six people for the murder of one man. Would it be just under the British jurisprudence or under the Islamic Law to do so? If the news in correct, does not he realize that if his judgment is quashed by the supreme Court he will be placing his own person in danger of reprisals by the People Party. He told me that he had been solemnly assured by a majority of the judges of the Supreme Court that his judgment would be upheld by the

Supreme Court... The Supreme Court upheld the judgment as had been predicted by Chief Justice Mushtaq. Only two judges namely Justice Durab Patel and one Muslim Judge Safdar Shah had the Courage to disagree. Poor Safdar Shah had to quit his country to save himself from the vengeance of General Zia. Bhutto had been hanged on phoney charge.”

Shaukat Hayat was no friend or even sympathizer of Zulfikar Ali Bhutto, as such his statement can not be termed as obliging, interested or incorrect. One can safely deduce from the statement that:

- 1.** The decision to hang the former Prime Minister was not based on truth, it was result of a sinister conspiracy of Ziaul Haq with the Judges.
- 2.** The High Court Lahore had announced the judgment after taking many Supreme Court Judges in confidence.
- 3.** Justice Safdar Shah had to flee from Pakistan because of the serious apprehensions of reprisals by Ziaul Haq.

There was no earthly reason for Shaukat Hayat to play false or foul in favour of Mr. Bhutto, therefore his truthful statement about the dictator and the Supreme Court Judges will put every citizen of Pakistan to shame when he is confronted by a foreigner with such a statement. How unfortunate it is that the people holding the highest offices play such sanctimonious roles in the administration of justice and bring bad name to Islam. Pakistanis have to hang their heads down in shame on account of such Generals and such Judges.

Just as Zia had made no secret of his intentions and expressions during the trial of the case that the former President was a murderer and would be hanged; if anybody else in his place in a truly democratic state had expressed himself in such strong terms and unequivocal language, he would have been hold guilty and punished for contempt of Court. That is the difference between Martial Law and democracy. Here the judges would not be able to take any action for contempt of court against the contemned-dictator. Surprisingly Zia postponed election on the pretext that the P.P.P. leaders were commenting on the case.

Speaking about the services of General Zia to Islam and Pakistan, Shaukat Hayat enumerated that:

- 1.** When Arab Soldiers refused to fire on the helpless Palestinians refugees, even disobeying their monarch’s orders..... himself got into the tank and shot those poor souls.
- 2.** His connivance and help to heroin smugglers from Afghanistan to carry the dreadful substance to other countries.

3. Allowing the epidemics of corruption which spread among bureaucrats as well as members of shoorā.
4. In the name of Islam, he corrupted many Imams of mosques by allowing them perks from the Zakat funds in order to use them for his own personal publicity and propaganda.
5. The worst legacy was the Eighth amendment in the constitution of which the entire nation suffered. It was the most draconian amendment, allowing the President to dismiss the elected Parliament.
6. He left a legacy of tons of lies, deceptions, lavish standards of living and free-for-all-loot. He tampered with justice.

APPEAL AND REVIEW

After the judgment of Lahore High Court, Zulfikar Ali Bhutto filed appeal in the Supreme Court of Pakistan, which was presided over by Chief Justice Anwarul Haq, a close friend of Zia. The appeal was filed and conducted by Mr. Yahya Bakhtiar. Though some persons, including a few leaders of the Pakistan People's Party have been critical of Mr. Bakhtiar for causing delay but I think it was a labour of love for him. He entertained very high regard for Z.A Bhutto, a most brilliant Prime Minister of Pakistan, who introduced to the world, what Pakistan was in reality and the services that he had rendered to his country had no parallel in the history of Pakistan. Yahya Bakhtiar is unprurchaseable and competent too, and he was assisted by Mr. Ghulam Ali Memon of Sindh. The bench comprised following nine judges, when the hearing started.

Mr. Justice Anwarul Haq – Chief Judge
Justice Mohammad Akram
Justice Aslam Riaz Hussain
Justice Dr. Nasim Hasan shah
Justice Mohammad Haleem
Justice Dorab Patel
Justice Safdar Shah
Justice Waheeduddin Ahmad
Justice Qaisar Khan

The first four judges hailed from Punjab and the rest from them from the minority Provinces of Pakistan. Out of nine judges, five from the minority Provinces appeared to be in favour of Z.A Bhutto, the rest all from Punjab seemed to be on the side of General Ziaul Haque. During the hearing of appeal. Mr. Justice Qaisar Khan of N.W.F.P who was an independent judge, attained the superannuation age and was made to retire during the pendency of hearing, though the usual practice has been that in a case of pending hearing, the judge is allowed to continue till its completion, but that practice

was not followed in the case. If he had continued, the decision would have been 5 to 4 in favour of the former Prime Minister. There after Mr. Justice Waheeduddin had to proceed on leave because of his illness. He wrote to the Chief Judge:

My dear Chief Justice,

I can not join the Court for four or six weeks. If you can wait for me till then it is alright, otherwise you can form a new Bench and dispose off the case.

Yours Sincerely,

Wahiduddin Ahmed.

Undoubtedly this was the most important case in the judicial history of the Indo-Pak subcontinent, against the most popular and an extraordinarily brilliant Prime Minister of Pakistan who had served the country more than any body else. Eyes of the whole world, and more especially the Muslim World were fixed on this controversial rather phoney type of case against the Chairman of the Islamic Summit Conference, who by his exceptional ability had unified and brought the Muslim World and the Third World on one platform.

But this was the golden opportunity afforded by the absence of the two pro-Bhutto Judges which Zia would never miss. Now the position that emerged after the absence of the two judges was that the judges who wanted to decide the case objectively were reduced to three as against four.

Yahya Bakhtiar conducted the appeal honestly and strenuously like a seasoned lawyer. But the Chairman of the party, who was now confined in Rawalpindi jail after the announcement of barbaric sentence by the Lahore High Court also addressed the Supreme Court for four days continuously. The Martial Law regime, treating him as the most "dangerous-man" of Pakistan, had made exceptional arrangements through the army so that in case of mob attack or even an armed attack by any foreign power to free Mr. Bhutto could be successfully defeated. An army officer Colonel Rafiuddin was specially posted with necessary staff and instructions in the Rawalpindi jail besides the watchful Prison personnel. The former Prime Minister was brought in the Court, where crowds were waiting for his glimpse, but a few were allowed in the Court room; besides that, Pakistani and foreign journalists were there to watch the most important proceedings in the apex court of Pakistan. In fact it was not Bhutto on trial but the Supreme Court and tyrant regime were on trial. Human life is mortal, but the roles played by them, by the judicial authorities and the power-grabbing rulers would ever remain an integral part of history. Both Hussain and Yazid are not forgotten even after centuries but every body is remembered in a different style and manner. Bhutto's last speech of life addressed in the Supreme Court was historic in nature, and he cut the

prosecution case into shreds by his irrefutable arguments and intellect while addressing the Court about the judgment of the 'biased' High Court judges of Lahore. On the question of "Muslim" in name, he said. It is unusual in Islamic State and Polity for a Kalimago' Musalman to establish the fact that he is a Muslim. This is, I think, the first time that in the history of Islamic Civilisation that a Muslim President, a Muslim Leader, a Muslim Prime Minister elected by a Muslim Nation, has one day to find himself in a position, where he has to say that he is a Muslim. "the Judges had irrelevantly and unabashedly questioned the faith of Bhutto, Chairman of the Islamic Summit Conference. It was a most lamentable and unwarranted as pertain, and it only proved their deep bias towards the great Muslim International Leader whom the Muslim world had acknowledged as their leader. It was perhaps reflection of their own character and faith in the mirror of their conscience, that they called Bhutto 'Muslim in name'. Speaking about the 1970 elections, he said "Fatwas were given that this man is Kafir. This party is "Kafir". And these were given not only by Ulema of Pakistan but also imported some from abroad". But the Muslims of Pakistan thought him better Muslim, to protect Pakistan, and he actually proved it to the world. Was it not the same case with the Quaid-e-Azam Jinnah, who was termed as "Kafir" (infidel) but he achieved and carved the largest Muslim State in the World! Bhutto was worried more about Pakistan and the ideals of life than his personal life. He was never afraid of death. He plainly stated "I would like to present before this honourable Court my point of view, because not only my life as life of an individual is involved but because, according to my objective appreciation, far more is at stake. My reputation, the honor of my family, my political career and above all, Pakistan itself is involved". He fearlessly argued" My lord, not that I would like to have pity. I do not want pity from any one and as I said earlier, I do not want mercy. I want justice. I am not pleading for my life as life as such is not as way of flesh, because every one has to go. "He was frank enough to admit his deepest affection for his daughter Ms. Benazir Bhutto" My lord, when I became terribly ill, it was said that I should have asked the Court for treatment, and yet when I asked for my daughter, of whom I am exceptionally fond for she is a chip of the same block and even if my sons fail me, she will not fail me". He was certainly confident of her courage and capability. It will not be irrelevant to add what Colonel Rafi who was in charge of the custody of the former Prime Minister wrote on the subject while the latter spoke to him about his daughter "He frequently said. Colonel Rafi, I may not live, but I am certain that my mission will be accomplished by my daughter in any case. God has gifted her with innumerable qualities. She is not only highly educated, but also very sharp, bright minded and extremely wise. When he said that Benazir possesses better skill and capability to understand politics, the question arose in my mind that she was still a student, she is not concerned with politics and has no experience of practical life. I failed to understand Mr. Bhutto's contention, how she would be able to grapple the problems." Obviously Z.A Bhutto had nominated her as his political heir.

Bhutto knew full well that his argument would simply be of formal nature and his voice will be a voice in the wilderness. The tyrant and unprincipled dictator had already decided the fate of the former Prime Minister and now the formalities were to be fulfilled. In spite of all this knowledge, he had argued his case brilliantly, fearlessly and logically. But his heart must have been aching; what was the reward of his service? Did the military Junta ever think that he was the man who had brought back ninety thousand Pakistanis from the jails of India? Did they ever think that he was man who had got restored five thousand square miles of Pakistan's territory? Did they ever think that he was the patriot who had fought battles royal against India in the United Nations and the International forums? Did they think that he was the most outstanding statesman of Pakistan who created political consciousness in the country and made the down-trodden people self-respecting? Did they ever think that it was Bhutto and none else who made Pakistan a nuclear power? If they did not think in those terms, then they are guilty of offence far worse than the murder of an individual. It was murder of the nation, indeed of the Muslim World. Bhutto was extremely sad and sorrowful that he could not complete the mission of making Pakistan a fully egalitarian and powerful state and bring back the renaissance of Islam that was the dream of his life. In his concluding para he said melancholy "My lord when one is in death cell, matters occur to me, which have never occurred to one before. I find 'Saraiki' language to be one of the best and sweetest languages in the 'subcontinent' and I would like to end with these words of a Saraiki song which says:

"The heart afflicted with sorrows is ailing"

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The appeal was rejected by the Supreme Court as expected with a split majority of 4-3; Justice Dorrab Patel and Justice Safdar shah wrote very strong dissenting judgments against the majority judgment; and Justice Mohammad Haleem also differed with the majority by writing his short note against it. The dissenting judges rejected the evidence uprightly using very strong expression like "utterly unnatural improbable patently absurd, carefully tailored and pre orchestrated, ridiculous and tantamount to doing violence to basic human intelligence."

Some quarters criticize Yahya Bakhtiar for his protracted process of arguments; with the result that the two impartial judges had to go out of the Bench and an opportunity was provided to the Martial Law Government to obtain a judgment for the hanging of Mr. Bhutto. The appeal could be finished in a month time but it took inordinately a long time that proved most damaging. When once Yahya Bakhtiar was asked about it, he replied that it was done under the instructions of the appellant. Any way nothing can be said about this controversy. But the sincerity of Bakhtiar was not questionable.

It was indeed surprising and shocking that five persons were being hanged for the murder of Ahmed Mohammad Khan. There was neither direct testimony nor any credible circumstantial evidence. The evidence was mainly of the approver, which stood fully contradicted by circumstances as well as the ballistic report. According to Lt. General Chishti, the confessions of the co-accused who had been found guilty with Z.A. Bhutto had been obtained by the inducement that they would not be hanged." Every one who attended or read the proceedings was shocked and bewildered that on the basis of such concocted and fabricated evidence, the four judges from Punjab had deemed it fit to hang the Chairman of Islamic Summit Conference and former Prime Minister of Pakistan. In fact all the countries friendly to Pakistan were shocked.

REVIEW

Against the savage sentence, revolting against all norms of jurisprudence, a review petition was filed by Z.A. Bhutto through Mr. Yahya Bakhtiar in the Supreme Court; mainly contending that never in the history of judiciary, sentence of death was inflicted upon an accused where the Bench was so sharply divided, and there was no direct evidence against him. The legal position was strong in favour of Mr. Bhutto, but the whole problem was that the majority of judges was against; and the regime also emphatically demanded sentence nothing short of death against him. The only point in review, urged by the prosecution against Mr. Bhutto was that the question sentence could be raised in the trial and not in review. Very obviously the point was simply of technical nature, not going to the root of the case, and the judges would have been well within their bounds to reduce the sentence in the interests of justice. Finally a sort of recommendation was made by the Supreme Court to the Martial law Government in the following words.

"Although we have not found it possible in law to review the sentence of death on the grounds urged by Yahya Bakhtiar, Yet these are relevant for consideration by executive authorities in the exercise of their prerogative for mercy."

The recommendation of the Supreme Court, though called as such, had a binding effect on the Martial Law dictator. Justice Ghulam Safdar Shah had also made statement to the media that the observation of the Supreme Court could not be disregarded by the executive. But on March 29 clever Ziaul Haq conveniently managed to get a clarification from the Supreme Court to the effect that Justice Safdar Shah had reflected the personal view and not those of the other judges. Thus the recommendation of the Court was rendered nugatory by the Chief Justice, though these statements did not form part of the judicial recommendation. There could be nothing more harrowing, more unjust and more cruel than to assassinate under the cover of judicial verdict, the man who had saved the remainder of Pakistan after 1971 and strengthened the collapsing federation of Pakistan, who had united the Muslim World, made Pakistan a nuclear Power, had brilliantly pleaded the case of

Pakistan, Muslim World and the Third World; and left indelible marks in the International politics as a great political thinker and orator. Conscience of the world was shaken by the decision of hanging which they treated as condemnable, most savage and highly tyrannical. Many countries and heads of state appealed for clemency to Ziaul Haq against the implementation of death sentence. "The number of countries that appealed to Zia for clemency, is incredible, 'I tell him,' I hear it all on the B.B.C. Brezhnev has written a letter, as has Hua Kuo Feng citing the close cooperation 'you forged with Cina'. Assad has appealed from Syria, Anwar Sadat from Cairo, the President of Iraq, the Saudi Government, Indira Gandhi, Senator MacGovern, practically every one.... An unanimous resolution was adopted in the Canadian House of Commons appealing to the regime to commute your death sentence and 150 members of the British Parliament are urging their government to take steps, Greece, Poland, Amnesty International. The Secretary General of the United Nations, Australia, France. Papa there is no way, Zia can go through with this. That is heartening news, 'he says 'But there will be no appeal from us."

Bhutto had his friends world over and his merits and services were recognized by every head of state including his adversaries. At such an hour even the daredevil murderers shiver and shudder when they hear of death sentence. But the brave Bhutto was invincible, even the death could not defeat him.

It would be relevant to state that by this time. Bhutto's most intimate trusted and powerful friends like Mao-Se-Tung and Chou-En-Lai of China and King Faisal of Saudi Arabia had died. Had they been alive, it was possible that Zia might have not been able to resist their pressure. All the mercy petitions and clemency appeals were sent to Pakistan's Law Minister A.K. Brohi for his opinion. Mr. Brohi who had once reportedly said while shaking hand with Prime Minister Bhutto in a Bar dinner "I am safe so long my hand is in your hand". But now the position was totally different; Brohi's hand was Zia's hand, and his hand was executioner's hand.

Mr. Brohi's hand briskly and unhesitatingly wrote the following note: "Allah the Almighty has clearly provided as to how the murderer is to be dealt with. He does not permit of mercy to merciless by the judge or the President. The authority that allows merciful commutation of sentence is merciless of the deceased, his heirs and his relatives. Mercy, remission or commutation is negation of justice, and justice is not only to be done to the killer who is surviving because of legal formalities, but is also to be done to the deceased who can not be heard but whose soul looks for justice – the revenge – death for death – and that in fact is the humanitarian consideration. "Thus Brohi, an ardent admirer of Zia, and a consistent supporter of Martial Law fully availed of the opportunity to settle his scores with this most formidable adversary when the latter was in chains. On April 1, 1979, Ziaul Haq rejected the mercy petitions.

LEADERSHIP OF THE PARTY

There is no doubt about it that the Pakistan People's Party was and is the largest political party in the country and Mr. Bhutto was not only the most powerful leader of his party; but also the most popular leader of his country. The innumerable workers and followers; of the party were seething with discontent when their beloved leader was over-thrown, imprisoned and tried by the Superior Court. During the trial period thousands of workers were thrown into prisons through out the country. They were whipped and lashed mercilessly and locked in jails without any trial. Several young men from Punjab had immolated themselves as a protest against the unjust and fabricated cases engineered by the Martial Law Government. But there was no strong and well-knit organization of the party and the workers felt that they were betrayed by the party leaders. The army of workers was without any commander. In fact it was on account of the dynamic and inspiring leadership of Bhutto that the people who could not have become members of a local body on their own, were elected as members of the National or Provincial Assemblies and a number of them became ministers or holders of such high offices that they had not have even dreamt of. Many of them became rich over-night at the cost of their leader; and now when the times changed, the party leadership failed to rise equal to occasion to wave their leader, they were busy saving their ill-gotten properties, bank balances and their own person against the agonies and tortures of jail. Mr. Bhutto himself was not happy with the party leaders, for whom he had done everything, but they failed to come up to his imagination. They were even hesitated to enter Al Murtaza in Larkana, where during the hey days of the party, they flocked to make political and huge monetary gains. Some of the big guns in the party even married immediately after his assassination, perhaps to drown their sorrows.

One of the oldest domestic servants namely Bahal Bakhsh who served in al Murtaza started in his tape – recorded interview "You have come to see us here, but the big men are scared of entering here. None from the party comes to enquire about the problems of servants in the house, when Bhutto Sahib is in jail. Previously they used to attend very frequently and they were always with us requesting for interview with the "Sahib" through us shameless people. However, Abdul Ghafoor Bhurgri comes, takes our care, the rest are selfish." Some section of the leaders had thought that with the assassination of Z.A. Bhutto, the party leadership will fall automatically in their hands like a ripe fruit. According to them, Begum Bhutto was not capable enough to be the party chief, and Benazir was immature to take charge of the party affairs, their attitude was therefore lukewarm, and some were reported to be hand-in-glove with the Martial Law Generals.

This was the state of leadership of the party – mostly terrified and selfish. The entire brunt of atrocities was borne bravely by Begum Bhutto and her brilliant and fearless daughter Benazir Bhutto hardly twenty-five years of

age, without having previous experience of running political parties, leading political movement against a heartless dictator. She was in relentless revolt against Martial regime along with her mother, suffering frequent and merciless detentions, but could not be intimidated by the jungle law. Though young and inexperienced, not effectively aided by the leaders of the party, she continued her struggle against the Martial Law dictatorship. The workers and the people were with her. They supported her whole-heartedly throughout the long drawn campaign, treating her as the sole 'political-heir' of Bhutto possessing and combining the qualities of her great father. Many leaders of the party left her. Maulana Kausar Niazi, Ghulam Mustafa Khar, Ghulam Mustafa Jatoi, Mumtaz Ali Bhutto, Abdul Hafeez Pirzada and many other important leaders left the party and formed their own parties, but they could not cut much ice, and her popularity remained undiminished. But the basic fact is that if there had been a strongly organized party, prepared for sacrifices, they might have been able to save their Quaid-e-Awam though the task was a tremendous one.

But the remarkable fact was that neither the Martial Law, not the Maulvis, nor any desertations, nor the PNA statements could change the loyalties of the people, and Benazir Bhutto emerged victorious in the first ever party based general elections held in 1988, and was elected as Prime Minister of Pakistan – the youngest Prime Minister of her Country.

HANGING AND MOURNING

The man who had served his country most, had to suffer most. In Rawalpindi jail he was confined in a steel walled and steel floored room of 7'x10'. Zulfikar Ali Bhutto who was born with silver spoon in his mouth, brought up like princes, lived with dignity, comforts and mass popularity, was now in the worst possible jail custody even deprived of facilities afforded to the confirmed, condemned and desperate criminals. But even in such depressing circumstances, he did not lose his courage and the quality of his generosity. "In October 1978 after his detention of eleven months, when a hair dresser was called for hair cutting, he thanked the dresser and paid one hundred rupees to him as reward. The poor hair-dresser was not prepared to accept the money, but Bhutto said "You are one of the poor Pakistanis, I will have to sacrifice even my life for you people. It is a very paltry amount, for tonight's dinner of your children". The man accepted it with tearful eyes. Col. Rafi has further added that in February or March 1979, Mr. Bhutto observed all the fasts of Holy Ramzan.

After the rejection of Review Petition by the Supreme Court, when Col. Rafi contacted an accused Ghulam Mustafa in connection with Bhutto case, "he said, 'I do not know anything about Bhutto Sahib's participation in the murder, but we were told to implicate him to save our lives.'" Further he said that the officers had promised to get him acquitted". Col. Rafi in fact supports General Chishti that the confessions of the accused were obtained by inducements. In Law such confessions have no value but Bhutto was sentenced to death on the

basis of such confessions whose value in law was zero. Col. Rafi further said "he was not astonished to see Bhutto accepting the verdict against him smilingly, but my conscience started revolting against my self... there was my inner voice that the death of such a man will plunge us and the whole nation in a great tragedy". "Pakistan has not yet come out of the continued turmoil till today.

On April 3, 1979, the authorities allowed Begum Nusrat Bhutto and Benazir Bhutto to see Mr. Bhutto. They could presume and understand that the jail authorities were going to hang him on the next day. The Jail authorities had to inform him 24 hours in advance about the execution but they did not, presumably it was on the instructions of the high-ups. Mr. Bhutto was in the death cell, while his wife and bitterly weeping daughter Benazir were out side the iron door of the cell. This last meeting is a very poignant story, for which a book is required to state the same. 'The last words that came from Zulfikar Ali Bhutto were," I want to free you as well. If you want, you can leave Pakistan while the constitution is suspended and the Martial Law imposed. If you want peace of mind and to pickup your lives again, then you might want to go to Europe. I give you my permission, you can go.....He smiles 'I am so glad. You don't know how much I have always loved you. You are my jewel. You always have been so."

The last moment of Bhutto's life had arrived, the beloved leader of the masses was soon going to be assassinated by a judicial order, leave this world of fame, beauty as well as agony and meet his Creator, stronger than all the dictation of the world taken together and most merciful to His humble creature, who has tried to serve, and elevate. His downtrodden humanity and gives his blood and sweat for the poor. God loves his mankind hundred times more than their parents. Bhutto strove all his life incessantly to serve the poor and his motherland.

In the words of Plato it can be said:

The hour of departure has arrived and
We go our ways – I to die, and you to live
Which is better, only the god knows

Zulfikar Ali Bhutto was handcuffed and taken on a stretcher to the gallows and hanged exactly at 2:04 a.m. on April 4, 1979. Thus he departed permanently from this temporal world, but he is still alive in the hearts of the people, and the undying memories of his glories are still dazzling.

The coffin was taken to village Garhi Khuda Bakhsh Bhutto and the body buried in his ancestral grave yard where his parents and closest of relatives were buried. People were strictly prohibited from proceeding towards Garhi Khuda Bakhsh village. Only his nearest relatives and servants were allowed to see his face. It is said by all those present, that his face was wearing such a

smile as if it was a fresh rose flower. Not only his relatives were weeping but even the high government officials and servants could not stop flow of tears from their eyes. It was indeed a most tragic scene of the death and burial of the Chairman Islamic Summit Conference of the world. This hanging caused universal mourning, throughout the Muslim World, perhaps he was the only International Muslim Leader of that kind and character. The whole Pakistan was engulfed in wailing and weeping, men and women, young and old were crying, tearing their clothes, cursing Ziaul Haq and raising slogans against the Martial Law regime. There were frequent clashes at many a place throughout Pakistan. It was not only a personal loss of Bhutto family, but an incalculable national loss, through a maneuvered, managed and mischievous scheme.

WHAT AMERICAN PRESS SAID

"The judges divided mainly over the credibility and motives of Masood Mahmood, former chief of the now disbanded F.S.F who had turned state witness. But the court also split along ominous lines for a country torn by regional rivalries. The three dissenting judges who voted to free Bhutto come from his native Province Sindh, and two provinces bordering Afghanistan and Iran.

Appeals for commutation of sentence came from President Carter, British Prime Minister James Callaghan, Soviet President Leonid Brezhnev, and Pope John Paul too. Another petitioner was premier Bluent Ecevit of Turkey... Ecveit offered Bhutto Asylum if his life was spared. Although couched in humanitarian terms, most foreign appeals seemed motivated by concern for Pakistan's stability. Since the country was carved out of British India as a Muslim "Land of the Pure" 32 years ago, Pakistan had three constitutions and suffered three military coups, plus repeated doses of Martial Law."

Speaking about Bhutto's indomitable will and courage, and the unusual national mourning in Pakistan, the Newsweek wrote "But Bhutto refused to make a personal plea for clemency to Zia and told friends and lawyers that he was not afraid of death. "a Muslim's fate is in the hands of God Almighty", he said "I can face Him with a clear conscience and tell Him that I rebuilt the Islamic state of Pakistan from ashes into a respectable nation.....His death deprives the country of one of the most effective leaders it has ever had."

About grief, agony and wailing of the people, the Newsweek wrote.

"In the hours before execution, prisoners in the jail chanted verses from the Koran.... In the Capital City of Islamabad, government employees wept openly in their offices and one elderly woman said bitterly "This is the most disgraceful day in Pakistan history". Nearly one thousand Bhutto supporters, defying Martial Law regulations imposed by Pakistani President General Mohammad Zia ul Haq, shouted anti-government slogans and waved the green-and-black banner of Bhutto's Pakistan People's Party (PPP) in

Rawalpindi. Women wailed and tore their clothes, "death to Zia and Zia's children" they cried.

As the demonstrations mounted in cities throughout Pakistan. Zia ordered the police to crack down. Wielding metal-tipped bamboo starves, police waded into the crowds, seizing men and women by the hair and hurling them into police trucks. Hundreds were arrested, and in Shikarpur gun battle broke out between police and demonstrations in which fourteen were wounded."

These are the views and information given by the reputed American Journals Time and Newsweek.

SHAMEFUL CONDUCT CONDEMNED

Sardar Shaukat Hayat's version has been incorporated in the earlier pages. Now I would mention the facts and views of Asghar Khan, on Bhutto's case and the behaviour of the Generals and the Superior Court Judges:

"By virtue of being Chairman of the Islamic Summit conferences Bhutto wielded considerable influence in the Muslim world, and had powerful friends amongst the richest Muslim Heads of state.

The Shah of Iran, the King of Saudi Arabia, Colonel Moammer Qaddafi of Libya, and the Shaikh of Abu Dhabi were four Pakistan's important bankers and each one of them was on the best of personal terms with Bhutto. How could Zia-ul-Haq disregard their advice. Apart from these four aid-giving countries, Bhutto had good equations with the governments of Soviet Union. china and all the important Western Countires....When the trial started in the Lahore High Court, Bhutto objected to the Chief Justice Maulvi Mushtaq Hussain being on the Bench which was to try him, on the ground that Mushtaq Hussain had been superseded twice under his orders and therefore could not be expected to be impartial. This objection was over-ruled... Justice Yaqub Ali Khan had been replaced by Shaikh Anwarul Haq as Chief Justice on 23 September 1977. This happened immediately following the admittance by the Supreme Court under Chief Justice Yaqub Ali on 20 September of a writ filed by Mrs. Nusrat Bhutto... After Justice Yaqub Ali's removal. Bhutto objected to the inclusion of Chief Justice Shaikh Anwarul Haq as a member of the Bench on the ground that by accepting the office of Acting President during the absence of General Zia-ul-Haq from the country, he had compromised his impartial status. Bhutto had also stated that Chief Justice in his public statements had been critical of his government in the recent past...

Ziaul Haq's decision to hang Bhutto however raises some important issues. On 15 July 1977, when asked by Mufti Mehmood whether he intended to try Bhutto? Ziaul Haq had categorically stated that he had no intention of doing so..... In addition to Nawab Ahmad Khan's murder case, 25 other cases

were prepared against him, material for which had been collected by the Martial Law authorities. It appears that the decision to proceed against Bhutto was taken in the six weeks between 15 July and the end of August. Some of the happenings during this period, which held Ziaul Haq to change his mind were the reception that Bhutto received at arrival in Lahore in August, the advice of the Junta who were not prepared to take the risk of Bhutto winning the election, the pleadings of some PNA leaders that Bhutto should be tried and elections postponed, the provision of the 1973 constitution which laid down the death penalty for the abrogation of the constitution and finally Zia-ul-Haq's inbred distrust of politicians.

There is no doubt that Zia-ul-Haq's decision was motivated by political considerations and was not an action of an impartial Head of State. He was on record during the trial as having said that he would hang Bhutto.... Had the original bench of nine judges been maintained, the verdict could well have been 5-4 in Bhutto's favour.... It was also odd that a Chief of the Army Staff himself an Armoured Corp Officer should have hanged the Colonel-in-Chief of the Armoured Corp. Moreover it was unprecedented that inspite of the appeals of almost every Head of State of a Muslim Country, he should have hanged the current chairman of the Islamic Conference."

Asghar Khan stated that besides Nawab Ahmad Khan's case, 25 other case had been prepared against Mr. Bhutto. It was obviously with the intention of implicating him in other cases if he had been acquitted by the Supreme Court. This fact has been confirmed by Colonel (Rtd) Rafiuddin: "On February 5, 1979 the D.M.L.A called the S.M.L.A and myself in his office at 10 a.m., where he told us that even if Supreme Court ordered for Bhutto Sahib's release by accepting his appeal on 6th February, he was not be permitted to go out of prison, as he was required in several other cases under the Martial Law..... I could understand that Bhutto was not to be released at any rate by the officials, they would sentence him. Such order could be issued only under the system of Martial Law that even the orders of the highest court of the land could be flouted. From other sources also, I came to know that a special military court had been constituted to try Bhutto Sahib, in case he was acquitted by the Supreme Court."

Even Mr. Altaf Gauhar, who had personal grievances against Mr. Bhutto, had to write on the occasion of latter's execution "Little did I know at the time that the courts would award him the death sentence in a highly controversial murder case, and a ruthless military dictator would execute him in a cold blooded manner. I was shocked. Apart from a deep sense of personal loss I knew that Bhutto's execution would hold the country in thrall for years to come." After the dissolution of the National Assembly of Pakistan and the resultant dissolution of the cabinet of Ms Benazir Bhutto, in 1996, Mairaj Khalid, the care taker prime Minister of Pakistan replied to the Press reporter "to a question about Bhutto's hanging, that the judicial decision to hang Bhutto was wrong, unjust and inappropriate. To another question he said that Bhutto

was not responsible for the breaking of Pakistan; it was our biased attitude towards East Pakistan, which led to the breaking of Pakistan.”

After guillotining Zulfikar Ali Bhutto, Pakistan is practically friendless, and voiceless even in the Muslim world, which was once given a lead, a direction, a unity and a policy by him. The federation of Pakistan is getting weaker and weaker every day and the country stands torn ethnically, socially, economically, politically, and the concept of Pakistani nationhood is in the melting pot. Whenever it occurs to some influential general or generals to rule the country, instead of dying for the country and raising its prestige, they promulgate Martial law in the name of national interests. The result is that the popularity graph of this most important institution which once enjoyed immense respect, in spite of the fact that they mostly hailed from Punjab, has been considerably damaged even in the province of Punjab, what to talk of the other provinces. The race of politicians had died long ago, but the arrival of dynamic articulate and brilliant Bhutto, there again arose a hope of revival. His unusual far-sightedness had harbingered a message of hope, prosperity, unity and brotherhood to the Muslim World and brought Pakistan in the forefront of the Muslim World.

Pakistan is once again being ruled by corruption, nepotism, inefficiency and instability. In spite of her omissions and commissions, Benazir Bhutto still stands much superior to other leaders in the political arena. She can safely be counted as a politician of international stature. But the great question mark is - will she be tolerated and spared? Unfortunately statesmanship in Pakistan has gone. Big states and small minds cannot go together.

THE LAW OF RETRIBUTION

“Retribution is one of the most acknowledged principles in the divine administration of human affairs, a requital is imperceptible only to the willfully unobservant. There is every where the working of the everlasting law of requital: man always gets as he gives.”

The immutable law of retribution is the law of God, and it prevails and pervades everywhere and at all times. It is more powerful than the monarchs, dictators, generals and the wealthiest. Man foolishly fumes, frets and struts with all vanity thinking that he is above the constitution of the country and even above the law of nature. His ignorance revolts against God, boasting that his word is law, he does not learn any lesson from history and continues persisting in his follies. God’s mill grinds slow but sure and the ignorant is unaware of its imperceptible working.

Zia thought that by assassinating Bhutto, he had got rid of his worst enemy, but he did not know that the destiny’s decisively worst moment was waiting for him on 17th August 1988, when in a twinkling of eye, his safest, and the well guarded C-130 plane caught fire in the air, broke into pieces and

turned into ashes in a second or two along with his companions. No corpses were available, even the limbs were burnt, they were all beyond recognition. But nobody would learn lesson from such a sudden and hellish holocaust. It still remains a mystery. How it was done? And who did it? It was as if a punishment from the Almighty to an apparently devout Muslim for committing an unpardonable perfidy by assassinating an innocent Muslim, who had saved his country and served the Muslim World throughout his political career, though not a devout like him. Late Zahur Ellahi of Gujrat had taken that pen from Ziaul Haq as a "precious and historic gift" with which the dictator had confirmed the execution of Bhutto. Later on, he too was shot dead by a merciless bullet piercing through his body in Lahore while he was going in a car with his friend Justice (Retd) Maulvi Mushtaq Hussain, who while dispensing with justice, had ordered death sentence of Z.A Bhutto, and that culminated in a cold-blooded murder of the great leader. Zahur Elahi died on the spot, while Maulvi Mushtaq Hussain was injured. An eye-opening fate awaited his end. When he died, and his corpse was taken to the graveyard; multitudes of wild and ferocious bees are reported to have descended from the sky; started stinging every person who brought the corpse to the graveyard. The situation was so tense and terrifying that every body fled away from the dead body of the Maulvi to save himself. It clearly seemed that nature's Law of retribution had come into play to demonstrate the horrible fate and future of the unjust. Anyway the Almighty Allah alone knows who will be in perdition and who in paradise!

In spite of tortures and torments, Bhutto had faced the situation with equanimity, unbelievable courage and with a smiling face like a true Muslim as described by the great Muslim thinker Dr. Mohammad Iqbal of Punjab; He thereby fulfilled the promise made with the Quaid-e-Azam Mohammad Ali Jinnah, through his letter, dated April 26, 1945 in his capacity as a student, "Being still in school, I am unable to help in the establishment of our sacred land. But the time will come when I will sacrifice my life for Pakistan." How true he proved to his commitment.

"You give but little when you give of your possessions. It is when you give of yourself that you have truly given"

Khalil Gibran

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