

# SON OF THE DESERT

A biography of Quaid-a-Awam

**SHAHEED ZULFIKAR ALI**

**BHUTTO**

By **DR. HABIBULLAH SIDDIQUI**

**Dedicated to  
Mohtarma Benazir Bhutto Shaheed  
without words to express anything.  
The Author**

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A biography of Quaid-a-Awam  
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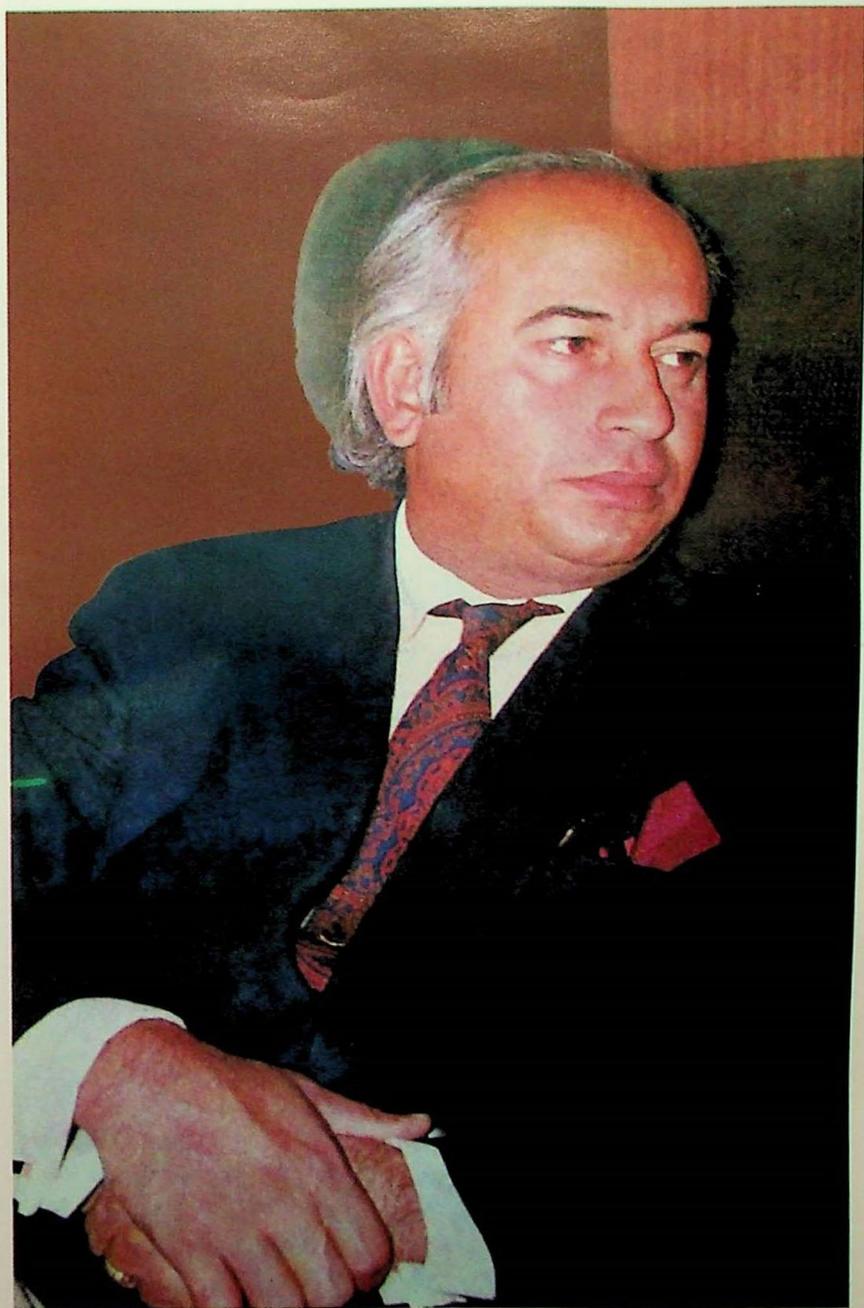
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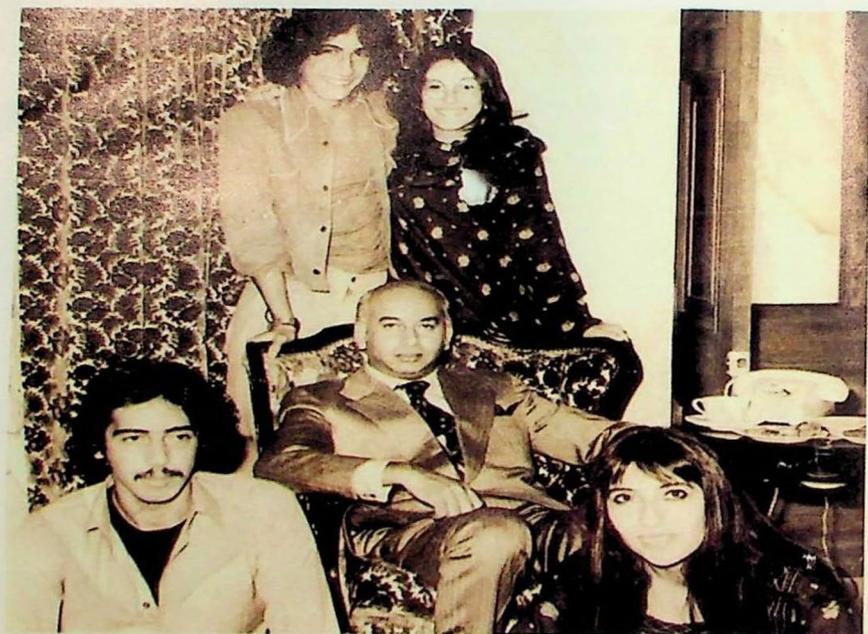
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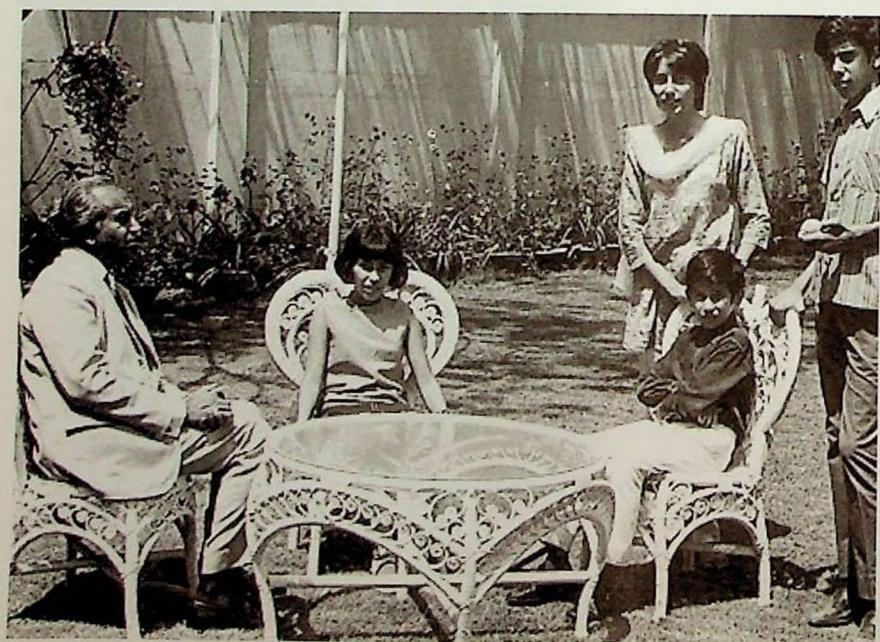
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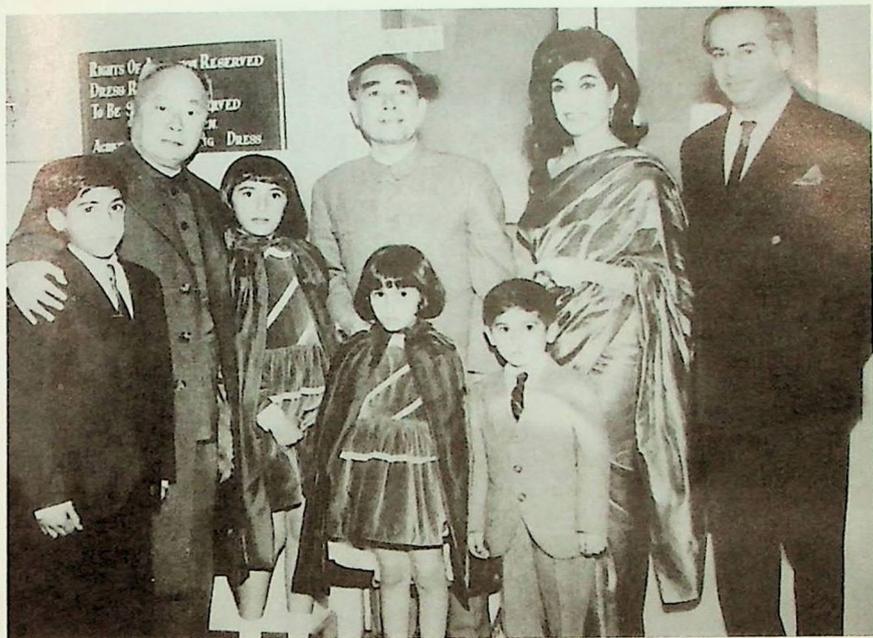
The Visionary



Bhutto Family



With Begum Nusart Bhutto and Children



With Chinese Leader HE Chou en Lai



With HE Moamir Qadafi of LIBYA



With Imam Ka'aba



With REZA SHAH Pahlavi of Iran

## FOREWORD

In writing a balanced biography of this great man of history, I have followed a root-to-stem approach; so that the flower can be seen in stark reality. Events of his life-time are correlated with their historical perspective. When a social reformer, a visionary politician, or revolutionary, rises in a nation, he has to swim against the stream. As such he has to exert all his physical, mental and emotional force to break the current of the historical flow in order to divert it to the desired goal. In that, he invites opposition, incurs ill-will and animosity of the vested interests, and puts his own life and reputation at stake. A biographer seeks for a closer approximation to an understanding of his activities, in a particular discipline which envisages the search for historical truth as its essential basis.

Truth and justice are two cardinal principles, which properly comprehend history and its makers. Neither genius nor eloquence or erudition can make up a historical truth: One must tell what one sees; above all, which is more difficult, one must always see what one sees. A Chinese proverb says, "Beware lest you lose the substance by grasping at the shadow."

Writing history is like performing a pyrrhic war-dance of the ancient Greeks. Facts and fiction, real story and concoction, folk rumors and planted versions, the relevant and trivial, all fall on one or the other short syllable, but they have to meet the metrical foot, failing which they will slip into the backwoods of history.

In 1903, Prof. J.B. Bury during his inaugural lecture as Regius Chair of History at the Cambridge University said, "History is not a branch of literature. History is a science, no less and no more."<sup>1</sup> Twenty one years afterward, he modified his statement and said, "No history can be instructive if the personality of the writer is entirely suppressed, it will be dead and colorless and inhuman, however faultless it may be in detail, however carefully the rules of historical method may be applied."

The writer's personality can choose the words or influence the choice of points to be raised; but a historiographer is an investigative agent. His investigation report can not conceal the facts. Then what constitutes the conclusive proof, when many versions of the process of the same story are afoot? The conclusive proof comes out of history itself.

History, like the Universe, has a black hole. Inside the black hole, live the mute men and women who make no noise of themselves until they burst forth, sack certain luminous stars and create new ones, more luminous and more agile. Of the genuineness of any star of the illuminated world of history, the conclusive proof is that the mute and the inglorious men and women burst forth from the black hole of history and made him their leader, the Quaid-e-Awam, the leader of the people. What men have said and done, above all what they have thought: that is history, says one historian and another adds, History has for its subject, human nature. It is the record of what man has thought, said, and done. It is the lamp by whose light we see human nature in action, and we can understand the causes, the significance, the results of events in proportion to our own comprehension of the character and nature of the men or the nation concerned. Biographies of the great men of history constitute the core study of history. Histories make men wise."<sup>2</sup> But it is also true that History teaches us that man learns nothing from history.<sup>3</sup> That is why history repeats itself.

True biographies are rare on account of their backlash. Great personalities live even after their death. Their devotees and

depreciators both live on. They may hit back if offended, or treat the biographer as a camp follower if pleased. The writer never wants to do either, but he tries to maintain creditability of his pen. That is what the present biographer has strived for in these pages.

Son of the Desert is a real story of a great man of history. He spent his short life running through the shifting sands of his time and made his mark on the socio-political and economic history of his people, which endures even after his death. He is referred to as "Shaheed" i.e. a martyr. Literally it means one who, by his death, bears witness to his belief or, suffers greatly from a cause, and is tortured and tormented. Ever since his death, his followers call him "Shaheed Baba". They are considerable in number, belong to the rising young generations and carry strong conviction, though the party founded by him, the Pakistan Peoples Party, now stands split into four/five factions, all claiming him as their ideal.

I have written this account also as a witness to the times, and have related my personal experience and perception at places. I have further eschewed the style of Strachey School of Biographers.<sup>4</sup> Lytton Strachey had established his reputation as a biographer through his witty and irreverent treatment of established reputations. His movement soon spent its force in the West, and on the whole, the writing of biography came to be characterized by care, sympathy and tolerance, rather than by wit, mockery or moral condemnation. In the world of knowledge nothing is final; and there is no final word in the field of research either.

**Dr. Habibullah Siddiqui**  
Baitul Izzat SUECHS,  
April 4, 2006.

## ON THE SANDS OF TIME

"I am son of the desert. If you like to take on me, come on, I am here!" Thus spoke "son of the desert" to history. The desert is a bridge connecting history with antiquity; but it has its own atmosphere of romance, which does not easily surrender to realism. The desert is unyielding, resilient and seductive.

The Thar, in Sindh (Pakistan) and Rajputana (Rajasthan), in India, constitute such a desert, where the ancestors of "Son of the Desert" once lived and sprawled up to central India.

The existing Aravalli hills are much worn-down remnant of once lofty range of mountains in Rajputana tending roughly NE-SW. for some 350-400 miles from the Delhi Doab towards the Rann of Cutch, adjoining the Thar desert. They reach 5,650 feet at Mount Abu; but, between Jodhpur and Jaipur, they sink to less than 1500 feet in a saddle like formation, which the Rajputs martially guarded and appropriated to their exclusive use.

The Hindu Rajput ancestors of "son of the desert" had an exclusive territory carved out for themselves in a triangular shape between the old Sutlej, the Jumna and the Narbada rivers. It encompassed some area of central India and the whole of the so-called Indian Desert (The Thar and the Rajasthan). This exclusive Rajput territory was impregnable for foreign invaders. Hence the inhabitants were left to their own way of life, culture and civilization. They had their own river, the Sarsvati flowing in the old bed of the Sutlej and then separately in the Hakro channel system, irrigating Thar and Rajputana.

The Rajputs were basically agriculturists and were mainly settled

on the Sarsvati Alias Hakro river, which is now lost in the desert. The "lost river", Hakro, had two more broad channels; "Nara" and the "Dhoro Puran". Nara was formed by Raini and Wahinda spill channels. Just after Khairpur, in Sindh, it passed along the plains, and skirted the eastern desert (still called Nara) meeting the edge of the desert to the south. The Nara-Hakra course resumed its close parallel inclining south-west until it fell into the Rann of Cutch. The Dhoro Puran joined this course before its fall in the Rann. A few miles upstream from this confluence traces, there are Buddhist ruins and on the right bank of the Dhoro Puran, and just 8 miles upstream from the modern Naokot, there stand the ruins of an Indus settlement called "Nohto".

Nohto's sea-level position (25 ft. above ) and its distance from the Rann of Cutch (50 miles) suggest that it might have been a river port for the sea-borne trade of Moen-jo-Daro. Similarly the archeological site, of "Garho Bhiri", indicates a river transport system between Rohri and this place. The flint flakes excavated here, or the material from which they were made, might have floated down from the vicinity of Rohri hills. There is also evidence of building-stone transportation from the same source.

The present Nara canal runs through the old bed of Hakro, and the Mithrao and Jamrao canals are off shoots of the ancient Indus irrigation system. The Hindu Rajput cultivators called it the sacred "Sarsvati" river. It joined the Indus below the confluence of Sutlej and joined the Ganges at her confluence with the Jumna at Prayaga (modern Allahabad), believed to have been running underground before joining the Ganges, hence mysterious and miraculous.

The river got its name from the Hindu goddess Sarsvati, believed to be the wife of the godhead Brahma. She is considered as the patron of art, music, and letters (Rigveda), the inventor of the Sanskrit language and the Devanagri script.<sup>1</sup> The Hindu Rajputs attachment to Sarsvati was two-fold; on account of its irrigational value, and due to its lineal attribute of the firegod Agni, whose descendents the fiery Rajputs claim to be. There are no traces of the Agni-cult in the early ruins of Moen-jo-Daro. Later on, "Sarsvati was

identified with a hypostatic goddess of "Vac" (speech). She was depicted as a fair young woman, often with a vina, or Indian lute, and a book in her hand, and attended by a swan (Hans)."<sup>2</sup>

The ancient history of the Rajput race unfolds with the fall of the early Gupta Empire (533 A.D). Those people who carved out independent or semi-independent principalities for themselves, usually found a place among the 36 clans of the Rajputs, who succeeded the Kshatriya (Khatri) families of olden Aryan times. Among those early Rajput clans, the Huns and the Pratiharas or Pariharas deserve special mention. They belonged to the race of Gujars. While the ruling families of foreign immigrants and Hinduised border tribes often ranked as Rajputs, the rank and file came under less exalted social groups like the Gujars, the Dhaki Khasiyas, the Bhotiyas and others.<sup>3</sup>

In the context of Sindh-history the Sodha Rajputs of Thar claim to be of pure Rajput racial stock. The Gazetter notes that They have remained Hindu, whilst those who penetrated further into Sindh were rapidly converted to Mohammedanism (Islam)."<sup>4</sup> In the "Musalmans Found In Sindh, Balochistan and Afghanistan", (1901 A.D), Bhutto is shown as one of 13 branches of the Sodha-Pahore Rajputs.<sup>5</sup> This source also shows that Bhattos are descendants of Jam Jakhro, which means that the Sodha Muslim converts distinguished themselves from the Hindu Sodha Rajputs by a new caste nomenclature "Samma", as Jam Jakhro is a celebrated Samma ancestor.<sup>6</sup>

The Sindhi Sufi saint, Shah Abdul Latif Bhittai (1690-1752 A.D), has sung Jam Jakhro Sammo in these words:

"Oh Jakhra! You may live long. I may not hear an evil word against you; as of late, you came to bless the unworthy".

[The relevant sur of "Shah-jo-Raisalo" is Kedar, in which he actually sings the brave martyrdom of Hazrat Imam Hussain (A.S).<sup>7</sup>]

Bhattos further descended in racial line from Jam Rayedhan son of Jam Jakhro. They were called the Dhang tribe, who had their own martial traditions. They are among the 784 branches of Samma tribe settled in Sindh, as compiled by Taluka Mukhtarkars

of the British Government.<sup>8</sup> They are further connected with the Bhattis of Jaisalmir, who are also associated with "Bhatnir", some 90 miles from Pakpattan in the Punjab. The Ara'in clan in the Punjab is believed to have common descent with the Bhuttos. Sindh has had among others, three Rajput clans, who had apportioned their territories thus; Sindh Sammo, Kachhi Channo, Bhatti Jaisalmir. It also means that the same Rajput race was identified with different names in different parts of the country.

Besides Bhatnir, Thar and Jaisalmir, the Bhuttos' abode prior to Sindh can be identified with places named "Bhattah" and "Bhattu", which occur in history books. Tansen, the court-musician of Akbar, lived in Bhattah when it was ruled by Raja Ramchand Baghela (c. 1555-1592 A.D). He must have been a Rajput either of Baghela or Bhutta clan. "Bhattah" territory has been identified as a "Panna" tribe's land, which is located in the "Reva" territory in Bandelkhand. The Chandelles of Bundelkhand were subdued by the Chauhan King of Ajmir and Delhi, Raja Prithviraj III (d. 1192.A.D). Then the power of Chandelles was shattered by Sultan Qutibuddin Aibak in A.D. 1202, when fifty thousand prisoners, male and female, were transported to Delhi.<sup>9</sup>

Around Delhi, in the Hisar district of Ambala division, there is a village called "Bhattu" located in Fatahabad tehsil (Sarsa sub-division). It has a railway station of the same name. On the BB & C I narrow-gauge railway line, "Bhattu" is the third station from Hisar. Starting from Delhi junction railway station, the train stops at Gorgaon, Rewari (junction), Patodi, Bhawani, and Hisar etc through "Bhattu", ending at "Bhattanda". "Bhattu" was once located on the Sarsvati river and its in-habitants were agriculturists.<sup>10</sup>

Whether Bhuttos originally belonged to Bhattu village, or Bhattah territory, or to the Thar, Jodhpur, Jaisalmir area, it is evident that they were settled on the Sarsvati alias Hakro River. Their name appears along with other Rajput clans of Thar (Sindh) and Rajputana (India) and makes it most probable that they were originally a part and parcel of Sindh history.<sup>11</sup>

While the sacred Sarsvati was still flowing in the Rann of Cutch,

skirting "Somnath" to its west, the Ghaznavid's sack of the fabulous Somnath temple of the Rajputs challenged their security for the first time in recorded history. For three centuries (712-1001 AD), they had successfully withstood invasion by the Muslim rulers of Sindh. But the seventeen expeditions, led by Sultan Mehmood Ghaznavi (1001-1026 AD), to relieve the Rajput land of its ample temple wealth, extinguished the once powerful empire of the Pratiharas in Kanauj (1008 A.D). The fall of the Hindu Shahia Kingdom of the Punjab, which was annexed, synchronized with the sack of Somnath (1026 AD); however it did not provide a permanent Muslim foothold in Rajputana. Every time the Sultan returned to Ghazni in Afghanistan, laden with the war booty. The Rajput wealth so carried away may be visualized from a single instance of Nagarkot spoil: "700,000 golden dinars, 200 mans [maunds] of pure gold in ingots, 2000 mans of unwrought silver, and 20 mans of various jewels, including pearls, corals, diamonds and rubies."<sup>12</sup>

For more than a century after the Ghaznavid expeditions "the great Rajput powers of western and central India... sought to divide among themselves the imperial heritage of the Pratiharas"<sup>13</sup>. They were engaged in internecine feuds when all of a sudden another wave of Muslim invasion into the subcontinent swept in, taking Multan, then Sindh, in 1175 A.D. Sultan Muhammad Shahabuddin Ghori (d. 1206 A.D) was however defeated in Gujarat in 1178 A.D. The Rajput Raja Bhimdev II (1179-1242) then ruled Gujarat, while the legendary Rajput hero Prithviraj (d.1192 A.D) ruled over Ajmir and Delhi. He offered resistance, when Sultan Shahabuddin Ghori marched on Thanesar in 1191 A.D., and won the day; but the next year (1192 A.D) the Rajputs were routed, largely due to superior, more mobile cavalry. Mounted archers were a special danger. Prithviraj was defeated and killed. He is remembered to this day by the Rajputs as a model of chivalry and courage, and is the hero of many folk ballads."<sup>14</sup> His heroism arose from his bravery, and love notoriety. He was the last great Hindu King of northern India.

The victory of Muslim arms in the second battle at Tarain (1192 AD) after Sindh, which was conquered in 712 A.D, laid the foundation of a Muslim State in northern India. Dr. Qureshi notes that as per the government policy, Muslim colonies were setup amid the native settlements. The Rajputs posed a permanent threat to the very existence of the Muslim colonies. He writes, "It was difficult to maintain law and order in isolated villages."<sup>15</sup> This condition appears to have prevailed up to the advent of the Mughal imperial rule of Akbar, the Great (1556-1605 A.D), who realized the great potential of the Rajput militancy. "Akbar's marriage to a Rajput princess and his son's to another, gave the Rajputs considerable status"<sup>16</sup>. The Rajput relations of the royal family were styled as "Mirza"<sup>17</sup>, which means a prince, and they were treated as such, without asking for conversion to the Muslim faith. This status of the Rajput aristocracy lasted up to the rule of the Emperor Shah Jehan. (1628-1658 A.D).

For the Bhutto family of Larkana, it is asserted that their conversion to Islam probably occurred during the rule of Emperor Aurangzeb (1658-1707 A.D). There is also another version regarding the rise of Islam in Rajputana: Khawaja Moinuddin Chishi (R.A), (1141-1236 A.D), was the first Sufi saint, who "did make a number of converts" there. Dr. Qureshi writes, "Till today, there are several Muslim families, who trace their origin to Hindu Rajput ancestry"<sup>18</sup>. The celebrated Bhutto family is one of them. It is not clear whether they accepted Islam at the hands of Hazrat Khawaja Ajmiri. In the war of succession among the sons of Emperor Shah Jehan (1657/58 A.D) the Rajputs sided with the Sufi prince, Dara Shikoh. The Rajputs "fought desperately and showed more than professional zeal in his cause"<sup>19</sup>. Inter alia it shows that the Rajputs were inclined towards sufistic order then prevalent in Muslim religious circles. However, when the orthodox prince Aurangzeb "was firmly established as emperor, the Rajput nobles made their peace."<sup>20</sup>

Conversion to the Islamic faith might have occurred after the Rajput nobles made their peace with Emperor Aurangzeb (1658-

1707). According to the Memoirs of Sir Shah Nawaz Bhutto, among the Rajput warriors, who converted to Islam, one was named "Sheto". As clan leader he claimed for himself the title of "Khan". He was the progenitor of the Bhutto family of Sindh.<sup>21</sup>

The sacred river Sarsvati alias Hakra, had dried up. The agriculturist Rajput clans, consequently lost their basic economy. Drought and famine drove the Rajput agriculturists out of the desert in search of water and cultivable land. Sheto Khan, the Bhutto chieftain, came along to Sindh's Ratodero area, north of Larkana, where the son of the desert was born, and named Zulfikar Ali, the name of the famous sword of Hazrat Muhammad (Peace Be Upon Him) endowed to Hazrat Ali (A.S), and lost in later days.<sup>22</sup>

Where did Sheto Khan and his Bhutto clan come from and what route did they take to reach Ratodero forest? When did it happen? These questions may be mooted for a clear historical prospective:

Due to Sodha -Pahore Samma and Bhatti descent, established through survey reports and compilations discussed earlier, it is possible that before moving into Sindh, the Bhutta family dwelt in Jaisalmir. There is an existing caravan route from Jaisalmir to Rohri, which was later examined by the British East India Company's officers, Bornford and wilde, as an alternate trade route from Lahore to the sea.<sup>23</sup>

Alternatively, there is a possibility that the Bhutto immigrants first took to the channel of the Indus, which was flowing through parts of Rajputana up to Kathiawad. There was an outlet called "Nal" between Kathiawad and Gujarat. From Gujarat to Sindh there was a highway frequented by Sufi saints, traders, and Muslim pilgrims during those days.

The probable routes are Jaisalmir to Rohri, or from Bhatnir to Ratodero, or via Nal and Gujarat. In any case Sheto Khan reached and settled in the forestland of Ratodero. It suited the Bhutto tradition of seclusion in an exclusive territory, and initially secured themselves also from other aspirants of the land.

The point of time of Bhutto's settlement in Sindh is to be

determined. The most feasible and opportune time must be when Mian Din Muhammed Kalhoro was executed (1690-1700), under orders of the Mughal Governor of Sindh at Multan, acting on the complaints of some zamindars of Chandka (Larkana) who had been ejected from their lands by the Kalhoras. Their celebrated chieftain Mian Adam Shah Kalhoro (1520-1600) was like-wise sentenced by the imperial court at Multan though buried with military honor at a hillock at Sukkur. The Mughal government was in fact seized of a rising nationalist movement in Sindh. The same year when Mian Din Muhammad was executed, his younger brother Mian Yar Muhammed Kalhoro inflicted a humiliating defeat on the pursuing imperial army at Nai Gaj (Dadu district). He fled with family into the confines of Qalat. He was away for two years (1700-1702 A.D); and it was possibly the time when the Bhuttos could peacefully settle on the lands of Chandka territory.

Soon afterwards, when the Kalhoras befriended the Mughal government, Mian Yar Muhammad was conferred the title of Khuda Yar Khan and his son Mian Noor Muhammad Kalhoro, by valour and tact, established the monarchy of Kalhora dynasty in Sindh, in between 1701-1736.

The Bhuttos of Ratodero faced the first aggression from the Abro clansmen, who were ejected from their lands in Chandka by the Kalhoras and then reconciled in matrimonial bonds with them. They fell back upon the Bhuttos' land and were to be warded off with considerable tact, and martial prowess. The Kalhoras, a mountaineer race, appear to have wisely avoided a conflict with the Bhutto desert men. But the Bhutto-Abro conflict continued till Sheto Khan's great grandson, Mir Pir Bakhsh Bhutto (d.1883.A.D) fought and defeated the Abros in many battles in Larkana where he established Bhutto power.<sup>24</sup> Thus during the eventful nineteenth century, Bhuttos were firmly settled on the Indus waters to continue with their ancestral occupation of agriculture. The mighty Indus had already, through the ages, reared many a warrior-cum-agriculturist race, and was still inexhaustible. The first settlers, who saw the Indus in pre-historical times, the Rigvedic Aryans,

described it thus:

"Flashing and whitely gleaming,  
In her mightiness she moves  
Her ample volumes through the realms,  
Most active of the active."  
Sindhu unrestrained!"

The recent Bhutto settlers saw much more in the Indus and its land, culture and tradition, comparing favourably with their own roots. Thus "son of the desert" once said,... "My roots in the soil of this land are very deep."

## THE ROOTS

Pakistan comprises more or less the same territory which is known to history as the Indus Valley; while the Islamic Republic of Pakistan is heir to the first Muslim State established in Sindh in 712 A.D. The Muslim rule in India dates back to 1192 AD, when the last great ruler of northern India, the Chauhan Rajput Prithviraj lost the land to Sultan Muhammad Shahabuddin Ghori who established the Delhi Sultanate.

Sindh is the first name that surfaced in history at the time of the Aryan invasion. They called it Sindh after the first river they crossed and named Sindhu. The ancient Indians called their land "Jambudvipa" (the land of jambu tree) or Bharat-Varsh (Bharatavarsa), which meant the land of the sons of "Bharata", a legendary emperor.

Over a thousand years after the Aryan invasion, the Iranian emperor Darius-I (c.521-486BC) conquered Sindh up to the Indus and made it the seventh satrapy of his empire (518-517 BC). The Iranians faced difficulty in pronouncing the initial "S". So, they called the land Hind and the river Hindu. Two centuries later the Greeks invaded Sindh (327-326BC). Their geographers and chroniclers preferred the name Indus for the river and India for the country. The Arabs came much later and established the first Muslim State in Sindh (712 A.D). Their historians and geographers could clearly distinguish between the land of the Indus and the rest of the subcontinent, so they used the names Sindh and Hind.

Sindh was being rapidly transformed into a Muslim society, when the first Muslim State was founded in Delhi. (1206 A.D). The

last Mughal emperor Bahadur Shah Zafar died in 1867 in captivity at Yangoon (Burma) and a six-and-a-half centuries' Muslim rule in India (1206-1857) came to an end. The Indian Muslims fought the British bravely in the so-called Indian Mutiny, rightly to be called the war of liberation, in 1857, but lost and the British rule was firmly established in the Indo-Pak subcontinent.

History is witness to the fact that the Muslim rulers of Sindh and Hind never forced conversion on the indigenous population. The Rajput case corroborates this statement. They retained their Hindu religion for a thousand years (712-1700). One of the instances of Rajput conversion relates to Sheto Khan Bhutto and his clansmen. Commenting on the converted Muslim Rajput families, Dr. Qureshi writes, A large number of them are orthodox Muslim... still an appeal on the basis of their social customs and the pride in their Rajput ancestry does not prove ineffectual".<sup>1</sup> This observation leads to an inquiry into the system of those enduring social customs and the racial pride, which is still discernible among the Muslim Rajput families, including Bhuttos.

The Bhuttos changed their faith but not the name of their clan. While other converts adopted as their caste name Sheikh, Khawaja or Memon, Bhutto remained the same Bhutto. The retention of the name of the clan shows a firm attachment to the roots, the customs and traditions of their ancestors. The Bhutto Rajput ancestry, before their conversion to Islam, showed talent in the field of arts and culture. Despite the apparent unity, for instance, in miniature painting introduced by the Chughtai Mughal artists, which was secular and courtly, "the Mughal and the Rajput schools of painting were as divergent as their traditions".<sup>2</sup> So was the case in architecture, sculpture, music, dancing, etc.

The Khilji Sultanate of Delhi and the contemporary Soomra rule in Sindh (in the late 13<sup>th</sup> century A.D) present a few important customs and traditions of the Rajput race. The folk tale of Dodo-Chanesar has a definite historical base. At the drop scene of this episode the Soomra women perform self-immolation to escape dishonor at the hands of the enemy. Whether the Soomras have an

Arab origin or they are a hybrid Arab-Rajput race, the custom of self-immolation by women, and fighting to the last by men, belongs to Rajput tradition.

In July 1301 AD, Sultan Allaudin Khilji, captured the Rajput fortress Ranthambhor, after a year's siege. Amir Khusrav (1253-1324 AD), who was in the royal retinue, has left an eyewitness account of the self-immolation practice. He writes, "One night, the Rai (Hamir Dev) lit a fire at the top of the hill, and threw his women and family into the flames, and rushing on the enemy with a few devoted adherents, they sacrificed their lives in despair."<sup>3</sup> The Indian historians report that when further resistance seemed impossible, they preferred death to disgrace, as Tod describes how by that horrible rite, the jauhar, where the female are immolated to preserve them from pollution or captivity, the fair "Padmini" closed the throng. They were conveyed to the cavern and the opening closed on them, leaving them to find security from dishonor in the devouring element.<sup>4</sup> Amir Khusrav mentions the date as the 10th August of 1303 AD.

The Rajput tradition of self-immolation to save female honor and fighting to the last to save the men's, originates in medieval Rajput kings' ideals of war. While there were rules of war described in the Arthshastra and Manu, these rules were not always kept. The heroes of Mahabharata infringed them often...but the later text introduced the conception of military honor. Flight is the deepest of shames; the soldier slain in flight incurs the guilt of his lord, and suffers proportionately in the after-life. The soldier, slain while fighting to the last, passes straight to heaven. Such ideals culminated in the final holocaust which was the fate of many a medieval Rajput king, with his family and body guard, the women and children, burning alive in the inner chamber of the fort while the men fought to the last on the battlements.<sup>5</sup>

Another important Rajput tradition dates back to the Greek invasion (326 BC). "The Greeks were impressed by the ferocity with which the women of some of the Punjab tribes aided their men folk in resisting Alexander".<sup>6</sup> The Indus valley tradition in this respect is

more ancient, when men and women had the same dress and haircut and fought equally well in Alexander's time. The Mauryan kings were guarded by amazons trained in the use of sword and bow. Prof. Basham writes, "in later times (subsequent to Mauryan Amazon body guards) women took part in war, and the tradition was continued among the Rajputs until quite recently."<sup>7</sup>

The Rajput tradition of fighting to the last man is but a value collateral of Sindhi tradition found in the poetry of Shah Abdul Latif Bhattai RA (1690-1752 AD). He says:

"Deserted"! I won't admit,  
"Killed!" I might believe,  
The wounds on my husband's face,  
I would be honored to treat,  
But would die of shame,  
If those were on his back.<sup>8</sup>

Shortly after the settlement of Bhuttos in Sindh, the Mughal government gave way before a nationalist movement. Kalhoras established a local rule. While there is no evidence of their persecution by the Kalhora government (1701-1782), the Bhuttos of Chandka (Larkana) were apprehensive on account of the Abro rivalry and their relationship with the royal family. So during the first 82 years, they remained in a state of preparedness and continuously fought out their adversaries and tactfully conducted themselves during the Talpur rule (1782-1843); until during the British rule (1843-1947) Bhuttos gained in local power and political status. The Bhutto history of their first half-century's settlement in Sindh has yet to be written. Nevertheless there are some footprints on the sands of time, which point out their roots in the soil.

Mir Muhammad Khan Bhutto is said to have led the Bhutto family into Sindh. It might be that Sheto Khan had assumed this Muslim name after conversion and arrival in Sindh. The available pedigree of the family shows his son Mitha Khan, grandson Sahatiyo Khan and great grandson Pir Bakhsh Khan who had two sons: Allah Bakhsh Khan (elder) and Doda Khan.

Wadero Doda Khan witnessed the advent of British rule in Sindh (1843 AD). Taking a norm of thirty years to a generation, the pedigree leads to hundred years upwards from Wadero Doda Khan to Wadero Mitha Khan Bhutto, who could have lived about the year 1743. Thus calculated on the time line, it can be said that Wadero Mitha Khan was son of Mir Muhammad Khan (living in 1700 AD), who was the same as Sheto Khan Bhutto.

The Kalhora period (1701-1782 AD) was an alarming time for the Bhutto family. Their successive headmen Waderos Muhammed Khan, Mitha Khan, Sahatiyo Khan and Pir Bakhsh Khan defended their lands and themselves with courage and unity. Besides they learnt from the Kalhora chieftains the value of self-sacrifice. Mian Adam Shah Kalhoro lost his life in his struggle against Mughal imperialism (1600)' and the martyr's blood turned Kalhoras into a warrior tribe. The next martyrdom, that of his great grandson Mian Din Muhammad Kalhoro entrenched Kalhora power in Sindh. Bhuttos having desisted from fishing in the troubled waters, had no dispute with Kalhoras, which proves that they appreciated the role model of nationalistic uprising and martyrdom.

The government of Sindh changed hands in 1782 AD, when the Talpur Mirs established a confederation with headquarters at Hyderabad, Mirpurkhas and Khairpur Mir's. Wadero Pir Bakhsh Bhutto (d. 1883 AD) was then the headman of Bhutto family. He decided to align with Mir Suhrab Khan and his son Mir Rustam Khan of the Khairpur State. But when Mir Murad Ali Khan deposed his elder brother Mir Rustam Khan with the help of Sir Charles Napier (Dec. 1842) and became the Mir of Khairpur State, he apprehended opposition from the Bhuttos of Ratodero, who had lands not only in Larkana, but Jacobabad and Khairpur even. So, he tricked them by inviting Mir Allah Bakhsh s/o Pir Bakhsh Khan Bhutto to his court at Khairpur and then held him as hostage for five years to ensure that the Bhuttos held their peace. The British Government noted their importance. So, the younger brother of Mir Allah Bakhsh, Mir Doda Khan Bhutto, was given due importance. The young Bhutto by the time was up and doing.

He got his land grants confirmed and so impressed the Governor Sir Charles Napier that he was appointed sole arbiter to determine the extent of Jagir of Nawab Ghaibi Khan Chandio. With his liberal support, Nawab Wali Muhammad Khan Chandio got his entire area as a first class Jagir.<sup>9</sup>

The arbitration of Mir Doda Khan Bhutto is cited in the Memoirs of Sir Shah Nawaz Bhutto, which pertain to the period of Sir Charles Napier's governorship of Sindh (1843-1847). But in the Gazetteer of Sindh province, compiled by J.W. Smyth, which was published in 1919, the arbitration episode and the prominence of Mir Doda Khan and the Bhutto tribe were omitted while describing the event of Jagir confirmation in favour of the Chandio chief.<sup>10</sup>

The incidence of arbitration by Mir Doda Khan Bhutto appears censored. His descendent chief of Bhutto family at the time of compilation (1919), Sir Shah Nawaz, and the entire Bhutto family is excluded from the prominent tribes paragraphs.

No valuable or invaluable service in the cause of subjugation of Sindh or crushing the turbulent tribes of Sindh went to the credit of Bhuttos of Larkana district, so perhaps it explains their omission in the Gazetteer. Bhuttos were, for sure, holding their lands, but these were placed under the Court of Wards.

### PERSECUTION:

The feudal scene in Larkana district up to the Laki Pass, as described in the Gazetteer (1919) is sans Bhuttos. Had some thing happened to disrupt Mir Doda Khan Bhutto-British rapport? Yes, we have the account of it in the Memoirs of Sir Shah Nawaz Bhutto:

The proverbial daring and love notoriety of Rajput blood had surged in a scion of the Bhutto family living at Garhi Khuda Bakhsh. He was Mir Ghulam Murtaza Khan (elder) a grandson of Mir Doda Khan, who had love affair with the mistress of the British Deputy Commissioner (called collector) Col. Mayhew, and the British reprisal wrapped the Bhuttos in official persecution and

murders.

Mir Ghulam Murtaza (c.1869-1899) S/o Mir Khuda Bakhsh Khan Bhutto, is a main character in the history of Bhutto family's sufferings. It is worthwhile to narrate his story in some detail. It is said that Col. Mayhew suspected the love affair between his mistress and Mir Ghulam Murtaza, so he laid a trap. Apparently leaving Larkana for Sukkur for a night stay, he returned at midnight and found the lovers in his bedroom. He flung the whip and struck Mir Murtaza, who lost no time in grabbing the whip and striking Col. Mayhem back so hard that he fell and Mir fled on horse back. Col Mayhew kept mum in self-respect, waiting for an opportunity to take revenge.

It was early 1892, "The Col. had been careful", writes Sir Shah Nawaz in his Memoirs, "to keep secret the unpleasant incident... But he never forgot such an insult... patiently, waiting almost a year to take revenge. Then one day, Mr. Sher Muhammed Shah, a Sindhi Police inspector, was murderously attacked by an unidentified enemy. He wanted to lodge a blind F.I.R at the police station but was made to depose that the assailant was Mir Murtaza Walad Mir Khuda Bakhsh Khan Bhutto. He did commit perjury on promise of promotion and land grant from the government. However the prosecution side could not prove the charge of an attempt to murder against Mir Murtaza, and the Session Judge Larkana acquitted him honorably, albeit his father had spent heavily on his defence.

The collector Col. Mayhew, seething with rage and revenge, tried a year later. This time Mir Ghulam Murtaza Khan was charged with the murder of a Hindu and eye witnesses were arranged but the attempt failed again though at still a heavier cost to the Bhutto family. Two British Barristers, M/s Anwerty and Rottigin from Bombay and Lahore were charging Rs: 1000/- and 1500/- per day respectively during a long trial. Enough pecuniary punishment had been inflicted; but the litigation did not end. Col. Mayhew, the Collector-[District] Magistrate Larkana won a retrial motion, which he had filed with the Bombay Presidency Government. Now the

ageing Bhutto chieftain Sardar Khuda Bakhsh Khan Bhutto advised his son Mir Ghulam Murtaza Khan Bhutto to go under ground. He went into Bahawalpur area incognito but was spotted by British spies amongst the local people, so he crossed the border into Afghanistan where the British arm could not reach him. It is, still a heroic tale with the Bhutto family of which the "Daughter of the East" also speaks.<sup>11</sup>

Fierce personal vendetta of a ruling British colonist collector of Larkana had forced Mir Murtaza Bhutto into a long exile and his old father, Sardar Khuda Bakhsh Khan, was facing the colonel's anti-Bhutto scheming. Sir Shah Nawaz Bhutto writes in his Memoirs that colonel Mayhew's police induced criminals to take on Bhuttos; soon the first murder and confiscation of property ensued: The Bhutto chief was returning on horse back from his farm lands around Dodapur (named after his father) in Jacobabad district when the highwaymen hurled a hatchet at his horse. The wounded horse threw its rider off saddle who hit the ground very hard and fell unconscious. He was taken to the nearby village Amirabad, the main hari colony; but did not recover from that horse-fall and died two weeks later. This was the first murder of a Bhutto chief.

Mir Khuda Bakhsh Khan Bhutto was dead. His only son and heir Mir Ghulam Murtaza Khan Bhutto was a notified absconder and a proclaimed offender. The grandsons Shah Nawaz Khan Bhutto and Ali Gohar Khan were minor. It gave Colonel Mayhew a chance to confiscate the property of Mir Khuda Bakhsh Bhutto, which now belonged to a proclaimed offender.

The Colonel confiscated all moveable properties including jewels, heirloom, gold embossed guns and horse saddles; while the fine furniture, carpets and durries lying in the guest-houses and the go-down at Garhi Khuda Bakhsh were all put to the torch. Sir Shah Nawaz Khan notes in his memoirs: "We saw the fire ablaze at night. In the morning we saw the ashes"<sup>12</sup>. He was then 8 years old and the year was 1896. His grand mother, mother and brother residing in the Bhutto Haveli were ejected with only the clothes on their

bodies.

Colonel Mayhew did to the Bhutto family exactly what General Charles Napier had done to royal Talpur family while ejecting them from the Hyderabad Fort, 53 years ago. They were forced to take shelter with their servants and haris in their huts and were deprived of all their belongings except clothes on their bodies.<sup>13</sup>

Now the Bhutto feudal family resided with their poor haris in their village with only two minor male members, 8 years olds Shah Nawaz Khan Bhutto and his half brother Mir Ali Gohar. Shah Nawaz's determination to rise, like a burnt phoenix from his ashes, is manifest from his Memoirs, which shows that he walked barefoot at the age of 8, a distance of 10 miles daily to attend the Government Primary School at Ratodero. One, who was being served in silver plates, took his crust of dry bread along for the lunch.

Then, the fugitive of the British India Government, Mir Ghulam Murtaza Khan Bhutto' was spurred to act. He met Amir Abdur Rahman Khan of Afghanistan in Kabul who was pleased to provide "sufficient funds not only to return to Sindh but to enable him to fight out his case in court".<sup>14</sup> Still the wind was not blowing in favour of the persecuted Bhutto family. Mir Murtaza Khan lost all the Afghan-gold when his boat capsized at Panjnad in the Indus due to a sudden storm. But the stormy Mir Murtaza did not lose his heart. He went to Bahawalpur and borrowed some money there to carry on. He reached Karachi, the head-quarter of British Commissioner, and disguised himself as a Sikh laborer. In disguise he met barrister Rais Ghulam Muhammad Bhurgri, a friend and a former pleader of Bhutto family, who recognized him, and the two Sindhis put their heads together to find some way to dodge the British police and enter the carefully guarded residence of the British Commissioner of Sindh, so that Mir Murtaza could personally plead his case with him.

The British Commissioner Sir Avan James' Munshi (Chief Secretary) was known to Rais Ghulam Muhammad who approached him with a request "to permit a poor Sikh Laborer

from the north to get employed on a construction work then in progress in the Commissioner's residence." Thus Mir Murtaza was smuggled into the most powerful British colonist's home disguised as a Sikh laborer. Then Mir got a list of the guards of Commissioner House. One of them was a Sindhi Khokhar from Larkana. This brother Sindhi was helpful in knowing that the Commissioner came out to inspect the construction work twice a week, and on Saturday as Sir James was making a round of the work done, Mir Murtaza stepped forward bravely to disclose his real identity. "I have a story to tell [you] and I want you to do justice to me!" he said, and the shrewd British stared at him and then asked his ADC to take the man into custody. The aide-de-camp listened to Mir Murtaza and put up a summary to the Commissioner accordingly. The Commissioner had already come to know about the hushed up scandal and the muffled vendetta of Col. Mayhew. So he called Mir Murtaza in and found him reasonable and courteous, he was only pleading a fair trial in his court at Karachi rather than in Colonel Mayhew's at Sukkur. Sir Avon James dictated the order of transfer of the case to his court and left shaking hands with Mir Murtaza with a friendly advice "to leave his office without bitterness."<sup>15</sup>

Rais Ghulam Muhammad provided two sureties and obtained the bail for Mir Murtaza, but he could not go out of Karachi till the end of the trial, which came round in 1899 with his vindication. His lawyer Barrister Moti Ram Advani had well pleaded his case and so defended him that all the confiscated property was restored to him.

On acquittal, the first act of Mir Murtaza was to pay homage and pray at the Mazar of Hazrat Qalandar Lal Shahbaz at Sehwan Sharif. Next he went to meet and stay with his friend Mr. Ali Muhammed Effandi. (S/o K.B. Hasan Ali Effandi, the great maternal grandfather of Senator Asif Ali Zardari) who was then posted as civil judge at Dadu. Mir Murtaza was surprised to learn from his host that Col. Mayhew, his avowed enemy, was retiring and was on his way from Sukkur to Karachi via Dadu. Mir Murtaza

came face to face with him at Dadu at the residence of Mr. Ali Muhammed Effandi and asked him to endorse restoration of all his immovable properties including his house at Larkana as ordered by the Commissioner Sindh. The retiring colonel agreed to "let bygones be bygones". He signed the restoration order of Bhutto properties typed in the office of the civil judge Dadu. He said that he still loved Sindh and her people.<sup>16</sup>

Mir Murtaza, the only son of the late Sardar Khuda Bakhsh Khan Bhutto, returned triumphantly to his estates, on horse back. At the grandest reception ever held in Larkana district, he declared that "he harbors no grievance toward anyone who had "given false evidence" against him. And thanked them all for their heart warming hospitality. "There was no greater happiness", he said, "than to return to the land of birth and burial and to be with one's children with one's friends and people".<sup>17</sup> Incidentally exactly the same desire, his illustrious grandson Shaheed Zulfikar Ali Bhutto had in his last days in the death cell of Rawalpindi. Mir Murtaza's days had also been numbered now. Despite his public assurance that he would not avenge on his adversaries, the concerned "influential zamindars", who had falsely deposed against him to please the British official, and now were apprehensive of Bhutto retribution, got him poisoned. Their apprehension was also reflected in Sir Avan James' remarks, who had indicated in his report, as later seen by Sir Shah Nawaz Khan Bhutto, "the great influence" of the Bhuttos with a warning: "They have to be watched".<sup>18</sup>

It is the politics of vengeance that is engaging the Bhutto family ever since on account of their "great influence". Mir Khuda Bakhsh Khan was killed. His only son Mir Murtaza Bhutto had already fled for life. When he returned and received his fortunes, he was poisoned to death. His two minor sons, Shah Nawaz and Ali Gohar, were only 10 years old, the former being one day older than his half brother. "In those feudal times, the politics of our environment was essentially personal and tribal. Siyosat, is an ancient concept of the feudal code of honour, loyalty and

vengeance. Our feudal environment draws us to Siyasat from the cradle to the grave,<sup>19</sup> so writes Sir Shah Nawaz Khan Bhutto in his "Memoirs".

After the sudden tragic death of Mir Murtaza Khan Bhutto, the elder, his properties were again taken over by the British Government, under the Court of Wards Act, as the male heirs were minor. The same "Influential" landlords of Larkana district, who were after the blood of the British fugitive Mir, hatched "dangerous intrigues" against his young sons Shah Nawaz Khan and Ali Gohar Khan. The new British Collector, Mr. Mules, who was the Court of Wards, took personal care and responsibility to protect the young boys, as he was their official guardian.

In his childhood, Sir Shah Nawaz Khan Bhutto fell prey to the vengeance of Colonel Mayhew along with his family members. In 1896 his grand father Sardar Khuda Bakhsh Khan died of an engineered horse fall. In 1889, his father returned home with property restored, but soon he was poisoned to death by the same "Influential land lords of Larkana" district, and his two sons Shah Nawaz Khan and Ali Gohar Khan being minors of only 10 years of age, the property was again taken over by the Government under the Court of Wards Act. Mr. Mules as the British Collector and the Court of Wards, protected the two brothers against "dangerous intrigues" by the same "influential landlords", aimed at their life. Mr. Tarapat, the assistant collector, had then founded a middle school at Larkana, called Zamindar school, (later named Larkana Madressah). The young Shah Nawaz who had completed his primary education at Ratodero, was admitted in the Larkana middle school. After passing the V standard he was sent up to the Sindh Madressa-tu-Islam Karachi for high school education. Lodged as a paying guest on the ground floor of principal Mr. Vines' residence, Sir Shah Nawaz noted that "Mr. Vines and his wife were kind people. They were sympathetic toward Muslims".<sup>20</sup> There he developed liking for the game of hockey, then recently introduced in Karachi, but took no interest in his studies. He was anxious to get back to Larkana. In due course, Sir Shah Nawaz

decided to apply for the post of deputy superintendent police then being taken up from zamindar families sons educated under the British system. He was selected and asked to join police training school at Nasik by the end of December 1908. He reached home at Garhi Khuda Bakhsh and next day went to see his uncle, Wadero Ellahi Bakhsh Khan Bhutto. The same evening both went on horseback to Ratodero to meet the new local deputy Collector of Larkana, Mr. Ellahi Bakhsh Shaikh and returned late in the night, dined together and went to sleep.

### THE THIRD MURDER:

The next morning brought a new direction to the life of Shah Nawaz Khan. Wadero Ellahi Bakhsh Khan Bhutto was found dead lying face down in the bathroom. He was only 28 (8 years older than Shah Nawaz, his nephew). "His premature death was a terrible shock to me", writes Sir Shah Nawaz in his Memoirs, "Wadero Ellahi Bakhsh was too young to die in natural circumstances, The medical authorities thought it to be a collapse of the heart, whilst others opined it was suicide. Thus at the age of 20", writes Sir Shah Nawaz Khan, "I found myself occupying the position of a family leader"... the guardian of Ellahi Bux's two minor sons and all of female dependents, two widows, a sister, a daughter, a mother, and an aunt. The property totaling more than one lakh acres was now to be looked after by a young man of 20, Shah Nawaz Khan Bhutto.

Wadero Ellahi Bakhsh Khan was dead at 28 years of age. It was the second day after funeral, and in the early morning Shah Nawaz Khan, now "Wadero", set out to take a round of Garhi Pir Bakhsh Bhutto along its outskirts, beset with worries and disturbing thoughts... He asked for a cigarette, but the only accompanying body guard servant had a patay-ji-biri, even which he accepted and smoked to the full. "Since that first puff" he writes, "for many years to come I became a chain smoker".<sup>21</sup>

The thought of being a deputy superintendent of Police under training at Nasik flew from his mind. Man proposes, God disposes. He had to manage a great property and look after the interests of

an equally great Bhutto family.

In due course Mr. Mules was transferred. Mr. C.M. Baker, his successor, was arrogant and sadistic. He had come from his previous posting at Jacobabad as Collector Magistrate of U.S.F district. Shah Nawaz Khan had not yet turned 21 to get his fathers property released from the Court of Wards.

The trouble shot up, when Mr. Baker appointed a retired Bengali Deputy Collector Mr. Kimat Roy as manager of the Bhutto lands. The appointment of a Bengali manager raised apprehensions... "Interested persons fanned fears". Manager Roy would have enjoyed "vast discretion and complete authority". Widows of the late Wadero Ellahi Bakhsh Khan wished to partition the property... Sindhi custom kept all landed property for male heirs. When Wadero Shah Nawaz Khan explained this to the British Court of Wards Mr. Baker, he "flew into rage and thought that I was challenging his authority", so writes Sir Shah Nawaz Khan. It would take sometime before he managed to convince Mr. Baker as well as the widows of the wisdom of keeping things as they were while the Late Ellahi Bakhsh Khan was alive. Shah Nawaz Khan's good old friend deputy collector Ellahi Bux Sheikh and his former Principal teacher of Larkana Madressah Mr. G.M. Mirza were helpful in bringing round the "arrogant" and "sadistic" CM, Baker.<sup>22</sup>

From the same source, the young Wadero Shah Nawaz Khan Bhutto learnt that every new British officer, who came to Larkana, was immediately told by "enemies of the Bhutto Family" of "details of my father's quarrel with Col. Mehyhu (Mayhew) and about the Hindu... who was murdered because... (he) did not stand up to receive my father when he (Mir Murtaza) went to his office. These officers were told that as I (Shah Nawaz Khan) was a chip of the old block... I should be kept in my place."<sup>23</sup>

The next spring, (March 1909) Wadero Shah Nawaz Khan Bhutto turned 21 and was entitled to get his fathers properties released from the court of wards, which were released and divided between himself and his half brother Mir. Ali Gohar Khan Bhutto.

## THE POLITICAL HERITAGE

### Part One

## GENERAL PERSPECTIVE

In the traditional feudalistic society of Hind and Sindh, politics had a feudal code of honour, loyalty and vengeance, which Shaheed Bhutto described as honour, loyalty and principle. Local public affairs were largely conducted through Wadera-Shahi (Government of the Elders). There had been far-sighted Waderas and their wise principles. They maintained liaison with Maulvis (theologians), kept an eye over the criminals and their harbourers, and developed and sustained loyal relationship with the king, through his courtiers and Nawabs (governors). Each Wadara, Sardar, and Malik and his community or tribe, were collectively responsible for any crime, uprising or untoward incident, that occurred in their territory. They were also responsible for collection of taxes, law-and-order, and submission to the central authority, while the rulers often consulted them in the state affairs particularly related to their area, community or tribe.

The institution of "Wadera-Shahi" decayed with a general downfall of Muslim society and royalty. Illiterate and autocratic Waderas, Sardars, Maliks, Arbabs etc indulged in unwise self-aggrandizement, rivalry and cruelty, which resulted in the politics of vendetta. Scanty religious instruction imparted by the Maulvi was lost on the general public and their chieftains. The Pathan and Baloch tribesmen, used to an age-old system of blood feud, influenced the traditional society. The rule was for everyone to prove his worth and manliness (mursi) by taking "palaand" (vengeance) and by killing Karo-Kari (illicit lovers, male and

female). Recourse to the official Kazi-Court was rare. The "Jirga" (tribal elder's court) or "Rajuni-Faisal" (Community adjudication through the headman or arbiters) was the rule. The weak and the women folk generally fell victim to this system.

Furthermore, fatalism and superstition substituted religious faith. The common man was psychologically driven to a conception of fate and divine-help without personal effort, as he could not cope with the excesses of feudalism and the Wadera-Shahi in the face of his own abject poverty and helplessness. "piri-muridi" (religious guidance and following) developed into a strong institution, so much so that even the birth of a son was considered a blessing of the Pir (religious mentor).

Zamindari, Jagirdari, noble birth, religious or communal following and brute force determined the status of man and his ability to do what he pleased. The modern concept of the rule-of-law was foreign. Monarchy was not constitutional. The ruling king or emperor often bent to the will of the powerful nobility. Emperor Hamayun had to allow his brother Kamran to be brutally blinded much against his own will.

The Muslim rule in the such-continent (712 - 1857) rested largely on military might while the Islamic theory of sovereignty was constitutional and democratic in nature. The ulema could pronounce on constitutional matters, but, in practice, the ruler's word was law. He was the supreme commander of the armed forces, the chief lawgiver and the final court of appeal.

Each succeeding ruler, used to a have a "Kitchen cabinet" along with a regular hierarchy of loyal officers in charge of various departments of state administration. The "Majlis-e-Khalwat" of the Delhi Sultanate and the "Diwan-e-Khas" of the Mughal Empire decided virtually every important matter. The vizier (Minister) acted as chief secretary rather than Chief Executive. He had to obtain orders from the ruler, invariably advised by his kitchen cabinet comprising his friends, family members and loyal Yes-men among the officers of the state. The wise rulers always maintained civil-military equilibrium. The weaker ones succumbed to settling

personal scores. That practice finally brought about the downfall of a millennium-old tradition of Muslim rule in India.

### THE BRITISH OCCUPATION:

"Coming events cast their shadows before", but the power drunk potentates often fail even to read the writing on the wall. Emperor Jehangir was in the saddle when the London East India Company sought and received his "firman" (edict) twice, in 1612 and 1613, to carry on commercial activity in his empire. The company had already begun activities, under Queen Elizabeth's granted charter of 1600 AD. That charter granted it monopoly of eastern trade. The Company established its first factory at Surat in 1608. The Sultan of Golkanda was the next to grant the "Golden firman" in 1632. The imperial Mughal Court went a step forward in 1634 by granting the Company exclusive trading rights in Bengal.

A Sindhi proverb, which says, "She came for a live coal, but settled down as cook", reflects the tale of British occupation. Within five years of the royal permission to trade in Bengal, the Company built a fort at Madras, in 1639, and named it "Fort St. George". Hugli was the next strategic place to house an English factory in 1651. Ten years down the time-line, Mumbai, a neglected outliner of Gujarat territory was occupied. It was seceded to the Portuguese in 1534 by Sultan Bahadur Shah of Gujarat, in consideration of rich commercial activity carried on by them through the ports of Combay and Surat. Mumbai, named Bombay, was given as dowry to Princess Catherine of Braganza on her marriage with King Charles of England in 1661. Seven years later, Bombay was leased out to the East India Company. In 1687, it became the centre of British administration in Western India, called the Bombay Presidency. It was the first centre of British power in India, extending 1000 miles in length and less than 300 miles in width, stretching from the eastern limits of the Indus valley to midway down the west coast.

The Eighteenth century witnessed the establishment of British rule in India on a permanent basis: The Marathas and Hindu

Rajputs were the only power to contend with. Muslim Nawabs and Amirs ruled in Bengal, Oudh, Mysore, Hyderabad Deccan and Sindh. The Sikh ruled Punjab and the North West Frontier up to Peshawar. Before the middle of the Nineteenth century all local potentates and European rivals in the subcontinent were skillfully reduced to impotence. Nawab Siraj-ud-Daulah, wrested Calcutta in 1756, and tore the Union Jack to pieces. His eighteen months rule coincided with Ahmad Shah Abdali's attack on Delhi and Mathura (1757). However, lacking common purpose, one hastened back to Kabul while the other lost on the battlefield of Plassey on June 23, 1757. He was murdered on the 25<sup>th</sup> through a snake up his sleeves, Mir Jaffer. Mir Jaffer has since become a synonym with a traitor in Muslim annals.

Sultan Tipu Shaheed of Mysore (1740-1799) was the last stumbling block in the way of British supremacy in the subcontinent. A competent fighter and an able political leader, he foresaw that the British would wrest power from the local rulers. As such, he attempted to modernize his Armed forces with the help of the French. He sent emissaries to Constantinople (Turkey) to try Pan Islamism. He was the first Muslim ruler in the subcontinent to appreciate the value of international diplomacy. In him, history has early inklings of Shaheed Bhutto both in talent and principle. Had any one of them had a more favorable time, the history of the subcontinent would have been written differently. Shaheed Bhutto called Tipu Shaheed "the great conqueror" though he fell fighting at the gates of Seringapatam while defending his metropolis, on May 4, 1799. Plunder and persecution followed.

After Bengal and Mysore, Oudh was first reduced to vassalage and then annexed in 1856. The Nizam of the State of Hyderabad Deccan remained titular, while Sindh was conquered by Sir Charles Napier in 1843. The Sikh State of Punjab was annexed in 1849. The Muslim power in the sub-continent had shot itself in the foot. Internecine quarrels among the Muslim nobles, writes Dr. Qureshi, "cost the Muslim Community their political heritage. Seldom has a people been betrayed so completely by its political leaders."

However, Tipu Sultan's principle. "One-day life of a lion is better than a hundred-years life of a jackal", went down in history to guide all freedom fighters, in times to come.

### THE STUDENT POLITICS:

While old men may give up in dismay when faced with the loss of sovereignty and consequent enslavement, the youth revolt. The knowledge of a glorious past when compared to an obtaining depravity, infused by able leadership, breeds nationalism as the sheet anchor of life. The great national leaders, like the Quaide-Azam and the Quaid-e-Awam Shaheed Bhutto, rose in politics from the student platform. They were student leaders. "As president of the Bombay Muslim Students Union Jinnah was the "idol [ideal] of the youth"<sup>2</sup> when he led the Pakistan Movement. His impact is echoed in a letter, which a subsequent student leader Zulfikar Ali Bhutto wrote to him: it reads as under:

"You Sir, have brought us under one platform and one flag, and the cry of every Musalman should be 'Onwards to Pakistan'. Our destiny is Pakistan, our aim is Pakistan. Nobody can stop us, we are a nation by ourselves and India is a sub-continent. You have inspired us, and we are proud of you. Being still in school, I am unable to help the establishment of our sacred land. But the time will come when I will even sacrifice my life for Pakistan."<sup>3</sup> Shaheed Bhutto's role as a student leader, at home and abroad, will be discussed further when describing his early career.

Induction of students in Indian politics is credited to Mr. Alan Octavian Hume, a retired British civil official. He founded "the Indian National Congress", through student activists of the Calcutta University, during Christmas week of 1885. In contrast, the contemporary anchor leader of Muslim reawakening, Sir Syed Ahmed Khan (1817-1898), founder of the Aligarh Muslim University, believed Muslims should leave aside political matters to concentrate on education; as "education was the only means of ensuring their progress."<sup>4</sup> Declining to establish a political party, on the pattern of the Hindu Congress Party, he founded the All-India

Mohammedan Educational Conference and believed that the Congress Party had got off on the wrong foot. The British Viceroy Lord Dufferin (1884-1888) who had commissioned Mr. A. O. Hume to setup "some responsible organization through which the Government might be kept informed regarding the best Indian public-opinion", expressed dissatisfaction over the policy of the Indian National Congress. He called the educated Indians a "microscopic minority". His administrative officers had already started calling them "babbling baboos".

The first Round-Table Conference was held in London (1930). There a delegation of Muslim students from Cambridge University led by Chaudhry Rahmat Ali called upon the Muslim delegates to endorse Allama Sir Muhammad Iqbal's (1877-1938) proposal for a separate Muslim state. They circulated a four-page-pamphlet entitled: "now or never"; and suggested the name "Pakistan": by which, the pamphlet said, "we mean the five northern units of India, viz. Punjab, North West Frontier Province, Kashmir, Sindh and Balochistan."

The Aligarh students Movement reached Sindh through K.B Hassan Ali Effandi (1830-1895) the great maternal grandfather of Senator Asif Ali Zardari who had established the Sindh Madrasah-tul-Islam (September 1, 1885) at Karachi. Its old boys like the Quaid-e-Azam himself, Sir Shah Nawaz Khan Bhutto, K.B. Muhammad Ayub Khuhro and the rest of the Sindhi luminaries, were in the vanguard of the Pakistan Movement. Quaid-e-Azam Muhammad Ali Jinnah was reluctant regarding the involvement of students in politics but allowed an appeal made in 1946 on behalf of the All-India Muslim League to the All-India Muslim Students Federation, which Raja Amir Ahmad Khan of Mahmudabad (1914-1973) had founded in 1936, to mould public opinion for Pakistan. The present author was commander of the Pakistan National guards and general-secretary of the Students Federation branch of his small village Pat in Dadu Taluka of Sindh. To that nook-and-corner extent the Pakistan Movement was in full swing through student activism.

The sufistic leaning of the people of Sindh further spurred the movement. In Sindh, the holy shrines of Hazrat Qalandar Lal Shahbaz, Makhdoom Nooh of Hala, Shah Abdul Latif Bhittai, and Sachal Sarmast are international rendezvous of devotees of these Sufi saints. So is the Data Darbar at Lahore, and other shrines in the Punjab. Sufism is humanistic Islam, democratic, tolerant, public-oriented and progressive, as compared with the puritan code of conduct and strict adherence professed by the Orthodox. Sufism constitutes the second nature of all down-trodden human races who suffer but do not lose the hope. They pray from their innermost faith and devotion. Sufism/Mysticism may be defined as the habit or tendency of religious thought and feeling of those who seek direct communion with God or the Divine. They are ever hopeful.

## CHAPTER - 04

# THE POLITICAL HERITAGE.

## Part Two:

# SINDH-BHUTTO LEGACY

### THE SINDH-SCENARIO

British vessels were faring the Sindh coast between the setup of the first factory at Surat(1608) and the second firman of Emperor Jehangir (1613). Sir Thomas Roe landed on Sindh soil on the September 22, 1613.<sup>1</sup> Twenty-two years later the East India Company established its factory at Thatta (1635) to procure saltpetre, which was available there in abundance. The Thatta factory functioned for 27 years (1635-1662) and then closed down due to adverse public opinion and unfriendly local atmosphere.

The Sindh saltpetre (Potassium nitrate) was used by the Company to produce ammunition for British cannons and artillery, and also supplied it to local rulers to fight amongst themselves. The foreigner's friendship was much needed by local rulers. The Kalhora Government of Sindh also enlisted as a customer when Mian Noor Muhammed Kalhoro purchased "Bross Guns" in the sum of Rs.63, 852,3.42 and placed another order for "Bross Cannon".<sup>2</sup>

Mian Ghulam Shah, like the Mughal emperor Jehangir, allowed the Company to carry on its business in Sindh on most favourable terms, but the Company turned a cold shoulder when he asked for ammunition and repatriation of a fugitive. Thus the British friendship proved a sad experience and Mian Ghulam Shah aligned himself with the Afghan King, Ahmed Shah Abdali, who entrusted the control of Derajat, (Dera Ghazi Khan and Dera Ismail Khan) to

him (1767). Under its policy of dividend-rule the British East India Company destabilized Afghan Polity and in 1843 seized Sindh from Talpur Amirs.

### THE SINDH-BHUTTO LEGACY:

The British Government, under the Minto-Morely Reforms (1909), introduced the principle of public representation for the first time in the sub-continent. Elections were to be held in the demarcated constituencies. Sir Shah Nawaz Bhutto writes, "My new responsibilities [as Wadero of Bhutto Community] and my general interest in politics drew me close to public affairs".<sup>3</sup> According to his own account he made himself available to the common man from morning to nightfall, ran an open otaq (men's meeting place) and tried to help the poor solve their problems with advice and active indulgence. He was courteous to common man and never lost his temper with anyone. To befriend the masses became his rule of the game of politics.

Wadero Shah Nawaz Bhutto also re-established rapport with other influential families of Sindh, Punjab and Balochistan. H.H. the Mir of Khairpur state and the spiritual head of the Hur Jama'at Hazrat Pir Pagaro were befriended. "Similarly, we were on very friendly terms with the Jatois of Nawabshah and Dadu.... with the Bozdars of Sukkur and the Buledis and Bijaranis of Jacobabad", writes Sir Shah Nawaz in his Memoirs, "In Balochistan my relations were equally cordial with the Bugti Sardar, with the Raisanis and the Khan of Qalat."<sup>4</sup> The Bahawalpur state remained for long an area of Bhutto influence. Multan was likewise a friendly area. Sir Shah Nawaz developed and maintained the bonds of friendship with powerful families and bequeathed it to his brilliant barrister son, Zulfikar Ali Bhutto.

Wadero Shah Nawaz Bhutto was almost a self-made man. He passed his childhood in adversity and with poor people. After restoration of inherited property, he had also to look after Wadero Ellahi Bakhsh Khan Bhutto's family and property, and when he was only 20 years old, he was facing threat to his life as experienced in

case of his father, Mir Murtaza, the elder, and his grandfather Mir Khuda Bakhsh Khan. The same "influential landlords of Larkana" as described by him, were after his blood, too. He had to grow strong and powerful, so he drew "closer to public affairs". His first participation in a political meeting is recorded at Hyderabad in October 1931, when Sindhi Waderas gathered to discuss the threat of Hindu purchases of agricultural lands and upcoming in Zamindari (land holding). "No Muslim leader is in the council chambers to protest against the creeping conquests of the Hindus into the rural heartland of Sindh."<sup>5</sup> Thus spoke Wadero Shah Nawaz Khan, then only 25. Now he acted as a politician, and therefore attended all such meetings. When he spoke, he was listened to. With hard work and cool mind, he tried to strengthen Wadera common ground. Wadero Shah Nawaz took the stand that "Muslim Zamindar had to be saved from the Hindu money lender"<sup>6</sup> (who was mortgaging and purchasing their lands), educated Muslims needed employment, the Muslim lawyers needed enough briefs; and moreover Muslims needed being brought in trade and commerce. "How could Muslim interests be safeguarded without effective political leadership, not leaning on Hindus?"<sup>7</sup> This stand won the day for Wadero Shah Nawaz Khan Bhutto at Delhi election to the single seat of Sindh in the Imperial Legislative Council held after the Montague-Chelmsford Reforms (1919) in 1920, defeating Barrister Rais G.M. Bhurgri. That is how the Bhutto chief won his first entry into the portal of power and politics.

Any politician of consequence must have a constituency power base. Sir Shah Nawaz Bhutto had it in Larkana. In the same year of his electoral victory at Delhi Imperial Council seat, he was nominated president of the Larkana District Local Board. This seat he held for 14 years (1920-1934) with such administrative and political acumen that the District Local Board of Larkana was declared a model local board in Sindh. Financial clout is a powerful weapon of politics. Sir Bhutto was concomitantly the Chairman of the Central Co-operative Bank and himself a rich man. Bhuttos,

and indeed all rice growing zamindars of upper Sindh, had grown richer due to high paddy rates during the First World War (1914-1918). By 1924, prominent Zamindar politicians of Sindh, viz. Wadero (Sir) Shah Nawaz Bhutto, (KB) Muhammad Ayub Khuhro and Saen GM. Syed built their bungalows in Karachi, which provided political meeting places. Barrister Muhammad Ali Jinnah (1876-1948) arrived from Bombay at the invitation of Sindh Mohammadan Association to arbitrate a legal dispute among some Sindhi Waderas. The venue of arbitration was Al Murtaza at Larkana, where (Sir) Shah Nawaz Bhutto was the host of the future father of Pakistan, and himself presided over the faisla (arbitration). His youngest son Zulfikar Ali was born the same year 1928 on 5th January. Sir Bhutto was also then president of the Sindh Mohammadan Association (1925-1934).

In 1930, Khan Bahadur Shah Nawaz Bhutto was knighted by the British Government, thenceforth to be called Sir Shah Nawaz Bhutto. His crowing success lay ahead, in early thirties, viz. separation of Sindh from Bombay presidency (achieved on 1<sup>st</sup> April 1936). Prof. Wolpert observes that: "The crowing political achievement of Sir Shah Nawaz's life was to convince Great Britain's rulers at the Round Table conferences in London that Sindh deserved separate provincial status, thus liberating his home region from Bombay.... it was the one public cause to which Shah Nawaz devoted himself wholeheartedly during the early 1930's. Having started to lobby....as soon as he reached Delhi's Imperial Council in 1920."<sup>8</sup>

In his memoirs, Sir Shah Nawaz Bhutto writes: "When this question was taken up by the Muslim League at Hyderabad... I protested and said.... it was not a minority demand, but it was a demand made by the Sindhis."<sup>9</sup> Sir Ghulam Hussain Hidayatullah (1879-1948) was the other representative from Sindh who participated in the meeting of a subcommittee appointed to examine the issue of separation of Sindh. The next November (1931), the British Prime Minister, Ramsay Macdonald, gave the "Communal Award" and accepted, in principle, the constitution of

Sindh as a separate province subject to financial viability. On April 25, 1932, the Financial Viability conference was held in Karachi. The Sindh representatives offered to pay increased taxes. By lobbying and getting the Sukkur Barrage built, Sir Shah Nawaz Bhutto had ensured the financial viability of Sindh.

The Simon Commission, led by Sir John Simon, was a statutory commission constituted by the Conservative British Government to report on the working of the Montague-Chelmsford Reforms of 1919. Shah Nawaz Khan Bhutto was not a member on the commission, but he was chairman of the Bombay Liaison Committee. As such he had no say in the commission's recommendations. Later on, when the British Government changed hands and Mr. Ramsay Macdonald became the Prime Minister, Sir John Simon wrote a letter to the new British Prime "suggesting the advisability of inviting, after the publication of the report of his commission, the representatives of both British India and the Indian states to a conference before final decisions are made."<sup>10</sup> This suggestion was accepted by the British Cabinet and on October 31, 1929, the Governor General Lord Irwin made the momentous announcement regarding holding of a Round Table Conference. (Published May 1930).

Syed Miran Muhammad Shah, a member on the Provincial Coordination Committee working with the Simon Commission on various proposals for constitutional reforms, writes: .... "the Muslim representatives of the Bombay Council reorganized themselves into a party and elected Sir Shah Nawaz Khan Bhutto as their leader and elected me (Syed Miran Muhammad Shah) as the general secretary. The most outstanding work.... was separation of Sindh from Bombay presidency.... The Quaid-e-Azam, Sir Abdullah Haroon and Sir Shah Nawaz Khan Bhutto decided that we must press for the separation of Sindh inspite of majority vote against us in the provincial committee."<sup>11</sup> Syed Miran Muhammed Shah further records that "During the second round table conference at London in 1931 the Quaid-e-Azam, H. H. the Aga Khan, Sir Shah Nawaz Khan Bhutto and Sir Ghulam Hussain Hidayatullah, along with 11

other Muslim and non-Muslim members were members of the committee (appointed by the British Parliament, under the chairmanship of Earl Russel, to advise it on the question of separation of Sindh from Bombay). Sir Shah Nawaz Khan Bhutto made a very elaborate, argumentative and convincing statement in this committee making [out] a strong case for separation. The result of his persistent effort was that the Russel Committee recommended the separation of Sindh from Bombay to the Parliament which subsequently confirmed the proposal."<sup>12</sup> Sir Bhutto also gave material support to Syed Miran Muhammed Shah to organize a Sindh separation conference at Hyderabad in 1913.

Sir Shah Nawaz Bhutto was soon picked up by the Governor of Bombay, Lord Brabourne as his minister (1934). He lost no time in forming his own political party in Sindh, called "The Sindh Peoples Party" (Established June 12, 1934). Further to broaden his political base, he formed another, party, named: The Sindh Unity (Ittehad) Party. In it, he enlisted support and following of both Hindu and Muslim leadership. Besides him as chairman, the Sindh Unity Party comprised: Haji Abdullah Haroon, Sir Ghulam Hussain Hidayatullah, Rai Bahadur Hotchand Rewachand Thadhani and the eminent advocate Mr. Dingomal. Soon after, Sir Ghulam Hussain was replaced by K.B. Allah Bakhsh Soomro.

Sir Bhutto was building his political base in Sindh, in full knowledge that the Government of India Act, incorporating separation of Sindh with provincial status, was in the offing and that elections would be held under the Act in the near future. Sardar Wahid Bakhsh Khan Bhutto (c.1898-1931) had been succeeded by his only son Sardar Pir Bakhsh Khan Bhutto. His name does not appear in either parties formed by Sir Bhutto. Another powerful family of Larkana, the Israns, were aligned with the Bhutto family. In 1930, K.B. Ghulam Muhammed Khan Isran withdrew his nomination for a seat in the Bombay legislative council in favour of Sardar Wahid Bakhsh Khan Bhutto, who won the seat. The same year 1930, Sardar Wahid Bakhsh gave an "at home" in Karachi in honour of Sir Shah Nawaz Bhutto on the eve

of his departure to London to participate in the First Round Table Conference. Since 1924, Karachi was the rendezvous of prominent politician Zamindars of Sindh, viz. Sir Shah Nawaz Bhutto, K.B. Muhammad Ayub Khuhro and Saeen G.M. Syed who had built their bungalows in Karachi, and it had become their political headquarter.

The Bhutto family at this time had also another jewel of a man, Wadero Rasool Bakhsh Khan Bhutto, who spent lavishly on charity and helped the needy. Rasool Bux Khan Bhutto was the grandfather of Ms. Amir Begum, the first wife of Zulfikar Ali Bhutto, and a grandson of Doda Khan Bhutto. His father's name was Amir Bux Bhutto. The whole family lived in village Pir Bux Bhutto (now known as Mirpur Bhutto). Doda Khan, Amir Bux, Rasool Bux and K.B. Ahmed Khan are all buried at Mirpur. The lands and Havelis in Mirpur belonging to K.B Ahmed Khan and Pir Bux are looked after by Mir Mumtaz Ali Khan Bhutto after the death of Zulfikar Ali Bhutto. Rasool Bux Bhutto owned sixty thousand acres of land. An expert hunter according to Bhutto tradition, he had such a physical strength that he used to rub a coin clear of its engraving under his thumb and the first finger. The Bhutto family was an accomplished modern Sindhi family. Sir Shah Nawaz Bhutto was the guardian of the estate of Ellahi Bakhsh Khan Bhutto (1880-1908) about whom he writes: "The man was a jewel... He had the hands of an artist... spoke English fluently and strangely enough without an accent. He was a man of letters, well versed in Sindhi and Persian... possessed of a sharp intellect... polished in demeanor... if he had lived a full season, he would have shone like a star in the politics of undivided India. Fate ordained otherwise."<sup>13</sup> The Sardar of the Bhutto tribe, Sardar Wahid Bakhsh Khan Bhutto also passed away in the prime of life (33 years) and the chieftainship of the Bhutto family passed to his minor son Pir Bakhsh Khan Bhutto junior.

On 1<sup>st</sup> April 1936, the Sindh provincial government was set up in Karachi in the form of an Advisory Council with Sir Ghulam Hussain Hidayatullah as Chairman. Sir Shah Nawaz Bhutto and

Diwan Hiranand, in addition to 25 members of the Bombay Legislative Council from Sindh, were taken up as members of the "Sindh Government Advisory Council."<sup>14</sup>

Sir Shah Nawaz's Sindh Peoples Party, formed on June 12, 1934, with K.B Allah Bakhsh Soomro and Syed Miran Muhammad Shah as vice-presidents, Hatim Ali, as secretary and Saen G.M. Syed as joint secretary, was an exclusive Muslim Party, independent of the All India Muslim League; Sir Shah Nawaz Bhutto, was also president of Sindh Mohammadan Association (1925-1934). When Seth Haji Abdullah Haroon joined Sir Shah Nawaz Khan Bhutto, the Sindh Ittehad (Unity) Party, (also called the Sindh United Party) was formed. It was the result of the talks held in the office of Seth Haroon on August 14, 1936. In the first Annual Session of the party held at Haroon House, Sir Bhutto was elected President of the Sindh United Party, which was not exclusively a Muslim party.

Elections held in Sindh under the Govt. of India Act 1935, on 31<sup>st</sup> January/1<sup>st</sup> February 1937, led to sweeping victory for Sir Bhutto's United Party which won the largest numbers of seats:

1. Sindh United Party won 18 seats.
2. Sindh Hindu Maha Sabha won 11 seats.
3. The Indian National Congress won 8 seats.
4. Sindh Muslim Party won 4 seats.
5. Sindh Azad Party won 3 seats.
6. Independent Muslims won 9 seats. (Syeds, Pirs, Mirs and Chandio Sardar)
7. Independent Hindus won 2 seats.
8. Independent Labour won 1 seat.
9. No-party group won 4 seats<sup>15</sup>

Though in a house of 60, the Sindh United Party with 21 seats and was the majority party, its two main candidates, Sir Shah Nawaz Bhutto and Sir Haji Abdullah Haroon both lost in their respective constituencies. Some said that Sir Shah Nawaz Bhutto lost due to his overconfidence, but as the hero who had helped build the Sukkur Barrage and turned desert land into fertile soil, Sir Bhutto had immense following: How could he lose in a fair

election. Sir Shah Nawaz was defeated in the election (Feb 1st 1937 results) when the local Khuhra leader, K.B Muhammad Ayub, supported Sheikh Abdul Majid Sindhi, the rival candidate.<sup>16</sup> Sir Abdullah Haroon was defeated by an independent candidate, Khan Sahib Allah Bakhsh Gabol in the Karachi City north constituency, "who was able to swing the Baloch voting bank behind him."

The Sindh United Party, with 18 out of 60 seats was the majority party. It should have been invited to form the government. The Sindh Governor, Sir Lancelot Graham, also expected Sir Shah Nawaz Bhutto to be the first Chief Minister of the newly constituted Province of Sindh; but the fate again ordained otherwise. Though offered uncontested vacant seat by many of his followers who were returned to the Sindh Assembly in majority and even offered a Cabinet seat as an unelected member, Sir Shah Nawaz Bhutto, a beau ideal of self respect, rejected all offers. In March 1937 Sir Lancelot Graham the then Governor Sindh wrote to the Viceroy Lord Linlithgow, "I thought all was going well, but it fell to pieces in two or three days over the division of spoils and I have decided to drop Shah Nawaz as he said that he could not be happy with Sir Ghulam Hussain Chief Minister..."<sup>17</sup> A recent biographer of Shaheed Bhutto writes about his father that "Ironically, the father of Sindh's independent Provincial status... found no seat in the newly elected government of Sindh convened in Karachi in 1937."<sup>18</sup>

Sir Bhutto instead of continuing with the Sindh politics, opted for membership of Bombay Public Service Commission in a bid to help educated Sindhi youth to employment under the Government as the jurisdiction of the Bombay Public Service extended to the province of Sindh.

### **THE MAKING OF PAKISTAN:**

In March 1938, K.B. Allah Bakhsh Soomro of the Sindh United Party, the political successor of Sir Shah Nawaz Bhutto, formed the second Sindh Government by defeating the first one in the Budget voting. However with Sir Bhutto no longer active in politics, Sindh

lost its favorite son and rallying point with the result that in the Legislative Assembly elections held in December 1946, the Muslim League stepped into the political vacuum capturing 3 seats in the house of 60.

Had Sindh not been separated from Bombay, the demand for Pakistan would never have been made. The separation of Sindh provided the Muslim majority area with access to the sea, an access that made the idea of a separate homeland for the Muslims a reality.

In the year 1928, when Quaid-i-Awam Zulfikar Ali Bhutto was born at Al-Murtaza House Larkana, on the fifth day of January, Barrister Jinnah stayed as a guest of Sir Bhutto. He had arrived at the invitation of the Sindh Mohammadan Association, of which Sir Shah Nawaz Bhutto was the president, to settle a legal dispute among some Waderas. Two years afterwards Sir Bhutto and Barrister Jinnah were together in the First Round Table Conference in London. They remained in touch till Sir Bhutto was Health Minister in Lord Brabourne's Bombay Presidency Government and Barrister Jinnah practiced law in the Bombay High Court. Both were private patients of Dr. Jal Patel at his clinic on Hornby Road. His other patients included the Parsi industrialists JRD Tata, Sir Cowasjee Jehangir and other business magnates of Bombay. There used to be a daily tea party at Dr. Jal's clinic from 4:30 p.m. to 6:00p.m.<sup>19</sup>

Sir Bhutto would often be accompanied at the daily tea party by his young son Zulfikar Ali Bhutto then a Cathedral High School student in Bombay. Sir Cowasjee would press Barrister Jinnah to "define Pakistan in territorial terms", and the wealthy Hindu Banker S.D. Schroff would argue that a separate Muslim nation could never be 'economically viable'. Quaid-e-Awam recalled these moments in his prison cell, towards the end of his life: About the replies of Barrister Jinnah, he wrote that those were "the kind of replies that made me feel proud of him".<sup>20</sup> Still a student he wrote the historic letter to the Quaid-e-Azam in 1945 which has been cited in the preceding pages. The next year 1946, Sir Bhutto

resigned from the Bombay Public Service Commission and took over as Diwan (Prime Minister) of Junagarh State. In August 1947, he successfully pleaded with the Nawab of Junagarh to accede to Pakistan, which could not materialize due to Indian military occupation of the state. Sir Shah Nawaz Bhutto left with family for Karachi.

It may be noted that Sir Shah Nawaz Bhutto owned big fortune in India. Like those Muslim politicians and landlords who stayed on in India after partition and sided with the Congress Party, Sir Bhutto could well have been welcomed and won his place in Indian politics: perhaps he would have been the last man to do that. He returned to his homeland and did not aspire to any political office, but he remained a trusted guide of the emerging political leadership. Mr. Yousif A. Haroon then Chief Minister Sindh (1949-50) writes. "Once I went to Larkana specifically to seek his advice on the political problems confronting Sindh soon after the creation of Pakistan"... He said: "Look after poor Sindhis. See to it that they become prosperous. They are backward, they are simple, they are deprived of opportunities of advancement. Make them literate. Give them education. Don't ever let them down".<sup>21</sup>

Recently the 11<sup>th</sup> anniversary of Sir Shah Nawaz Bhutto (1888-1957) was celebrated in Karachi, where rich tributes were paid to him for his selfless service in the cause of Sindh and Pakistan; Senator Hussain Shah Rashdi, son of the Late veteran Sindhi politician, Pir Ali Muhammad Rashdi, noted in his foreword of the souvenir a number of achievements to his (Sir Bhutto's) credit such as construction of Sukkur Barrage approved by the then British Government of India and persuading the ruler (Nawab) of Junagarh to sign instrument of accession of his state to the newly created Pakistan; above all his contribution in struggle for separation of Sindh from Bombay Presidency as a full fledged province".<sup>22</sup> The late "iron Man" of Sindh K.B. Muhammad Ayub Khuhro (1901-1980) in his article published in the Daily Dawn Karachi, November 19, 1960 wrote about the model administration of the District Local Board Larkana under the president ship of Sir

Shah Nawaz Bhutto as well as his leadership of the "Sindh Muslim Bloc" in the Bombay Legislative Council right up to the time Sindh became a separate province. After his appointment as a Minister in the Cabinet of the then Governor of Bombay in March 1934, "he came as an Advisor to the Governor of Sindh for the transitional period of one year till the legislature of Sindh was elected in March 1937".<sup>23</sup> He states that Sir Shah Nawaz Bhutto "went out of politics in 1937...I respected him as my senior in politics and for having remained the leader of our party for a long time".<sup>24</sup> Earlier in his article K.B. Khuhro writes, "Because of my close contacts with him in politics, I came to appreciate his extraordinary qualities as a leader. He was a very successful administrator and therefore the administration of the District Local Board, Larkana, was best run under his president ship... He was highly appreciated by the Zamindars of Sindh...His death was widely mourned in Sindh". K.B. Khuhro, further states: "Our social connections were very cordial, and friendly. When he went over to Bombay as a member of the Public Service Commission, I often stayed with him...I remember very vividly an instance when I went and put up in Taj hotel. When Sir Shah Nawaz Khan learnt of my arrival, he came over personally...got my things shifted to his residence at Worli and I went over to stay with him". K. B. Khuhro describes Sir Bhutto as "a good friend socially... prudent, sagacious, farsighted and straightforward in his dealings...a good conversationalist, had charming manners and a very agreeable social personality. He had a knack of presenting his case with the result that he was usually successful in negotiations."<sup>25</sup>

Syed Miran Muhammad Shah (1898-1963) elected to the Bombay Council in 1928 and a member of the Sindh Muslim Bloc contributed an article to the Daily Dawn on the occasion of the fourth death anniversary of Sir Bhutto (published November 19, 1961), in which he calls him "admittedly the political godfather" of young politicians... who subsequently took prominent part in the affairs of their Province." He recalls that his association with Sir Shah Nawaz Khan Bhutto dated as far back as 1924... "As Mr.

Bhurgri, the leader of Lower Sindh, had already expired by that time, I cultivated other equally important persons, like Sir Shah Nawaz Khan, who was then admittedly the most outstanding leader of the people of Sindh. All the Young educated budding leaders community in Sindh looked to Sir Shah Nawaz Khan as their guide, friend and philosopher in the field of politics and public administration."<sup>26</sup> From Syed Miran Muhammad Shah we have a notable instance on record, which occurred at the time of the horse-and-cattle show held at Jacobabad. The head of the police Department, one Mr. Omanny, D.I.G. Police, put the chairs of the members of the Bombay Legislative Council behind the row where British district officers were seated. Sir Shah Nawaz "along with his other fellows boycotted the horse show. He also sent a strong note to the Governor of Bombay protesting against the treatment meted out to the representatives of the people of Sindh by the local British officers."<sup>27</sup> He further notes that "This move came as a happy surprise to the people of Sindh who prior to that incident had never known that the public could protest against the conduct of a British officer. Mr. Omanny apologized and was shortly afterwards transferred from Sindh."<sup>28</sup>

Protest, self-respect, liking for and sympathy with the poor, hard work, love of the land, and modernism were the main traits of Sir Shah Nawaz Bhutto's personality, which he bequeathed to his illustrious son Shaheed Zulfikar Ali Bhutto, who in his lifetime reflected them brilliantly.

## A REVOLUTIONARY IN THE MAKING

"Pains preserved, worries reared me,  
Comforts weren't cast in my lot;  
So says Sayed, perhaps I'd been a stem  
Of a grief climber plant."<sup>1</sup>

Our "son of the desert" was a Capricorn, born on January 5, 1928. His father, Sir Shah Nawaz Khan Bhutto (1888-1957) had a large family comprising two wives and eleven children. The first born, Mir Sikandar Ali died of pneumonia at the age of seven (1907-1914). Two months earlier, a second son had been born. He was named Mir Imdad Ali (1914-1950). Seven years later, the third son was born and named after the first one, Mir Sikandar Ali. After about the same period of seven years, the fourth and the last son of Sir Shah Nawaz Khan Bhutto was born and named Mir Zulfikar Ali Khan Bhutto (1928-1979).

The first three sons and five daughters were from the first wife and the youngest son Zulfikar Ali Khan and two daughters were born of the second wife of Sir Shah Nawaz Khan Bhutto.

Sir Bhutto was a social radical. He broke the family tradition related to seclusion of female members. He married an alien second wife and educated his daughters through school and college. None of his children, except the last son, Zulfikar Ali Khan, married in Bhutto family. Of his seven daughters two daughters: Ms. Mumtaz Mahal (1926-1974) and Ms. Munawar (1927-1994), married outside Bhutto family, two daughters: Ms. Imtiaz (born 1910) and Ms. Noor Jehan (born 1920) remained un-

married, while three daughters: Ms. Irshad (1912-1988), Ms. Malik Jan (1918-1985) and Ms. Benazir-I (1930-1945) died un-married.

Breaking of the family tradition began in 1924, when Sir Shah Nawaz Khan Bhutto came across a girl from Poona. She was staying with her brother-in-law, Mir Maqbool, then superintendent of Police at Sukkur. It is aptly said that she danced into the heart of the Bhutto chief and he resolved to marry her. She was named Begum Khursheed. The next year 1925, marriage was solemnized outside Sindh at the palace of the Khan of Qalat in Quetta (Balochistan) to avoid discomfiture of the great Bhutto family and the sensibilities of the first wife and her children. The same year, Sir Shah Nawaz Khan suffered a heart attack which he survived.

Begum Khursheed Bhutto belonged to a poor family. Her mother had converted to Islam and married Mr. Hidayatullah who divorced her after two daughters were born. The elder daughter married Mir. Maqbool and the younger one, Khursheed, married Sir Shah Nawaz Khan Bhutto. It seems that Lakhi Bai was the name of Mrs. Hidayatullah before her conversion to Islam, not that of Miss. Khursheed as attributed by some biographers. However, the sad experience of her mother alarmed Mrs. Khursheed Bhutto when she entered Al- Murtaza House at Larkana to live secluded from relations of Sir Bhutto, and more so when her first child was a daughter, and her husband was constantly detached due to his busy political schedule. She had limited social contact. Seclusion, shyness and a feeling of insecurity worked up till she bore a son. Sir Bhutto named him Zulfikar Ali. This name has its own significance in the annals of Islam. "Zulfikar" is the name of the famous sword of Hazrat Ali, who is the beau ideal of both heroism and learning.

The co-incidence of the first ray of hope and so emboldening a name of her son made Begum Khursheed Bhutto deeply motivated to religious faith. "She was a conservative lady and a religious person". She was a good Muslim, used to wear burka (veil), and visited Shiite holy places Najaf-e-Ashraf, Karbala etc. At the time of birth of her son, Zulfikar Ali, she also consulted a Brahman from Bombay for drawing his astrological janampatri (horoscope). He

forecasted his singular success and remarkable power till the age of fifty. Then he muttered something vaguely, finally telling the anxious mother: "I don't know what I see."<sup>2</sup>

Baby Zulfikar was nick-named "Bapa". Bapa was a frail child, always ailing, frequently down with head-colds during Larkana's brief but bitter winter. At the age of three, he contracted influenza compounded with malaria. The mother, father and the elder sister "almost lost him". The desperate mother rushed off to Sehwan to pray for his recovery at the shrine of Hazrat Qalandar Lal Shahbaz. On return she found her only son and sole solace swiftly recovered.<sup>3</sup> Thanks to the hope and belief, which the family has ever had in the blessings of the celebrated Sufi saint of Sindh.

During those early years at Al Murtaza, Bapa and his elder sister Mouna heard about a dacoit named Ghulam Hussain Wa'dho who was "forced to leave his feudal master's village and had taken to looting the rich and helping the poor." Mrs. Munawar-ul-Islam writes; "When father was away to England for the round table conference, the servants often talked of his [dacoit's] daring and defiance... Zulfi and I liked to hear of the dacoit who... was forced to leave his... village... one night Zulfi and I called out from the stairs the name of each servant to check whether they were all present. It made us feel secure."<sup>4</sup>

Until the age of six, Zulfi Bapa and his sisters Mouna (Munawar) and Benazir played on lush green lawns of Al Murtaza without the daunting presence of their father whose imposing personality inspired awe. Later in the last year at Larkana, Mouna and Zulfi Bapa were admitted to a preparatory school, but then they had to leave soon. Sir Shah Nawaz Khan Bhutto was appointed a minister in the Bombay Presidency cabinet, so the family had to move out, first to Karachi where Zulfikar Ali was admitted into the KG. School at Bishop's high School for a few months before they finally boarded "P&C Liner" for Bombay late in 1934, streaming across the Arabian Sea for three days and nights. Recalling the voyage, Mrs. Munawar-ul-Islam (Mouna) says: "The sea voyage thrilled us. We explored the ship and made friends with other children."<sup>5</sup>

Finally, they arrived at the Bombay seaport and went to live in Ghia Mansion, a splendid house built on the Malbar Hill overlooking the bay with studded islands. It was a posh locality of Bombay, accommodating the Governor House and the bungalows and palatial houses of prominent personalities like HH Sultan Muhammad Aga Khan, Sir Homi Mody, a Parsi business magnet, and Mrs. Krishna Nehru Huthee Singh, the charming sister of Pandit Jawahar Lal Nehru.

Zulfikar Ali made friends with Sir Homi's son Pилоo Mody and his two cousins, Sillo and Jehangir. Later Omar Qureshi and Mushtaq Ali, a cricket star, joined his earliest friendship circle. Besides, his sisters were his best friends. "Father had to be six months in Bombay and six months in Poona."<sup>6</sup> Mouna and her step sister Mumtaz were admitted to a boarding school in Poona, while Zulfi "whom Poona climate did not suit" was admitted to St. Mary's Day School in Bombay. Soon Benazir had also to be in Poona for her education. But they would always meet on weekend. On one of the weekends, when sisters came home, Zulfi gave them a surprise. He brought a bicycle, which he had learnt to ride, and made a demonstration of his art. There were other amusements, which they shared; they loved tonga-rides and hired two tongas, sisters in one and Zulfikar Ali in another. They raced and tried to overtake each other's tonga. There was a cinema near by. A movie, "The thirty nine steps" amused them. Its hero, Robert Donat became their favorite star. Whatever pocket money they got was spent on purchasing the movie magazines which contained pictures of Robert Donat and competed with each other to collect the most. The following year they saw the "Scarlet tonga" and then Donat was forgotten and they started collecting series of "Scarlet tonga" books and magazines. Ms. Mumtaz used to tell stories: "Hiawatha" was Zulfikar's favorite story which he insisted listening repeatedly. "Scarlet Pimpernel" was another such interesting story of his childhood.

One week-end, the family spent with the family of Mr. Parpia, then Deputy Commissioner of Khandala district. Khandala hill-

station was surrounded with thick tall trees and intersected by meandering lanes. While returning at dusk from the Echo Point, Zulfi and his little sister Benazir lost the way and were found after an hour. Mr. Parpia asked Zulfikar "Did you get afraid? The woods are thick and some monkeys come on the road!" He replied "Not, I remembered mother calling Pir Dastagir and I did the same."<sup>6</sup> He was only seven then.<sup>7</sup>

One day he gave a rude surprise to his refined father: Sir Shah Nawaz Khan Bhutto was invited to a dinner in the Governor House. He took his two sons, Mir Imdad Ali then Twenty-one and Zulfikar Ali only seven along with him. When he introduced his eldest son to Lord Brabourne, the Lord remarked, "What a handsome young man!". Imdad Ali returned his compliments, saying, "I am all the more flattered, Sir, because the compliment comes from our handsome governor." At this point the youngest son, Zulfikar Ali, could not hold himself and interposed a devastating remark: "His excellency the governor is handsome, because he has been fed on the blood of our beautiful country."<sup>8</sup> Stunned at the audacity of a frail boy of seven years Lord Brabourne hardly composed himself and said, "And in him Sir Shah Nawaz! You have the poet and the revolutionary."<sup>9</sup>

Back home, Sir Shah Nawaz asked his daring little son, "Saeen! what was the need of that remark?" Putting his hands on the face he replied sobbing, "Eiho asan jo mulk a'he, eiho asan jo mulk a'he, eiho asan jo mulk a'he." In Sindhi, it meant, it is our country, thrice over. Like George Washington he got excused for telling the truth, but the father naturally got worried for sophistication of his rebellious son. Preponderating political engagements held back his decision to get the boy admitted to a suitable school. During 1936-37, the family moved to Karachi and resided in the Hordley House. Sir Bhutto was made advisor to the newly established provincial government of Sindh, responsible for arranging elections to the provincial legislature; but he lost from his constituency in Larkana and opted for membership of the Bombay Public Service Commission. So the youngest Bhutto at the age of nine returned

to live in Bombay along with the family. He had been further hardened by the hard facts of life.

Nine years old Zulfikar Ali Khan was taken to the Principal of the prestigious Cathedral High School for admission in the first standard. The Principal, Col. Hammond was reluctant to admit him to the first standard as, he said, the boy did not have enough previous schooling. So, instead he proposed to admit him to the girl's school for preliminary grounding. But Zulfikar Ali refused point blank to be placed in an inferior position. His determination to go to the boys' school and adamant attitude at that young age impressed the Principal and he granted him the desired admission. Now he was assigned to the Savage House, where he donned the Boy Scout uniform. He looked proud and more beautiful. Pilo Mody (1926-1980), his first friend in Bombay, describes his physique then as "only skin and bones held together by a squeakily high-pitched voice."<sup>10</sup> Pilo was serious about his studies; he was not. He preferred cricket and films. Omar Qureshi, a close friend, lived in Dhunraj Mahal, which was a meeting place of cricket team. Despite a wide gap in age, Zulfikar Ali befriended the well-known cricketers, Kardar, Amarna and Mushtaq Ali.

#### THE FIRST MARRIAGE:

Four more years of boyhood suddenly pulled up for an early-arranged marriage to a cousin ten years his senior in age. Ms. Shireen Amir Begum the bride, tells that "Though my father (K.B Ahmed Khan Bhutto) was thinking about the difference in our ages, but (my) in-laws did not give more importance to it."<sup>11</sup> It was purely a family matter. Bhutto Sahib himself later told his second wife, Begum Nusrat Bhutto that it was "purely for the property."<sup>12</sup> K. B Ahmed Khan's property would he inherited by Zulfikar after his father-in-law's death, as he had only three daughters and no son. But the traditional viewpoint in the local circles has been that this marriage was arranged by Sir Shah Nawaz Bhutto in order to unite his son, from an alien wife, to the Bhutto family for good.<sup>13</sup>

Zulfikar Ali at the age of thirteen was mentally unprepared for

the marriage. His passion was to play cricket. So the politician father acquiesced him to sit in the marriage ceremony by promising him his favorite cricket kit, as a deal. The marriage was followed by a honey-moon in the Marri Hills. Then the bride came to live with her mother-in-law in Bombay. She says, "I lived with her for three years in Bombay, after that I lived in my father's house. Bhutto Sahib visited me there occasionally. We had lived together only for three years."<sup>14</sup> But the matrimonial bond lasted forever. "Bhutto Sahib" she writes, "kept up visiting us on every Eid and every time he happened to be at Naodero or Larkana, we shared happiness and sorrows... he respected me. He tried to make me realize that we were from the same family. Before his second marriage, sometimes he talked of his mind to marry again, for which he had formed opinion that I could not (ac-) company him breaking the family tradition of purdah (veiling)... I preferred to remain inside the home... he always promised fulfilling the commitment of remaining with me at any cost."<sup>15</sup>

#### THE WOEFUL YEAR:

Non-academic attractions and family distractions led Zulfikar Ali Khan away from serious studies. "In the final year of school," it is said "he got attached to a girl named Siriya. He phoned her every day at a certain time... he was keen to marry her, but somehow it did not work out. Zulfikar Ali Khan failed in the Senior Cambridge examination and the same year, 1945, he lost his younger sister Benazir who died of meningitis at Poona at a sorrowfully young age of 15. For him it was a dooms year. His father had planned to get him admitted in a college in Cambridge or Oxford, but now he had to repeat his final school year at Bombay, in which he developed interest in student politics.

#### EARLY INTEREST IN POLITICS

Pandit Jawahar Lal Nehru's younger sister, Mrs. Krishna Huthee Singh, was a neighbor of Bhuttos in Bombay. Pandit Nehru was staying as always with his sister while on a visit to Bombay. Zulfi

walked through the open door. He was a young student not in the white Congress Dress. Panditji noticed him and called him near. Panditji asked Zulfi his name and then his views on Pakistan. Zulfi was an enthusiastic Pakistani, Panditji told him that youth was always emotional but India needed young people like him to save it.<sup>16</sup> He also tried several times to meet the Quaid-i-Azam who lived on Malabar Hill. The chowkidar promised to let him meet when Jinnah Sahib was in, but the few times Zulfi tried he was out of Bombay. He did meet Miss Jinnah. Afterwards, he saw the Quaid-i-Azam again with the Bombay business magnates at Dr. Jal Patels clinic, the rendezvous of the post-war political discussions in Bombay and a daily sumptuous tea party.

In mid August 1946, the young Zulfikar Ali led a student delegation to the presence of the Quaid-i-Azam at his Malabar Hill residence in Bombay; the occasion was the Quaid's "call for direct action" It had come in the wake of a dangerous development in Indian politics. After acceptance of the Crisps Cabinet Mission's three-tiered federal constitution by both the Muslim league and the Congress, Maulana Abul Kalam-Azad (1888-1958) passed on the presidentship of the All India National Congress to Pandit Jawahar Lal Nehru in July that year. He made a mistake of "Himalayan dimension", as described by him. Pandit Nehru in his very first press conference held in Bombay, declared that the Congress would enter the forthcoming Constituent Assembly completely unfettered by agreements.... Quaid-i-Azam Mohammad Ali Jinnah lost confidence in Congress' willingness to work with the plan of the Crisps Cabinet Mission without prejudice. Most regretfully he felt obliged to give a call for 'direct action'."

At the Bombay students meeting with the Quaid-i-Azam, the leader of the delegation, Zulfikar Ali Bhutto, noted that "Everyone talked in circles and vague language." He writes, "I remarked that Bombay was Maharashtrian stronghold and Elphinston college was a student fortress of the Maharashtrian militant students. Some kind of a strike in Elphinston College would have tremendous psychological effect."<sup>17</sup> His idea was appreciated by the Quaid-i-

Azam and he embarked upon his first political adventurism (at the age of 17). The Principal's son, Arun Seal was his friend classmate. With his help he collected some 200 students who picketed inside the college gate. The police were called in, but the principal feared his own son's round up so he let the gate remain closed till the picketers dispersed. Next day, all the leading newspapers of Bombay carried the news of the Muslim students Direct action picketing inside the Hindu dominated Elphinston college, which gave the Muslim League a political mileage in implementing its Direct Action Plan.<sup>18</sup>

The same year Zulfikar Ali completed his school education and his father Sir Bhutto resigned from the Bombay Public service commission and accepted the offer to become divan (Prime minister) of Junagadh State. There were slim chances of acceptance of the Partition Plan by the Indian National Congress, which was announced by the new Governor General Lord Mountbatten early in 1947. But the Congress, nilly willy, accepted it. It was in fact the Divine will, as it remained a secret that the sheet anchor of the ship of Pakistan Movement, the Quaid-i-Azam, had fatal spots on both lungs before the end of the Second World War. Lord Mountbatten later said in London, "If some one had told me that he is going to die in months would I have said let us hold India together and not divide it? I would have put back the clock and hold the position, most probably".<sup>19</sup> So, the Congress high command would also have preferred to wait, but the inevitable came to pass on the August 14, 1947, when the Islamic Republic of Pakistan with a Dominion status, for the time being, was established in Karachi as its capital.

Sir Shah Nawaz Bhutto got the instrument of accession to Pakistan signed by the Nawab of Junagadh and delivered it personally to the Quaid-i-Azam but it did not work. The Indian Armed forces seized the state in September and sent the Bhutto family packing to find safety in their homeland. They stayed in Karachi with Lady Hidayatullah till they found a house on McNeil Road. Zulfikar Ali, too, had to leave Bombay and its "Parisian Diary", his favorite restaurant, where he relished its special dishes,

chicken seekh Kabab, fried potatoes (Sindhi style) and carrot halva (sweet dish). Omar Qureshi and he left for the United States of America to study at the University of Southern California. Pilo Mody went to Berkeley, where Zulfikar joined him after two years.

### LIFE IN THE WEST

Two years at Los Angeles were a new experience in the adult life of Zulfikar Ali. He had left Bombay on 5th September 1947 and after a week long stay in New York, arrived in Los Angeles about the middle of that month. He shared a room with Omar Qureshi at Mrs. Bess-Jone's Lodgings on South Flower Street. The abundant night clubs, along the Sunset Strip provided much more entertainment than available at Bombay clubs. Mr. Chechvala a professor of music, who lived down stairs, became Zulfikar's friend. He introduced Zulfikar Ali Bhutto to an American beauty Mary Ellen and Miss Margaret who was going to marry Chechvala afterwards. Zulfikar Ali dated Merry Ellen and she did not quite believe it.

With his black moustache, brown hunting eyes, wavy black hair, slim-built and charismatic talks, ever well-dressed Zulfikar turned to be a choice boy-friend for many a girl. Besides Mary Ellen, he dated Margaret, Anne Reynolds, and in Berkeley, where he visited Pilo Mody on weekend, an Iranian beauty of 18 years Miss Leila Bakhtiyar, with whom he liked to walk on the Santa Monica beach and presented her a costly watch and a sari. The most attached of all was a Californian girl named Carolyn who continued to write him for a year after he left the States and was at Oxford. Her last letter dated October 13, 1951 written from Berkeley is preserved in Bhutto Library and Archives at 70-Clifton Karachi: "I would rather not have my "cross" back. Keep it, for when you are old and can do no more than reflect; you can remember how once you captured the heart of an American girl."<sup>20</sup>

Zulfikar Ali's three years in America were not entirely given to dating, dancing and drinking but, as Omar Qureshi would testify, he participated along with him, "as much as we could in campus

activities."<sup>21</sup> They were members of the debate team and went regularly every Saturday, during the season, to the foot ball games. On Sunday, they played cricket at Griffith Park, where the standard was poor and they were the superstars of their team, named the Corinthians. At the campus, there was no cricket, so they signed up for tennis and both excelled in it. In his B.A course of two years at Los Angles, Zulfikar Ali could not specialize in any subject but was an ardent participant in debating and political science classes. Omar Qureshi says that "All our American friends, remarked that, for our age we were remarkably politically mature." What was Zulfikar Ali Bhutto like then?

Qureshi says, "He was like any young man who loved life... he was a good friend, and I would imagine, a good enemy. He was fierce in likes and dislikes and a little cruel with those whom he disliked. He had strong views and could be prickly with those who disagreed with him."<sup>22</sup>

The modern tenor of political behavior was hardly getting into the veins of the revolutionary. He was deadly against it. He would really get worked up particularly at the Israel issue. In the student Union cafeteria he would ferociously assail American support to Israel: "Not the United States but the Jewied States,"<sup>23</sup> he would say scathing. The campus was occasionally visited by some political dignitaries. Richard Nixon and Hubert Humphrey were among such visitors.

Humphrey had been tagged with a leftist label those days and he was trying to shake it off. He lectured, "Democracy is easy to define but not so a democrat. A democrat may be a doctrinaire, an idealist, a missionary and whatever, in which he conducts himself democratically."<sup>24</sup> Humphrey's words impressed Zulfikar Ali. His companion Omar Qureshi says that Zulfikar Ali Bhutto's socialism was of that kind. "He had too good a mind to be trapped in dogma."<sup>25</sup> They would have long talks about Pakistan and were determined to try to wipe out poverty, remove social injustice and wipe every tear from every eye.

While at Los Angeles, the rich Zulfikar learned to be a little

frugal. Omar and he bought a used (second hand) car jointly and toured around California. Omar Qureshi says, "Since I was older by a few months, I kept an eye on him." According to his own statement, "When I was a student in America and at Oxford, I never bought a car. I have always handled money wisely."<sup>26</sup>

After two years in Los Angeles, Zulfikar Ali joined Pилоo Mody in Berkeley for graduation in history of political philosophy under Prof Lipski. Omar Qureshi remained at Los Angeles, but they remained in touch and visited each other on weekends. In Berkeley, Zulfikar Ali, won a seat on the University Students Council and became a representative at large. Among seven candidates, he was the only foreign student, and when he won the seat he became the first ever foreign Asian member of the students' council. The next year, he volunteered to campaign for the Democratic Party's candidate Ms. Helen Gahagan Douglas for a seat in the U.S Senate against the Republican Richard Nixon. During summer holidays he also volunteered at the Pakistan embassy in Washington. He became known as a "Pro-Jinnah, Pro-Pakistan student leader."<sup>27</sup>

His rating at the University of Southern California in Los Angeles was lower than B, but at Berkeley, in the company of Pилоo Mody, he graduated with honors in Political Science, which made him eligible for admission in the Oxford University's Christ Church college. He left the United States for the United Kingdom in the winter of 1950. The Christ Church college Counselor Hugh Trevor Roper (later, Lord Daker) advised three years course with Latin as a compulsory subject for admission in Jurisprudence and Law. Zulfikar wanted to complete the course in two years without Latin, which he did not know.

The academic challenge coincided with a love marriage. While in Bombay, Zulfikar Ali had met an Iranian girl Nusrat, one year younger than he, at Lonavala near Khandala. It was one year before his first marriage. Then they met again in Karachi at the marriage ceremony of Zulfikar's elder sister Mouna in 1949. Nusrat's parents had migrated from Bombay to Karachi and she was a friend of Mouna. "Oh, Nusrat! This is my son, just come from America. His

name is Zulfi."<sup>28</sup> Begum Khurshed Bhutto introduced. Begum Nusrat Bhutto recalls, "he liked me and I liked him. He was so dignified."<sup>29</sup> But he did not like her in her Pakistan National Guard uniform when he saw her next with Mrs. Habibullah. He said to his sister, "What are these two girls up to!"<sup>30</sup> Back in Berkeley, after some time he sent greetings for her through a friend. Nusrat retaliated: "I asked which Zulfi?" Two years went by. Zulfi was in Oxford, when he came home to visit, he launched a counter attack: "Shall I introduce myself to you; do you know who I am?" she said "now!" Zulfi tried again but differently: "Shall I bring an ice-cream for you?" She said, "Yes".<sup>32</sup> then he proposed; and they got married. He took her along to Oxford, but under the University rules, he could not keep her in the hostel. So Begum Nusrat Bhutto stayed at a hotel. She recalls, "My in-laws thought their son would not study properly if I was with him."<sup>33</sup> So she returned to live with in-laws at Mc Neil Road house in Karachi where, after two years, the first child was born and named Benazir (Un-matched) after her father's dear little deceased sister (June 21, 1953). Even the house, she was born in, was named Benazir House. Mrs. Munawarul Islam nicknamed her "Pinky."<sup>34</sup>

What about the sensibility of the first wife and discomfiture of Bhutto family, which Zulfikar Ali's father had tried to avoid? "Bhutto family had produced a graceful scion in the person of K.B Ahmed Khan Bhutto, who gave a dinner party for us in Karachi club,"<sup>35</sup> so says Begum Nusrat Bhutto. Shireen Amir Begum, the first wife says, "We went to Karachi to meet my Iranian friend. Bhutto Sahib came to me in the night, and in the next evening he got engaged."<sup>36</sup> She was told by her Iranian friend that she had gone to attend an engagement of an Iranian girl with a Sindhi boy. "And that boy was no one else but Bhutto Sahib." My uncle (Sir Shah Nawaz) informed my father about the engagement... My father asked if Zulfikar told me about his (second) marriage. I replied in negative... Later my father invited Zulfikar and Nusrat to dinner at Karachi club.<sup>37</sup> According to Begum Nusrat Bhutto she did not know about the first marriage. The Haroon's (Seth Haji Abdullah

Haroon's family) broke the news. "I said to him, you are a married man, you cheated me. Then he told me in what circumstances he had been married."<sup>38</sup> Much later in life Shaheed Bhutto told an interviewer. "... It was hard for me to persuade her to marry me... No, the idea of divorcing my first wife never went through my head. Not only because she is my cousin, but because I have a responsibility toward her. Her whole life has been ruined by this absurd marriage to a boy, by the absurd custom in which we've been raised. She lives in my house in Larkana. We see each other every so often. She's almost always alone. She hasn't even had children... I'll do every thing I can to discourage polygamy...."<sup>39</sup>

### MEETING THE ACADEMIC CHALLENGE:

The love-marriage did not distract the brilliant brain, as apprehended by the parents. On the contrary Begum Nusrat, during the three months, she stayed in London, helped her husband learn Latin with requisite seriousness, and he did his Masters in jurisprudence and Law in two years as committed by him. Then he enrolled for Bar-at-Law in the Lincoln's Inn where the Quaid-i-Azam had been before.

Zulfikar Ali Bhutto was apprenticed in the Chambers of Ashe, where Barrister Eric Hurst was his mentor. He happened to be fond of Sir Shah Nawaz Bhutto. Thirty five years afterwards, he said that he did not play even a small part in Bhutto's "stupendous ascent to greatness."<sup>40</sup> But he added that "Zulfikar Ali's mind was among the brightest, most perceptive and most analytical I have known."<sup>41</sup> In less than a year he was called to the bar and subsequently offered a job in the Law Faculty of the Southampton University. He became the first Asian to be taken up in that prestigious institution. Now he could enjoy life in UK with Nusrat and pinky by his side. But he opted for hard life in his homeland in the service of his people.

While working for the bar in the Lincoln's Inn once he showed Barrister Hurst, a draft agrarian policy for Pakistan. Commenting on it Hurst opined; "All, I think the young Zulfi, I know, ever wanted, was to procure for his country what he perceived to be its

true manifest destiny: peace with honour and a sufficiency for all."<sup>42</sup> Then he concluded, "Zulfi... was driven, perhaps some times impetuously, but always, I believe, sincerely, by compassion."<sup>43</sup>

### HOME COMING:

The Western education and culture could not take love of the land off the revolutionary's head. According to him, He lived in foreign countries for seven years and longed there for his country... He always wished to reach his country, as soon as possible, and struggle for amelioration of economic and social condition of his people.

He took the crucial decision: Aboard the same P&O liner steamer that had taken him out of his country in the first instance, he sailed back home, accompanied by another Pakistani barrister (Later Justice) Dorab Patel, who later on told, We did not have much in common.<sup>44</sup> Barrister Bhutto at the Southampton University. He was the first Asian Muslim to be so honored. But soon his pride turned into a prick, he started thinking that all his abilities were for his country why was he wasting these for some other country? Therefore he came to his country and began teaching International law in Sind Muslim Law College. On the other hand, he was also some what interested in practicing Law and simultaneously be-took to it.

Mr. Dingomal Ramchandani was then a very prominent personality, practicing Law and running a firm of promising lawyers in Karachi. Mr. G.H. Abbasi was working there since November 1950. He recalls the month of July 1953, when his senior Mr. Dingomal excitedly asked him, "Abbasi! Look who is here?... My dear brother Sir Shah Nawaz Bhutto's son Zulfi..."<sup>45</sup> He could not pronounce the full name: Then Bhutto whispered to him loudly: "Zulfikar Ali," and Dingomal repeated, "Yes... I mean Zulfikar Ali Khan... Sir Saheb calls him by this name. Do you know Abbasi; he is an Oxonian and a barrister. He is going to work in our office."<sup>46</sup> On November 12, 1953, Barrister Zulfikar Ali Khan was enrolled as an advocate of the then Chief Court of Sindh.

The first case, he pleaded and won, was a summary hearing of Appeal 59/54-G, Bhaledino v/s Faiz Mohammed, before Sir George Constantine-a very difficult judge in his own right, and more so for his Irish accent, which even D.N. Pritt while arguing Tamizaddin Khan's petition found difficult to understand.<sup>47</sup>

Barrister Dingomal refused the brief, the senior Advocate Mr. G.H Abbasi filed the appeal, Barrister Bhutto saw the brief and desired to argue it. Reluctantly and half hopefully, Advocate Abbasi allowed him to do so. He devised a strategy to know the judge before hand and let himself be introduced to him personally. He requested for a courtesy call two days before the hearing of the Appeal, which was granted and fixed at 4:00 p.m. For half an hour he was inside the chamber while his senior Mr. Abbasi waited in the corridor. Coming out excitedly he whispered in Abbasi's ear, "Abbasi damn it we are going to win the appeal."<sup>48</sup> "What happened?" asked the perplexed Abbasi. "You Know I introduced myself as an Oxonian and all the while rubbed in the fact that "Churist Church" was my college at Oxford. This college is more prestigious than all other colleges in the entire University and hardly any Asian is given admission there. The judge himself was from "Queens", not so famous as "Christ Church". So he damn-well was highly impressed." The next day he and Abbasi sat in Justice Constantine's court and watched him conduct the matters, it was "a rehearsal for tomorrow". They sat there right through the day and when the judge was about to rise, he saw them still sitting. "Any thing?" he just courteously gestured to Bhutto. "No my lord", he replied, We were just watching the proceedings". "Good", the judge said leaving rather impressed.<sup>49</sup>

On the third day, the appeal was fixed at No. 3. The first two matters were summarily dismissed. Abbasi says, "We lost quite a bit of steam with the first two dismissals. Serial No: 3 was called out and with it my name as an Advocate for appearance but before I got up... Zulfikar Ali Bhutto was up on his feet, saying, "My Lord!<sup>50</sup> I would like to have the privilege of my first professional appearance before your lordship." The judge whispered, "Is your power..." "Yes

his power is here, My Lord", Abbasi stood to inform.

The judge conceded, "that's alright, you may proceed Zulfikar Ali Bhutto!" Bhutto said at the start, "My Lord we are on the same wicket..." Perhaps not comprehending what was said, the judge quipped, "Sorry!" Abbasi pulled Bhutto's gown and said "Damn it. Read the Judgment" and he restarted, "My Lord with your permission I will read the judgment". "You may", the judge said. While he was half way through the impugned judgment, the Judge observed, "This is a second appeal. Only an error of law need be pointed out. Well, I have seen your grounds of appeal. I think this is a fit matter for admission. Advocate Abbasi got up in haste and whispered to Bhutto, "Status quo" status quo! The Judge overheard it. "Mr..... Bhutto, perhaps you want status quo?" "Yes my Lord" Bhutto said gratefully. "Granted" said the judge. "Thank you My Lord!"<sup>51</sup> .... and thus Barrister Bhutto won his first professional appearance in about 10 minutes.

Back in the Bar Room, Abbasi observed some writing on his white trousers, reading: "5.100 CPC - 591 E. Act etc. Abbasi taunted him, "This is copying and cheating in the very first matter."<sup>52</sup> Bhutto laughed heartily and said, "This bloody C.P.C and Evidence Act business really need some experience to quote them correctly, so I wrote them down in case..."<sup>53</sup> Mr. Abbasi says, "We did together quite a number of cases, even out of Karachi. For his part, he was always thoroughly prepared and we hardly lost a case."<sup>54</sup>

After about two years in Mr. Dingomal's firm, Barrister Zulfikar Ali Khan Bhutto acquired his separate law office. His practice was augmented by a substantial retainer, which he received in 1955 from the Hunt Oil Company, then exploring oil along Makran coast. He also pleaded criminal cases of his clients who, according to him, were vindictively presented by the Sind Government. Mr. Abbasi recalls that: "For the first two years, he worked with me in attending the firm's cases... I greatly benefited from his knowledge of International and Constitutional Law... I soon realized that politics were more on his mind than the profession of law, nevertheless, he had tremendous potential for a very successful

career as a lawyer.<sup>55</sup> For some time he shared his office with Barrister Dorab Patel. But that "office, in fact, served more as a research centre for his future political planning than for his professional work till the end of 1958"<sup>56</sup> when Zulfikar Ali Bhutto was taken up in the cabinet of Major Gen. Iskandar Mirza and Gen. M. Ayub Khan; one after the other.

## THE LIFE OF POLITICS: INSIGHT AND VISION

Barrister Bhutto got into practical politics at a comparatively young age of twenty six, beginning with his protest against the One Unit of West Pakistan scheme mooted in 1954. In his first press statement, titled "On One Unit" which he issued at Larkana on 24<sup>th</sup> November, he assailed the veteran politician M.A. Khuhro for trying to "ram the scheme down our throats." The proposal had already been rejected by the Sindh Legislative Assembly by almost a two-third majority vote. The then Chief Minister and the leader of the house Mr. Abdul Sattar Pirzado was dismissed along with his cabinet and replaced by Mr. Muhammad Ayub Khuhro, called the Iron Man of Sindh, who employed what may be called "Khuhroism" and within a month, One unit was approved in the Assembly by a vote of 100:4. Barrister Bhutto again came out with a pamphlet: "Pakistan a Federal or Unitary State."<sup>2</sup> It embarrassed the Government all the more. He repeated his argument against the one-unit more forcefully and logically.

Things moved swiftly in a set direction. Governor General Ghulam Muhammed was found physically incapacitated and replaced by another bureaucrat-turned-politician, Major General Iskandar Mirza. He moved more swiftly. The West Pakistan Act was passed on September 30, 1955 and the One-Unit was established on October 14, 1955. Interalia, it also established the principle of parity between the two wings which had already caused discontentment in East Pakistan, being the majority wing, vis-à-vis all the provinces of West Pakistan taken together. Chaudhry

Muhammed Ali, the new Prime Minister of Pakistan produced the first Constitution of Pakistan, which was promulgated on March 23, 1956. After full nine years of its existence, Pakistan became a republic with Major General Iskandar Mirza as its first President.

Major General Iskandar Mirza was a friend of Bhutto family. He visited them frequently. He was also aware of the nationalist and revolutionary tendencies of Barrister Zulfikar Ali Khan Bhutto, so he decided to pickup and tame him in the prevalent way of political patronage. He was honored to lead Pakistan delegation to the Sixth Committee of the United Nations General Assembly.

On October 25, 1957 he addressed the world forum on the concept of aggression in international affairs. In main, he said "....there is no escape from the fact that International Law, at the present moment tows at the altar of national sovereignty. Indeed the Charter itself is a political instrument... It is inevitable, therefore, that... the definition of aggression must revolve around both political and legal issues.... It is an axiomatic fact that this endeavor cannot possibly be detached form socio political influences. It gets inevitably recoiled in the web of politics... We must strive tirelessly and continuously for the search of the necessary political equilibrium and adjustment, guaranteeing the maintenance of perpetual peace. This is a duty we owe not only to our own war sick-generation, but to our progeny."<sup>3</sup> Thus at the very first exposure at the international level he was lauded for his political acumen, legal proficiency and oratory.

Barrister Bhutto was again sent abroad to head the delegation and represent Pakistan in the First Committee of the U.N General Assembly on the law of the sea. On March 17, 1958, he spoke thus: "The Law on the subject, we are called upon to codify, is prolific.... we have to arrive at solutions to problems that cover the surface of vast oceans and the space beneath and above them, measure the breadth of the sea and examine its freedom, and give attention to the Continental Shelf and the Contiguous Zone. Doctrines and rights, relating to Innocent Passage and Hot Pursuit have to be scrutinized... we are conscious of the failures of the past but are also

poignantly aware of the dictates of this thermo-nuclear age that gives us the ultimatum to either embrace peace with the arms of law, or perish for ever into the graveyard of a world Carthage.... The life of a nation cannot be measured in terms of decades or generations. Nations that have faith and confidence in their intrinsic strength must have the vision to think of their interests in terms of centuries....countries, that hold the legacy of civilization dating back to Moen-jo-Daro and Pompeii. If the United States of America could subscribe to the doctrine of the Freedom of the High Seas at a time when she was not able to take full advantage of that freedom.... why cannot the other young and virile nations do the same? The United States of America accepted this freedom because it had absolute faith in its manifest destiny....In this spirit, we accept the concept of the Freedom of High Seas.... The High Seas lie in the exclusive jurisdiction of International law, whereas the Territorial Waters are in the exclusive jurisdiction of National law. My delegation would like to state quite clearly that we do not recognize unilateral declarations purporting to extend Territorial Waters, beyond three miles.... this should be known to all and particularly to those who are situated in our geographical region.... my delegation is impressed by the proposal that a Contiguous Zone of twelve miles, as recommended by the International Law Commission, be accepted but with the modification that it covers fisheries as well.... Humanity, irrespective of artificial barriers and unfounded prejudices, is essentially indivisible and the sooner we work with faith and zeal for the greater good of this indivisible human force the better it is not only for humanity as a whole but also for each individual that forms a part of this mighty colossus."<sup>4</sup> The champion of human unity and individual betterment Barrister Bhutto was not playing to the gallery but representing the national viewpoint of his country before the comity of nations. Once again he proved his worth to the Government of Pakistan.

One summer night in 1958 Barrister Bhutto was watching a film in the Rex Cinema in Karachi accompanied by Begum Nusrat, when suddenly the film went off and the screen displayed a Notice:

"Zulfikar Ali's presence is desired at Government House."<sup>5</sup> Maj. Gen. Iskandar Mirza, the President of Pakistan, had been pleased to appoint him Minister for Commence in the cabinet of Malik Feroze Khan Noon. He took the oath and then left for Garhi Khuda Bakhsh to offer fateha at his ancestral graveyard. He called his young wife "Nusratam", which in Persian, meant "my victory". Now on he entered upon his political career, but the year was fateful. Dr. Khan Saheb, the Chief Minister of West Pakistan had been shot dead that May, the Deputy Speaker of East Pakistan Assembly was fatally stabbed in September and on October 7, 1958, the President of Pakistan Maj. Gen. Iskandar Mirza informed the Prime Minister that the Civil government was finished including Barrister Bhutto's commence Ministry. Gen. Ayub Khan the CMLA became also the Prime Minister of Pakistan to head a 12 member cabinet, and the youngest member was Zulfikar Ali Bhutto! Begum Nusrat recalls, "We had no plans to go to Karachi..... but he received phone-calls, after phone-calls. Ayub Khan wanted to keep him as Minister. His mother and I suggested he should agree; so he accepted it."<sup>6</sup> But on October 27, 1958 after President Iskandar Mirza swore in the new cabinet, the CMLA (Chief Martial Law Administrator) - Prime Minister Gen. Ayub Khan struck him off. The three Generals of his cabinet Azam Khan, Burki and Sheikh offered him life safety and pension, which he accepted and flew with Begum Nahid to live in London till his death on November 13, 1969 at the age of 70. The young politician Zulfikar Ali Bhutto had great respect for him.

Now Mr. Z.A Bhutto, the Commerce Minister of Pakistan, looked for leadership to the military man General Muhammad Ayub Khan. He won his admiration. He drew nearer to the General and his advice was being sought and accepted in almost all political matters. In the army hierarchy, General Ayub was only a primus inter pares, while there were other generals equal in rank to him. When Gen. Musa presented a report from senior army officers and President Gen. Ayub rejected it out-right, it became an issue; then the politician Minister, Mr. Z.A Bhutto, gave him a "brilliant idea"

to raise himself head and shoulders above other generals and proclaim himself a Field Marshal. It was accepted and carried out on October, 7 1959 on the occasion of the first anniversary of the "revolution" or the first martial law.

### **THE GERMS OF POLITICS OF ANOTHER KIND:**

Regarding his political disposition, Bhutto Sahib, once said, "I always had it, ever since I was a boy.... I owe it to my parents. My father was a brilliant politician, a pity he retired so very early... He had a very high conception of politics, that of an aristocratic who was aristocratic to his fingertips, and he talked to me in such an inspired way. He took me around Larkana, he showed me the ancient temples, the splendid houses, the vestiges of our civilization, and he said to me: "Look, politics is like building a temple, a house. Or else", he said, "it was like writing music or poetry." And he mentioned Brahms, Michelangelo.... My mother was different. She came from a poor family and was haunted by other people's poverty. She did nothing but repeat to me: "We must take care of the poor, we must help the poor, the poor shall inherit the earth", and so forth. When I went to America, her message had so sunk into my ears that I became a radical; I went to America to study at the University of California, where a great jurist of international Law was teaching..... And that was the period of McCarthyism, of the communist witch hunts, my choices were laid out. To get away from Sunset Boulevard, from the girls with red nail polish, I ran off to Maxwell Street and lived among the Negroes. A week, a month. I felt good with them. They were real, they knew how to laugh, and the day in San Diego when I wasn't able to get a hotel room because I have olive skin and looked like a Mexican.... well, that helped. Then from America, I went to England. And those were the years of Algeria so I immediately took the side of the Algerians. But not by shouting slogans in front of Number 10 Downing Street. May be because secretly a little shy, I've never liked to mix in the crowd and participate in turmoil. I've always preferred a discussion by writing, a struggle by the game of politics. It's more

intelligent, more subtle, more refined."<sup>7</sup>

The son of the desert made giant strides at the very start of his political career: In January 1963 on the death of Mr. Muhammad Ali of Bogra, he had already made his mark in bringing about the first improvement in Pakistan's relations with the Soviet Union, which were most unsatisfactory until then: In December 1960, when he was Minister for Fuel, Power and Natural Resources, he was deputed to Moscow to conduct negotiations for an oil agreement. On his return from the famous General Assembly Session of 1960, where he had his encounter with the giant world leaders like Khrushchev, Senor Fidel Castro, General Nasser, Bunkarno Sukarno, Pandit Jawahar Lal Nehru, and Mr. Macmillan, he conceived the idea to revamp and revise the foreign policy of Pakistan. Until then, he had perceived that "every decision, of any importance even as regards matters that ought to have been of purely internal concern, was affected by some aspect, real or imaginary, of international relations especially of commitment to the USA."<sup>8</sup>

He offered suggestions for a reappraisal and review of the then exiting policy, which were finally accepted by Ayub government. Thus when he became the Foreign Minister he had to carry out his own suggestions. His opinions, attitudes towards the international politics and suggestion for a change of line for Pakistan are contained in his book: "The Myth of Independence" (Nov. 1967). The policy of close relations with the Peoples' Republic of China was formulated and put into operation by him. He held that such relations with China were indispensable to Pakistan. He advocated that "in dealing with Great Powers one must resist their pressures by all possible means available, when they offend against the Nation's Welfare;<sup>9</sup> and that "compromise leading to the settlement of disputes by default or in an inequitable manner strikes at the roots of national security, even existence."<sup>10</sup> He pursued his self-conceived course of action vigorously until he was removed as Foreign Minister in June 1966. In this book he has not discussed at length the Indo- Pakistan war of 1965 and the Tashkent

Declaration. He writes that. "The truth of this chapter of history has yet to be told."<sup>11</sup> He said that he had hurried to write that book. "in a race against time which is dragging Pakistan, with giant strides, to the crossroads, where all ways but one lead to destruction."<sup>12</sup> Which way was the only one to salvage Pakistan? "Constancy, firmness and faith,"<sup>13</sup> he suggested, while quoting from the Holy Quran.

The Basic Democracies four-tier system, introduced by General Ayub Khan, envisaged an electorate of eighty thousand basic democrats, who would vote the President of Pakistan into office besides running Union Councils, and Town Committers, at the gross-root level, with some financial, administrative and residue powers. Sindh being the home constituency of Zulfikar Ali Khan, he was asked to popularize and bring home the system to the people of Sindh. He was not an elected minister and had not yet contested any election to be face-to-face with the people. First he went to Larkana and then Nawab Shah where he found support from an equally young rising politician, Rais Ghulam Mustafa Khan Jatoi. He carried out the assignment with some success. His forte till then was the international forum.

Come September the same year 1959, Zulfikar Ali Khan was detailed abroad to represent Pakistan in the United Nations General Assembly session. Addressing the First Committee on disarmament (October 28, 1959), he endorsed the Soviet and the British proposals aimed at general and complete disarmament (Soviet proposal) and comprehensive disarmament (British proposal). "The two sets of proposals may well open real possibilities of agreement... We feel uplifted by new hopes of significant progress towards the ultimate objective of a disarmed and warless world, an objective which all nations and all peoples must attain."<sup>14</sup>

When he parted ways with Ayub Khan in April 1968, Shaheed Bhutto wrote a paper on the then exiting political situation in Pakistan (up dated, published June 1968). He pointed out that the basic internal problems affecting the people and the future shape

of their society had not been resolved. They have never been referred to them for settlement. The father of the nation had pledged a government and a constitution chosen by the people. The promise had yet to be redeemed. He postulated that "out of the welter of confusion a crystallization is taking shape. A growing body of people, with the younger generation at their head, believes that the old ways are no longer sufficient to surmount the problems of Pakistan. Each epoch has its own political significance, its own seismic pattern."<sup>15</sup> He could visualize that a storm was brewing underneath and wanted to give a conscious vent to it. He declared, "All power to the people."<sup>16</sup>

According to him, "The wisdom of the people cannot be questioned in this age of enlightenment."<sup>17</sup> He argued that the people of Pakistan had seen many experiments in government and constitution "their collective wisdom, enriched by the experience of twenty years, makes the people pre-eminently fit for deciding their own fate."<sup>18</sup> He called the system of Basic Democracies devised by the Ayub Government "another name for fascism."<sup>19</sup> His viewpoint was that independent institutions were capable of outlasting their creators and resisting capture by "individuals lusting for power and avid for money." He spelled out such capable independent institutions; "they must so function as to inspire confidence, protecting the rights of the society against the exercise of arbitrary power and the law must function as an instrument of the people and not as a shield protecting an unjust status quo... The legislative assemblies must be elected directly by adult franchise and not by electoral colleges... it is impossible to browbeat a whole population though it is comparatively easy to influence individuals composing an electoral college by menace or favors. The right to vote must be exercisable, unhindered and not limited by property or educational qualification and it should be open to both sexes... the individual and collective rights of the people require to be recognized constitutionally. It is a slave society where civil liberties do not exist or exist only in name. "Fundamental rights, brought into the constitutions by accident, have been abrogated by design."<sup>20</sup> The

press is in chains and the printed word is in disgrace. Political leaders are victimized and political parties suppressed... the working classes are held to fill the bank vaults of the new industrialist class. The law and order situation is crumbling under the heels of an oppressive bureaucracy, which is taking an unsavory part in politics. The legal structure has been tampered with to make confusion worse confound. The students have become the central butt of this government... oppressive ordinances have been promulgated to put in cage the flower of Pakistan's manhood. Degrees are taken away as forfeited... instead of daring to trust the younger generation, the Government is suspicious of our students and fears this segment of the population more than any other... academic freedom has been taken away. The universities are thus made subservient and deprived of autonomy... if the Government, with all the control, it exercises over propaganda, is unable to muster the support of the students, how can the students be misled by those who are denied access to them.?"

In this paper Shaheed Bhutto has outlined his political thought in an unequivocal statement: "The students form a community that is learning to think for itself and is, therefore, not easy to be led astray... Only socialism, which creates equal opportunities for all, protects from exploitation, removes the barriers of class distinction, is capable of establishing economic and social justice. Socialism is the highest expression of democracy and its logical fulfillment. Islam is our faith, and it is the basis of Pakistan. Pakistan cannot last without the supremacy of Islam. A socialist form of government does not rival that supremacy. On the contrary, socialism will make the whole population the custodian of Islamic values... a handful of capitalists are exposing the ideology of Pakistan to foreign influences."

"The entire population of Pakistan can not be purchased by foreign powers. Only the vested interest having a common interest with foreign capital are susceptible to control by foreign powers... The entire population cannot be hired or become a foreign agent. Thus the Islamic ideology of this nation can be best preserved by

the people of Pakistan and not by a handful of industrialists whose factories run on annual foreign subsidies. Objective study shows that there is no conflict between Islam and socialism... there is no point in joining issues with road less individuals, who, under the shelter of this Government, have had the audacity to contradict the father of the Nation... It is for this reason that the Pakistan Peoples Party resolutely proclaims that: Islam is over faith, Democracy is our polity, Socialism is our economy, and all power to the people: sustained by these four pillars. Pakistan will be a strong edifice and well protected... under their [the people's] banner Pakistan will redeem the pledge made to the Muslims of the sub-continent and emancipate the people of Jammu and Kashmir from Indian bondage."<sup>21</sup>

In the same paper Shaheed Bhutto spoke of "hidden hand," which he said, "working through its agents, has moved mercilessly in many under-developed nations of Asia, Africa and Latin America. Pakistan is not an exception. Foreign influence has been also allowed to spread far and wide into Pakistan and, on a number of occasions, vital national interests have been compromised under foreign pressure."<sup>22</sup>

Chairman Bhutto held that the foreign policy of Pakistan had been built on many illusions... "All times we have changed to untenable notions fanatically and lightly abandoned sound ones. Swinging from one reach to the other, from bellicosity to submission, from arrogance to humiliation, from zeal to inertia, Pakistan's foreign policy has fallen victim to frustration and despair, in the process, two wars had been fought without the attainment of national objectives and contradictory alliances forged without the solution of disputes. Neither the interests of economic self-reliance nor of security have been served."<sup>23</sup>

In his paper on political situation in Pakistan (1968) the PPP Chairman Bhutto touched upon topics of vital political importance to Pakistan:

Regarding the commonwealth dependence and swift re-course to the US, he writes: "In the beginning, Britain and the

Commonwealth were treated as being of primordial importance, since it was not understood that Britain's influence was waning and that the Commonwealth was a subterfuge meant only to prop up Britain's tottering prestige. When it longest dawned upon our leadership that there was a change in the power structure, the course was sharply turned towards the United States of America, to which Pakistan made itself a vassal in haste."<sup>24</sup> The paper further discusses military alliances entered into by that time, as under:

"Finding an anchorage in an alliance we felt overjoyed. It was believed that all our problems would be swiftly resolved by the touch of this Great Power... Pakistan entered into military alliances, which the Arab States and other important non-aligned States considered inimical to them. By entering the alliances Pakistan surrendered a part of its sovereign rights, alienated Muslim nations and the Third World generally. It also incurred the wrath of the Soviet Union and the Peoples Republic of China, the two powerful giant states, embracing our northern frontiers... Pakistan was driven to a position of isolation."<sup>25</sup>

Further on the US-Pakistan alignment, the paper says, "In the grand alliance forged with the United States, Pakistan proceeded on one premise and the United States on quite another. The United States wanted the encirclement of Communist States, not of India. Pakistan on the other hand, thought that alliances would be a bulwark against India, a myth which the war of 1965 destroyed beyond repair. Although the era of John Foster Dulles was passing away before his death... Pakistan by its attachment to United States had suffered the pangs of a jilted romance. Pakistan got itself caught in the jaws of a nutcracker from which it has not been able to extricate itself to this day."<sup>26</sup> About the membership of US sponsored alliances the paper says. "The Government remains in SEATO and CENTO... inspite of the fact that the United States has terminated all military assistance. Pakistan is thus committed to a gratuitous obligation (of granting facilities to one Great Power on its territory which the others regard being hostile to them) which, in the event of a world war, might reduce the country to ashes:

there are appalling risks."<sup>27</sup>

"The Sino-Indian conflict opened the eyes of our rulers to the geographical situation of our country. But a country that has suddenly woken up to the imperative of geography, was on inimical or non-existent terms with all its territorial neighbors, two of whom are great powers. For well over a decade Pakistan had estranged relations with India (for which there are good reasons), with the Peoples Republic of China, the Soviet Union and Afghanistan. Until recently, our relations with Burma were not satisfactory and we had no contacts with Nepal."<sup>28</sup>

Pakistan had no dispute of its own with the USSR, nor with the Peoples Republic of China, yet it is "out classed" even by the United States. India, which was genuinely non-aligned under Nehru, received as much, if not more, economic assistance and food supplies (from the USA) as aligned Pakistan."<sup>29</sup>

In April 1968 the Soviet Prime Minister Mr. Kosygin visited Pakistan. Long discussions took place at Rawalpindi with emphasis on Soviet-Pakistan relations and Indo-Pakistan affairs, but the Kashmir problem did not surface in the Soviet Prime Minister's television interview at Islamabad. "Mr. Kosygin listed Germany, Middle East and Viet-Nam as the three international points of tension requiring world attention." It was despite the Tashkent Declaration which had not led to a solution of Kashmir problem even after a loss of over two-and-a-half years. There were promises of collaboration in all except the military field... the silence on military co-operation was serious but not nearly as ominous as the political result of the visit which showed the Soviet Union's resolve to enforce its well known views on Indo-Pakistan relations."<sup>30</sup>

In January 1968, the Soviet Prime Minister visited New Delhi and, "blessed India with massive military assistance".<sup>31</sup> Three visits of the President of Pakistan to the Kremlin to seek military assistance had borne no fruit and Pakistan was denied this assistance by the USA already. Relations with China, on the other hand, had reached a saturation point. "Hardly had the din of protests against the Soviet military assistance to India died down

when the Soviet Minister for foreign trade was accorded a warm welcome to Pakistan. It was ill-conceived and ill defined ...it showed how easy it is to hurt Pakistan and how simple it is to please it... the Soviet Union was able to satisfy Pakistan with a trivial commercial transaction to offset the effect of the massive military assistance move to strengthen India's war potential."<sup>2</sup>

The document further adds that: "The Security Council's resolution of September 1965 makes it obligatory on the United Nations to find a solution of the Jammu and Kashmir problem, after the withdrawal of forces. Ambassador Goldberg of the USA to the UNO described the commitment as "Like a Bible"<sup>33</sup> The armed forces withdrawal took place two years ago, but the efforts made after the Tashkent Declaration reached an impasse which blocked the settlement of Indo- Pakistan disputes. Chairman Bhutto pointed out that: "On the question of relations with India this Government and the people of Pakistan stand on widely separate positions and think very differently... Let it not be forgotten that the out come of the dispute over the Rann of Cutch was a victory of the Armed Forces of Pakistan and a vindication of the policy of confrontation. Had the armed forces not confronted India in the Rann and in Kashmir, Pakistan would have been browbeaten diplomatically..."<sup>34</sup>

A proposal based on a "broad settlement" of disputes was floated, time and again. Chairman Bhutto opined: "The spirit of reconciliation and of animosity recorded the highest and the lowest points during the regime of President Ayub Khan... India is gaining time and weakening Pakistan in the process. With the failure of every such exercise, we have seen that it becomes more and more difficult to mobilize the people to take the right position again. Government's resolve to seek peace in the sub-continent at all costs and on India's terms is now becoming clear as crystal... the Kashmir dispute, which has remained the central problem... has been by passed... and relegated to a formal position only... Since the Tashkent Agreement India has taken many blatant measures to violate the United Nations' resolutions to tighten its control over

Jammu and Kashmir. The services in the state have been Indianized and the Maharaja has been made a Minister in the Central Government of India. This notwithstanding the Government refuses to go to the security council lest it might exacerbate its relations with India and cause annoyance to the two Super Powers who are determined to see this basic dispute submerged in an overall Indo-Pakistan settlement.<sup>35</sup>

The Soviet premier, Nikita Khrushchev, had been impressed by the Pakistani Minister Mr. Z.A Bhutto a month earlier, when he had come to the UN, and Bhutto met him to raise with him. "the possibility of a Russo-Pakistani joint venture in oil exploration in Balochistan." As a lawyer in 1955 he held a retainer from the Hunt Oil Company, which explored oil along Makran coast. He had hoped for an oil-rich Pakistan. But the company had just abandoned its interest in the region. Now he succeeded in attracting Soviet Union's interest and the next summer, in September 1960, the Soviet delegation arrived in Pakistan and recommended "exploration of the potentially rich region, for which the Soviet government would float a long-term loan."<sup>36</sup> Only three months later he led a delegation to Moscow to negotiate the deal.

As the leader of Pakistan's delegations sent abroad Shaheed Bhutto had an eye on opportunities for economic prosperity of his country, side by side setting parameters of the Third World (then called under-developed) countries' role in the world economic order: Addressing the Second Committee of the UN General Assembly on the price of primary commodities, on November 11, 1959, he sounded a note of caution on the course of history in the post-war years and the need to "recognize the vital role that the under-developed countries have come to play in the complex of international relations."<sup>37</sup> He pointed out that "an overwhelmingly large percentage of world's population lives in these areas; they form a majority of membership in this great world organization... mainly they represent enormous power vacuums... one false step from any one of them and the world could be plunged into devastating conflict."<sup>38</sup> In his earlier address to the First Committee

on disarmament, on October 28, 1959, he had supported the Russian and the British proposals but now he was there to warn that "disarmament, even if it should be achieved, will not by itself remove the deeper causes of war. One of the root causes of war is the economic disequilibrium in the world. We think that as long as these dangerous vacuums of power, these yawning chasms of grinding poverty, ill health and ignorance remain unabridged, all hopes of a lasting peace in our times must prove chimerical."<sup>39</sup> He pointed out that "No less than 1362 million inhabitants out of a total of 1800 million living in under-developed countries have a per capita income of \$8 per month as compared to the \$9 per day in the highly industrialized countries."<sup>40</sup> He called for international assistance through soft loans from IDA (International Development Association), UNCDF (United Nations Capital Development Fund) and increased international flow of private and public capital to underdeveloped countries alongside the necessary measure of technical assistance to these countries, in order to raise the low level of the skills of the population. He exposed the fact that the prices of primary commodities, on which the under-developed countries export earning depended, had not only fallen but fluctuated widely, while the prices of industrial manufactures had continued rising steadily. "In Pakistan" he said, "the purchasing power of the export value.... is today a little less than 50% of what it was in 1948 and 1949."<sup>41</sup> He demanded creation of a "Compensatory Fund" to counter-balance the short fall in the earnings of the primary producers vis-à-vis the industrial countries. It reflected the subsidy system prevalent in the west at present.

Apart from the rhetoric and logic applied by him in addressing the world forum, he took practical steps to meet and address the business communities of the developed first and second world countries. In Toronto, enroute to New York, he had met "leading exporters, industrialists and businessmen with a view to giving a boost to our exports to Canada."<sup>42</sup> While in New York, his discussions with leading industrialists and businessmen had been

profitable. In Washington he signed a treaty of friendship and commerce with the government of the USA on behalf of the Ayub government. He did also survey prospects of improving trade with Japan and the Philippines in the Asian Continent. The Ayub government had already launched export bonus scheme in January 1959, which had not drawn immediate response. The young commerce and industries minister, Mr. Z.A Bhutto, made personal efforts to promote the scheme, which provided import license vouchers for every exportation.

The year 1959 opened up new vistas in the foreign policy of Pakistan through the efforts of Bhutto Sahib, though not the foreign minister then, he worked on the diplomatic front envisaging co-operation and mutual support not only among the Third World countries but also in the Muslim World. He championed the cause of Pan Islamic concept. The first open stand of the Government of Pakistan relating to brotherhood of Muslim peoples was reflected in the speech of Shaheed Bhutto delivered to the 15<sup>th</sup> session of the UN General Assembly on September 29, 1960 supporting the cause of the Algerian freedom fighters against French imperialism; he said, "This year and this session will remain famous in history because of the presence of many African nations, who have won freedom and have been admitted to the United Nations. It is with great sorrow that we note the absence of Algeria. Let me declare here that the sympathies of the people of Pakistan are with the valiant sons of Algeria, fighting heroically for their freedom."<sup>43</sup> He also spoke for the people of Palestine: "Another problem which haunts the conscience of nations is the negation of justice to that part of the Arab nation which comprises the population of Palestine... in the view of my delegation the only realistic approach in this case is to recognize the human rights of a million Arab-refugees who have been uprooted from their homes."<sup>44</sup> He was particularly prickly on Israelites' excesses upon the Palestinian people eversince his student life in the United States of America. Now he was speaking in diplomatic terms and on behalf of his government, hence less volatile. "The principle of the

peaceful settlement of international disputes is a cardinal feature of the foreign policy of Pakistan."<sup>45</sup> He cited the example of the Indus Waters Treaty just concluded with India: "Only a few days ago, our firm faith in peaceful procedures was vindicated when we resolved our dispute with India over the distribution of the waters of the Indus Basin... We are hopeful, Mr. President, that this initiative for peace will be extended now to the only grave issue still outstanding between India and Pakistan, namely the Kashmir Question."<sup>46</sup>

In April 1960, Zulfikar Ali Bhutto relinquished the portfolio of commerce and took over Kashmir Affairs, retaining other portfolios so far assigned to him, which were National Reconstruction and Information, Fuel, Power and Natural Resources and Projects Division. His acumen over the Kashmir Affairs was recognized by Field Marshal Ayub Khan and his Foreign Minister Mr. Manzoor Qadir, when he pointed out to them that the President's statement on Ladakh to the effect that it was India's problem was pregnant with smite weakening of Pakistan's position: "We can be taken to have tacitly recognized India's authority over this part of Kashmir."<sup>47</sup>: because at that time India was holding Ladakh, "the present situation can be cited by India as justifying any augmentation of forces that she might effect in Jammu and Kashmir... tightening of control over Kashmir by building of roads and airports. 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 that of India not of the Security Council..."<sup>48</sup> The Government of India had already taken the stand that "Chinese encroachment on Ladakh" is an encroachment on India itself. And the President of Pakistan in his airport interview replied to the pressmen's question regarding this situation that "It was India's problem."<sup>49</sup>

The young statesman Bhutto wrote to him immediately: "In my humble but emphatic opinion... we must make some kind of an authoritative pronouncement. A draft letter to the Security Council... is under preparation in the Mission here and will be soon submitted to you."<sup>50</sup> At that time he was in the Pakistan

Mission to the UNO to lead the Pakistan delegation to the Second Committee of UN General Assembly. In his letter to the President and to the Foreign minister, Manzoor Qadir, he suggested that: "We shall have to examine the whole question in depth and not let the India-China situation regarding Kashmir drift and develop to our detriment."<sup>51</sup> In his subsequent reply to questions on his opinion of Mr. Nehru's latest proposal, to China on Ladakh, he said, "Ladakh is a disputed area", and declared that Pakistan would not recognize the creation of no-man's land in Ladakh. However he evaded the questions whether he had communicated his government's stand to the Indian Prime Minister and whether Pakistan would approach the United Nations on the subject, saying; "Let such an arrangement come, let time come." But on 3<sup>rd</sup> December 1959, Prince Ali Khan, Pakistan's Permanent Representative to the UN, addressed a letter to the president of the Security Council, saying: "Under instructions from my Government, I have the honour to draw the attention of the Security Council to.... recent events in the eastern part of the province of Ladakh of the State of Jammu and Kashmir."<sup>52</sup>

#### **BHUTTO'S STAND WAS THAT:**

"Pending a determination of the future of Kashmir through the will of the people impartially ascertained, no position taken or adjustments made by either of the parties to the present controversy between India and China, or any similar controversy in the future, shall be valid or affect the status of the territory of Jammu and Kashmir..."<sup>53</sup> This was the first definitive stand taken by Pakistan on the issue of settlement of the Kashmir problem. Zulfikar Ali Bhutto further defined his stand while addressing the Sindh University Convocation 1962, on 30th March. He said, "... there can be no peace without the solution of the Kashmir problem. It has been the constant stand of all succeeding governments of Pakistan to date."<sup>54</sup>

Another departure from the policy of appeasement, followed by the preceding governments of Pakistan, occurred in October 1960

when Zulfikar Ali Bhutto, as leader of the Pakistan delegation to 15<sup>th</sup> session of UN General Assembly, broke ranks with the US position on the People's Republic of China, abstaining rather than voting against Peking's membership in the world forum. It irritated the US government. "Washington wired its dissatisfaction to Foreign Minister Qadir but the challenger Bhutto also wired home: "I feel that the time has come for Pakistan to adopt an attitude in the United Nations more consistent with its recognition of the Peking regime than has been the case since 1954."<sup>55</sup> This view together with two other points related to Afro-Asian issues and Neutralism was incorporated in the Summary for the Cabinet submitted by the Foreign Secretary on 24<sup>th</sup> October 1960. "To alter our stand on the issue of Chinese representation and Portuguese colonies in Africa,"<sup>56</sup> and "Neutralism is bound to emerge as a political philosophy with a wide appeal and possibly as a third force."<sup>57</sup>

His views were opposed by the then Permanent Representative of Pakistan at the UN, who held that "We cannot rebuild our position among Afro-Asians, this is the wrong time to leave our friends (in the West)."<sup>58</sup> The Foreign Secretary concluded his Summary, inter alia, with his note that: "At the present juncture we have no alternative but to remain friendly with the West. The force of inconsistencies demanded that we backed the US."<sup>59</sup> A special Cabinet meeting was held on 18<sup>th</sup> November 1960, in which Minister Bhutto's views were considered vis-à-vis the foreign Ministry's contrary opinions, and the decision reached drew nearer to Bhutto's stand: "It is true that they (the USA) have not found it possible for their own reasons to give us political support in our dispute with India. We understand their difficulty but then, because of that very reason we have to fend for own selves in this field. This in turn means that we should not adopt rigid postures towards Russia or China. (b) We should explain with conviction (to the United States) that, in the present situation, we have come to the conclusion that we should vote for the admission of the Peoples Republic of China at the next session...(c) The government could

not isolate itself by disregarding the public feeling as well as the feelings of all the Afro-Asian countries.<sup>160</sup>

Bhutto's vision was to "strengthen our position" among Third World alliance under Pakistan's leadership. He viewed Sino-Pakistani friendship not only as a counter move to Indian hegemony in South Asia but as a part of his blueprint for an Afro-Asian "Third Force", a super power equal to either the United States or the USSR.

In the above context, Zulfikar Ali Bhutto led Pakistan's first official delegation to Moscow in December 1960. There being no direct flight from Pakistan to the Soviet Union, the delegation flew via New Delhi on 13<sup>th</sup> December 1960. The plane for Tashkent took off on 16<sup>th</sup> and the bad weather forced it to land at Samarkand, the birth place of the founder of the great Mughal empire in India, Sultan Zaheeruddin Baber, and the capital of his predecessor, the conqueror of Delhi, Amir Timur (1336-1405) and his successors. After visiting that renowned seat of Islamic culture and tradition Shaheed Bhutto wrote afterwards, "The grandeur of Islamic architecture and culture made one feel proud to be a part of its history, race and religion separated by time and political... change."<sup>161</sup> The next day the delegation drove to Tashkent and prayed at the famous Jamia Masjid. Arriving in Moscow on 19<sup>th</sup>, the Pakistan delegation entered the Kremlin on December 20, 1960, and the first Soviet Pakistani agreement fetched 120 million rouble credit to Pakistan over a period of 12 years, followed by a team of Soviet explorers, engineers and scientists to explore oil in the sands of Sindh- Balochistan. Viewing this diplomatic success in the backdrop of the U2 incident that very year, which provoked Nikita Khrushchev on 10<sup>th</sup> May to hurl an open threat to wipe out Peshawar and dismantle the Badaber surveillance base provided to the USA, the skill of the master negotiator Bhutto stands head and shoulder above his counterpoises in the international relations. The Soviet Premier was quoted in the press as saying that "Peshawar had not been marked on a map and ring made round it by Soviet defence forces."<sup>162</sup>

Zulfikar Ali Bhutto a member of the Martial Law cabinet (October 7, 1958 - March 1, 1962), knew that dictatorship and politics were two different wheels and democracy was entirely a different pillar-post; yet it was politics through which Zulfikar Ali Bhutto wanted his country to achieve democracy. In 1961, when Sheikh Mujibur Rahman was just out of jail, Bhutto Sahib met him during a trip to Dacca. The year 1961 engaged Zulfikar Ali Bhutto at home in connection with constitution making. The report of the Constitution Commission was presented on May 6, 1961, but was not released to the press. However, Mr. Altaf Gohar, the close associate of Ayub regime and the brunt bearer information secretary, has quoted the Field Marshal's comments on the report from his personal papers, "My comments are in the nature of basic differences in some places, the need for recheck of certain recommendations, and removal of doubts in others."<sup>63</sup> He rejected the commission's suggestion to set up a franchise commission. "About direct adult franchise, of course, I need not say much. It will be the undoing of every good that has been done and perhaps laying the foundation of disintegration of the country."<sup>64</sup> He had come to the conclusion that "politically, our people are immature, they are in the process of emerging from the tribal and feudal state. By and large, their horizon and thinking is still individualistic, tribal and parochial. We shall have to be continually on our guard, and may even have to do things to save people against themselves."<sup>65</sup>

Ultimately, a cabinet subcommittee was appointed to examine the Constitution commission's report under Manzoor Qadir, the Foreign Minister and constitutional expert. Messrs Zulfikar Ali Bhutto, M. Shoaib, A.K. Khan and Muhammad Ibrahim, Sir Muhammad Zafarullah Khan the former foreign minister (1947-54) and all the cabinet ministers and the two governors of East and West Pakistan were nominated on the cabinet Sub Committee. They were given a copy of the commission's report bearing the observations recorded on it by Field Marshal Ayub Khan. Mr. Altaf Gohar writes that: "Zafarullah was in complete accord with Ayub's electoral arrangement which provided both a system of training

and safeguard against the dangers of which we already have had experience."<sup>66</sup> Messrs Manzoor Qadir and Zulfikar Ali Bhutto also towed the Field Marshal's line. But the cabinet subcommittee, on the whole, was deeply divided: "The Bangali ministers... and their West Pakistani colleagues insisted on maintaining a powerful central government under the presidential system, Bhutto continued to advocate the unitary form of government..."<sup>67</sup>

Outlines of the ominous six points of Sheikh Mujibur Rahman's Awami League were emerging on the political horizon of Pakistan in bold relief: Mr. Muhammad Ibrahim, the Bengali Minister of law, suggested that "the central government should have only Defence, Foreign affairs, Inter-wing communications and currency; all the remaining subjects should be the concern and responsibility of the provinces."<sup>68</sup> He went a step forward to propose two constitutions one for the centre and another for the provinces; "As regards the provincial subjects the provincial constitutions may be made by the President in consultation with representatives of the respective provinces."<sup>69</sup> He further demanded that "There must be some law or convention that posts of President and Vice-President shall rotate between the two Wings alternatively."<sup>70</sup> Equal representation for the two provinces in the central cabinet, and the permanent seat of the central legislature to be located in Dacca, were the other devastating suggestions made to the President contained in the Law Ministers letter dated May 6, 1961. He had also suggested elections of provincial governors in case the Presidential form of government was adopted. Another Bengali Minister for industries, A.K. Khan had informed Ayub Khan in his letter from Chittagong dated July 15, 1960 that during his meetings with the Bengali leaders Nurul Amin and Maulvi Tamizuddin Khan in Dacca, both of them had expressed themselves in favor of the federal and parliamentary system of government, the unitary form of government could only work in a country composed of contiguous regions. Maulvi Tamizuddin Khan, the deposed President of the Constituent Assembly, had also suggested a safeguard against floor crossing to the effect that "the Constitution

should require an elected member to resign his seat before changing his party affiliation."<sup>71</sup> A few days later Ayub Khan met Tamizuddin Khan in Dacca and "there was a furious exchange... the latter maintained... that parliamentary system was the only form of government suitable for Pakistan. Ayub gave up in frustration."<sup>72</sup>

The third Bengali Minister, Mr. Hafizur Rahman, who had replaced Zulfikar Ali Bhutto as the commerce Minister, would afterwards, say that the whole constitutional exercise was aimed at establishing a highly centralized system of government which he feared would prove "disastrous for East-West Pakistan relations."<sup>73</sup>

Those were indeed the days of political brainstorming in Pakistan marked by a wide difference in quality and character between suggestions made by the East Pakistani leaders and those from the West Pakistan. "The main concern of the West-Pakistanis," writes Altaf Gohar, "particularly the Punjabi's and the Mohajirs (the Muslim refugees who migrated from India after 1947 and were mostly settled in Karachi and other towns of Sindh) was to save Ayub Khan from the machinations of politicians and to establish an all powerful and dominant central government. For them the question of regional autonomy was irrelevant. Finally after official confidence, Field Marshal Ayub Khan promulgated a Presidential Constitution on March 1, 1962, which according to him was a "blending of democracy with discipline."<sup>74</sup> However the people of Pakistan heaved a sigh of relief that with the promulgation of the Constitution, the three and a half year long martial law was lifted, though the Constitution itself was by and large an attempt at perpetuation of one-man-rule in Pakistan.

In West Pakistan, Zulfikar Ali Bhutto and Foreign Minister Manzoor Qadir were the two chief political advisors of Ayub Khan. Bhutto held it always that, Democracy is essential but is not an end in itself. In the struggle to establish "democracy, we must never lose sight of the economic objectives, which remain paramount. Without economic progress a nation cannot find satisfaction in democracy alone."<sup>75</sup> However his experience of working under Ayub's Presidential Constitution of 1962 sharpened his insight into

the one-man system and the regime's authoritarian character; and when he parted, he lamented the outcome of the very Constitution to which he was once a party: He said "What seems to be happening now is a grouping of personal interests near the seat of power. Such elements are individual persons. Few, if any, of them have support among any section of people. They have therefore also to seek support from vested interests and at the same time to ally themselves with other power groups, such as of the Services. Some of the very powerful capitalists will pursue their own policy and their alliances will depend on circumstances.... "Money is power" This is true in Pakistan to some extent but the weight in the primitive structure... is in the question "Power is money", which means that in order to become rich one must enjoy authority or be favored by persons wielding authority."<sup>76</sup> However it was a postmortem of the Constitution, which was destined to be abrogated by the very authority that had promulgated it.

Initially Minister Bhutto was interested in reintroduction of a civilian rule. He advised President Ayub to revive political parties, who agreed finally. On July 10, 1962, Minister Bhutto thus spoke in the restored Assembly. "The role of political parties is essential to every state. If democracy is to flourish, you must have respect for the other man's point of view."<sup>77</sup> Nonetheless he warned against the "democracy of dictators". He said, "Sir, we suffered and continue to suffer from the... feudal rivalry in our province (Sindh). I too, am a part of that society, perhaps one reason why I am here today as a minister is because I belong to the privileged class.... But now.... democracy is our creed, without democracy Pakistan cannot progress."<sup>78</sup> On June 8, 1962, martial law came to an end.

President Ayub Khan agreed to his dear minister's proposal to revive political parties system and he collaborated with him in having a political party of his own, the Convention Muslim League, of which he became the General Secretary.

The year 1962 was important both at home and abroad. Restoration of civil rule had restored freedom of the press and revival of political parties had formed a combined opposition

Parties front. Field Marshal Ayub's young Barrister Minister Bhutto was helpful at all fronts. In the second half of 1962 the international situation took a sharp turn: Border conflict between China and India along the Mac Mahon Line led to a war in October 1962, which "demolished the Indian forces' morale in less than two weeks."<sup>79</sup> USA sided with India and Pakistan with China, concomitantly heating up the Kashmir problem. Pakistan at that hour needed an accomplished diplomat and politician, which Zulfikar Ali Bhutto had already proved to be. In late 1962 he was again in New York at the head of the Pakistan UN. Delegation, where Pandit Jawahar Lal Nehru was also present to participate in the UN session.

The reader may recall how Zulfikar Ali Bhutto, a student leader then, had managed to meet Pandit Jawahar Lal Nehru at his sister's home in Bombay. Now it was Pandit Nehru himself who invited the Pakistani Minister Bhutto, who headed his country's delegation to the UN, to his suite at the Hotel Carlyle in New York for tea. Previously, the Indian Prime Minister used to say, "I don't know whom I should talk to in Pakistan!"<sup>80</sup> Though Zulfikar Ali Bhutto admired Pandit Nehru as a leader and his policy of neutrality, Kashmir was not for compromise. The aging Indian leader tried to bring home to him the horrors of war through an indirect reference: "Look how small we are", he said as he pointed to the people and traffic below the top floor, "this world had to be saved from destruction, from atomic weapons."<sup>81</sup> Bhutto nodded at the political gesture of Panditji and, on his return from the UN session, he was engaged in a series of talks on Kashmir with Sardar Swaran Singh who had led the Indian delegation to the UN. The talks lasted almost six months but to no avail. Bhutto Sahib was in New Delhi for the second round of talks (16-19, 1963) in which "the Indians ruled out the idea of plebiscite," Instead they "gave the outlines of a proposal for a political settlement that included the partition of Kashmir, military disengagement, adoption on no-war declaration and demarcation of the international boundary in a way that took account of geographic and administrative

consideration and "the need to ensure the minimum disturbance to the life and welfare of the people of Jammu and Kashmir."<sup>82</sup>

The leader of the Pakistani delegation, Mr. Z.A. Bhutto, posed a counter proposal to consider "the composition of the population, defence requirements, control of rivers,"<sup>83</sup> while determining the boundary line; so that any agreement between India and Pakistan could be really acceptable and sustainable. Mr. John Kenneth Galbraith, the US Ambassador in Delhi, who was known for his pro-India stance, met the Pakistani leader of delegation Mr. Zulfikar Ali Bhutto to impress upon him the importance of keeping the talks going: Writing in "Ambassador's Journal" he recalls meeting Mr. Bhutto on the morning of January 16, 1963 in these words, "He is an intelligent man of conciliatory mood, I think. I braced him on the importance of keeping the talks with India going, not walking out in frustration."<sup>84</sup> The second round of talks ended on the January 19, 1963 and the negotiators on both sides announced that they would meet again early next month in Karachi. Bhutto Sahib mentioned it separately that "in Pakistan's view mediation by a third party would help towards a settlement and that it would be possible to find mutually acceptable candidates."<sup>85</sup> Mr. J. K. Galbraith remarked in his notes: "Although the department won't like it, perhaps we could come up with some proposal and perhaps also somebody who could act as mediator. Deep in my heart I know nothing will come of the effort, although new pressure from the Chinese might have some effect."<sup>86</sup>

Zulfikar Ali Bhutto became the Foreign Minister of Pakistan before the third round of talks between India and Pakistan was held to solve the Kashmir Problem. On January 24, 1963, Mr. Muhammad Ali Bogra, the then Foreign Minister, breathed his last and Bhutto got his long cherished portfolio for which he was the fittest person in President Ayub Khan's cabinet. Before the third round of talks with India was held in Karachi (8-10, February 1963), the US President John F. Kennedy wrote a long letter to the President of Pakistan in which he stressed that "...there would never be a better opportunity to resolve the (Kashmir) issue. Whether or

not the current Chinese communist attack on India was over... it had compelled the Indian government to realize the importance of reconciliation with Pakistan..."<sup>87</sup> However giving his assessment of the situation, he said that India "would be unwilling to part with the whole of Kashmir valley under any circumstances, and no amount of pressure from any quarter would change the Indian attitude...Further recourse to the UN would certainly accomplish little..."<sup>88</sup> President Kennedy expressed the hope that "during the next round of talks in Karachi both parties would consider the possibility of an international boundary running through Kashmir."<sup>89</sup> Thus he made it clear that the US government would not help in any way, and that Pakistan should "forget about the valley and accept the existing cease-fire line as an international boundary subject to minor adjustments."<sup>90</sup> While delivering the letter, the U.S. Ambassador emphasized that active defence of Ladakh was a necessity, whoever held Ladakh had to reckon with the general military build up in Tibet, especially in the South West."<sup>91</sup>

The third round of talks virtually broke down on February 10, 1963 but after a private meeting between leaders of the two delegations it was announced that the discussion would be resumed in New Delhi for the fourth round of talks (suggested by President Kennedy in his letter cited above). In their joint press conference the two leaders of their respective delegations expressed sharp differences but agreed that "The boundary for the rest of the state (apart from the line of control) should be agreed as a first step. Bhutto Sahib said that the Kashmir valley was the heart of the problem and that India should declare that it had an "open mind" on the future of the valley and recognize that Pakistan had an "interest and an involvement" in it. Sardar Swaran Singh, leader of Indian delegation, said that there were "quite considerable differences" on the "concrete terms." He disclosed that "maps were referred to by both parties in the course of discussion."<sup>92</sup> Bhutto Sahib said that the position of the two sides was almost "irreconcilable." When the fourth round of talks virtually came

around (15-16, May 1963) "the two sides reverted to square one. They had already swung back: On May 7, 1963, the Indian Prime Minister Pandit Jawahar Lal Nehru had described partition of Kashmir valley as an "extremely harmful idea" which would not be acceptable to India."<sup>93</sup> Pakistan had rejected any such idea way back in 1948; during a press-conference in Dacca, Pakistan's first Prime Minister Nawabzada Liaquat Ali Khan had uttered an emphatic "No" to the question: whether the Government of Pakistan will agree to any division of Kashmir as reported on a suggestion of India. And on May 9, 1963, the Foreign Minister of Pakistan Mr. Zulfikar Ali Bhutto reiterated categorically and without equivocation that Pakistan was "firmly opposed to any idea of converting the cease-fire line into international boundary."<sup>94</sup> He struck to the plebiscite proposal with some modifications: "The wishes of the people of the Kashmir valley should be ascertained after all the Indian troops had been pulled out of the area and replaced by forces of other countries after a period of six months. During the interim, period, the valley should be placed under international administration."<sup>95</sup> As against it, the Indian delegation offered a "no-war pact", binding the two countries not to resort to force to alter the status quo in Kashmir. President Ayub's proposal for Eugene Black as a mediator was rejected by the Indian Prime Minister, Pandit Jawahar Lal Nehru, and a summit meeting between the two was ruled out saying that "the differences were very wide, there was no point in a summit meeting."<sup>96</sup>

It was on the August 29, 1963, eight months after Zulfikar Ali Bhutto took over as foreign Minister of Pakistan and three months after the collapse of Indo-Pakistan talks on Kashmir, that an Air-agreement was signed in Karachi between Pakistan and the Peoples Republic of China, which envisaged operation of the two countries' airlines over each other's territory including providing all facilities required to ensure smooth flow of traffic at all specified points situated in their respective territories. It amounted, in fact, to opening "a window on the world" for the air locked Chinese.<sup>97</sup>

Foreign Minister Bhutto had already achieved his first full

success by concluding a Sino- Pakistan boundary agreement on March 2, 1963, in the wake of the Sino-Indian war. By this boundary agreement, Pakistan had ceded the Aksai chin region to the People's Republic of China, although it did not lie under its control. India had immediately charged Pakistan with having "unlawfully ceded" more than 2000sq. miles of Indian territory to China and complained to the UN Security Council that Government of Pakistan had violated UN resolutions of January 17, 1949 and August 13, 1949. Foreign Minister Bhutto rebutted the Indian charge on March 25, 1963 declaring that Pakistan had actually gained 750sq miles of Kashmir territory, which was under the Chinese control, and Pakistan had "not ceded even one square inch of territory to China."<sup>98</sup> He had skillfully acted to establish, as he said, that the state of Jammu and Kashmir was not a part, "integral or otherwise" of India and it did not have an overall control of it. Foreign Minister Bhutto argued that by agreeing to "delimit and demarcate" its territory with China, Pakistan had helped to improve the region's peace prospects. As regards the violation of UN resolutions, Bhutto Sahib listed eleven violations of these resolutions "committed by India in Kashmir and offered to conclude a truce agreement with India there and then so that the forces of the two countries could be withdrawn in a synchronized manner, leading to a plebiscite under UN auspices. Foreign Minister Bhutto carried his campaign for establishing Pakistan's indispensable interest in Kashmir throughout the summer of 1963. "Kashmir is to Pakistan what Berlin is to the West."<sup>99</sup> He would indirectly hint at US President Kennedy's outcry at the Berlin Wall. "...the continued conflict in Kashmir threatens the peace and security of the world. It is hanging heavily on the conscience of mankind."<sup>100</sup> The people of Pakistan will not consider the crusade for Pakistan complete without a fair and proper settlement of the Kashmir issue... Pakistan would not "forsake a righteous cause merely because more bayonets and bullets may be supplied to India from any source to consolidate her usurpation of Kashmir."<sup>101</sup> He would thus refer to US military assistance to India vis-à-vis Sino-

Indian border conflict in NEFA, which was working to the disadvantage of Pakistan more than the giant China. The August 1963 Air agreement with China caused rather a US backlash to Pakistan as in Washington it was seen as "an unfortunate breach of free-world solidarity;"<sup>102</sup> consequently a US loan agreement of \$43 Lac for Dacca Air port improvements was held back. India was encouraged to refuse permission to fly over Indian Territory to East Pakistan in retaliation of the Sino-Pakistan Air Agreement, 1963.

For the first time, the foreign policy of Pakistan took a turn from its close association with the U.S global interests to formulation of Pakistan's regional strategy. Hemmed in by two antagonistic neighbors on the east and west borders, India and Afghanistan, both supported by the USSR, Pakistan realized the importance of its northern neighbor and grasped Chinese's hand of friendship, more so when "Pakistan's Western allies" were "redefining the purpose of their regional pacts and the limits of their assistance."

The Foreign Minister Bhuttos health was falling since July 1963. Malaria compounded with, flu inflicted him since childhood. Now it was an emergency gall bladder operation in a Karachi hospital which rendered him so weak that he asked for permission of the chair to address the National Assembly's concluding debate on foreign policy while sitting. Yet he defended the foreign policy initiatives of the Ayub Government quite candidly: "The Truth is" he said, "that previous governments were responsible for mishandling the Kashmir problem. If we are responsible for anything it is for having restored internal stability and resuscitated the Kashmir question."<sup>103</sup> Mr. Krishna Menon, speaking in the Security Council on January 23, 1957, had declared accession of Kashmir to India; "now" she said, "we regard the accession of the State of Jammu and Kashmir to the Union of India as full, complete and final, irrevocable, and what is more, perpetual."<sup>104</sup> (May 4, 1962)". It was on the basis of that position that India refused to reopen discussions on the Kashmir problem. India sought and received the support of the Soviet Union when Khrushchev visited India in 1955. But when negotiations were now

re-opened, it meant that India admitted the existence of the Kashmir dispute, for India came to the negotiating table to settle "the Kashmir dispute on an equitable and honorable basis" (Joint communiqué of November 29, 1962.)

The foreign Minister Bhutto further exposed the actual connotation of the No-War-Pact offered by India. He said, "We do not see the hand of friendship in this offer... If we accept it, we shall in effect accept the cease-fire line as the final boundary between India and Pakistan in Kashmir... We shall be agreeing to the settlement of Kashmir question through partition on the basis of the 'Status quo', without reference to its people, to which Pakistan will never agree to day, tomorrow, or a hundred years hence."<sup>105</sup>

Mr. Zulfikar Ali Bhutto, the then Foreign Minister of Pakistan, also elucidated the concept and purpose of 'Foreign- aid.' "I admit that one should be ashamed to beg", he said, "However, if the interests of the country demand that we should beg, then I suggest that begging becomes an act of patriotism... Actually the question of begging does not arise. The fact is that the geopolitical position of Pakistan is important to the world and to the global strategy of the Great Powers... West Pakistan adjoins the Middle East. The other [part] holds the sensitive areas of South East Asia... it is in the interest of certain Powers to give aid to Pakistan, Pakistan having committed itself to defence alliances with those Powers... There is mutuality of interests.... we are told that India is being armed menacingly by the same Powers that it is in global interest of Western Powers to give military assistance to India (to confront the Communist China)... Really and fundamentally, it is not because of the global interest.... they are giving it in order to make another Chungking out of New Delhi... We know the fate of the assistance which was given to Chiang Kai-Shek."<sup>106</sup>

Then Foreign Minister Bhutto dwelt upon relations with neighboring countries. "Iran-Pakistan boundary agreement was concluded as far back as February 6, 1958. What took place on July 15, 1963 was purely the ceremonial act. The ceremony which took

place in Quetta, finally sealed the friendship which had so long existed between Iran and Pakistan.<sup>107</sup> He enlightened the members of the National Assembly about the actual transfer of territory and the act of friendship. He said, "While the Government of Pakistan will transfer some 310, and not 3000, square miles of territory to Iran, territory which had been in 'defacto' occupation of the British Government of India, the Government of Iran has ceded 95 square miles of territory, hitherto under its occupation, to the Government of Pakistan..."<sup>108</sup> He summed it up thus: "With the advent of Pakistan, and in view of its friendly and fraternal relations with Iran, a solution of this problem which had been left over by history, became possible."<sup>109</sup> The reciprocal act on the part of the Shah of Iran's government was its firm support to the right of self-determination of the people of Kashmir in accordance with the resolutions of the United Nations.

Besides the Kashmir issue, forced on Pakistan by India, the western neighbor Kingdom of Afghanistan had raised the Pakhtoonistan and the Torkham border or the Durand Line boundary issue, which resulted in severing of diplomatic relations between Pakistan and Afghanistan. Referring to it, the Foreign Minister Zulfikar Ali Bhutto said, "We have the greatest respect for the people of Afghanistan... We should all like to see the beginning of a new chapter of understanding between the peoples of Pakistan and Afghanistan."<sup>110</sup> He informed the National Assembly that diplomatic relations had been restored with Afghanistan... "We have settled our differences with other countries through the process of negotiation... Unfortunately, India is the spoilt child of the world..."<sup>111</sup>

This address of Shaheed Bhutto is referred at length for its factual statement of the status of foreign policy imperatives for Pakistan then and his own insight... One last point may also be referred which concerns relations with the Western Powers: He said, "We have been associates of the West in defence alliances... comrades all these years... through series of crises made sacrifices for the West. When the U-2 plane was shot down over Russia, Mr.

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Khrushchev did not say that India would be annihilated. He said that Pakistan would be annihilated. We have staked our whole future in the alliances with the West. We have staked involvement in a nuclear war in the event of a clash between the two blocs. And yet what is happening today? The point of nemesis has been reached... All that we are doing is to ask the West to appreciate the fact that India's increased military strength can only be directed against Pakistan. India has repeatedly said that Pakistan is India's Enemy Number One... India committed aggression in Kashmir, in Junagadh and in Hyderabad (Deccan). It has also committed aggression against Goa and in the boundary conflict with China. Having ourselves experienced Indian aggression, it is but natural that we should expect the West to help maintain the present precarious balance of power in the sub-continent... We, on our part, shall maintain our traditional friendship with the Western Powers... We should like to have that opportunity of peace and security for our people in order to provide them with better life, to give them more and better homes, schools and hospitals... We must meet the challenge of poverty and break through the barrier of want. When I speak to day, I do not speak only for myself. Likewise when President Ayub speaks, he does not do so as an individual. Whenever any spokesman of the Government of Pakistan seeks to voice our deep concern over the threat to our security, he speaks for the hundred million people of this country."<sup>2</sup>

Two months later, in October 1963, Pakistan's Foreign Minister, Mr. Z.A. Bhutto, was face to face with the U.S President John. F. Kennedy. They discussed the Sino-Indian conflict, the U.S decision to give military assistance to India and its consequences upon her neighbors, and the future prospects of U.S-China relations. Bhutto urged Kennedy to recognize the People's Republic of China; and Kennedy retorted; "if the American people will endure me for a second term."<sup>3</sup> which he was not destined to, as he was assassinated a month later. Bhutto resembled Kennedy:... "... both had a comfortable, happy, privileged childhood, both began their rise to power very early; and both grew up in the kind of wealth for

which nothing is impossible, not even the conquest of political power."<sup>14</sup> Later Shaheed Bhutto recalled their parting dialogue; Kennedy said, "If you were an American you would be in my cabinet." Bhutto returned the compliment sharply: "Be careful, Mr. President, if I were American, I would be in your place;" and "both laughed heartily."<sup>15</sup>

Till Late November 1963 Foreign Minister Bhutto was in the States, attending the UN General Assembly session and meeting friends and foreign diplomats, including the first lady president of the UN General Assembly Ms. Rita Dar, daughter of Madame Vijaya Lakshmi Pandit. During that session of the UN. General Assembly, Foreign Minister Bhutto spoke thrice, on September 30, 1963 and on October 11, in both the morning and the afternoon sessions: the middle one was presided by the Indian representative Ms. Rita Dar. He did not address her as the president but continued to refer to her as the representative of India and mostly spoke on the Kashmir issue: "The representative of India also said...that she would like to deny categorically my assertion that the central issue in Kashmir is that of a self-determination. Let me remind her of the statement of the Prime Minister of India made on November 25, 1947... "The issue in Kashmir is whether violence and naked force shall decide the future or the will of the people," Now the representative of India maintains that India's sovereignty over Kashmir is complete and total and cannot be questioned. Not so long ago, we used to hear in these very halls similar reiterations of the un-questionable sovereignty of France over Algeria, and we continue to hear them from Portugal. These un-questionable claims have not only been questioned but settled by the irrepressible force of the principle of self-determination."<sup>16</sup>

While Foreign Minister Bhutto was engaged in a war of words over the Kashmir issue, the Indian Government was taking practical steps to annex Kashmir once for all. On October 3, 1963, the then Prime Minister of the Indian-occupied State of Jammu and Kashmir, Bakhshi Ghulam Muhammad, announced in the State legislature that amendments would be made in the

Constitution in February 1964 to make accession to the Indian Union final and irrevocable, representatives of the State would be directly elected to the Indian Parliament and the head of the State would be designated as Chief Minister, as in the rest of the Indian Provinces/States. In line with this agenda, the Indian Prime Minister Pandit Jawahar Lal Nehru told the Lok Sabha on 27, November 1963 that Article 370 of the Indian Constitution would be rescinded through the initiative of the State Government and the people of Jammu and Kashmir. The Pakistan Foreign office reacted immediately calling the Indian move clearly illegal and in flagrant violation of Indian commitment not to alter the special status of the State. Conditions were fast deteriorating in the held area; and on December 26, 1963 there occurred a serious incident which provoked religious sensibilities of Kashmiri Muslims. At a mosque at Hazratbal near Srinagar the holy relic believed to be a hair of the holy prophet (P.B.U.H) kept in a small glass tube in a wooden box, was misplaced. On 1st January 1964, Foreign Minister Bhutto claimed that the theft of the relic had been "permitted by the Indian occupation authorities and their agents as a part of India's plan..."<sup>17</sup> The sensitive incident had already triggered riots that swept across the Kashmir valley, which gave an excuse to the Government of India to fly in fresh troops and tighten its grip over Kashmir. The special status given to the State under Article 370 of the Indian constitution had been eroded by making Articles 356 and 357 applicable to Kashmir in October 1963. Wanton arrests and a reign of terror ensued. Public opinion in Pakistan expressed itself in mass demonstrations in cities, towns, and villages and the people were being prompted for Jihad (a holy war). Soon the stolen relic was found restored, but the Kashmir action committee declared that the recovered relic would not be accepted as genuine until it had been examined by a committee of experts. The unrest in Kashmir did not subside.

Foreign Minister Bhutto could clearly see through the situation and the Indian plan. On January 16, 1964, he requested an urgent meeting of the Security Council to consider the grave situation in

Kashmir. In his letter to the President of the Security Council, he attributed the gravity of the situation to India's "unlawful steps" taken in "arrogant disregard of the resolution of the Security Council." He viewed it as a "sinister design to obliterate the special status of the Jammu and Kashmir."<sup>118</sup> The Indian Government, on the other hand, blamed Pakistani agents provocateurs for every new outburst of violence in the troubled valley. President "Ayub was impressed by what the Kashmiris had managed to achieve, but he did not share the wild-eyed enthusiasm of his Foreign Minister. He was not prepared to risk Pakistan for the sake of Kashmir,"<sup>119</sup> while "many senior army officers felt that the time had come to liberate Kashmir..."<sup>120</sup> The urgent meeting of the Security Council requested by the Government of Pakistan was called on February 3, 1964; and the Foreign Minister Bhutto flew to New York to address it. Enroute, he stopped in London to muster support for his Security Council appeal. He met the British Foreign Secretary Alec Douglas and the Home and the Commonwealth Secretary of State Duncan Sandys. In his interview with the BBC on 30<sup>th</sup> January he was asked whether in the light of 109 sessions of the Security Council having been held in the past 15 years, his 110 presentation would be "Likely to bring the problem any nearer to solution?" Bhutto said, "We are prepared to discuss it for a thousand times to see that the problem of Kashmir is settled in an irrevocable manner; plebiscite is the solution... The basic factor involved is the right of self-determination for the people of Kashmir."<sup>121</sup>

In his 34-page long speech before the Security Council on February 23, 1964, Foreign Minister Bhutto brought out factual genesis of the situation and the problem of Kashmir. He said, "The situation in Kashmir is exemplified by the imprisonment of Sheikh Abdullah since August 1953.... who has since then, with one brief interval of three months, remained incarcerated... the traumatic experience of the people of Jammu and Kashmir under Indian rule moved Sheikh Abdullah to write recently to the President of India from goal: May I be permitted to quote from this letter: "Of late, Kashmir has been going through a process of dehumanization,

...flagrant disregard of moral values was publicly demonstrated with the sanction and backing of the rulers of Kashmir... My voice may be stifled behind the prison walls but it will continue to echo and ring for all times to come... it is the voice of human conscience..."<sup>122</sup>

The quotes and arguments put forward by eloquent Bhutto concluded on his note: "Freedom can be delayed by oppression but it cannot ultimately be denied. The course of history is relentlessly so set. And so I say that the people of Kashmir will one day be free. Whether their freedom will come through peaceful means and civilized conduct depends largely on the decisions this body makes and the respect we show for its decisions."<sup>123</sup>

The Govt. of India had matched Bhutto with her Education Minister to defend its position on February 5, 1963, and foreign Minister Bhutto exercised Pakistan's right of reply on 7<sup>th</sup>. During his yet another address, 48 pages, he dislodged almost all Indian arguments, and sidetracking of the central issue; and concluded that: "We have drawn the Council's attention to the present situation... In doing so, we believe we have done the duty... upon the assistance that the Council, in its wisdom and in its sense of the collective responsibility of mankind, will render us, rest the hopes for a peace in our region. We pray that these hopes may not receive a setback."<sup>124</sup> Sensing that a favorable Resolution would still not be passed by the Security Council, Foreign Minister Bhutto "requested postponement of a few days in the Council proceedings" which resumed and Bhutto spoke a third time on March 17, 1964. Now it was India's intransigence over Kashmir that he was facing. He said, "At the Council's meetings in February, it was one of the stark statements of the Indian representative that the UNCIP resolutions are obsolete. I would like to raise two questions: the first is general. If these resolutions are obsolete does that mean that the people of Jammu and Kashmir are also obsolete and that their right of self-determination is also obsolete? The second... if we accept the position of the Government of India that it regards these resolutions obsolete, then does it not follow that the cease-fire in Kashmir is also obsolete, because there is no other sanction behind

the cease-fire than the validity of these resolutions..."<sup>125</sup> Despite Foreign Minister Bhutto's rhetoric and force of argument, the members of the UN Security Council, conscious of Russian veto in case of a resolution unacceptable to India, decided to go soft on it. Concluding his address, he said,... "While we appreciate the spirit of the agreed opinion of the members of the Security Council and endorse its contents, this opinion needs to be clothed in such form and conveyed in such terms as will tangibly help to move the problem towards a just, a peaceful, and an honorable settlement of the dispute of Jammu and Kashmir."<sup>126</sup>

Foreign Minister Bhutto had made it a hot issue, while the Mujahideen, or the freedom fighters, inside the occupied State of Jammu and Kashmir had made a hell of the law and order. The situation forced India to change her policy of demolishing popular Kashmiri leadership of Sheikh Muhammad Abdullah (1904-1989). The most popular and forceful leader was acquitted from the trumped-up charges of conspiring with Pakistan to bring about "the secession of the state of Jammu and Kashmir from India." Before it, he was behind the bars for five years (April 1953-May 1958) without trial. His total eleven years long incarceration had awakened him and the Kashmiri people to the grave reality of the un-remitting yoke. Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru was now pleased to receive his old friend Sheikh Abdullah in New Delhi on 29<sup>th</sup> April 1964 to hold a private meeting with him. Two days afterwards the Foreign Minister of Pakistan extended a formal invitation to him to visit Pakistan. Before the "Lion of Kashmir" could accept the invitation and arrive in Pakistan (May 24, 1964), Pandit Nehru's wise politician daughter Mrs. Indira Gandhi flew to New York, where she said, "There can be no major change in India's policy on Kashmir, the whole stability of India depends on it."<sup>127</sup> Foreign Minister Bhutto was there. He addressed the 1112<sup>th</sup> meeting of the Security Council and reiterated appeal to world attention to three "striking facts." "First the movement of protest in the State of Jammu and Kashmir has continued. Secondly, India has shown no signs of relenting in its policy of oppression against the people of

the State. Thirdly the Government of India has shown itself to be bent on adopting those very measures, towards the integration of the State...<sup>126</sup> He delivered a 27-page address on 5<sup>th</sup> May and six days later he addressed again the 1114<sup>th</sup> meeting of the Security Council on 11<sup>th</sup> and the 1117<sup>th</sup> meeting on 18<sup>th</sup> May 1964. The second address comprised 32 pages of a written text while the third one was a short thanks- giving, saying "As we go back we can confidently state that since the situation in Jammu and Kashmir has now entered a phase in which it cannot be left to take care of itself, we take leave of the Council for the time being,"<sup>129</sup> he rejected summation by the President as neither a consensus nor a statement of agreed conclusions having any binding force.

He was trying to persuade the UN Secretary General to intervene... Bhutto wanted Sheikh Abdullah to be invited to the UN as an observer to explain the developments but the Indian representative objected to it saying that "I am here to speak for India, Mr. Bhutto for Pakistan and there is no need for others..."<sup>130</sup> India did not like to allow a third party to emerge in the Kashmir dispute and Pakistan's representative Mr. Z.A. Bhutto was alluding to a new phase.

Sheikh Abdullah was given a rousing reception in Lahore on May 24, 1964. According to the then Information Secretary Mr. Altaf Gahor, "There was little they could do to stem the popular tide which swept the whole of the Punjab."<sup>131</sup> To the people of Pakistan Sheikh Abdullah was known as one of the opponents of Pakistan's two-nation theory. During his premiership of Kashmir, on July 7, 1948, he had declared that... "Kashmir cannot be separated from India, nor can India be separated from Kashmir"<sup>132</sup> but after his experience with the Indian yoke, he dissociated himself from his previous stand on irrevocability of Kashmir's accession to India, and denounced the three elections held till then in the State as rigged. However he did not endorse the demand, vocal in public rallies in the valley, that Kashmir must join Pakistan. Sheikh Abdullah was not known personally either to President Ayub or to Foreign Minister Bhutto or anyone else in the

Government of Pakistan, but he was to be wooed as the Indian leadership was wont to do in the new situation, or in the new phase of struggle for solution of the Kashmir problem as Bhutto saw it. While some Indian Ministers were taking a tough line posing as hawks, the doves among them were throwing a feeler to him that "with his impeccable credentials as a secularist he had an excellent chance of succeeding Nehru as the Prime Minister of the Indian Union, if only he agreed to Kashmir becoming "an integral part of India."''' President Ayub received Sheikh Abdullah in Rawalpindi for their first meeting on May 25, 1964. The talks with Sheikh Abdullah proved promising and hopeful, in which the proposal of an independent status of Kashmir or a confederal government of India Pakistan and Kashmir was ruled out, and summit meeting between Pandit Nehru and President Ayub was contemplated; but all of a sudden every thing went astray by the sudden death of Pandit Nehru. Sheikh Abdullah hurried back and Foreign Minister Bhutto flew to Delhi to attend the funeral of Pandit Nehru, where he assured the Indian leaders that Pakistan would observe a moratorium on Kashmir. In a broadcast after Nehru's death and Sheikh Abdullah's cut short visit, President Ayub said, "I was deeply impressed by Sheikh Abdullah's sincerity and determination to see the Kashmir dispute resolved and bring about happier relations between India and Pakistan."''' Pandit Nehru's successor Lal Bahadur Shastri praised President Ayub for his wisdom and understanding but made no mention of Kashmir.

#### **POLITICS AT HOME:**

During the presidential election campaign (18<sup>th</sup> Sept to 31 Oct 1964) Miss. Fatima Jinnah "singled out for personal condemnation" Foreign Minister Bhutto calling him "inebriate and a philanderer" in her speech in Hyderabad. President Ayub Khan retaliated with a personal attack on the Madar-i-Millat. The election of basic democrats ended on November 19, 1964. The first term of President Ayub was expiring on March 25, 1965. The Presidential election was held on January 2, 1965. Out of the basic democrats

electoral college of 80,000 Field Marshal Ayub Khan bagged 49,951 votes and the Madar-i-Millat Miss Fatima Jinnah got only 38,621. In West Pakistan he won in all divisions and districts except Karachi but in East Pakistan he could win only in two divisions, Rajshahi and Khulna. The refugees vote went in favour of Miss Jinnah both in West and East Pakistan. In East Pakistan Miss Jinnah got 18,434 votes against Ayub's 21,012.

Elections for the National Assembly were held on March 21, 1965. Among 700 candidates for 150 seats, Ayub Khan's Convention Muslim League won 118 seats and the combined Opposition Parties (COP) headed by Miss. Jinnah mustered only one seat.<sup>135</sup> FM Ayub Khan was sworn in on March 23, 1965 for a term of 5 years. He shuffled his cabinet but retained Z.A. Bhutto as the foreign minister, despite opposition by Nawab Amir Ahmed of Kalabagh.

Accompanied by Foreign Minister Bhutto, President Ayub visited USSR for a week (3-10 April 1965). It was the first ever visit of a Pakistani head of state, or government, to USSR. Prime Minister, Kosygin received President Ayub and his delegation at the Moscow airport on the "bitterly cold morning of April 3, 1965 and took them to the Kremlin. After lunch on April 4, 1969 parleys began with Kosygin and his Foreign Minister, Andre Gromyko. At the end of the meeting President Ayub extended invitation to the two strongmen of USSR, Kosygin and Gromyko, to visit Pakistan. During informal talk, Pakistan's foreign minister Bhutto said that Mr. Gromyko had been to the East and the West but never to Pakistan. Gromyko replied wittingly, "I always keep ahead of U-2."<sup>136</sup>

A trade agreement and a credit agreement on oil prospecting were made in less than 24 hours. President Brezhnev said... "Because we are working without protocol, though not ignoring our Foreign Ministers." Prime Minister Kosygin said, "In one day we have achieved more than what others take years and sometimes, fail to achieve."<sup>137</sup> The next day April 6, 1965, Foreign Minister Bhutto and President Ayub Khan conferred with him. He said that his first contact with Pakistan's was when Bhutto came to see him. He

congratulated Ayub on selecting such a capable and vigorous person as his Foreign Minister." He said, "He (Mr. Bhutto) is a very able man, very insistent on upholding his country's point of view."<sup>138</sup>

The Pakistan delegation returned home via Tashkent, where the Chairman of the Uzbekistan republic, Madam Nasirednov and her Prime Minister Mr. Kurbanov met and briefed them about their republic. While seeing them off, Madam Nasirednov told Ayub Khan, "We look forward to your return to Tashkent..."<sup>139</sup> The words of formal courtesy proved prophetic. It was to happen: The Indian forces had already trespassed into the disputed territory of the Rann of Cutch. Back to the capital President Ayub went straight to the GHQ Rawalpindi and received briefing on the Rann of Cutch situation by senior military officers. The Indians had abandoned their positions and retreated in total disarray. It was the time to pursue the enemy deep into his territory and it was what the GHQ and the "hawkish foreign office" wanted. President Ayub wanted to act with discretion and took personal control of the operations. The last engagement occurred on April 26, 1965 in which the Indian forces retreated further.

The Indian Prime Minister, Lal Bahadur Shastri, had reacted by saying in the Lok Sabha that appropriate action will be taken against Pakistan, "when the time and circumstances are right."<sup>140</sup> The Pakistani foreign Minister, Zulfikar Ali Bhutto, rejoined by issuing a statement on April 15, 1965 in which he said, "The Rann of Cutch situation is the latest example of Indian chauvinism,"<sup>141</sup> and warned that if it persisted in the use of force, it alone would be responsible for the consequences which must follow.

A defacto cease-fire was established on June 6, 1965 through third party, the British Government. Sir Morrice James the British High Commissioner in Pakistan persuaded "Ayub and Bhutto to agree to a cease-fire because he could see that the Indians were deeply upset over the reverses they had received in the Rann and there was a very real risk that they would decide to retaliate elsewhere. He told President Ayub on May 1, 1965 that "a solution

could be reached without a war."<sup>42</sup> On the initiative of India the dispute over the Rann of Cutch was referred to the international tribunal. The tribunal gave its award in favour of Pakistan. It raised the hope that the Kashmir issue could also be resolved likewise.

## FALL OUT WITH THE FIELD MARSHAL, AND FOUNDING OF THE PAKISTAN PEOPLE'S PARTY

Following the death of the Indian Prime Minister Pandit Jawahar Lal Nehru (May 27, 1964), the Foreign Minister of Pakistan, Mr. Z.A Bhutto felt that the pulse of the time was opportune to act for the settlement of the Kashmir issue with India. His perception was supported by the Inter Services Intelligence agency (ISI). Its chief, Brigadier Riaz Hussain was convinced that "The moment for decisive intervention had arrived."<sup>1</sup> The Foreign Secretary Mr. Aziz Ahmed also shared his minister Bhutto's viewpoint. Mr. Altaf Gohar, the Field Marshal's then Information Secretary writes, "The view was gaining ground that if Pakistan were to make a decisive move in Kashmir, India would not be able to resist it."<sup>2</sup> But the President of Pakistan, Field Marshal Ayub Khan was reluctant to make a move. He remained unmoved. On the contrary, he issued instructions to cut down inflammatory propaganda on Azad Kashmir Radio. He was not quite sure of the U.S support under President Kennedy. The title of his book "Friends not Masters" was coined from his utterance with an American journalist whom he told that the Americans had no scruples, "They do not want allies, they want lackeys."<sup>3</sup> It was an assertion of his foreign minister's policy of distancing from the U.S global policy lines and making friends with the neighboring super powers, China and USSR. However President Ayub Khan did not appreciate his foreign minister's hawkish suggestion to take on India to liberate Kashmir, though aware of the concern in the army

General Head quarters (GHQ) about the Indian army stationed along Pakistan's borders. Mr. Altaf Gohar writes, "To pacify the hawks around him Ayub would say, "Let us continue to learn India... But the Indians must know that if they were to try (referring to the Muslim minority in India, instead of Muslim majority in Kashmir) and drive them out, "we will shut our eyes and go to war."<sup>4</sup> The hawks, more so the foreign minister Bhutto, were least satisfied and not pacified at all.

The worst difference between the Field Marshal and his foreign minister Bhutto arose out of the latter's suggestion to review Pakistan's membership of the South East Asia Treaty Organization (SEATO) which was irritating Sino-Pakistan relationship. His suggestion was thrown over board. "Ayub was agonizing over every step that was taking him away from the Americans,"<sup>5</sup> so writes his Information Secretary Mr. Altaf Gohar.

Differences culminated to a break away point when the Field Marshal signed the Tashkent Declaration on January 10, 1966. The war about to win at the battlefield was lost at the negotiation table. Shaheed Zulfikar Ali Bhutto was the last man to compromise on principles. President Ayub Khan did his best to calm him down and even went in person to Al-Murtaza House at Larkana, but Bhutto was not complacent with a seat in the government. Finally, in mid June 1966, he was asked to proceed on sick leave abroad with the condition that he would make no political speeches during his long leave.<sup>6</sup> Two cabinet colleagues, Roedad Khan and Ghulam Ishaque Khan, (who later became the President of Pakistan), called on him at his Rawalpindi residence. He told them, "The way Ayub Khan treated me today you will not treat your orderly!" Both replied: "Better days will come."<sup>7</sup> Next day: Roedad Khan bade him farewell at the cantonment station in the dead of night. He left for Lahore. It was June 20, 1966. When the train pulled into the Lahore central station, "There was not an inch of empty space on its platform."<sup>8</sup> People cried "Bhutto Zindabad" and called for his speech. Bhutto said later the whole of Lahore would have been set on fire but I refused to utter a single word."<sup>9</sup> He was weeping when people lifted

him on their hands and shoulders. His handkerchief, that he used to wipe his tears was taken by the people and one of them purchased it for Rs.10,000. He kept his word with President Ayub not to make a political speech, passed a month in Sindh and left abroad as promised. He sailed for Cairo, then to Lebanon, enroute to Europe. He was warmly applauded when he spoke in London on Afro-Asian solidarity. He was criticized as well: Lord Bertrand Russel the philosopher of the 20th Century, wrote a letter to the Economist of 3rd September 1966 under the caption "Ayub's rival" apropos of the Journal's attack on Bhutto. He wrote, "... The fate of national leaders, who respond to the needs of their people, is increasingly clear unless they find the means to resist the pressures applied to them, in which case journals such as the Economist attached unpleasant labels to them. Mr. Bhutto is a national leader of his country in the tradition of Jinnah, and the storm of prolonged applause which he receives is not restricted to London. There are many who wish him well and who admire his role in working for an independent policy for his country consonant with the social aspirations of the peoples of Africa, Asia and Latin America" ..... "Your attack on Mr. Bhutto (August 20, 1966) should be placed in the context of Bhutto's sin in Western eyes is that he was an important figure in conceiving an independent policy for Pakistan, placing it in the context of Afro-Asia and outside the rank of countries which are dominated by the United States."

While in Beirut, he wrote a letter to a veteran Sindhi politician, Kazi Fazlullah, suggesting "[we] can start fresh, on a new slate..."<sup>10</sup> trying to mend ways with one who had retired from politics when he parted ways with him in 1962.

The present biographer's consin, Qazi Abdul Qayoom Siddiqui, who was near to Khan Bahadur Muhammad Ayub Khuhro, related the background episode as under: "Bhutto Sahib filed his nomination paper from Larkana constituency for a seat in the National Assembly during the elections of 1962. His father Sir Shah Nawaz Bhutto had lost from the same constituency in the Sindh legislative Assembly election 1937. Khuhros had opposed

him then and voted for Shaikh Abdul Majid Sindhi who did not even hail from the constituency. So, Bhutto Sahib was apprehensive of strong opposition by K. B. Muhammad Ayub Khuhro who was then the most powerful politician of Larkana and had nominated his own candidate for the seat. In his speech at his first public gathering in Jinnah Bagh Larkana he said, "If you people and young students support me a small wadero of Aqil (the native village of KB Muhammad Ayub Khuhro) cannot do me anything." The other popular leader of Larkana was Kazi Fazlullah, he went to Kazi Sahib and wooed his favour. Through Kazi Fazlullah, he approached K.B. Khuhro. Both went to him in person for his support. He was reluctant; but Kazi Sahib was so deadly supportive that he said, "Khuhro Sahib if you do not withdraw your nominee, Mr. Abdul Fatah Memon, we (he and Bhutto) will contest election against him." K. B. Khuhro was a sagacious politician. He thought for a moment, and then agreed to support Zulfikar Ali Bhutto in the election. So, he won the seat due to full support of Kazi Fazulullah. But instead of reciprocating him, he rewarded Mr. Abdul Fatah Memon for his withdrawal of nomination paper and made him Pakistan's Ambassador to Saudi Arabia, as soon as he became the Foreign Minister. K. B. Khuhro and Kazi Fazulullah were disqualified to contest elections under the EBDO [Elective Bodies (Disqualification) Ordinance] 1959, Bhutto Sahib did nothing to help them politically. Still Khuhro Sahib was often heard passing good remark about Bhutto Sahib: "He is an intellectual, a giant worker, a genius whom no body can compete..."

While in Paris, he met a memorable man, Mr. J. A. Rahim, who goaded him to form a political party of his own. He was a Bangali socialist. He drafted the manifesto for Bhutto's "Pakistan Peoples Party" (PPP) comprising 16 doctrines. Bhutto was back in Pakistan without enjoying the forced long sick leave allowed to him on state expenses.

On October 2, 1966, at 70-Clifton Karachi, he received a call from Miss. Fatima Jinnah and he went over to her Mohata Palace residence. She wanted him to join the combined opposition, led by

her; but he declined and decided to return to his constituency.

His welcome home procession through the streets of Larkana drew a huge, enthusiastic crowd, who sang and chanted "Jeay Bhutto" and "Khati Aiyo Khair san Ho Jamalo", a Sindhi folk song of victory. Bhutto would bring his fists together in simulation of hand-cuffed hands of a prisoner and then take them away to symbolize the breaking of the chains. The dramatic effect of this act sent the sea of humanity into uncontrolled frenzy. Students spearheaded demonstrations, rallies and marches which were becoming, for the first time, a part of Pakistan's political culture.

November 13, 1968, the Ex-Foreign Minister of Pakistan, Mr. Zulfikar Ali Bhutto, was arrested in early morning at the residence of Dr. Mubashir Hasan in Lahore along with him and Mr. Mumtaz Ali Bhutto under Rule 32 of the Defence of Pakistan Rules charged with creating dissatisfaction... hatred and contempt [against] the Government of Field Marshal Ayub Khan. The next day, statement of Gen. M. Musa Governor of West Pakistan appeared in the newspapers which said, "This morning some ring-leaders of this movement of lawlessness have been arrested. No further disorder would be allowed; there is a limit to everything." As the news spread, through Lahore, students and workers boycotted and rioted through the streets of old Lahore. At Multan railway platform and out side on trucks a huge crowd gathered to welcome their leader as he was due to pass through Multan on the day he was arrested at Lahore. When they heard that their leader had been arrested, they could not control their frenzy and went amok stoning the passing trains, vehicles and public property. Petition was lodged in the Lahore High Court against the arrest of Zulfikar Ali Bhutto.

In his affidavit filed in the Lahore High Court on February 5, 1969 Shaheed Bhutto stated:

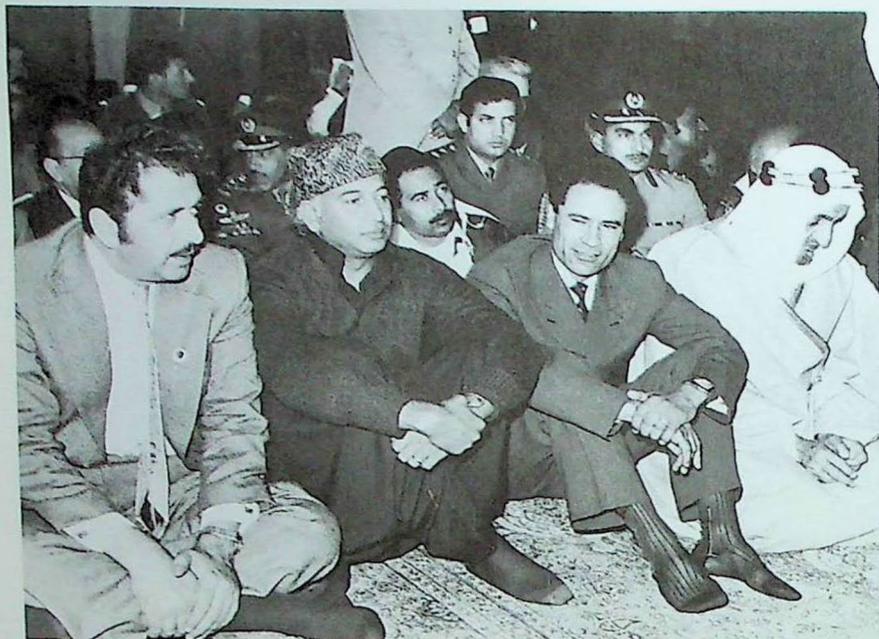
"...I was confined in an old cell full of rats and mosquitoes. The charpoy [cot] was tied to a chain. There was an adjoining little room meant for toilet purposes. But it was so dirty that it was repulsive to enter it. The food consisted of two chappaties [breads] made of red wheat, with dal [pulse] which had stones in it or two tiny pieces of



With Sudanese President



With American President



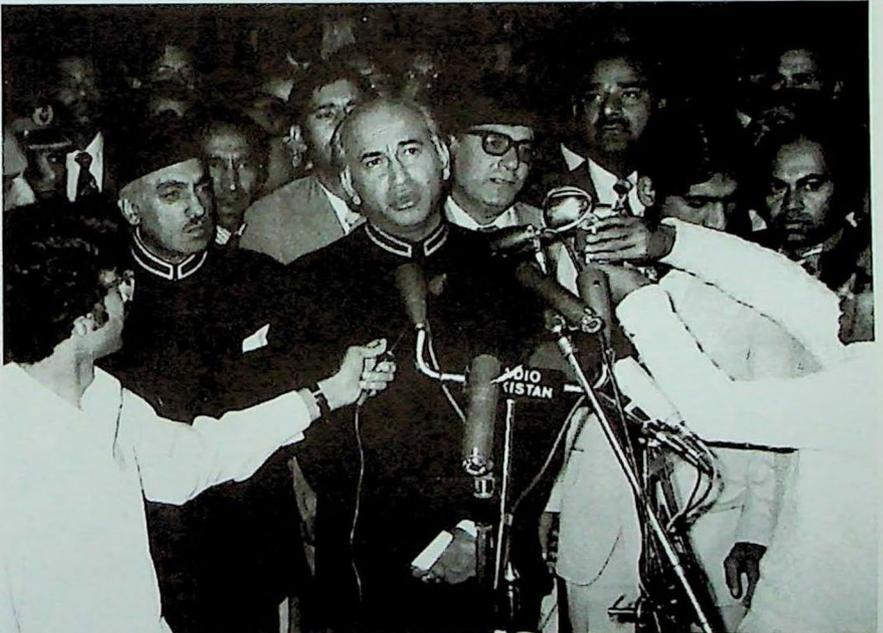
Offering Prayers with Leaders of Islamic World



With HE Hail Salassy



Chairing Cabinet Meeting



Addressing Press Conference



Inauguration of Hospital with HE Sheikh Zaid at Larkana



Attending official ceremony with President Fazal Illahi.

meat. A strong light shone for 24 hours, throughout my stay there, making sleep at night extremely difficult. I was kept in solitary confinement... Despite my repeated request, writing paper was not given to me... on the evening of 18th November, I was taken to Sahiwal..... where I continued to be kept in solitary confinement. Here instead of the rats, the room was full of bats and, to avoid them, I had to sleep with a towel on my face. The mosquitoes and flies were in legion. The bathroom was separate from the cell and was shared with others..... In the judgment of the regime, my place is in the cell of a prison which..... [is] reserved for notorious and habitual criminals."<sup>11</sup> Again on February 7, 1969, Shaheed Bhutto filed a statement in Lahore High Court, in which, inter alia, he said, "...Whatever the consequences, the right of the people must prevail, their struggle must culminate in a genuine victory. I am prepared to lay down my life for the sake of this ideal, to join the ranks of those who have given their blood for the cause of the people..."<sup>12</sup> He was released from jail in the second week of February 1969 but placed under house-arrest inside Al Murtaza House, Larkana.

While under House-arrest in Al Murtaza, Chairman Bhutto demanded lifting of the state of emergency and release of all political workers, who had been arrested during protest rallies. To press his demand, he sat on hunger strike at the porch of Al Murtaza House, in full view of the slogan chanting crowd gathered outside. During these days, Air Marshal Asghar Khan also met him along with his nephew Tariq Islam. "Tariq writes, A beaming Mr. Bhutto, .....Dressed ..... greeted us....It was obvious that jail had not dampened the Shaheed's spirit.... only made him more defiant and confident of success."<sup>13</sup> After his release from house arrest in Al Murtaza, and the historic victory march of PPP jiyalas (activists) through the streets of Larkana, he returned to Karachi by train. The Bolan Mail was stopped at every small, wayside station, and at every stop the scene was much the same... "people turned out in their multitudes to greet their leader. The Shaheed would emerge from the compartment to mesmerize them with his theatrical

oratory.....and they would go into wild, unrestrained rapture. It was a spectacle of messianic incantation that Lenin could not match during his own historic journey back home following the Russian Revolution."<sup>4</sup> At the Karachi Cantonment railway station old men, women and children had gathered in their thousands to catch a glimpse of their leader. He led a massive procession through the streets of Karachi. Things began to move fast and finally Ayub Khan succumbed to relentless street pressure and handed over power (to next in military command) to General Yahya Khan.

The fall of Ayub government was brought about by Zulfikar Ali Bhutto's charismatic public leadership. The present author can vividly recall the chanting of "Jeay Bhutto" by road sides, canal paths and on streets being chanted by young children and grown up boys. One who was nearer to him, his nephew, Mr. Tariq Islam writes, ".....His charisma worked with children... I too, from a very young age was obsessed with the desire and passion to know this great man as a leader, more than take him as simply an uncle. I was awed by him. He fired my imagination, ...During his time as a minister in Ayub Khan's cabinet, the Shaheed was a frequent visitor to our house in Hyderabad.... My parents had thrown a huge party in his honour.... I rushed towards him to offer my congratulation. I could see that he was touched, broke into a broad grin and holding my hand he asked me to accompany him... So many names, so many faces. He knew them all by name and had a different greeting for each. The discussion ranged from a crop failed in Tando Jam to the machinations of super powers. The Shaheed's rise in the Ayub government was meteoric, reaching a climax... where his real passion lay. He became Pakistan's Foreign Minister...A youthful and vibrant foreign minister was captivating the hearts of the young at home and winning admiration abroad. He identified with the downtrodden and the dispossessed. He became the champion and spokesman for the under dog and a third world bulwark against the ravages of imperialism and neo-colonialism. His close liaison and friendship with the symbols of revolution and resistance of the 1960's - Soekarano [Sukarno], Nasser, Ben Bella

and Chou En Lai, were reflective of the fires burning in his own heart and the destiny he had chosen for himself and his country. For the youth of Pakistan he became the Pied piper... Here at last was a man to fill their hearts with pride and bring them out into the streets in spontaneous joy. The Shaheed's historic speeches at the U.N., where he tore the Indian constitution into shreds, [actually he tore his notes of speech on December 15, 1971 after dislodging the Indian delegation's defence arguments] and subsequently his heroic resistances to the Tashkent Declaration made him the fantasy of every young dream... School friends would gather in groups to talk about him. I was no longer the nephew of Mr. Bhutto the ex-foreign Minister. I was the nephew of a folk hero."<sup>15</sup>

PPP was founded on November 30, 1967 at the residence of Dr. Mubashir Hasan in Lahore. Shortly before that, Bhutto Sahib had addressed a public rally in Hyderabad which drew a magnificent public response, while the vested interests refused even to book a room for him in their hotel, Mir Rasool Bakhsh Talpur ventured to play his hoast in Hyderabad. In his address to the marathon public rally, he launched frontal attack on Ayub Khan and his government. The present author still remembers his satirical utterance: "Idher say lao, udher say lao, aaur Khud Kha jao" i.e. bring it from hither and thither and devour it all yourself. Uncle Imdad Hussain, who had listened to his long speech attentively and witnessed the public response, confided it to the present author that "He (Bhutto Sahib) is tuning public psyche to a trend which no government in this country will ever be able to contain."

The next day papers published the statement of Governor West Pakistan, General Musa Khan, in which he said, "Only the rickshaw-wallas, tonga-wallas and laborers were there [in the Hyderabad rally] to hear him." Back in Lahore, Bhutto Sahib replied him saying. "I am indeed proud to represent the shirtless masses."<sup>16</sup> He was arrested on November 13, 1968 on the charge of creating disaffection against the Government. Protest rallies followed throughout Pakistan, which were teargassed and baton

charged, scores were arrested along with Bhutto Sahib.

From Sahiwal jail, Bhutto Saheb wrote in reply to his nephew's letter: "Things are moving fast. Pakistan is entering a new phase. We must understand the future and be prepared for it. I am glad you are taking an active interest in what is happening. This is a very good sign. The younger generation has a great deal to do with shaping the future of this country. I am attached to the youth of Pakistan. I understand its feelings; that is why the young have been so kind to me. I have tremendous faith in the capacity of the new generation. I know it will effectively meet the challenge of the future.... Now that the people have made sacrifices, I am confident that a more equitable society will emerge.... life in jail is not very pleasant but it is most elating to know that the people remember me. There is nothing better to hope than to be in the hearts of the people."<sup>7</sup>

Shaheed Bhutto's debut before the people was initially a result of the political status of the family and the family terms which exposed the young intelligent and brilliant Zulfikar first to the choice of Iskandar Mirza, whose wife Begum Naheed Mirza was a relative of Zulfikar's second Iranian wife Begum Nusrat Bhutto, and then General Ayub Khan's choice who clamped Martial Law but continued him in his government on account of his brilliant speeches at the UNO and his charismatic personality. He described him as the "rose of Sindh desert" and called him "Zulfi, my son" Bhutto complemented him as the Ata Turk and Salahuddin of Pakistan.

Zulfikar Ali Bhutto got into the Ayub Government as a minister of commerce etc, then information ministry was entrusted to him, then made the minister for natural resources etc; and finally he got the ministry of his choice becoming the Foreign Minister of Pakistan in January 1963, when he was only 35 years of age, the youngest cabinet minister.

What was wrong with the youngest foreign minister was not his age and inexperience but the old head worn on his young shoulders. His political acumen, revolutionary nature, flamboyant

style and risky suggestions were not appreciated. After his political revolt after the Tashkent Declaration, he became the worst challenger, and a formidable foe of Ayub Government. From Karachi to Khyber, he toured hamlets, towns and cities and created a political fervor rather a revolution frenzy among the people of Pakistan. Ayub Khan was compelled to abdicate and impose another martial law making General Yahya Khan the Chief Martial Law Administrator (CMLA). He had already suffered two heart-attacks. Political analysts were agreed that "Zulfikar Ali Bhutto and his Pakistan Peoples Party (PPP) brought about the fall of Ayub Government - the people's party had rendered government impossible."<sup>18</sup>

Altaf Gauhar writes that Shaheed Bhutto was "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's alter ego and gave a dynamic dimension to Ayub Khans foreign policy. He disowned Ayub after the 1965 war and led the popular agitation against him which resulted in his abdication."

## CHAPTER 8

# THE STATE DISMEMBERED: WHO IS TO BLAME?

General Yahya Khan is credited for dismantling the One Unit set up in West Pakistan and holding general elections for the first time in the history of Pakistan, under his Legal Framework Order. The Pakistan Peoples Party won majority in West Pakistan, and the Awami League swept the polls in East Pakistan. The two parties were poles apart in their political ideology. The PPP was pro-federation, while the Six-points of the Awami League sounded a death knell to the federation. Under the Legal Framework Order, the parliament had to pass a constitution of Pakistan within 120 days of its first session, failing which the process would recoil to martial law and annulment of the election results. The Awami League was ready with a draft constitution which would assign defence to the federal list but not finance to meet the federal government's essential need. Foreign affairs left to the federal government but trade and foreign aid would be the provincial governments' subjects. The draft constitution of the majority Awami League Party was based on its Six-points, which were as under:-

### THE SIX POINTS:

1. Federation of Pakistan shall be based on Lahore Resolution i.e. creation of sovereign Muslim states, rather than a single state; and parliamentary form of government while representation in the federal legislature shall be on the basis of population.
2. Federal Government shall deal with only two subjects, Viz.

defence and foreign affairs (currency included by amendment subject to the fulfillment of the third point).

3. Two separate, but freely convertible currencies may be introduced, or one currency with constitutional guarantees against flight of capital from East to West Pakistan. (subsequently, this point was amended to provide for a single currency under a regional reserve bonds system to prevent the transfer of resources and flight of capital from one region to another.

4. Taxation and revenues shall vest in the federating units. The "federation will have a share in the state taxes" (later on it was amended to read: Fiscal policy shall be the responsibility of the government of the federating units).

5. Two separate accounts of foreign exchange (for each province and the center). Each provincial government will provide the federal government with its foreign exchange requirements either equally or in a fixed ratio. Indigenous products shall be traded free of duty between the two wings. And the constitution shall empower the unit (provincial) governments to establish trade and commercial relations with foreign countries. (An amendment was subsequently brought in to add "negotiating aid within the frame work of the foreign policy.")

6. Setting up a militia, or a para-military force, for East Pakistan (later on elaborated to read: in order to contribute effectively toward national unity.)<sup>1</sup>

Radio Kabul (Afghanistan), later on aired a commentary on August 25, 1975 at 1900 PST saying: "If the six-point plan had been approved, not only Bengal would have attained autonomy but such "colonies" as Pakhtunistan and Balochistan would also have been lost."<sup>2</sup> During the East Pakistan turmoil, the Kingdom of Muhammad Zahir Shah (1933-1973) was at loggerheads with the Government of Pakistan over the Durand Line and the issue of independent Pakhtunistan; and encouraged secessionists throughout Pakistan.

Sheikh Mujib-ur-Rahman (d. Aug. 15, 1975) the chief of Awami League, was a secessionist by his own declaration at the Awami

League Council's biennial session in Dhaka. The Bangladesh Observer in January 1974, quoted him saying: "The struggle for independence (from Pakistan) began in 1948, through movements in 1952, 1954, 1962, 1969 and 1970, .... The final issue had come before the party (Awami League) in 1966, when the party declared its Six Points Programme: A clear path was charted out before the people; it was a path of different kind, where Bangalis had to break the bondage of Pakistan."<sup>3</sup>

Maulana Bhashani, on April 22, 1971, had already disclosed that: "The struggle for making East Bengal a sovereign independent state has been going on since the creation of Pakistan..... Since the inception of Pakistan, I have been harping on the same theme: ushering in of an independent Bangladesh."<sup>4</sup> During the RCD meeting held in Dacca (Dhaka) soon after the General elections, 1970, the foreign ministers of Iran and Turkey paid a courtesy call to Sheikh Mujib, taking him to be the future prime minister of Pakistan. To these foreign dignitaries he confided his intention that he "would rather be the founding-father of Bangladesh....."<sup>5</sup>

#### **THE AGARTALA CONSPIRACY CASE:**

The six-points plan was a veiled scheme for secession. It was prepared in Agartala, the capital of Tripura State of the Indian Union about 200 km east of Dhaka. In the wake of widespread public disapproval of the Tashkent Declaration and the West Pakistan popular leader Zulfikar Ali Bhutto's political revolt, Sheikh Mujib sought the opportunity to get the plan approved by the Awami League in 1966. By the end of May 1968, the Agartala conspiracy case was challaned by the Ayub Government against 35 alleged conspirators. It was alleged that Mr. P. N. Ojha, an Indian Deputy High Commissioner in Dhaka, had been taking some senior civil officers and a naval commander to Agartala regularly to discuss secession measures with two Indian army officers, Lt. Col. Misra and Major Menon. Mr. Altaf Gauhar names the Pakistani civil and military officers involved in the discussions as Messrs Ruhul Quddus, Fazl-ur-Rahman, Shamsur Rahman and

Commander Muazzim Hussain. Sheikh Mujib-ur-Rahman was cited as the main culprit; but his name was dropped the same year as he was under custody during the alleged period of conspiracy. The remaining 34 defendants were also let off in February 1969. It is said that Governor Monem Khan, who had replaced Gen. Musa as the Governor of East Pakistan, handled the case badly to backfire secessionist movement. President Ayub was weary of the East Pakistan situation and Bangali insurgency. On January 26, 1968, he told his Information Secretary, Mr. Altaf Gauhar: "Listen my dear fellow, I gave them the second capital [Dhaka] because they are going to need it one day. They are not going to remain with us."<sup>6</sup> General Yaha Khan inherited the East Pakistan imbroglio from General Ayub Khan, but did not keep in mind his observation that "...they [the East Pakistan Bangalis] are not going to remain with us." Or else, he deliberately expedited their secession as alternatively suggested by circumstantial evidence:

On November 21, 1971, twelve divisions of Indian army invaded East Pakistan from five fronts. The Pakistan Government did not lodge a complaint with the UN Security Council. It was November 24, 1971, when a foreign correspondent reported on the impending Indo-Pakistan war, depicting three possible scenarios, one being that "Pakistan might go for a mock war and quick surrender...." It is argued that the non-feudal East-Pakistan Bengalis were different from the feudal West-Pakistanis in all respects except religion. Some analysts venture to suggest that the secession of East Pakistan was a deliberate move to get rid of public loathing, repugnance and aversion to the federal government growing in the East wing. Maj. Gen. Fazul Muqem, in his book: *Pakistan's Crisis of Leadership*, decries army-feudal axis in West Pakistan. He writes. "This axis had always inwardly felt threatened by East Pakistan.....because the non-feudal Bengali was more vocal and politically conscious than the docile and traditionally oppressed West Pakistani in a feudal setting..... Many straws in the wind were clearly indicating...that this axis would rather get rid of East Pakistan than allow its domination to be diluted."<sup>7</sup> Maj. Gen. Hakeem Arshad Qureshi, a

veteran of the 1971 war, in his book: "The 1971 Indo-Pak War: A Soldier's Narrative", writes:.... "It was not a Niazi, or a Yahya, even a Mujib or a Bhutto, or their key assistants, who alone were the cause of our breakup, but a corrupted system and a flawed social order that our own apathy had allowed to remain in place for years. At the most critical moment in our history, we failed to check the limitless ambitions of individuals with dubious antecedents and to thwart their selfish and irresponsible behaviour. It was our 'collective conduct' that had provided the enemy an opportunity to dismember us."<sup>8</sup>

After March 2, 1971, the events confirmed that the Six Points were "only a camouflage for complete secession.... for which preparations (including the procuring of arms and armaments) had been set afoot over a longish period."<sup>9</sup>

Justice (R) M. Munir writing in "Jinnah to Zia" says, "It is alleged that Mr. Bhutto was primarily responsible for the cessation of East Pakistan." The bases of this allegation are:

1. He prevented members of the National Assembly from West Pakistan to attend the session at Dacca "by threatening them that he would break the legs of those who went to Dacca."
2. "He also tore to pieces the Polish Resolution in the U.N.O which had proposed that the two belligerent states should revert to their original positions before the war had begin."
3. "You on that side and I on this side",<sup>10</sup> was yet another expression which Bhutto is alleged to have addressed to Mujib.

#### **THE GREAT TRAGEDY:**

In the "Myth of Independence", Shaheed Bhutto had not let the cat out of the bag on the Tashkent Declaration and preceding 1965 Indo-Pakistan war. Again while writing "The Great Tragedy", nine months after it had befallen, he exercised restraint and reserved comments on certain matters. However he noted some post-tragedy developments: "On the 28<sup>th</sup> June (1971) President Yahya Khan, departing from his Legal Framework Order, announced a new plan and time-table for the restoration of democracy; Mr. Henry

Kissinger, President Nixon's assistant for National Security affairs, paid a secret visit from Pakistan to Peking in July (1971) opening many vistas for a new world equilibrium, the USSR India Pact signed on the 9th August 1971 indicated a profound change in the sub-continent, with wider ramifications in Asia as the first step towards Secretary General Brezhnev's Asian Security Pact to isolate China; the Government of Pakistan published in August 1971 its White Paper on the recent events in East Pakistan; and the Government announced that Sheikh Mujibur Rahman's trial in camera "for waging war against Pakistan" would commence on the 11<sup>th</sup> of August. The critical economic situation in Pakistan had been further complicated by the Dollar Crisis in the international monetary system. "Most of these developments", writes Shaheed Bhutto, "call for some fundamental re-thinking and bold initiatives in our external and internal policies."<sup>11</sup>

According to Shaheed Bhutto, "The Pakistan Peoples Party wanted a grand coalition of the majority parties of the two Wings". Before the 1st of March, the PPP tried to meet the essential demands of the Awami League; after it, the People's Party took the stand that "any proposal for the resolution of the deadlock should finally be put to the decision of elected representatives in the National Assembly."<sup>12</sup>

Regarding the responsibility and the reasons for the secession of East Pakistan, Shaheed Bhutto wrote, "the people of Pakistan can judge how the great tragedy came about, for the moment the paramount consideration was the resolution of the crisis. We must dedicate our efforts to saving Pakistan,"<sup>13</sup> he wrote (Aug 20, 1971). He wanted transfer of power "without more delay and reminded, As I said in 1967, all ways but one lead to destruction."<sup>14</sup>

In the Great Tragedy, Shaheed Bhutto has given his personal impressions of the crisis and the role of PPP and said, "Pakistan will live purposefully for ever if we survive the turmoil to day; otherwise catastrophic conclusions will lead to total ruin. Much depends on what is done now."<sup>15</sup>

The demand for Pakistan was originally contained in the

Lahore/Pakistan resolution of the All India Muslim League dated March 23, 1940 sponsored by Maulana Fazlul Haque, popularly called Sher-e-Bengal. After the establishment of Pakistan, however there was afoot a growing polarization between its two wings, separated by over a thousand miles running through the inimical Indian territory. By the time Shaheed Bhutto formed his PPP, the East-West polarization had resulted in bitter reopening of debate on the Lahore Resolution. First Sheikh Mujib Rahman in 1966 and then Maulana Bhashani contended that the Lahore Resolution envisaged two separate Muslim States, one in the East Wing and the other in the West Wing. According to Shaheed Bhutto, "This is not an honest interpretation of the resolution. No such meaning was seriously given to the resolution from the time of Pakistan's foundation till 1966. The crux of the matter lies in the fact that the British, who were responsible for the transfer of power in the sub-continent, effected that transfer through the Indian Independence Act of 1947 which created not three but two sovereign states: India and Pakistan. Besides the Lahore Resolution sought to incorporate into Pakistan the whole of Punjab, the whole of Bengal and the Province of Assam; but the Punjab and the Bengal were divided and Assam denied to Pakistan; none the less the Quaid-i-Azam and the All-India Muslim League accepted such truncated Pakistan.<sup>16</sup> Thereafter, the common man was denied the right of vote for 23 years. When it became available in the General Elections 1970, the people of each Wing entertained their own perceptions and dreams of economic prosperity and political stability, and voted in the West Wing for the PPP and in the East Wing for the Awami League promising its Six Points. Passions ran high; polarization had become chronic and acute, while relations with India had been worsening exceedingly.

Shaheed Bhutto writes that refugees who trekked into the East and the West Wings carried "on their bodies the scars of Partition, and in their hearts the hatred of centuries exacerbated relations between India and Pakistan. The disputes over Hyderabad, Junagadh and Kashmir erupted almost simultaneously. In 1948,

India and Pakistan went to war over Kashmir."<sup>17</sup>

Shaheed Bhutto held that "It was a grave mistake to trust the United Nations on Kashmir and to agree to a cease-fire in January 1949."<sup>18</sup> On the domestic front the language controversy soon after independence sparked the first internecine fire: Bengalis resented Urdu to be the national language of Pakistan. In March 1948 while leaving East Pakistan after a nine day visit, the Quaid-i-Azam said, "I notice a regrettable tendency on the part of a certain section of the people to regard their newly won freedom, not as liberty with the great opportunities it opens up and the heavy responsibilities it imposes, but as license.... I am sure you must realize that in a newly formed State like Pakistan, consisting moreover as it does of two widely separated parts, cohesion and solidarity amongst all its citizens, from whatever part they may come, is essential for its progress, nay for its very survival."<sup>19</sup>

#### THE UNDERTONES OF SEPARATION:

The Lahore (Pakistan) Resolution was passed at the 27th session of the All India Muslim League held in Lahore on March 23, 1940. Maulvi AK. Fazul Haque, the premier (Chief Minister) of United Bengal proposed and Chaudhry Khaliq-uz-Zaman, the leader of the Muslim League Parliamentary Party in the United Province (Now Utter Pardesh UP) seconded it. The resolution, which had undergone some vital revision in the original draft, envisaged "geographically contiguous units demarcated into regions to constitute independent States in which the constituent units shall be autonomous and sovereign..." The resolution further authorized the working committee to frame a scheme of constitution, "... providing for the assumption finally by the respective regions of all powers such as defence, external affairs, communications, customs and such other matters as may be necessary."<sup>20</sup>

After six years hectic Movement (1940-1946) and public/political debate, the All-India Muslim League legislators convention held at Delhi on 9th April 1946 at the invitation of the Quaid-i-Azam, the word "States" was substituted by "State" to mean

a single sovereign State of Pakistan. The resolution moved by Mr. Hussain Shaheed Suhrawardy premier (Chief Minister) of Bengal mentioned that "the zones comprising Bengal and Assam, in the North East, and the Punjab, North West Frontier Province, Sindh and Balochistan in the North-West India, namely Pakistan zones, where Muslims are in a dominant majority, be constituted into a sovereign independent State, and that an unequivocal undertaking be given to implement the establishment of Pakistan without delay."<sup>21</sup> However the word "sovereign" was not touched, leaving the question of sovereignty of the constituting units, or the provinces, open to discussion.

Nawab Saleemullah Khan is still remembered and revered by the Bangladeshi people, not for hosting the formation of the All India Muslim League but as an important leader who made a valuable contribution to the struggle for retaining the Muslim Bengal a separate province after Bengal's partition in 1905. The young generation has not so much interest in the Nawab Bari, which has been preserved as a national heritage housing a museum. The Quid-i-Azam is seen there in the gallery in only one group photo of 1916 as "Mehmood Ali Jinnah, a Muslim League leader."<sup>22</sup> The famous centre of Bangladeshi students nationalistic politics now is the Maudood canteen of the Dhaka University. This is the same place where the historic quadrangular garden was once located, which is since converted in part, into a canteen named after its Hindu contractor, who harbored secessionist student activity during the 1971debacle. During the army operation, this canteen was also targeted." "So writes a recent researcher, "On March 21, 1971 army tanks rolled in the university and almost all the students in the canteen at that time were killed.... Maudood (The Hindu contractor) his son and his father, too were among them. After the Muslim Bengal (the East Pakistan) became Bangladesh, students raised a statue of Maudood outside the canteen's entrance. A ceremony was held on the occasion and Bangladesh's education minister unveiled Maudood's statue!"<sup>23</sup>

It is a cruel joke of history that at a place where the Muslim

League was founded which achieved Pakistan, a Hindu Bengali nationalist's statue is erected, though Bangladesh is a Muslim State; but that is how nationalism overtakes religious sentiment in such unraveling situations. The researcher, who visited the Maudood canteen and statue on March 20, 1978 reports, "I somehow felt that the students had lost the enthusiasm of early days. They are discontent for not having been able to translate their struggle into real freedom."<sup>24</sup>

Khawaja Nazimuddin, the former Governor General and former Prime Minister of Pakistan, in an interview given to Urdu Digest (November 1971) disclosed that he was approached by the then American Ambassador to Pakistan to lend support to the separation movement of the Bengalis. The Soviet Union and the USA both were unhappy over the Chinese preference of Pakistan. Booklets and pamphlets were printed and distributed among Bengali students which envisaged a separation plan for an independent Bengal, comprising east and west Bengal, Sikkim, Bhutan and Nagaland.

Victory of the Awami League in General Elections 1970 was not doubtful but the complete rout of the other parties in the East Wing came as a surprise. So was the case in the West Wing. Victory of the PPP was foreseen but the miserable defeat of the rightist and the traditional parties including the factions of the Muslim League, was not expected, while the success of Shaheed Bhutto's PPP exceeded his own expectations. It was a new factor in the political history of Pakistan. It might have been considered as the beginning of democracy.

Safeguards against disruption of the status quo like the parity formula etc. previously provided, were not taken back. When the Military regime allocated larger proportion of seats in the National Assembly to East Pakistan, according to the population ratio, it must have anticipated Bengalis majority. Despite suspicions aroused by the Agartala conspiracy case, there was no provision in the Legal Framework Order for a special majority viz 2/3rd or a consensus condition between the provinces. The Awami League by

itself could legally frame a constitution. The question of withholding of assent by the President CMLA in case it did not conform to the conditions laid down in the L.F.O, was a later question, and Sheikh Mujib had already demanded immediate transfer of authority from the CMLA to the National Assembly as a precondition for attending the rescheduled session of the Assembly. The prospect of a constitution based on the Six Points pointedly stared the regime and the West Wing politicians in the face. The Six Points, right from their fielding in 1966, had been widely viewed as a "Charter of Separation." It made the distinction between autonomy and secession evanescent.

Gen. Yahya Khan broke out, "It is being said that the country be divided into two parts. The centre should be rendered ineffective and a powerless institution. The Defence Services should be crippled and the political entity of West Pakistan (the One Unit) be done away with. It is impossible for one to preside over the destruction of our country."<sup>5</sup> Shaheed Bhutto's reaction to Sheikh Mujib's threat to push through his draft constitution, based on the Six Points, by force of his majority, was that he would not accept "the responsibility of the success" of such a constitution. He said, in the elections, Mujib had obtained a majority in East Pakistan and I had obtained one in West Pakistan. But now he was insisting on the Six Points and we had to come to an agreement. Yahya Khan was demanding that within four months we work out the Constitution, otherwise the Assembly would be dissolved and new elections called. To make Mujib... understand. I argued, I explained, and he kept repeating dully and monotonously, "The Six Points. Do you accept the Six Points?" Good Lord! on the first, on the second, on the third [point] I was even ready to negotiate. But the fourth anticipated that each province would make its own foreign trade and foreign aid arrangements any way it liked. What would happen to the sovereignty of the state, the unity of the country? Besides that, it was known that Mujib wanted to separate East Pakistan from West Pakistan and that he'd been keeping up connections with the Indians since 1966. So, in January, our talks

had been interrupted and we come to March.<sup>26</sup>

Shaheed Bhutto left for Dacca on March 19, when Gen. Yehya Khan sent him a telegram from Dacca informing that, Sheikh Mujib Rahman was ready to talk to him. On the 20th he met Yehya Khan and on the 21st he met Mujib together with Yahya Khan.

A surprise; Mujib was all sweetness and light with Yahya. [He said] "I've come to reach an agreement with you Mr. President, and I want nothing to do with Mr. Bhutto. I'll tell the press that I have met with the President and that Mr. Bhutto was there by chance" he said in a ceremonious tone. And Yahya, No, no, Mujib. You must speak for yourself." And Mujib: "So many people are dead in the hurricane, so many people are dead." ...a sentence that has nothing to do with what you're talking about and he goes on repeating it like an obsession. At a certain point I lost patience. How was I responsible for the hurricane?<sup>27</sup>

When Sheikh Mujib got up to leave, Shaheed Bhutto also got up "to escort him to the anteroom, where three people: Yahya's aide-de-camp, the military secretary, and his "political butcher", General Umar. Mujib began screaming, "Go away, every body go away! I have to talk to Mr. Bhutto!" The three of them went out. He sat down and then, he said "Brother, brother! We must come to an agreement, brother! For the love of God, I implore you!" Bhutto narrated the incidence thus: Astonished, I took him outside so [that] no one would hear him. "Outside, and in a particularly excited tone, he declared that I must take West Pakistan for myself, he East Pakistan, and that he had set up everything for a secret meeting. After dark he would send for me. I told him I didn't like this business. I hadn't come to Dacca to meet him like a thief under a banana tree and in the dark, I didn't intend to dismember Pakistan, and if he wanted secession he had only to propose it to the Assembly, counting on his absolute majority. But it was like talking to a wall. I had to accept the compromise of resuming talks through our spokesmen. Which is what happened - without leading to anything, of course... so we arrived at the twenty fifth. I felt a certain uneasiness, a strange sensation, which had come to a head.

Every evening I went to Yahya to report that Mujib and I weren't making any progress, and Yahya showed no interest... then [in] the morning of the 25th he said something that left me disconcerted; "There's no need to meet Mujib today. We'll see him tomorrow, you and I". Still I said. "All right" and at eight in the evening I reported everything to Mujib's envoy..... I telephoned the presidential residence and asked to speak with Yahya, they told me he couldn't be disturbed, he was at supper with General Tikka Khan. I telephoned Tikka Khan. They told me he couldn't be disturbed, he was at supper with Yahya Khan. Only then did I begin to worry, and suspecting a trick, I went to supper. Then to sleep. I was awakened by gunfire and by friends running in from other rooms. I ran to the window, and as God is my witness, I wept I wept and said, "My Country is finished." I didn't see any indiscriminate killing, but the soldiers were trying to demolish the offices of the "people" an opposition newspaper, that had its offices right in front of the Intercontinental. With their loudspeakers they were ordering people to leave. Those who came out were put to one side under the threat of machineguns. Other groups, on the side walk, were being kept at bay with machine guns and the hotel was surrounded by tanks. Any one who tried to take shelter in it fell into the hands of the soldiers. That's all. That Mujib had been arrested I found out at eight in the morning, when I left. How did I take it? I was glad he was alive and I thought they might have maltreated him a little. Then I thought that his arrest might help to reach a compromise, they wouldn't keep him in prison more than a month or two, and in the meantime we'd be able to bring back law and order."<sup>28</sup>

Shaheed Bhutto is accused, by his depreciators, of engineering the break away of East Pakistan in order to form his government in the remaining West Wing of Pakistan. Besides a will to lead his people, Bhutto had a political agenda, which envisaged federalism, and a strong centre, as the basis of the constitution to be framed by the elected members of the National Assembly. The legal framework order provided that the National Assembly should meet, frame a constitution, and submit it to the President (Gen.

Yahya Khan) for his assent within 120 days of the first meeting. It was a known fact that the Awami League was ready with a draft - based on its Six Points. The legal framework order stipulated only a simple majority to pass the constitution. The Six Points, at best, conformed to a confederal form of government. The Six Points had already been opposed by leaders of all the political parties of West Pakistan including Nawabzada Nasrullah Khan, the then President of the Awami League in West Pakistan, when they were put forward by Sheikh Mujib-ur-Rehman at Lahore in March 1966. The PPP, which emerged in 1967, had also opposed the Six Points.

Now was the time for Shaheed Bhutto to cross the rubicon. Either align with Sheikh Mujib to secure his Sindh-card for good and befriend the nationalist element in the remaining provinces, or to hold steadfast to the manifesto of his party and the legacy of the Quaid-i-Azam of a United Pakistan integrated into a single largest Muslim State of the world. He had electoral mandate in West Pakistan and could decide either way. He was a democratic politician. "By taking a stand on the Six Points, he posed as the greater nationalist (than Sheikh Mujib-ur-Rehman)" so writes the historian, "in much the same way as he had done with Ayub Khan."

The newly elected National Assembly of Pakistan was scheduled to meet, not in Islamabad, its original seat, but in Dacca on March 3, 1971. Shaheed Bhutto was leader of a political party, with a mandate in the West Pakistan. It was legitimate for him to demand time for negotiations. On February 28, 1971, Bhutto demanded postponement of the session in a public meeting addressed by him at Lahore. The next day, Gen. Yahya Khan announced a sine die postponement of the Assembly session. As a natural consequence, the postponement provoked the East Wing majority party, whose leader Sheikh Mujib-ur-Rahman was not even informed, much less taken into confidence. It was construed by the Awami League nationalist leadership that there was complicity between Bhutto and Yahya Khan to deprive the overall majority party of their legitimate right to frame the future constitution and rule the country.

On the other hand, Shaheed Bhutto and his party had apprehension of a Mujib Yahya compromise outside the Assembly, since soon after the elections Yahya Khan had called Mujib as the future Prime Minister of Pakistan. It was indeed only a matter of the National Assemblys induction in the first session at Dhaka on 3rd March 1971. The success of the Awami League with its agenda of the Six Points had definitely alarmed the military leadership and the establishment based in West- Pakistan. Shaheed Bhutto acted promptly politically by threatening to boycott the proposed Assembly session. He could make it unworkable. The tactical advantage lay with the PPP.

The general strike and violence prompted by the postponement of the Assembly session in East Pakistan compelled the military ruler to announce a fresh date for the Assembly session, viz March 25, 1971, promptly. If the first postponement had ignited violent reactions, it was for Yahya Khan and his colleagues to judge the consequences of the postponement and they alone must bear the responsibility. But the Bengali leadership considered the postponement, without consultation with Mujib, as clear breach of trust, and it further led them to believe in Yahya-Bhutto complicity.

At this time the PPP strategy was based on a settlement outside the assembly, prior to its first session. There were three parties: the army, the Awami League and the Pakistan Peoples Party. The strength of the Awami League could work only when the Assembly was called to meet by the head of the army. Now when the army was constrained to announce a fresh date for the Assembly session (March 25, 1971) which was not far away, the Awami League Chief Sheikh Mujib-ur-Rahman refused to have parlays with the PPP Chairman Bhutto. Even for attending the proposed session, Sheikh Mujib placed four conditions, the last one demanding an immediate transfer of authority to the National Assembly.

The transfer of authority prior to the Assembly session would have ended the role of the army and cleared the way for a confederal constitution to be adopted by the Assembly without the possibility of rejection or veto by the military regime. Shaheed

Bhutto, alarmed by the imminent danger to the federation, uttered the ominous words, which have been interpreted by his opponents to mean that he wanted the break up of the State. He had replied to Mujib's demand for immediate transfer of power by saying, "Udher tum idher hum" i.e., let you be there, and we here. In actual terms, he rejoined that the authority should be simultaneously transferred to two assemblies, one comprising members from the west Wing and the other representing the east Wing, so that the future constitution should have concurrence of both the Wings.

Gen. Yahya Khan at this stage traded a double track. One way, he and his team of experts were conducting negotiations on the Awami League's charter of demands, involving elaborate formulae and legal technicalities; the other way round the army was engaged in a military build up in East Pakistan, which was known to the Awami League. So the ground reality marred these negotiations. Shaheed Bhutto was called in at the eleventh hour but his intervention did not help resolve the deadlock, as did the late Quaid-i-Azam's in the case of the Late H.S Suhrawardy when he was engaged in negotiations with the West Bengal leadership for a United Bengal at the very inception time of Pakistan. Suhrawardy's disciple was too formidable now for the follower of the Quaid to crack the hard nut. On March 25, 1971, Gen. Yahya left Dacca unscheduled, and in the night between the 25<sup>th</sup> and the 26<sup>th</sup> March, Mujib was arrested from his residence in Dhan Mandi in Dacca and flown out to West Pakistan. The army went into action and Bhutto left Dacca amid smoke rising from civilian quarters either in revolt or suspected to be the hideouts of the agitators.

Resistance to the army action in Dacca came not only from the civilian nationalists but also even the Bengali members of the EPR (East Pakistan Rifles), the police force and paramilitary units rose in rebellion.

## **THE ROOT CAUSE OF THE BREAKAWAY OF EAST PAKISTAN**

The principle of geography and economy, projected by Pandit

Jawaharlal Nehru and forced accession of Hyderabad Decca, could also have been applied to East Bengal now called East Pakistan (and then ultimately turned into an independent third state of the subcontinent, called Bangladesh); but it was not open to force as such as it had already come under the partition plan.

In March 1971, when Mrs. Indira Gandhi had returned to power after the General Elections in India, and the Government of Pakistan had launched army action in East Pakistan, it was the time for the Indian hostility towards Pakistan to go into action. The Indian Prime Minister had been fortified by the renewal of her mandate coupled with the general public opinion, which demanded liberation of East Bengal (East Pakistan) by force of arms. On March 31, 1971, Mrs. Gandhi moved a resolution in the Indian Parliament (Lok Sabha), which was unanimously adopted. It accused the Pakistan government of committing genocides, the cause of the "macabre tragedy" being the refusal "to transfer power to the legally elected representatives of the people of East Bengal."<sup>29</sup> The key note passage of the resolution said in the end, "This House records its profound conviction that the historic upsurge of the 75 million people of East Bengal will triumph. The House wishes to assure them that their struggle and sacrifices will receive the whole hearted sympathy and support of the people of India."<sup>30</sup>

The political scenario in Pakistan had changed: In the General Elections 1970, the PPP won 81 seats and the Awami League secured 160 seats all from East Pakistan. The over all Assembly seats ratio being 1:2. The PPP's constituencies, where it won, were in the West Pakistan only (62 out of 82 in Punjab, 18 out of 27 in Sindh and only one seat in the NWFP). Then Chairman Bhutto said, "We respect the majority," but he added bluntly that "both Punjab and Sindh are centres of power. We may or may not form the government at the centre but... no central government can run without our cooperation....."<sup>31</sup>

On the other hand, Sheikh Mujibur Rahman in the din of "Joy Bangla" declared on December 17, 1970 that "No power on earth would be able to frustrate the legitimate demand of Bangladesh."<sup>32</sup>

Gen Yahya flew into Dacca early in January 1971. He openly called Sheikh Mujibur Rahman "the next Prime Minister of Pakistan."<sup>33</sup> On 17th January he met Bhutto in Al Murtaza at Larkana and stayed with him. In the Great Tragedy Bhutto Sahib writes: "The President informed us of his discussion at Dacca (three alternatives go it alone, cooperate with the PPP or with the small and defeated parties of the west wing) ...We discussed with the President the implications of the Six Points and expressed our serious misgivings about them."<sup>34</sup>

### THE FALL OF DHAKA

There is fog suspended as yet on the events of 1971, which led to the breakaway of former East Pakistan and the emergence of Bangladesh. Accusations of excesses committed by the Pakistan Army on Bengalis and by the Mukti Bahini upon the non-Bengalis continue to surface even after 27 years long-march of history. In November 1997 the Prime Minister of Pakistan, Mian Nawaz Sharif, was in Dhaka, what he said in his speech at the banquet given in his honour by the Bangladeshi prime minister, "amounted to accepting that the army had been the guilty party." This has been inevitably strongly resented by a large section of the Pakistani intelligentsia. Mian Sahib had said, "Even today I feel that had the results of the 1970 elections been respected the history of the region could have been different."<sup>35</sup> Obviously he did not say how the results of the election were subverted and by whom, nor has he been specific about the mistakes to which he alluded.

An intellectual post mortem of the 1971 debacle is well in place. A section of intelligentsia in both countries, Pakistan and Bangladesh, now believes that the whole episode should be reviewed and perhaps a process of catharsis should be initiated "so that the precipitating causes of the 1971 crisis and their aftermath could be identified and that the mistakes of the past were not repeated at another time in another place."<sup>36</sup>

Perhaps Williams (L.F.R.)'s book on the tragedy was the first which was published within a year of 1971 events. According to it

the army was only doing its duty .....It was the campaign of genocide perpetrated by the Awami League mobs and not the action of the army which set in motion the flood of refugees seeking food, shelter and safety across the border in India. They had committed frightful atrocities upon innocent non Bengalis residing in the province.<sup>37</sup> They were mostly civil servants hailing from the West Pakistan. Mr. Hasan Taheer was one of them who was also taken as POW. He maintains that if Bhutto, with his socialist slogans, did not inspire much confidence in the power centre (in West Pakistan) Mujib was determined to extricate East Pakistan from the West Pakistan dominated power structure. He further holds that "the army was given the open ended objective of restoring the authority of the central government by the President (Gen. Yahya Khan), no human parameters were laid down by the high command for the conduct of the operations which were left to be determined by each field commander according to his own sense of honour. He then stresses that while the rebels too were not bound by any code of conduct, the army was.

In his study of the last days of "United Pakistan" the Late Prof: G.W. Chaudhry, himself a Bengali, laments "the eclipse of the democratic process... which denied the Bengalis their due share in the political process. This created an artificial situation in which the majority group felt itself dominated by an elite from West Pakistan composed of top civil and army officials."

It is also recognized that while the postponement of the National Assembly may have triggered extreme resentment in the Awami League, but whether this could justify the open defiance of the federal authority is debatable. Findings of Hamood-ur-Rahman Commission have been released partly only, yet exploitation, misrule and other causes of the fall of a polity are fairly exposed.

The champion of "United Pakistan, Prof: Dr. G.W. Chaudhry firmly believes that Sheikh Mujibur Rahman from the outset, was the villain of the peace and that he adopted a deceptive strategy to achieve his goal of dismembering Pakistan. But he also mentions that no self-respecting group could tolerate the state of affairs,

which prevailed in Pakistan from the time that Ayub Khan launched the nation on the path of authoritarian dictatorship.

Prof. Laurence Ziring, the American South Asia expert scholar, says that what happened in the eastern wing in 1971 was the result of a kind of duality of agendas, which existed within the military junta around Yahya Khan. He contends that after the results of the 1970 elections were known, a section of the ruling junta, of which Gen. Peerzada was the central figure was not mentally prepared to accept a Mujib government in Pakistan. This faction unknown to Gen. Yahya was working on an agenda of its own which forced Yahya to delay or hold up the political process and the Bengalis, sensing this as yet another betrayal read his behavior as staking for time. Ziring suggests that Mujib made things difficult for Yahya by not accepting his invitation to visit West Pakistan and discuss matters with him and the West Pakistan leadership. As the crisis deepened Yahya was more or less sidelined. "Yahya's hold over the junta, which had never been absolute, was declining because of his failure to make Mujib modify his hard line stand on his Six Points." It was being rumored that Gen. Hameed was going to replace Gen. Yahya as COAS and President... "The shots were being called by the junta. Yahya was even sent off to Dhaka (Dacca) for a final round of talks to help mask the junta's offensive strategy."<sup>38</sup>

Williams calls the Bengali units, such as East Bengal Regiment and East Pakistan Rifles, mutineers. The recent American research scholar Wolpert writes that Gen. Yahya was shocked to learn from tapes played for him by his intelligence officers that Mujib had confided to his closest colleagues, "My aim is to establish Bangladesh..."<sup>39</sup> Bhutto Sahib in his book "The Great Tragedy, writes about Mujib's strategy. "Sheikh Mujibur Rahman unleashed hatred against West Pakistan. He used every means to mobilize the people of East Pakistan. Riding on the high crest of Bengali nationalism, and with a number of jail terms to his credit [which goes to prove a politician] the Bangali leader raised the emotions of his people to a frenzied pitch... He went about like a Messiah telling the poverty-stricken people of East Pakistan that their salvation lay

in Six Points, that Six Points meant the end of exploitation by West Pakistan. He cleverly concealed his true intentions in an atmosphere of hatred...."<sup>40</sup>

East Pakistan seceded on December 16, 1971 to form an independent secular State of Bangladesh. Around 10 O' clock in the morning of the fateful day, the International Red Cross Committee announced from the neutral zone of Dacca city (the Intercontinental Hotel) that: "All is over. India has accepted the offer of surrender by the military commanders of East Pakistan...." Concomitantly the National flag of Pakistan was pulled down from the adjacent roof of Radio Pakistan and burnt by a small crowd. But the noon and the afternoon bulletin of Radio Pakistan did not utter a word about the fall of Dhaka. At 4:30 pm a large crowd was excitedly witnessing the surrender ceremony in "Race Course Maidan" and the world was watching on TV.

When events speak for themselves, comments are uncalled for. Such events become self-explanatory. In the 1970 elections, the PPP had fought on the promise of revolutionary changes in the economic system; (Roti, Kapra and Makan for every one) and an independent foreign policy, while the Awami league contested on its Six Points formula.

As regards seats in the National Assembly, it may be noted that East Pakistan had already a majority of seats. The federating units were not two but five: East Pakistan, the Punjab, Sindh, Balochistan and NWFP. So that, if the Six Points were agreed to, it would mean the same formula for all the five provincial governments, leaving a very weak Federal Government looking for funding of its expenditure by the federating units or even threatened by any one of them in order to be out of the federation or to secede.

The Awami League had won all the seats except two from the East Pakistan (160 seats) on the Six Points manifesto. The West Pakistan position was different. The PPP had emerged only as a majority party. It bagged 81 seats leaving 52 out to its opponent parties in NWFP and Balochistan. Its able leader Chairman Bhutto

was hard pressed to steer through a perilous centrifugal course of the emerging national politics, which was about to end up in disintegration of Pakistan. He explained the position in Lahore, on the Punjab University campus in late February 1971, saying, "I told Mr. Mujib that it was his Awami League that had been elected on Six Points, not the People's Party... We would try our utmost to cooperate with them... However there is a limit. If we went too far it would lead the country to disaster."<sup>41</sup>

Writing about events just two years back, Mr. Altaf Gauhar, a close confidant and information Minister of F. M. Ayub Khan, states "The Bengalis made no secret of their commitment to the Six-Points programme and even Nurul Amin (the then Governor of East Pakistan) seemed to have come round the Mujib's point of view."<sup>42</sup>

Sheikh Mujibur Rahman's nomination as Prime Minister was envisaged even during the last days of Ayub government. "Manzur Qadir told Ayub that he was in touch with the opposition leaders and they would agree to the nomination of Sheikh Mujibur Rahman as Prime Minister."<sup>43</sup> The occasion was the round table conference called by F.M. President Ayub Khan (10-13 March 1969). "In his opening speech Ayub had stated that his powers were coming to an end" which signaled his intention to renunciate, and he had invited almost all opposition parties" except Bhutto's People's Party and Baloch axis National Awami Party." The rest of the parties had announced formation of DAC. (Direct Action committee), on January 9, 1969. It called a countrywide strike on 12<sup>th</sup> January; and for the first time in the history of Pakistan the army was called out in aid of civil power in Dhaka, which was cut off from the rest of the country. It was also the first outburst of public agitation, which never abated afterwards till it tore Pakistan into two pieces. Sheikh Mujib had cleverly gained the five constituents parties of the PDM (Pakistan Democratic Movement) united in Dacca on January 1, 1969. "Neither Mujib's Awami League nor Bhutto's People's Party was represented in the PDM. The Pakistan Observer Dacca commented on it in the 3<sup>rd</sup> January

paper that bringing unity on ideological basis among the opposition parties was an impossibility, their best hope was to agree on a course of action "for the overthrow of the regime and nothing else."

Mr. Altaf Gauhar writes, "While PDM Leaders were trying to hammer out some common programme, Bhutto threw a spanner in the works." From the prison he declared his intention to fight against Ayub in the next election. Then Governor of East Pakistan Mr. Monem Khan added fuel to fire when he rejected outright the PDM'S five demands, saying that there was no question of the government being shaken by the agitation. The Demand for parliamentary system of government was dismissed as unacceptable because the people, he said, did not want to revert to the conditions of the 1950's "when there had been six Prime Ministers and three Governors General in four years."<sup>44</sup> He prophesied disaster on the path which the opposition was following.

The PDM turned into DAC again leaving out the PPP but admitting the other outcaste of PDM, Sheikh Mujib's Awami League. Bashani's National Awami Party was out but Wali Khan's National Awami League was included in the DAC and third one representing the Islamic view the Jamiat-ul-Ulema-i-Islam was also taken in.

In the post-secession scenario, Shaheed Bhutto writes, "On December 27, when I was sworn in as the new president of the republic, I met with Yahya Khan. He was desperate, drunk, he looked like the portrait of Dorian Gray. He told me: "the greatest mistake of my life has been not to execute Mujib Rahman. Do it yourself if you like." "I said that I wouldn't, and after thinking it over, I got ready to free Mujib. Having been condemned by everyone for the supposed atrocities of the army, Pakistan needed some sympathy. I thought the act of clemency would get much sympathy. Besides, I thought the gesture would accelerate the return of our war prisoners. So I, immediately sent an order to Lyallpur to bring Mujib to me in Rawalpindi. When the order arrived, Mujib got frightened. He began moaning that they'd come

to take him out and execute him, he didn't calm down during the journey, or when he entered the bungalow, I'd put at his disposal... When I arrived with a radio, a television set, and a bundle of clothes, he assailed me; "What are you doing here?" I explained I'd become president and he immediately changed his tone. He threw his arms around my neck."<sup>45</sup>

### WHO IS TO BLAME?

M. H. Askari in his column, who is to blame for crisis, (Dawn Wed: March 4, 1998) writes:

"In tracing the genesis of the breakaway movement, there is virtually a consensus among scholars and political scientists that it certainly did not erupt suddenly with the elections of 1970. In 1954, the Muslim League had been almost totally overshadowed in East Pakistan. In 1964 presidential elections Miss Fatima Jinnah had won in Dacca and Chittagong. It is a matter of record that the veteran Muslim League leader of undivided Bengal, Abdul Hashim, actually raised the demand for a separate Bengali State in the session of the All India Muslim League Convention in New Delhi in 1946 on the plea that the March 23, 1940 resolution of the League had to be interpreted as an endorsement of the demand for two separate states... Along with Hussain Shaheed Suhrawardy, Abdul Hashim.... represented the will of the Bengal people at the grassroot level."<sup>46</sup> Lahore resolution was amended (in the Delhi session of 1946) in a way to establish that the intention had always been to demand a single state.

According to Prof. Khalid Bin Sayeed, once Pakistan had come into being, the central leadership adopted the perception that<sup>47</sup> a significant number of influential Bengali Muslims were probably not completely loyal Pakistanis. Their insistence upon retaining the Bengali language and culture was taken as an evidence that they were under the influence of ideas from across the border. As a matter of fact, anti-Bangali stance of the Government of Pakistan provoked secessionist sentiments in East Pakistan. The first educational advisory board of 1948 had argued that the regional

languages should be taught first and Urdu, proposed to be the lingua franca of Pakistan, should be introduced from class VI. But Urdu weighed heavily as the National Language of Pakistan and regional languages like Bengali, which had a storehouse of knowledge and literature, were being bogged and demeaned so much so that in case of Bengali it was argued in a parliamentary debate that Bengali script should be changed to nastaliq or the Arabic script (naskh).

The Muslim separatist movement had almost always been dominated by the Urdu speaking leadership belonging to the northern parts of the sub-continent. Professor Khalid Bin Sayeed contends that strong elements among them, especially those under the influence of the thinking of Jamat-i-Islami, tended to regard the Bengalis, as well as Muslims from many other non-urdu-speaking parts of the subcontinent, as not really pure and strict Muslims, almost an inferior breed who needed to be purified more rigorously. Such thinking in the western wing, even among sections of the intelligentsia, reached near hysteric proportions during the crisis of 1970-71 and was perhaps even encouraged by certain vested interests who believed that doing away with East Pakistan was the only way to deal with post-election situation.

Prof. G.W. Chaudhry, who subscribed to the belief that Bengali nationalists like Sheikh Mujibur Rahman always wanted to have a separate state of Bangladesh, concedes that though at the outset Pakistan had adopted a parliamentary system of government and federal constitution, this remained only the outer-trappings. They were designed to provide a cloak for "rule by the few who were able to concentrate power in their own hands." He is emphatically of the view that during the first eleven years (1947-58) of so-called parliamentary system, neither the system nor the federation was genuine, this even prompted the electoral reforms commission of Pakistan to say in a report in 1956 that Pakistan had held no general elections, even such provincial elections as were held had been termed "as a mockery farce and fraud"<sup>48</sup> upon the electorate. Prof. Chaudhry further contends that the failure of democracy in

Pakistan led to the emergence of a powerful civil-military bureaucratic elites, almost entirely dominated by West Pakistan, and they were the ones who wielded real political and economic power. Even in purely provincial matters, all the key posts in the East Pakistan administration were held by West Pakistanis with direct access to the ruling elite at the centre. A senior civil servant from Punjab had the temerity to give a Bengali Muslim Leader of the stature of Suhrawardy 24 hours to move out of East Pakistan. With the rise of Ayub Khan to power, the army which was until then supporting the ruling bureaucratic elite from the outside, came into the open. In the state of affairs, which then prevailed, Prof. Chaudhry opines that it was only through participation and sharing of responsibility that the Bengalis could have developed a national sentiment but this was not to happen. In the situation that the Bengalis found themselves, religion failed to serve as a binding force with the rest of Pakistan.

To make matters worse, the country's economic resources were almost all entirely under the control of the West Pakistan-based bureaucratic elite. While East Pakistan earned most of the country's foreign exchange, a much larger share of it was spent on the development of West Pakistan. A report compiled by economic experts of the Planning Commission in 1970 established the fact of the increasing disparity between the economic development of the two Wings, with a widening gap between the income of the average West Pakistani and of his (poorer) Eastern counterpart. Prof. Chaudhry has also gone on record to say that in 1969 when he joined Yahya Khan's cabinet, he discovered that the intelligence authorities used to render elaborate briefs to the Cabinet merely on matters such as labour or education policy and their "real reports" on the political situation were meant only for Yahya Khan and his inner junta. Never, during his two years in the cabinet, did Dr. Chaudhry see any "real and meaningful report on vital matters such as defence, foreign affairs or political policies and programmes."<sup>49</sup>

The turning point in the situation in East Pakistan developed after Mr. Bhutto and the PPP decided not to attend the

Constituent Assembly meeting in Decca scheduled for March 1, 1971. But the responsibility for what followed was entirely that of Yahya Khan and his junta. According to "one able officer" quoted (but not named) by the American scholars Richard Sission and Leo Rose, authors of one of a most definitive study of the 1971 crisis,<sup>50</sup> Yahya Khan declared in "an important meeting" on Feb. 20 1971 that Mujibur Rahman was not "behaving" and he needed to "sort this.... out". The following day (Feb. 21 1971) Yahya Khan dismissed his civilian cabinet, one major reason for which was that it could have been a "nuisance" if and when military action had to be taken in East Pakistan and with five of the ministers belonging to the East wing it was impossible to discuss the East wing crisis in the cabinet. "At a subsequent high level meeting Yahya Khan announced his intention to go back on his announcement to convene the Constituent Assembly at Dhaka on March 1. The President also decided to impose strict Press censorship and ensure a tighter enforcement of martial law," in the eastern Wing and decided to combine the posts of governor and martial law administrator. Admiral Ahsan, who had persistently opposed military action, was immediately relieved of his responsibilities as governor in Dhaka. It appears that in the last few days of February 1971 communications between Dhaka and Rawalpindi were virtually at a stand still and East Pakistan was unaware of what was happening in the President House.

In the third week of March 1971, the negotiations, between Yahya Khan and his aides on one side and Mujib and his aides on the other, broke down in Dhaka. Yahya Khan directed Generals Tikka Khan and Rao Ferman Ali to "finalize the drafting orders for military action." It was then discovered that Gen. Rao Farman (Ali) along with another General, Khadim Raja, had already started drafting the operational orders a week earlier. This surely could not have happened at the instance of political leaders such as Chairman Bhutto of the PPP or any other one.

According to Professors Rose and Sisson, Yahya, under pressure from his army command, chose to launch military operation, when

the chances of a negotiated settlement with the Awami League diminished. Operation Search Light was the code name for the army action. Among its perceived objectives were the arrest of the top leaders of the Awami League and the neutralizing of the more radical elements in the eastern wing such as students, intellectuals and the journalists.

According to some senior army officers, who were involved in the operation, the chars in the streets and the road blocks, combined with various forms of people's resistance led to the army action being unusually aggressive, rather in the nature of a selective search and neutralization of the radical elements. It is significant that two of the senior most and most competent military persons who were in East Pakistan when the crisis there reached its peak, i.e. Admiral S.M. Ahsan and Lieut. Gen. Sahibzada Yaqub Khan, were firmly opposed to the form that military action assumed. Yaqub Khan had drawn up the much discussed "Operation Blitz" but that was in the context of the situation as he assessed it on the eve of the 1970 elections, and not after the results were known and the Awami League became entitled to being entrusted with political authority on the basis of the results.

It was indeed an artificial situation in which "the majority felt itself dominated by an elite from West Pakistan composed by top civil and military officials." A Lot of the ruling elites in successive governments at the centre contributed to the making of the crisis which finally erupted in 1970-71.

On account of disagreement between Gen. Yahya Khan and Sheikh Mujibur Rahman, who struck to his "Six-Points" formula for the future Constitution of Pakistan, public demonstration and disturbances erupted in East Pakistan. The Bengal Rifles of the Pakistan Army and the "Mukti Bahni," volunteers raised by the Awami League mutinied and started manslaughter of Bihari refugees. Reinforcement arrived from West Pakistan in March 1971 to suppress the uprising in East Pakistan. It is alleged that the soldiers misbehaved and terrorized the people to force them to flee to India, which gave an excuse for Indian involvement on the plea

that this vast immigration was affecting the Indian economy. One superpower, the USSR, being on the back of Indian trespass, Indian force invaded East Pakistan on December 3, 1971. Pakistan Army surrendered, on December 16, 1971, to the joint command of India and Bangladesh, which had already declared its independence. On Dhaka Ramna Race course, at 4:31pm on December 16, 1971, Lt. Gen. AKK Niazi Commander of the Pakistan Eastern Command handed over his service revolver to Lt. Gen. J. S. Aurora Commander of the Indian Eastern Command.

The very fact that after the East Pakistan debacle the Army Command in West Pakistan forced Gen. Yahya to step down and made Shaheed Bhutto their CMLA within four days (16-20 December 1971) shows that it was Gen. Yahya not Shaheed Bhutto who was considered responsible for the debacle of secession. Had Bhutto been responsible for it, he would have been tried and hanged there and then, rather than made the head of the State.

A definitive history of the East Pakistan debacle may yet have to been written. So far we have some first hand accounts, viz. "The Great Tragedy", by Zulfikar Ali Bhutto (1971); "The Last Days of United Pakistan" by GW. Choudhry (1974) "The End and the Beginning" by Herbert Feldman (1975); "South Asia Crisis" by Robert Jackson, (1975); "Witness to Surrender" by Siddiq Salik (1977); War and Secession: Pakistan, India and the creation of Bangladesh by Richard Sisson & Lea Rose ( 1990 ); "The Separation of East Pakistan, by Hasan Zaheer (1994). After some memories recorded by Gen. Gul Hasan and Gen. A.A.K. Niazi, Brgd. A. R. Siddiqi has lately published his observations made from a privileged portion during the Great tragedy. The report of the Hamoodur Rehman Commission that officially investigated this tragedy, remained a classified document till August 2000, when an Indian Weekly leaked out long excerpts from it and the Government of Pakistan was constrained to lift the ban, but publication of the complete report is still awaited. The role and responsibility of the United Nations is also debatable: According to classified documents released to the media (February 20-27, 2005)

by the US State Department, 104 member states voted for "a ceasefire and withdrawal of troops to their own territories and the creation of conditions for voluntary return of refugees." 10 members-state, including India and the former Soviet Union voted against it in the General Assembly session on December 7, 1971, while 11 abstained. "The vote showed the strong sentiment in the United Nations against the use of military force to divide a member state.... Prevented from acting by Soviet vetoes... Early attempts by Secretary General U. Thant to persuade the permanent members of the Security Council to address the crisis over East Pakistan had foundered mainly on Soviet objections."<sup>51</sup>

Creation of Bangladesh could not undo Pakistan; in fact, it obliterated the policy of Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, who opposed creation of two Muslim States in the Indian sub-continent. Late Hussain Shaheed Suhrawardy, who was the Chief Minister of undivided Bengal at the time of partition and the Hindu nationalist leaders, Shri Sarat Chander Bose and Kiran Shankar Roy, had proposed to establish a United Bangladesh; which Pandit Nehru and Vallabhai Patel vetoed. Mrs. Indra Gandhi helped create Muslim Bangladesh, while the West Pakistan also remained as Muslim State of Pakistan under the strong leadership of Shaheed Zulfikar Ali Bhutto; so that now there are two Muslim States in the subcontinent.

## THE REVOLUTIONARY IN THE SADDLE: NEW PAKISTAN & THE PEOPLE'S GOVERNMENT

Chairman Zulfikar Ali Bhutto was sworn in on the lawns of the President's House in Islamabad as the president and the Chief Martial Law Administrator on December 20, 1971. The same day he addressed the nation, on radio and television, saying inter alia, "... I have come at a very late hour at a decisive moment in the history of Pakistan..... We have to pick up pieces.... We will make a new Pakistan, a prosperous and progressive Pakistan, a Pakistan free of exploitation, a Pakistan envisaged by the Quaid-i-Azam..."<sup>1</sup>

He was speaking in English, not in Urdu which was declared the National Language of Pakistan before its break up. He apologized for not speaking in Urdu, for, as he said, "the world is listening." He promised that he would not like to see Martial Law remain one day longer than necessary: "I want the flowering of our society," he said, "I want suffocation to end. ....we have to rebuild democratic institutions.... Rebuild hope in the future...."

The present author has picked quotes from the printed matter but that night he also watched and listened to this an-hour-plus long speech. A new hope had virtually been kindled by his rhetoric and charisma. He repeatedly pleaded for being given "some time" because, he said, "we are in such a terrible situation...."<sup>2</sup> About the great tragedy, befallen only four days ago, he said, "...Our soldiers fought valiantly. We are the victims of our system.... The western press has been against us.... I am afraid the nation has been fed on lies..."<sup>3</sup>

He announced his agenda, saying, "For economic and social justice I will move as fast as is necessary to see the burden of the common man lifted."<sup>4</sup> He vowed to finish "corruption and maladministration" simultaneously promising that there would be no vindictiveness toward any bureaucrat who "has misbehaved with me in the past."<sup>5</sup> He also disowned family ties for the sake of a family of the people of Pakistan: "...I have no relations, I have no family. My family is the people of Pakistan."<sup>6</sup>

To the personnel of the armed forces who must have been worried for repatriation of prisoners of war (POWs), he extended heartening promise but did not spell it out clearly. He said "I want to tell our gallant armed forces who have fought in East Pakistan that our hearts are with you. We will not rest... till we have redeemed your honour.... We will bend backwards to see to it that not a moment is wasted for the correct results. I do not want to spell them out because that may give indication to other people."<sup>7</sup>

Building of a new Pakistan under the Pakistan People's Party's manifesto, was a formidable task. The new Pakistan, comprised provinces, the federating units, which had been independent countries before the British Raj. The success of centrifugal forces in East Pakistan and the inception of the independent state of Bangladesh, had aroused the same tendency in the traditional tribal and feudal setup in the remaining four provinces. The PPP was popular in two provinces only, the Punjab and Sindh. In the North West Frontier Province (NWFP) and Balochistan, anti-PPP parties had won majority in the 1970 general elections, which could only be the basis of the future political setup till fresh elections were held.

PPP's Chairman Bhutto remained the President and the Chief Martial Law Administrator (CMLA) for four months (December 20, 1971 to April 21, 1972). During this short time, he moved like a whirlwind, with his MLRs (Martial Law Regulations) and presidential Ordinance, to kick up a socialist revolution. The capitalist class was taken by surprise by economic Reforms Martial Law regulation, issued on January 2, 1972, under which 10

categories of major industries were nationalized, worth about Rs.1 billion (about 100 million dollars). Dr. Mubashir Hasan, the socialist ideologue of PPP, was made the custodian of some 20 major industries. In his address to the nation the same day January 2, 1972, President Bhutto said, "The workers will now have a real stake in the success of these undertakings.... There is no substitute for hard work....there is now a people's Government and the people are the ultimate masters."<sup>8</sup> Later in his May Day message, he said, "...The workers of Pakistan.....must keep a vigilant eye on all forces of exploitation, internal and external. But, while they must organize themselves and struggle in a disciplined manner to achieve what is their right, they must also struggle to maintain and safeguard Pakistan's hard won independence, its sovereignty and territorial integrity.... Your Government... gives the highest importance to well being of the working class.... It is for this reason that the Government came out with radical reforms in the field of agriculture and industry. The labour reforms have been introduced to allow the working class to get on its feet. It is a first step..." He appealed for more production, mutual sharing and raising the standard of living of the downtrodden masses. "Revolution and production go together", he said, and added, "Let the Government and the people join together in the great revolutionary struggle for a brighter securer and happier Pakistan...." Then he addressed the world workers "Workers of all lands unite, you have nothing to lose but your shackles, and a world to win!"<sup>9</sup>

In exercise of his unlimited powers as the Chief Martial Law Administrator, President Zulfikar Ali Bhutto issued five main ordinances: Economic Reforms MLR, January 2, 1972, was followed by a New Education Policy, and nationalization of privately managed educational institutions, announced on March 15, 1972. The New Education Policy (1972 - 80) was designed to revolutionize the entire system of education in Pakistan. It had 16 main fetures: Universal and free education up to class X (matriculation) in a phased manner, Nationalization of all privately managed schools and colleges, Selective admission, five Boards of

Education, twice the number of Universities, amendment in the University Ordinance, establishment of the University Grants Commission (UGC), and an Open University (Allama Iqbal Open University, Islamabad) and a national Book Foundation, 50,000 public libraries, National Sport Trust, National Service Corps (for adult literacy), students facilities: interest free loans, Book Banks, scholarships increased four-fold, transport etc. rent free accommodation for teachers, setting up educational councils; and expenditure on education to be doubled in 1972 - 73 and increased subsequently by 15 percent annually.

Third in line fell the Police Reforms announced on April 12, 1972: It was an address to the nation: "Citizens, custodians of law and order", in which President Bhutto said, "We attached the highest importance to the welfare and contentment of the police....a dissatisfied police force seeks to give vent to its fury on the people... a vicious circle of conflict and tension between the people and the police. We have been the victims of this vicious circle for far too long....This police reform is as much a reform for the people as it is for the police. I am determined to make our police force a modern, exemplary force..."<sup>10</sup> The Police Training School at Sihala was upgraded to the status of Police Training Academy. Police mobility was improved; and increase in the pay and allowances of the subordinate police staff was already announced by the Finance Minister on February 27, 1972. President Bhutto further announced a "disability pension" for the policemen according to the formula applicable to the army men. Additional residential accommodation in police lines, head quarters, as provided in Sindh, was extended to the other three provinces. Special ration depots in all police lines, improvement of police hospitals, free medical treatment of policemen and their families, two summer uniforms etc were the other facilities announced under the Police Reform Ordinance. Federal Investigation Agency (FIA) and Federal Security Force (FSF) were subsequent improvements, on policy lines, on the Police Reforms introduced on April 12, 1972. .

The next day, April 13, 1972, brought the Law Reforms Ordinance, which envisaged separation of judiciary from the executive authority of the state. A Permanent Law Commission was setup to scrutinize the existing laws under modern conditions. The ordinance went beyond the recommendations of the law Reforms Commission and amended the law of evidence, as well as the legal Practitioners and Bar Council Act. 1965 in which counsel (advocate) was required to fill up "a power of attorney signifying his acceptance of brief by him....Indicating fees settled and paid with balance, if any, remaining payable." Provisions for grant of bail were liberalized. "Every accused person must be brought to trial within 6 months of his arrest failing which he shall be entitled to be released on bail, however serious the charge against him may be,"<sup>11</sup> the ordinance said and President Bhutto particularly pointed it out in his address to the nation.

The fifth and the final ordinance issued by the CMLA-President Bhutto was the Land Reforms Ordinance of April 14, 1972. A week later, he lifted martial law (April 20) and introduced an interim constitution and remained President and head of a constitutional government for the next 20 months (April 21, 1972 - August 14, 1973). A federal parliamentary constitution was drafted and got adopted by the National Assembly on August 14, 1973 with consensus, under which Shaheed Bhutto was elected Prime Minister.

Making a diagonal departure from the common code of ceremonial conduct, Chairman Bhutto took the oath of office as President of Pakistan publicly at the Race Course Ground, Rawalpindi; and in his address, he said: "I could have taken the oath of my office in a closed room; but I wanted to take the oath in public, and in front of my people; because there is no greater strength than that of the people."<sup>12</sup> The fourth principle enshrined in the Pakistan People's Party's manifesto did indeed state: "All power rests with the people." There after, the official phrase "my government" gave place to "the people's government".

It was a promising start for the rights of the toiling millions of

Pakistanis to be realized as against the privileges of their overlords. The focus shifted from ideology to economics. "Roti Kapra aur Makan" i.e. bread, clothing and a house (for every one) emerged as the State policy. The socio political setup also started changing with a jolt. As president and then the prime-minister, Chairman Bhutto raised alarm among the old guards by encouraging agitation and confrontation on the part of the common man against the established authorities and the prevalent code of conduct. Students and party activists got a go-ahead, going as they pleased. The present author had a personal experience while traveling in a first class train compartment occupied by students without-ticket. When the ticket examiner came and asked for the ticket, he was ridiculed and pooh-poohed. For sure, it was not what Chairman Bhutto desired, nor what the People's Party stood for; but the subdued instinct of pugnacity in the young blood was playing havoc with the government administration. A sort of psychopathic environment was emerging. The old people were heard saying: "Andhay ki lathi jis kay sar a'ay" i.e. the walking stick of the blind man may hit any head. The thinking minds were sensing revolution. The activists workers of the People's Party were nicknamed "jijyalas" or the brave men. The society was in an apparent state of transformation while the popular feeling for Bhutto and the PPP crystallized into the popular slogan: "Je'ay Bhutto" i.e. Bhutto may live.

Even before entering the portals of power, Shaheed Bhutto used to intercede with government functionaries on behalf of the powerless people, asking for obliging them. Handshake, and posing for a photograph with every Tom, Dick and Harry, was another practice of the party Chief, to which Mir Rasool Bakhsh Talpur once objected, saying that it was contrary to how the Quaid-i-Azam conducted himself in public. Bhutto Sahib explained that the Great leader was leader of greatness, while he himself was leader of the masses. Perhaps then he came to be called the Quaid-i-Awam.

The masses were illiterate, by and large. They could not comprehend the real import of socialism. They asked to be

explained what it meant. The cynic would reply: "Hand on mouth and rod over the head meant socialism". The party slogan "Je'ay Bhutto" was also misused by the cynic "Je'ay Bhutto, Dandan jo Joro chhutto" i.e. long live Bhutto, the pair of oxen is gone! Such cynical sayings were also spread by anti PPP elements, particularly belonging to the old guard. Its activists came to be nicknamed leaguellas. Sarcastic slogans were coined by opposition parties, mainly in the Punjab and Sindh provinces which were the bastion of the Pakistan People's Party: Graffiti and wall chalking was resorted to maligning the government of the PPP: "People's Party, ballay ballay, Aadhay Kanjar, Aadhay dallay" i.e. The People's Party is wonderful: one half are pimps the other one go-betweens. Morality was waning in the storm of democracy.

The People's Government had a very rough start: A virulent politic-o-religious opposition cropped up at a time when the country badly needed a strong government and spontaneous national unity. Working for a socialist agenda which was largely inconceivable for the masses, it was a Herculean task laid before the government. Shaheed Bhutto embarked upon this heavy task by almost a solo-flight, albeit he was blindly supported by the rank-and-file in the ruling party and was much respected and feared by the party leaders. He faced no opposition within, but the anti-government lobby never ceased their efforts to malign and misrepresent Chairman Bhutto while he was not being properly followed either. It resulted into a rough-and-tough handling; and he was accused of running dictatorship rather than democracy. To an interviewer, he said "I've no evil platform. I don't want to become a dictator, but so far I can say that I'll have to be very tough, even authoritarian. The broken windows, I'm setting out to mend, are often in splinters. I'll have to through away the splinters. And if I throw them away too carelessly, I wont have a country, I'll have a bazaar."<sup>13</sup>

He was also accused of being power thirsty and he once explained it thus: "As for the accusation that I'm only out for power, well, this would be a good time to understand what we mean by the

word power (as he was already in power). By power I don't mean the kind Yahya Khan had; by power, I mean the kind you exercise to level mountains, make deserts bloom, build a society where people don't die of hunger and humiliation."<sup>14</sup> Yet for a determined critic, a critical viewpoint was that: "Mr. Bhutto created an impressive smoke-screen of roti, kapra aur makan to lure the masses, but behind it he traded of his voters with feudal hold and army might, in an attempt to by for himself a prolonged and absolute rule."<sup>15</sup>

### THE SOCIALIST AT WORK

Whatever the perception of a critic, the fact is that Chairman Bhutto was a socialist at heart. In early 1972, he is reported to have said, "God is my witness that I'm not playing with socialism, that I don't proceed slowly out of selfishness. I've felt no fear of giving up what I own...."<sup>16</sup> He was referring to the loss of 7000 acres of land surrendered by him under his own Land Reforms, which he introduced within three months of his coming into power. In all his family lost 45000 acres.

It was April 14, 1972 when the Land Reforms Ordinance was proclaimed by the Chief Martial Law Administer Zulfikar Ali Bhutto. It was based on the recommendations of the Land Reforms Commission which had done the job just in those first three months of Bhutto-in-power. The detailed Land Reforms were first announced on 1st March. Generic Drugs scheme was introduced next in July 1972, under a presidential ordinance, with a view to bringing drug prices within the reach of the people. Branded drugs with the same ingredients and manufacturing formula were being sold at different prices only because they were being marketed by different pharmaceutical companies, most of which were multi-nationals. The prices could be regulated and equated if they were manufactured under generic names. This scheme was also designed to help boost medical education and simplify medical practice in the country. The scheme was opposed by the PPP parliamentary party and was agreed upon only when Chairman Zulfikar Ali Bhutto, the then President of Pakistan, gave his consent after

consulting senior doctors. Sheikh Muhammad Rashid, a senior PPP leader, was the author of the original scheme. He was offered an amount of 5 million, only to get the implementation of the law deferred for one month, which he declined.<sup>17</sup> The act was enforced in March 1973 after the National Assembly passed it in September 1972. The scheme remained in force till 1974. It watered down then under external pressure. Sheikh Muhammad Rashid, the health minister, was made to accept the portfolio of Agriculture; and subsequently the law was amended to exempt compound-ingredient medicines from its purview. The scheme lost its impact and gradually came to naught.

Besides J. A Rahim and Dr. Mubashir Hasan there were other socialists in the PPP, Sheikh Mohammed Rashid (born May 15, 1915) among them, who remained loyal to the party and the leader unflinchingly. He had joined the PPP during his first contact with Chairman Zulfikar Ali Bhutto through Malik Meraj Khalid, another stalwart of the PPP. He advised that the PPP manifesto may be prepared on the basis of "an ideology of socialism" and a complete elimination of feudalism. Bhutto Sahib readily agreed and he joined the PPP before its manifesto was written by J.A Rahim. He became the first president of the Punjab PPP with Malik Ghulam Mustafa Khar as general secretary. Chairman Bhutto agreed to all his recommendations for awarding party tickets for the 1970 general elections except only three.

When the PPP came into power in 1971, the party stalwarts were assigned different portfolios. Sheikh Mohammad Rashid was made the federal Minister for Health. He is a living witness to the fact that Prime Minister Bhutto did not interfere with his work despite pressure to rein the staunch socialist.<sup>18</sup> Political pressures came from the vested interests and the feudal lords who had joined the PPP by the time, but sometimes a socialist like Mr. J.A Rahim would also oppose the revolutionary proposals of Sheikh Muhammad Rashid. For instance, the Sheikh as the Health Minister proposed to introduce the generic scheme for medicines (Generic Drug Scheme). Almost the entire parliamentary party was opposed to it,

Mr. J.A Rahim being the most vocal opponent: A cabinet meeting was held at Murree in April 1972, where Sheikh M. Rashid explained that the proposed scheme, when introduced, would reduce the drug prices and further control the monopoly of multinational pharmaceutical companies providing much relief to poor patients; but the cabinet rejected his proposal and he resigned in protest. Chairman Bhutto simply postponed consideration of his resignation, and then held wide consultations with the professional doctors, druggists and manufacturers, who endorsed the scheme as viable and beneficial. It was accordingly enforced through an ordinance in July 1972, within three months of its presentation and rejection in the cabinet meeting at Murree. Two months later, the National Assembly passed it into law in September 1972. Nonetheless the Law watered down completely as, according to Sheikh Muhammad Rashid, "there were many in the parliamentary party who could not resist the multinationals."<sup>19</sup>

#### THE LAND REFORMS:

Under the Bhutto Government Land Reforms, the ceiling of land holding fixed by the Ayub Government was reduced from 500 acres to 150 acres of irrigated land. The ceiling fixed in case of semi-irrigated and rain-fed areas was reduced from 1000 acres to 300 acres. It hit hard the influential lobby of the Pakistan Peoples Party, who were big landlords. The socialist diehard Sheikh Muhammad Rashid was then the Federal Minister for Agriculture and ex-officio Chairman of the Federal Land Commission. The influential feudal lobby prevailed upon Chairman Bhutto to exempt gifted lands from counting towards the ceiling of land holding. But soon Sheikh M. Rashid "found a legal lacuna regarding lack of annual crop inspections as a means to defuse the law."<sup>20</sup> He formed committees to inspect crop records, and "under suo moto powers, resumed about 3.2 million acres of land from the possession of landlords, and distributed it among some 1,37,000 landless peasants at 12.5 acres a family. It included the lands which were not in Ayub Khan's land reforms. Sheikh Rashid says, "We (i.e.

Chairman Bhutto and he) in fact, prepared a peasants charter for distribution of 16 million acres of state waste land that could be cultivated. But the work could not be completed as Gen. Zia-ul-Haq had imposed martial law. Shaheed Bhutto's land reforms were subjected to criticism and Bhutto Sahib was accused of protecting the influential feudal lobby. Sheikh Rashid says: "I think he was under a tremendous pressure of landlords who had joined the PPP to protect their vested interests."<sup>21</sup> However, there was no hanky-panky and even the Martial Law Authorities, investigating into his wrong doings, could not produce any incriminating evidence against the deposed prime-minister on account of his implementation of the Land Reforms, 1972.

We have an inkling of his personal conduct from the statement of the manager of his agricultural lands. Mr. Abdul Qayoom of Paryana (Mansehra, NWFP) says: "A lot of Bhutto Sahib's agricultural land was given to landless haris under the Land Reforms. Bhutto Sahib had told me not to demand crop share in future from these haris (peasants). However, a lac of rupees was outstanding against them as takavi loan. I had instructed Kamdar Allah Bakhsh to recover this amount...."<sup>22</sup> His instructions to the Kamdar (the lands overseer) resulted into the arrest of those defaulters. When Bhutto Sahib came to Larkana, it was reported to him that his Kamdar had demanded share of crop of the surrendered lands and on refusal the peasants were put behind bars through the Revenue Mukhtiarkar. He got furious, ordered arrest of his Kamdar, Allah Bakhsh, and called for the Manager Mr. Abdul Qayoom who resumed as the Kamdar and told the true story. Then Bhutto Sahib said: "Qayoom! You want to recover your loan by having these poor haris arrested!"<sup>23</sup> Qayoom explained that they were refusing (re) payment. Bhutto Sahib smiled and said, "Qayum! When we have given land worth lacs of rupees, what is the value of this loan, which you want to recover? Go and write off these loans."<sup>24</sup> Compare the kind of a Zamindar he was, with the present day bonded labour episode. Mr. Abdul Qayoom says "Unlike other zamindars, he himself saw (to it) that his lands were

distributed among the landless haris without any hindrance."<sup>25</sup>

He was so even as the Prime Minister. Maulana Abdul Sattar Edhi, a living legend of social work in Pakistan, recalls how the Prime Minister Bhutto came to console the poor residents of Bismillah Building when it collapsed, and the manner in which he was meeting the people and personally supervised the relief work. Maulana Edhi says, "It had convinced me that this man felt for humanity from the core of his heart."<sup>26</sup> But he had also told Prime Minister Bhutto that, "the vested interest, which has dominated Pakistan since the assassination of Liaquat Ali Khan will never let you succeed."<sup>27</sup>

The vested interest, which means an interest vested in an existing political, economic and social arrangement to which the holder has a strong commitment and always wants the status quo, or the exiting state of affairs to continue; but now in Pakistan there was a government in place with a socialist programme and a revolutionary tenor.

#### THE COURSE OF EVENTS:

Chairman Bhutto, as the first civilian Martial Law Administrator and President of Pakistan, took abrupt steps to bring about fundamental changes in the political, economic and social set up. He dissociated Pakistan from the Commonwealth in protest against the organization's failure to protect it from dismemberment and condemn India for its nasty part in it.

The year 1972 saw so many revolutionary policies introduced through Presidential ordinances. The Economic Reforms Order, a Martial Law Regulation, purported to nationalize key industries, was issued on January 3, 1972 and was followed by the Labour Policy which envisaged workers share in profits as well as old age Benefits, pension and group insurance of workers. It was announced on February 10, 1972. Agriculture sector followed the suit on March 1, 1972 when Land Reforms were announced which would benefit the tenants at the cost of the feudal land holders. Within a month and a half, the Land Reforms Ordinance came

through (April 14, 1972). In the meantime, the private educational institutions were nationalized under the new Education Policy announced on March 15, 1972. Such long march was finished in four months time and the CMLA Bhutto announced lifting of the Martial Law on April 21, 1972. He promulgated an interim constitution, under which Chairman Bhutto became the president of Pakistan. He kicked off the change-over with a kick to the established official decorum by taking oath of his office in public. The first year in office, the year 1972, was far more eventful for the changes and developments, which rushed through the dynamic personality of President Bhutto.

We have on record the views and actions of President Bhutto during his first year in office. He was seized with a singular task to rebuild the state and retrieve out of the situation created by its dismemberment. He was emotional about it; but he knew his limitations: "No, not by a process of revolution -I recognize that", President Bhutto confided to his interviewer, "I'm a revolutionary. But I can't afford a sudden and bloody revolution. Pakistan wouldn't be able to stand it; it would be a disaster."<sup>28</sup> President Bhutto said that he proposed to proceed with patience, "by reforms, measures that would gradually lead to socialism - nationalizing when possible... respecting the foreign capital of which we have need... We've been asleep for so many centuries; we can't violently wake ourselves up with an earthquake. Even Lenin in the beginning, stooped to compromises",<sup>29</sup> President Bhutto told the foreign journalist in April 1972

The interview was arranged in the context of Indira- Bhutto talks which were necessary for Pakistan, and also for India, to retrieve from the 1971-war aftermaths. Hence both had agreed to meet. The Italian journalist interviewed Mrs. Indira Gandhi in February 1972, in which the Indian Prime Minister passed some un-called for remarks against the person of President Bhutto to which he retaliated when interviewed by the same journalist two months later. His counter offensive was too hard; so that the talks were called off. But then Mrs. Indira Gandhi decided to meet Mr.

Bhutto nonetheless. Talks were held at Simla hill station in India from June 28 to July 2-1972, which resulted in signing the Simla Accord.

#### THE SIMLA ACCORD:

Ms. Benazir Bhutto was an eye witness to what happened at the Summit between her father, the President of Pakistan and Indira Gandhi, the Prime Minister of India, and how President Bhutto got a breakthrough in seemingly deadlocked negotiations. On the last day, July 2, there was a complete deadlock, particularly over the Kashmir problem and President Bhutto said, "I'd rather go back to Pakistan with no agreement than one imposed by India. The Indian think I can't afford to go home without a treaty and will therefore give in to their demands. But I'm calling their bluff. I'd rather face disillusionment in Pakistan than a treaty which sells out our country".<sup>30</sup> The Pakistan delegation led by President Bhutto aimed at return of the prisoners of war, about 90,000, and the territory along the Sindh border occupied by the Indian forces during the war, about 5000 square miles at a stretch. Mrs. Gandhi tried to trick Mr. Bhutto into making a choice between the two demands: She "agreed to return either the prisoners of war or the territory." President Bhutto thought, as he discussed it with his daughter Ms. Benazir, that "Territory can be assimilated. Prisoners cannot". However the statesman was touching a flashpoint: "Returning without an agreement to free the prisoners was a hard decision... It could trigger off an inevitable turmoil in Pakistan: "Perhaps the Indian side was banking on the inevitable turmoil to force him (President Bhutto) to capitulate. But he didn't".<sup>31</sup>

Talks were virtually finished without an agreement. Schedule was finalized for July 2, according to which President Bhutto was to pay a courtesy call on Mrs. Gandhi at 4:30 p.m. and the Pakistani delegation was to entertain the Indians at a dinner that night. "Then we would be off to Islamabad", Mohtarma Benazir was surprised to hear her father say, "... I'm going to use this protocol visit to try one last time with Mrs. Gandhi. I have an idea..."<sup>32</sup> And

his idea worked. At 12:40 post-midnight, the historic Simla Accord was signed, where by 5000 square miles Indian occupied territory was returned to Pakistan without prejudice to Pakistan's stand on Kashmir problem.

"The Simla Accord opened up communication and trade between the two countries. It further paved the way for the return of our prisoners of war without the humiliation of the war trials that Mujib was threatening in Bangladesh. But it didn't provide for their immediate return."<sup>33</sup> They were released after Pakistan's recognition of Bangladesh over two years later in 1974.

President Bhutto returned home with his delegation and told the greeting crowd, "Today is a great day. There has been a great victory. This is not my victory. Nor is it a victory of Mrs. Gandhi's. It is a victory for the people of Pakistan and India who have won peace after three wars."<sup>34</sup> The Simla Accord was unanimously ratified by the Pakistan National Assembly on July 4, 1972. It is noteworthy that before and after the Simla parleys President Bhutto took into confidence the people of Pakistan and the different shades of public opinion. Recently the chief of a once bitter opposition party paid Shaheed Bhutto his credit for democratic and statesmanly conduct; "... The late Zulfikar Ali Bhutto had consulted all the opposition parties and even those politicians who were not members of the house before he went to Simla in 1972 for talks with India after the 1971 debacle..."<sup>35</sup> Simla Accord, in contrast to the Tashkent Declaration, was a hard won diplomatic feat:

At Tashkent talks, Pakistan was in a favourable position, occupying 1617 square miles of Indian territory vis-à-vis only 446 square miles of Pakistani territory occupied by the Indian forces. At Simla parleys, Pakistan had already been split asunder, losing its eastern half, and a chunk of territory of the Western half, measuring 5139 square miles being under Indian occupation in addition to 90,000 prisons-of-war to be got released from Indian captivity without war trials. There is no comparison between the awkward position of Pakistan at Simla and its strong posture at

Tashkent. At Simla there was no friendly interlocutor involved to help secure the delicate demands of the Pakistani delegation while the Indian delegation was negotiating from a position of power. But at Tashkent there were the two topmost Soviet leaders, Messrs Alexy Kosygin and Andrew Gromyko to help achieve net results with the blessings of the Western superpowers. The American trade overtures and inroads in India and the Russian Asian Security Scheme were at stake, beside their joint objective to contain Chinese clout in South Asia depended on normalization of Indo-Pakistan relations. There was a chance for Pakistan to get the Kashmir problem solved or at least put into top gear towards a final solution. At Simla it was simply a question of a face saving survival of a dismembered state to start a new life with peace within as well as on the borders with India by normalizing relations after getting back over five thousand square miles of territory of the remaining West Pakistan and release of about 90,000 prisoner of war without any war trials. What Shaheed Bhutto achieved at Simla made Pakistan strong.

At Tashkent the Pakistan delegation, with foreign Minister Bhutto as its best brain, had mooted the Kashmir dispute as the core-issue and the cause of conflict to be addressed urgently. But the Indian delegation put normalization of Indo-Pakistan relations at top priority. The net outcome of Tashkent talks vindicated the Indian position. The Tashkent Declaration called for the restoration of diplomatic, economic and trade relations, and "the matters of direct concern" or the matters concerned with the dispute between India and Pakistan over Kashmir, were to be discussed in the future "at the highest and other levels". Thus the core-issue was not touched even.

In the winter of 1973, Prime Minister Bhutto, while on a tour of Chitral, stopped at Mastuj. It was a cold bleak day, snow fall and bone chilling breeze blowing all around. The Chitrali tribes men, clothed in tatters and feet bound in rags instead of shoes, were present in scores to greet their revolutionary leader. He looked around, tears fell rolling over his cheeks and he exclaimed: "Why

should it be our destiny to live in such poverty and misery! It is not the writ of God!<sup>36</sup> In the next summer (1974) he led Prince Karim Aga Khan to visit the area, which paved the way for establishment of the "Aga Khan Foundation" for social and economic uplift which is still in place and contributes to social uplift.

Shaheed Bhutto shifted the political focus of Pakistan from ideology to economics: food, shelter and clothing. He pioneered projects and programmes designed to bring about scientific and technological advancement including nuclear power programme. He founded his political party, the Pakistan People's Party on four cardinal principles; Islam is our religion, democracy is our policy, socialism is our economy and all power rests with the people. These principles synthesized the diverse, often divergent, elements in the society and politics of the country into a composite modern nation. He could not achieve his aim but he took the initiative and laid the foundations of national cohesion. His land reforms, nationalization programme and socialism met with only a partial success, as he could not eliminate feudalist hegemony in politics. He was adamant on his nuclear capability agenda. In Late 1972 he inaugurated the Karachi Nuclear Power Plant as the President of Pakistan, but much before that while in the cabinet of Field Marshal Ayub Khan as Minister for Fuel, Power and Natural Resources, he had played a key role in setting up the Pakistan Atomic Energy Commission. Then he also helped establish the Kahuta facility.

In the economic sector, Bhutto played a revolutionary role: He nationalized the top industries which hit hard upon the hegemony of local industrialist class. Under his government there was a massive transfer of resources towards raising rural economy. The quota system provided for facilities to backward areas to come up to a reasonable level of development and self-sufficiency. All banks were nationalized with immediate effect on January 1, 1974.

#### **THE CONSTITUTION:**

Shaheed Bhutto gave the people of Pakistan the first constitution of their state, which was acceptable to all political and

religious parties and was based on democratic principles. The constitution of 1973 passed unanimously by the National Assembly of Pakistan has proved irreplaceable. It still constitutes a common political ground for the federation of Pakistan and provides a compromise formula for solving three main issues which had been bedeviling constitution making ever since the birth of the state in 1947. These issues pertained to (1) the role of Islam in the State affairs. (2) The quantum of provincial autonomy for the federating units and (3) The nature and scope of the Executive. The consensus achieved by Shaheed Bhutto on these main issues getting divergent political parties such as the Jamat-i-Islami, JUP and JUI who wanted an Islamic State vis-à-vis Awami National Party which stood for maximum provincial autonomy and was dominant in the NWFP and Balochistan, was no less than a political miracle. It contained these dangerous flash-points constitutionally for good.

The never ending tussle between the head of the State i.e. the President and the Parliament i.e. the Prime Minister was settled by empowering the Prime Minister. The constitution envisaged a bi-cameral legislature with equal representation to all the four provinces in the Senate. In a country where one province has overwhelming majority in the National Assembly or the Lower House as against all the other three provinces taken together, the Senate is the institution of balance and equilibrium. It safeguards the perpetuity of the federation. The Council of Common Interests is another such institution set up under the constitution to provide for the participation of the minority population provinces in the state affairs on equal footing. The Constitution declares Islam as the State religion. The Council of Islamic Ideology is established as such to advise on the Islamisation of laws. Islamic socialism is further embodied in the constitution defining the basic principle of socialism viz: "from each according to his ability, to each according to his work".

#### **RECOGNITION OF BANGLADESH:**

President Bhutto faced the foremost problem of deciding about

Sheikh Mujib-ur-Rahman, who was under detention, and the policy line vis-à-vis secession and independence of East Pakistan. He addressed it first.

The Commander-in-Chief of Pakistan Armed Forces Gen. Yahya Khan, mainly responsible for surrender and fall of Dhaka, was replaced forthwith. On the sixth day, December 26, 1971, Sheikh Mujib-ur-Rahman was flown from his prison cell to an army bungalow in Rawalpindi, where CMLA Bhutto drove in person after the sunset on the next day and met him. Since his arrest in Dhaka in late March 1971, Sheikh Mujib-ur-Rahman was held incommunicado. When he knew that the PPP Chairman Z. A. Bhutto was meeting him in the capacity of President of Pakistan, he told him, "Believe me I am happy. Tell me what is the condition of Bengal? I am very perturbed". "...You have done away with the military? he asked and Bhutto Sahib replied, "Now it is a secondary matter. Military will not come back again. I just want to see the unity of my country on whatever terms you want". Sheikh Mujib said, "No, no terms. Tell me what is position in my country?" Bhutto posed a frank question, "Mujib Bhai, if there is any possibility that we can live together?"<sup>37</sup> Sheikh Mujib promised to hold public meeting in Dhaka, "meet my people, discuss with them and inform you".<sup>38</sup> He was released and flown, in the dead of night on January 8, 1972, to his independent homeland Bangladesh.

Did President Bhutto ever feel sorry for having released Sheikh Mujib-ur-Rahman? In his own words, "No, never, he's a Pakistani like myself, whatever he may say. And more than once we've suffered the same accusations, the same persecutions underneath that there is a bond between us... Besides, poor Mujib, he won't last long."<sup>39</sup>

#### THE CONSTITUTION OF ISLAMIC REPUBLIC:

The consensus 'Constitution of Pakistan which came into force on August 14, 1973, replacing the Interim constitution, retained Islam as the State religion and the name of the State as the "Islamic Republic of Pakistan". In the policy principles, there was reference

to Islamic way of life, compulsory teaching of the Holy Quran and Islamiyat, encouragement to learning Arabic, to the promotion of unity and the observance of Islamic moral standards and organization of Zakat, auqaf and mosques. In the exclusive Part IX further provisions relating to Islam were contained e.g. removal of repugnancy between the existing laws and the Holy Quran and Sunnah, and prohibition of future laws which were repugnant to the Holy Quran and Sunnah. There was also provision for the constitution of the Islamic Ideology Council to advise on such matters.

The Constitution of 1973 defines the Fundamental rights of citizens and guarantees their enforcement. One important fundamental right was enunciated, declaring that "The dignity of man and, subject to law, the privacy of home shall be inviolable, no person shall be subjected to torture for the purpose of extracting evidence."<sup>40</sup>

All forms of exploitation are to be eliminated and the State is to ensure gradual fulfilment of the fundamental socialistic principle: "from each according to his ability, to each according to his work."<sup>41</sup>

The provision relating to minorities gives them the right to profess, practice their religion and to develop their culture, and, subject to law and order and morality, they are allowed to propagate their religion.

### **THE BHUTTO GOVERNMENT: MINUS POINTS**

Emergency was proclaimed when Bhutto came into power, and continued throughout his tenure. Thereby the Federal Government had preponderating power over the provinces. The provincial autonomy and the powers vested in the provincial assemblies were thus affected. The matters on which they could legislate were defined in the concurrent list, on which the National Assembly could also legislate with an edge over the provincial legislature. The residuary subjects were with the provinces but the list of legislative powers had been so drawn that practically there were no important residual powers on which the provincial

assemblies could legislate. Furthermore under Article 232, the President of Pakistan could proclaim a state of Emergency, and unless disapproved by a resolution adopted at a joint sitting of the Parliament, the Presidential Proclamation of emergency could continue indefinitely.

Appeasement of the clergy on the advice of Maulana Kausar Niazi, who was the relevant cabinet minister, proved a faux pas. While the PPP's Islamic socialism had not taken off yet, hurried announcements of Islamic weekly holiday, banning of un-Islamic social entertainments: horse races, clubs, wine shops etc, and creation of jobs in the government for Moulvis and waiz (preachers) of madressahs opened a Pandora's box, which released religious pretensions of leaders of various sects, hews and political organizations, each promising Islamization as the purpose and purport of the state of Pakistan viz there is no God except Allah. All such pronouncements were evidently valid and largely acceptable to the Muslim majority population of Pakistan.

Prime Minister Bhutto called general elections before time. In January 1977, he announced election to the National Assembly on March 7 and to the provincial assemblies on March 9, 1977. Dr. Mubashir Hassan, who was then the Secretary General of the PPP, writes, "Bhutto called a high level meeting in the Governor House in Lahore to assess the party's prospects at the polls....in Lahore....I replied that we were likely to win all the eight seats and in no case would we concede more than one...in which our candidate plays foul, uses a stengun, or runs away with the ballot box. Bhutto...asked Rafi to warn the man."

Elections were held on schedule. The 9-Party PNA was totally defeated. The total rout of all opposition parties in the National Assembly election on March 7, 1977, made them boycott the provincial assemblies elections to be held on March 9. They came out in the streets to decry rigging of election. On April 9, 1977 serious clashes occurred in Lahore in which several people, on both sides, were killed. The historic city of Lahore, where Bhutto's tears-soaked handkerchief was purchased for Rs.10,000, where the PPP

was founded, was now the headquarter of PNA movement against Bhutto. The first ever "appeasement policy" adopted by Shaheed Bhutto towards his opponents, holding the banner of Islam, was announced in Lahore, which provided a set of measures towards Islamization, which did not pacify the PNA agitation. Subsequently it had to be the city of Lahore, in which on March 18, 1978, the Lahore High Court sentenced Shaheed Bhutto to death. But the Lahoris, who supported their chosen leader throughout his political career, remained true to their salt, even during the 11 years long Zia regime which flogged Bhutto fans, put them into jail and even hanged the diehards, the Lahoris retained their support to the cause of Shaheed Bhutto and turned out almost en-mass to welcome his daughter Mohtarma Benazir Bhutto on her return from exile in 1986. Despite the minus points of Bhutto/PPP government the popularity of PPP did not diminish.

#### **ACHIEVEMENTS:**

Prime Minister Bhutto planned to harness, for the first time, the gift of Allah in the form of a natural harbour on Karachi's coastline for an additional deep seaport. Bureaucracy in Islamabad had proposed Balochistan seaboard for an additional seaport and a place near Kalabagh in Mianwali district of Punjab for the steel mill. The Prime Minister rejected both proposals: None of essential infrastructure to develop a seaport in shortest time and at lowest cost was available outside Karachi metropolitan area. Road and railway network to link the port with the rest of the country, electricity, communication, housing and human resources all were available in Karachi, which was being neglected ever-since the capital had been shifted from there. Karachi had a wonderful creek to afford a natural deep seaport. Every thing was available there. So, Prime Minister Bhutto took an independent decision to build Port Qasim at that place. Since Pakistan Steel Mill, aided by the USSR, had to be located in close proximity to a seaport capable of handling bulk cargo of iron ore and coke, the proposed Kalabagh site was summarily rejected and The Prime Minister went straight

to perform the ground-breaking ceremony of Pakistan Steel (PS) and laid the foundation stone of Port Qasim Authority (PQA) in Karachi. Concurrently he conceived a modern transit facility for Karachi city and got around the Japanese who agreed voluntarily to assist. A special cell was then created in the federal ministry of communications called Rapid Transit cell (R.T.C) in no time to liaise with the Japanese experts who arrived in Karachi on short notice in mid-1974. The Karachi Mass Transit Plan, initiated by Prime Minister Bhutto, originally envisaged, inter alia, an ambitious project laying an 8-kilometre underground metro on the city's busiest traffic route from Liaquatabad to Mereweather Tower, thereby providing a link between Karachi Circular Railway (KCR), which runs around the peripheries, and the city centre where majority of commuters start their daily out-and-back. The Bureaucratic cynicism again blocked the proposal and the Prime Minister had to shortcut the red tape. "If the Calcuttains could have a ride on metro then why not Karachi city's? the ambitious prime minister noted, "The 18-km subway in Calcutta is now characterized as Calcutta's drawing room". Mr. Jafar Wafa, who had been actively associated with the project from 1974 to 1977, remarks: "Had ZAB been left to live and had Karachi City not spearheaded the violent agitation against him, the writer is confident, a metro would have been built in Karachi as also all other ancillary transport modes that were proposed in RTC plan.

The development requirements and potential of the Karachi port and city were well recognized. Port Qasim, Pakistan Steel Mill and the RTC [Rapid Transit Cell] bespeak the truth.

The following achievements of the son of the desert while in the saddle are note worthy: Shaheed Bhutto transformed the statecraft from drawing room politics to open Katcheries. The lowly and the highly strata of society were inter mingled. Centuries old bonds had been broken. He wanted to impart his vision to the down trodden masses and to motivate them for a revolutionary activism: The feudal-cum-capitalist system and the consequent exploitation of the national wealth by selected 22 families provided an opportune

moment for a revolutionary political party with an emancipating manifesto. Chairman Bhutto's speeches at this stage were laden with hopes of a perfect social condition, freedom, equality, community consciousness, peace, justice and human dignity and the rule of law.

#### APPRAISAL:

Shaheed Bhutto was not offered government over a bed of roses. The country had been ripped apart. More than five thousand square miles of the remaining western part were also occupied by the Indian forces and about 90,000 Pakistani troops were POW. Demoralization was wide spread across West Pakistan. It was rather a challenge, which Bhutto had accepted. He took over and promised to a build new Pakistan.

"During his historical rule over the country," says Muhammad Hanif Khan, "Shaheed Bhutto changed positively every walk of life. He took big and memorable decisions (steps rather)... one can start from the 1973 constitution, which is a record achievement in the constitutional history... to make all those big leaders of heterogeneous thinking, manifestos and programme agree on a sensitive document like a constitution... was not an ordinary job. Construction of Port Qasim, Karachi, [Pakistan] Steal mills, starting the nuclear programme, holding of the Islamic Summit Conference, introduction of National Identity cards, simplifying the procedure of passports, opening avenues of employment at home and overseas especially in the Middle eastern countries, restoring the honour of the poor (emancipation of the labour class) reviving Labour dignity [dignity of work], land reforms, law reforms, education reforms [nationalization policy in education, banking and industry] Labour reforms, formation of NDVP, NLC, Nespak... above all, he greatly strengthened the military and took steps to modernize it. He had vowed to make Pakistan a nuclear power even if nation had to eat grass." [The poor of his land eat grass food like vegetables, saag and pali with relish, and the desert people almost live on grass-roots].

The PPP government was first to recognize disparity in educational and socio-economic development among the provinces. The concept of quota system was introduced to help the youth from the disadvantaged rural areas to get a minimum share in government jobs and admission facilities for professional and technical education. It brought the state into the areas of a social-welfare state.

### **POLICY TOWARDS THE TRIBAL AREAS AND AFGHANISTAN:**

The tribal areas of Pakistan, 10,500 square miles in extent and with a population of 30 lakh armed souls, had been a no-go-area for the writ of the state to prevail or a major development work to be carried out there. These areas were also clouded by a political bogey of Pakhtoonistan.

President Bhutto visited these areas in November 1972. Maj. Gen. (R) Nasirullah Khan Babar was then posted as Inspector General Frontier Corps. On his authority we know that after his first visit, he made it a point to visit each agency at least twice a year. He had embarked upon a deliberate massive development programme for the tribal areas. The Annual Development budget of these areas was increased from 44 Lakhs as in the year 1971-72 to 30 crores in 1976-77, and by the time a political climate had been created by this great leader of the masses establishing progressive rapport with the individual tribesmen and replacing jirgas with public meetings, (khuli i.e. open) Katcheries. According to Maj. Gen. (R) Babar, it was decided to introduce adult franchise and representation in the provincial assembly.

In July 1973 Sardar Daud Khan staged a successful coup d'etat in Afghanistan, which disturbed the balance of power in the region. Bhutto sensed the vacuum and said, "If you open up vacuums near a Big power (USSR), they will be automatically filled." On the other hand a "generational change" in leadership was on the cards both in the USSR and China. Political generations sometimes differ in fundamental ways like Gorbachev generation ushered in a new

political era in the USSR/Russia. Though the Islamic Revolution of Iran was not in sight then, but there was a sensation about what would happen after the demise of the Shah of Iran. The USSR-India and the USSR-Afghanistan friendship treaties were also causing concern in Pakistan: The six tribal areas could be the lynch-pin of the emerging scenario:

President Bhutto, later as the Prime Minister of Pakistan, steered Pakistan's foreign policy with sagacity and a vision: on assumption of office, the first country he visited was Afghanistan; later he tuned the foreign policy towards bilateralism. The Daud regime was immediately recognized in a bid to improve and stabilize Pak-Afghan relations, after the July 1973 Afghan coup. In October 1973, a group of Afghan leaders comprising Gulbadin Hikmat Yar, Burhanuddin Rabbani, Habib-ur-Rahman (later killed), Ahmed Shah Masood, Noor Muhammed Muhammedi and the rest about 12-15 Afghans arrived in Islamabad and sought political asylum against Daud regime. Maj. Gen. (R) Babar says: "Progressively, a nucleus of military trained personnel was created throughout Afghanistan." In 1974-75, several bomb-blasts occurred in the NWFP and other areas of Pakistan, in which a Pathan PPP leader Mr. Hayat Khan Sherpao was assassinated, in February 1975. In August 1975 there was an operation of Pakistan Army in Punjsher. It was message for President Daud of Afghanistan, who came down to terms for an accord on the Durand Line and other problems, and in lieu thereof Prime Minister Bhutto agreed to postpone his plan of introduction of adult franchise in the tribal areas, by one year. Infact the massive socio-economic programme launched by the Pakistan Government was having its effect and impact across the border. The trans-Durand Line Afghan tribes were looking towards Pakistan.

Prime Minister Bhutto sent a team of Afghan representatives to meet the Ex King Zahir Shah in his exile in Rome and discuss with him his willingness to return to Afghanistan; and the mechanism would have led to a political solution of the Pak-Afghan differences. The Ex King Zahir Shah was willing to return; but Shaheed

Bhutto's time was over. The PNA agitations and the subsequent Martial Law of Gen. Zia ul Haq took away the opportunity. Major Gen. (R) Nasirullah Khan Babar while deposing before a summary military court in Oct: 1978, said, "... A fresh invasion of the subcontinent has taken place. This time the invasion is more subtle and therefore ominous. The traditional hordes are for the present, undoubtedly, absent, but may not be too long in the coming... the Quaid-i-Awam, the only macro-politician, who can only steer the country out of the present political mess and also ensure its integrity, languishes in jail..."

#### **FOREIGN POLICY:**

Shaheed Bhutto advocated and pursued bilateralism in foreign relations. After Liaquat-Nehru Pact, the Simla Agreement was a significant step forward in that direction. Being an astute negotiator, he won over Mrs. Indira Gandhi the PM of India in a one-on-one last attempt to save negotiations from utter failure. He achieved the return of about 90,000 Pow's, 5000 square miles of occupied territory in the desert of Sindh- Rajasthan border and an open option on Kashmir issue. "Mr. Bhutto had a forte for foreign affairs", says Maj. Gen. (R) Babar "... with his uncanny sense of perception of geo-strategic changes, he realized that the loss of East Pakistan had brought about fundamental changes: one, that SEATO had become meaningless (redundant), two, that henceforth, South Asia was no longer the primary arena.... Pakistan was to fall back on its Islamic moorings..." Shaheed Bhutto made the Middle East affairs the cornerstone of his diplomacy and found a place in the Arab World, beside Iran and Turkey who were already specially related through CENTO.

In 1973, during the Arab-Israel war Shaheed Bhutto suggested "oil-embargo". It lent new dimension to the geo-economic vision of a collaborative environment. Fortunes of the Gulf States changed overnight through the formation of OPEC by King Faisal of Saudi Arabia. In and through this organization, the Muslim world took a clear and concrete form and it emerged on the world scene as the

most powerful international cartel. Minor nations became wealthy economic powers. Pakistan backed up the Arab cause, and the foreign policy was geared to lend active support to it. In 1976, the Libyan revolutionary President Col. Gadaffi, arrived at a short notice of 45 minutes to embrace Brother Bhutto at the Peshawar airport. Foreign affairs attracted Prime Minister Bhutto by aptitude and skill. To become the Foreign Minister of Pakistan was his first cherished goal in politics.

Shaheed Bhutto espoused the cause of the Muslim World (the Ummah) as well as the Third World. He pointed out the real difference between states as being that of industrialized and non-industrialized (rich and poor) i.e. North and South, and not that of West and East. As envisioned by him the world is really identified as North and South.

For the Arab Muslim World, as well as for the Third World countries, Pakistan's People's Government offered practical support: Pilots were provided to Syria during the Arab Israel war of 1973 and Turkey was openly supported over the Cyprus issue. Prime Minister Bhutto befriended Arab Leaders like King Faisal, Col. Muammar Gadaffi, Yasser Arafat and Hafiz al Asad. For Yasser Arafat, he secured the status of a head of state, through full protocol accorded to him at the time of the Islamic Summit in 1974. He became one with 43 Muslim Heads of State/Government, who attended the summit and the PLO got the final international recognition and Palestine a state status.

Also through the Islamic Summit held in Lahore, Pakistan, and its people watching the TV, got a sense of honour and importance, after the fall of Dhaka three years before. The present author still remembers the taste and feeling of grandeur provided by the proceedings of the Islamic Summit Conference.

#### **THE NUCLEAR OPTION:**

Prior to Indian explosion of a nuclear device, in May 1974, Pakistan had a small nuclear installation at Karachi called KANUPP (Canada-sponsored) and an experimental station at

NILORE. The fresh development was fraught with an outright Indian hegemony in South Asia. The French Government was made to review its commitment, but not Shaheed Bhutto his determination. He was threatened with dire consequences - the famous Kissinger message at Lahore. Shaheed Bhutto received a letter of threat from the U.S Foreign Secretary, Cyrus Vance, which he hurled publicly in the Raja Bazaar of Rawalpindi, and said: "The white elephant is after my blood."

#### THE LEGACY:

..."Mr. Bhutto was one of those selected individuals who leave a deep and ineradicable imprint on the minds of individuals who had the privilege to work with him", says Major Gen. (R.) Nasrullah Khan Babar. "He was, undoubtedly, a product of history... Mr. Bhutto became the embodiment of the national courage and personified the national will... when the nation lay prostrate because of reversal of a thousand years of Muslim history of the sub-continent". Gen. Niazi, Amir Abdullah Khan Niazi (1915-2004), laid down arms before Gen. Jagjeet Singh Aurora at Paltan Maidan Dacca [it was] "the biggest disgrace ever in the Muslim history of warfare", says Mr. M. Hanif Khan the Pathan PPP leader of NWFP. Shaheed Bhutto stood for vindication of the lost honour.

The Bhutto Government bequeathed lasting land reforms. The PML (N) Government reportedly sought advice of a senior PPP leader Sheikh Muhammad Rashid for "implementing the unfinished agenda of agrarian reforms of the Late Zulfikar Ali Bhutto's government in 1972 and 1976". Sheikh Rashid told a source that the real task was taking possession of the land which he had resumed all over the country as Chairman of the Federal Land Commission, under MLR 115, MLR 64, and MLR 117 in 1972 and then in 1976. He took over about 5.1 million acres of land in two reforms, which included an area of about 1.5 million acres which he resumed under his suo moto powers.

President Ayub Khan had first introduced land reforms, in

1964, whereby the upper ceiling of individual land holding was fixed at 500 acres irrigated and 1000 acres non-irrigated. The compensation was fixed at Rs: 3 per produce index unit. Quaid-i-Awam Zulfikar Ali Bhutto, in his land reforms 1972 scheme, reduced the upper ceiling drastically: It was 150 acres irrigated and 300 acres barani land and no compensation was allowed for the resumed land. In his second reforms in 1976, he further reduced the maximum ceiling to 100 acres irrigated and 200 acres non-irrigated. According to Sheikh Rashid there are about 216.3 million acres of cultivable State wasteland available, which could be disposed off.

Shaheed Bhutto was the first political leader of Pakistan who established a direct contact and a rapport with the common man during his election campaigning. He is said to have taken politics out of drawing rooms. His adversaries blame him for populist adventurism but its impact is not ignorable: He visited villages and small towns located in far flung areas and conversed with the common man. He was conscious of the dominant role of the Punjab in Pakistani politics but he struck his own way going past the Punjab elite and appealed to the people in their own language, "who opened their arms to this man from Sindh." He did the same in Sindh; but in Balochistan and the N.W.F.P, he was seen by the religious leadership and the feudal chieftains as a dangerous man who was about to destroy their age-old hold on the common man. He was opposed tooth and nail during the 1970 election campaign. On the Election Day, the Government owned "Pakistan Times" carried an appeal to the voters through its virulently anti-PPP editorial. "Go and vote for Islam". While in the Punjab and Sindh, the voters did not believe that the PPP was anti-Islamic party, the appeal made in the name of Islam worked in Balochistan and the NWFP and the politicians returned from these province maintained anti-Bhutto stance through out.

#### **THE FLASH POINTS:**

In 1973, Shaheed Bhutto removed Gen. Gul Hasan the then

Chief of the Army Staff (COAS); and said, "Martial Law has been buried for ever, and now there is a new era of democratic order". Gen Mirza Aslam Beg, a former COAS remarks, "It was the Martial Law which ultimately prevailed." His observation is that "...the COAS symbolizes the spirit, the cohesiveness and the morale of the people [the soldiers] he commands. Any disrespect shown to him hurts the ego of the army."

After independence and establishment of Pakistan, eight million Muslim refugees immigrated from India into the new State and mostly settled in Karachi and other urban areas of Sindh. Soon they came to hold important positions in government, industry, commerce and other lucrative fields. They were culturally different from the indigenous population, mostly settled in rural areas, dependent on agriculture. Mahajireen sought a separate identity and society for themselves. Even those who were born in Sindh refused to be identified as Sindhis. They disdained Sindhi Language and tried to force Urdu as medium of education on Sindhi students, which led to bitterness.

The succeeding governments did nothing to encourage social harmony and assimilation of immigrant population into the evolving polity. On the other hand leadership groups allowed the Mohajir community to be further alienated from the rest of Pakistan. The society, particularly in Sindh, became progressively fractured.

President Ayub tried to change the political system through his concept of Basic democracies, "suited to the genius of the people" as he put it. It deflected, for a time, power away from the landed aristocracy. Basic democrats failed to enlist popular support. Ayub Government ended up into another Martial Law, under which the state dismembered. Shaheed Zulfikar Ali Bhutto emerged as powerful leader of majority in the remaining western half of the country. Aristocracy returned to power with a vengeance.

The constitution of 1973 contained a new provision relating to "High Treason" and its punishment by law: Treason is defined as abrogation or attempt to abrogate, subvert or attempt to conspire to

subvert the constitution by force or show of force or by other unconstitutional means.

"Operation fair play" was a horrible misnomer. Shaheed Bhutto in his prison notes, "If I am assassinated," contends that the Generals had begun to make their moves long before they struck on July 5, 1977. Their plotting had started before the elections in March. The coup matured slowly as the result of a deal between the army and PNA, and between both of them and a foreign power.

## FLASHPOINTS AND THE FALL-OUT

The founder-Chairman of the Pakistan People's Party, Shaheed Zulfikar Ali Bhutto, did not have a smooth sailing in the troubled political waters of Pakistan. This part of the Indo-Pakistan subcontinent was ruled by the British for over one hundred years but they could not rein the tribal, feudal and national elements which confronted their government for a laissez-faire in their indigenous society, culture and system of justice dispensed through jirga presided over by the elders, sardars, chieftains and religious leaders. A continual warfare went on till the end of the British rule.

The independent state of Pakistan, being a democratic polity, had to face more problems, particularly in the NWFP, tribal areas, and Balochistan. The military rule of over a decade (1958-1971), during the dictatorship of Field Marshal Ayub Khan and General Yahya Khan, could not quell the insurgent nature of the people of either Balochistan, or the North West Frontier Province.

In the General Election of 1970, PPP got 81 out of 131 seats in the National Assembly pertaining to West Pakistan. Only one seat out of 18 of the NWFP was won by the PPP and in Balochistan none of the 4 seats fell to PPP's lot.

The National Awami Party of Wali Khan and the Jamiat-ul-Ulema-e-Islam of Maulana Mufti Mahmud, thus represented the two provinces and formed an opposition alliance. President Bhutto opened negotiations with this opposition, the JUI-NAP alliance, on March 4, 1972 and 'brilliantly' achieved agreement on the future constitution of Pakistan. The accord was signed on March 6, 1972;

and the National Assembly Session was proposed to be convened on April 14, 1972 "for a period not exceeding three days". An interim constitution drafted on the basis of the Government of India Act 1935, read with the Independence Act 1947, was debated and a vote of confidence in Bhutto Government and approval of continuation of martial law till August 14, 1972 were accorded; and the National Assembly was to be recovered on that date to act both as constitution making body and as a legislative body of Pakistan. It was further decided under the accord that the Provincial Assemblies would be convened on April 21, 1972; and that "the central government should continue to have the right to appoint governors in the provinces" - in consultation with NAP and JUI, during the interim period.

What made CMLA-President Bhutto to end his Martial Law authority within four months (December 20, 1971 - April 21, 1972), though the PPP leaders and workers mostly desired that he should continue as CMLA till the country came under complete control? He had higher objectives in view, e.g. negotiating with the Indian Prime Minister Mrs. Indra Gandhi to get back the lost territory of West Pakistan, now the only Pakistan left, and release of 90,000 prisoners of war, in the capacity of a democratic leader of his country. Also he wanted to get back to world forums, the UNO, the commonwealth etc to stop recognition of Bangladesh, which he disdained to advocate as a military ruler. "In the critical days ahead," writes Dr. Mubashir Hasan, "he had to have the sole authority to negotiate with foreign countries and carryout the necessary economic and social reform for which he had the electoral mandate. Only a strong president could lead the nation into a near consensus for a new constitution."<sup>1</sup>

## THE NWFP

The North West Frontier Province (NWFP) was created in 1901, by separation from the British Punjab. It was merged into the West Pakistan One Unit in 1955 and was restored in 1970. Its border with Afghanistan was demarcated in 1893 along the Durand Line.

The NWFP was tactically and strategically important for the British India Government. It had moved to consolidate its control over the region in 1840s when Sindh and Punjab were sucked in and annexed. The ill-defined boundaries have had an unpleasant history of turmoil and strife. In the NWFP, so named by the British, lie five mountain passes, through which invaders from Central Asia have been pouring into the rich Indus plains now constituting Pakistan, ever since the known history. Their racial stock, and inhabitants of the region nowadays, are bellicose, independent spirited Pathan tribes.... Mahsuds, Mohammads, Affirdis etc, who have never accepted any firm allegiance to the neighboring governments. They are and want to remain independent under their own tribal system of government.

The policy of the British India Government towards the tribesmen of the NWFP was based on noninterference in tribal affairs, and closed borders. It "gradually set about administrating the plains of Peshawar, Kohat and Bannu, but left the tribesmen of the uplands in semi-liberty."<sup>2</sup> Expeditions had however to be sent into the mountains to punish Pathan marauders. A tough fight occurred in 1863, when the Yusufzai tribe supported the Sikh fugitive, in the difficult terrain, the Swat state. British army action against the accused and their supporters, the Yusufzai tribesmen, proved futile and prolonged. The British Government of India changed its "closed border" Policy into a dynamic "forward policy." The tribesman turned to the Afghan Government for aid; Amir Abdur Rahman of Afghansitan (1881-1901 AD) was hard pressed to define by treaty a mutual frontier along the so-called "Durand Line", in 1893.

In 1897, there was sudden upheaval among the Afridis, Orakzais and Mohamands against the British rule which was quelled by the British forces comprising 30,000 troops commanded by Gen. Lockhart. But the upheaval never subsided. It recurred, in wearisome repetition, in successively different frontier areas, large scale military operation was conducted in Waziristan between 1909 and 1911. Military garrisons were established permanently in the

tribal area. The "Mahsuds emerged as probably the most dangerous of all the frontier's fighting tribes."<sup>3</sup>

The British were in grave straits, notably in Waziristan and in the Zhob tract of Balochistan. "The building of roads in the tribal hills, from which benefits were hoped, had evidently.....no stabilizing effect."<sup>4</sup> Railway line, extended to the Khyber Pass [Landi Kotal] in 1925, was of some help. But the "Afridi snipers got into orchards alongside the British cantonment in Peshawar in 1930 and launched an attack; and the Garhawali army unit mutinied. In 1934 the Mohamand area to the north called for military intervention. The 1936-37 Jihad launched by the "Faqir of Ipi" "was the gravest the frontier [government] had ever experienced. The 1940-41 uprising of Ahmadzai, northeast of Bannu, was also considerable."<sup>5</sup>

#### UPRISING IN BALOCHISTAN

Balochistan got provincial status after dissolution of One Unit of West Pakistan in 1970. The territory named as Balochistan has a long history of uprisings and confrontation with occupying forces and government. The Imperial Gazetteer of India, Provincial series "Balochistan" mentions that, "Macedonian, Arab, Ghaznavi, Mongol, Mughal, Durrani, all traversed the country [of the Baloch] and occupied it to guard their lines of communication, but have bequeathed neither building nor other monuments of their presence."<sup>6</sup> The land of the Baloch "too cold, too dry, too mountainous, too infertile, or too remote" formed part of Pakistan in 1947.

The relationship between "the highly centralized and bureaucratized ruling elite of Pakistan and the ruling elite [of Balochistan] comprising Sardars of the Baloch" remained cold and strained. The writ of the British India Government over Balochistan rested on a series agreements with Khan of Qalat. The right of government on the leased out areas was seceded by the Sardars in consideration of pecuniary benefits.

At that time Balochistan was known as a confederation of Qalat

which was established in 1666 AD, and comprised Qalat, Lasbela, Kharan and Makran. The British India Government developed Shaal into Quetta and made it the headquarters of their political agent. The British army captured Qalat in 1839 and setup a 14 years old Mir Shah Nawaz Khan as the Khan of Qalat, who was replaced within two years by Mir Nasir Khan II (1841 - 1857). He was a British ally at the time of the British occupation of Sindh on February 17, 1843. Sindh and Balochistan have a common history recorded since the 16th century AD, when the Mughal India Empire annexed both. On the downfall of Mughal Dynasty both remained under the suzerainty of the Durrani Kingdom of Afghanistan. The British India Government offered an annual subsidy of Rs.150,000 to the Khan of Qalat in lieu of a "Treaty of Friendship" in 1854. The treaty bound down the Khan of Qalat not to have relations with any foreign power without prior permission of the British Government; and allow British army to stay in Balochistan territory "whenever necessary",<sup>7</sup> to protect merchants passing through and to prevent Baloch tribesmen from raiding British territory. Another treaty was signed in 1876. It is known as the "Treaty of Gundamak".<sup>8</sup>

Under this treaty the British India Government annexed some Afghan and Baloch areas. In 1883 at Khangarh (later named Jacobabad, Sindh) the Khan of Qalat signed the lease agreement allowing the British Government control of the Bolan Pass and Shaal (Quetta) valley, which was administered by Sir Robert Sandeman (1835 - 1892). In 1889, he occupied the Khoab valley.

The British Government was not much interested in the land of Balochistan, whose mineral wealth was not known then; but it was mainly interested in maintaining their northwestern boundary with Iran and Afghanistan, and communication lines, to defend itself against Russian or French advance on its Indian empire. The internal control of the Baloch tribes was primarily the responsibility of their Sardars and so the socio economic life of the people was their domain, but in order to be able to keep in check the recalcitrant Baloch, hardy by nature, militant and chivalrous, fond

of freedom and independence, which "only a son of the desert could be", the British India Government enacted a black law, called the Frontier Crimes-Control Regulation (FCR), which was the only instrument of law, bequeathed to Pakistan.

The Khan of Qalat had demanded return to the status quo prior to the Treaty of 1876 to restore the Qalat confederacy. He sent a memorandum to the British Cabinet Mission in 1946, without success. A "standstill agreement" was, however, signed on August 4, 1947 by Mir Ahmad Yar Khan, the Khan of Qalat with "Muhammad Ali Jinnah [and] Viceroy Louis Mountbatten.

Pakistan came into existence on August 14, 1947. The next day, the Khan of Qalat, Mir Ahmad Yar Khan (1933 - 1977) announced that "after the lapse of British rule, Balochistan was sovereign and independent". However, within half a year, the states of Kharan, Lasbela and Makran agreed (on March 17, 1948) to join Pakistan. Apprehensive of military action, the Khan of Qalat hastened to declare accession to Pakistan in Shahi Jirga on November 29, 1954. But his younger brother, Prince Abdul Karim, who was governor of Makran revolted and fled into Afghanistan with the money and assets he had in his charge, to wage a war for independence from Pakistan. He formed Ustoman Gul [People's Party] in 1955. The Pakistan Army moved in Qalat on October 6, 1958 and arrested the Khan of Qalat.

The Government of Pakistan after the death of the founder, dealt with an iron hand all recalcitrant elements in Balochistan. During Ayub's Martial Law government, "the venerable Zahri Sardar" [90 year old Nauroz Khan], who was invited in 1960 to negotiate on Baloch grievances, was put in Kohlu prison. He died in jail and his seven nephews and grand nephews were executed.

The Baloch Student Organization (BSO) sings the martyrdom of Sardar Nauroz and his executed sons and grandsons as a "national anthem." The Kuli camp episode in the aftermath of the Wadh encounter, in which many villages were burnt according to the Baloch nationalist sources, forms a part of history. It occurred on October 10, 1958. From 1962 - 68, many Baloch activists agitated

against the formation of the province of West Pakistan [One Unit]. Some of them escaped to the mountains, living as armed outlaws, waging guerilla war. The Khan of Qalat was arrested and detained in Lahore in 1968.

Fruit orchards of Sardar Khair Bakhsh Marri were destroyed on June 29, 1947. Baloch Sardars opted for Pakistan; but the 52-member Qalat assembly was in place. On its floor, Mir Gaus Bakhsh Bizenjo declared; "We have a distinct culture, like Afghanistan and Iran, and if the mere fact that we are Muslims requires us to amalgamate with Pakistan....treat us a sovereign people, we are ready to extend friendship." He warned that if Pakistan did not do so, "We would be forced to accept this fate; but every Baloch will fight for freedom." In October 1958, the Khan of Qalat was deposed due to separatist ambitions. He was replaced by his son.

The People's Party government inherited Balochistan as a full-fledged province, which had elected its members of the provincial assembly and the National Assembly of Pakistan in the general elections in 1970. It was National Awami Party to which belonged the Baloch people's elected representatives. In 1972, at the end of April, President Bhutto held a series of meetings with the NAP leaders, who "decided to cooperate with him". Mir Gaus Bakhsh Bizenjo was appointed Governor of Balochistan, and on May 1, 1972, Sardar Ataullah Mengal was seated as the Chief Minister.

The most prominent Sardars and political leaders of Balochistan in 1970s were Mir Gaus Bakhsh Bizenjo, Sardar Ataullah Mengal, Mir Khair Bakhsh Marri, Sardar Muhammad Akbar Bugti, "a personal friend of Bhutto" and Sardar Gaus Bakhsh Raisani, who was appointed Governor Balochistan by President Bhutto prior to Mir Gaus Bakhsh Bizenjo. Their vision of the future of the Baloch people was divergent. Mir Khair Bakhsh Marri and Sardar Ataullah Mengal entertained "enlightened leftist views" along with an alleged "Greater Balochistan" scheme, which would unite the "Baloch tribes inhabiting Pakistan, Afghanistan and Iran". Mir Gul Khan Nasir and other Baloch leaders were aligned with this group. Mir

Gaus Bakhsh Bizenjo, on the other hand, was moderate who believed that within the federation of Pakistan, Balochistan, and other smaller provinces, should have the maximum measure of autonomy."

At the federal level, the NAP (National Awami Party) and JUI (Jamait Ulema-i-Islam) formed the opposition. President Bhutto reached an accord with the NAP-JUI coalition on March 6, 1972, which paved the way for approval of the "Interim Constitution" effective April 21, 1972 subsequent to lifting of "Martial Law". It was adopted with overwhelming majority by the National Assembly. Concomitantly, a constitution committee was constituted to draft a permanent constitution for the federation of Pakistan, after the secession of East Pakistan.

The Baloch MNAs, elected in 1970 general elections, were Mir Gaus Bakhsh Bizenjo, Janifer Mause, Dr. Abdul Hayee Baloch, a student of Dow Medical College Karachi, and Sardar Khair Bakhsh Marri. The Marri Sardar refused to put his signature on the constitution of 1973 on the plea that the quantum of provincial autonomy guaranteed in the constitution was not enough.

The NAP-JUI leadership, supported by the Federal Interior Minister, Khan Abdul Qayum Khan from the NWFP heading his own faction of Pakistan Muslim League, was confronted in Balochistan by Sardar Akbar Bugti and Sardar Gaus Bakhsh Raisani, the former Governor of Balochistan. Dr. Mubashir Hasan, who was then the Finance Minister of Pakistan, writes, "Qayyum was an impeccable foe of the National Awami Party led by Wali Khan at a time when cooperation with NAP was a political necessity." He remarks that: "Bhutto could not have chosen a more unsuitable man for the job of [of Interior Minister]..... He was reported to be close to the intelligence agencies that have repeatedly conspired against political government in Pakistan." Balochistan, by the end of President Bhutto's first year in office, was up in internal political conflict. "Suddenly there was a spate of rumors about breach of peace among some tribes in Balochistan." Charges and countercharges were levelled by the two groups; the ruling NAP-JUI

group and Sardar Akbar Khan Bugti's group; and the situation worsened from December 8, 1972, when "Governor Bizenjo accused former Governor Raisani and Qayyum Khan, the Interior Minister, of worsening the situation." Sardar Akbar Khan Bugti accused Raisani of raising private armies in the name of recruiting levies, a para-police force, on January 11, 1973.

Events worked towards military intervention in Balochistan. Dr. Mubashir Hasan paints a graphic picture of the moments and movements: He writes, "By the end of January [1973], there were reports of a serious tribal revolt in the Lasbela area. Governor Bizenjo accused Qayyum of engineering the revolt. Bhutto ordered army units to move into the area to quell the revolt." On February 10, 1973, Army assumed control of Lasbela, the Chief Minister Mengal vowed to resist and the Governor Bizenjo warned against a design to end NAP government in Balochistan. The Chief Minister Mengal had already complained of the "federal civil armed forces," intervention in his government's "action against the rebels" on February 5, 1973. On February 11, 1973, President Bhutto disclosed in the National Assembly that Pakistan army had recovered a huge cache of arms from the embassy of Iraq which was to be used in Pakistan against his Government. He went into swift action. NAP leaders were arrested in Pakistan on February 13, 1973, on the charge of "preparing for disturbances during Muharram", and on February 16, 1973, the elected Balochistan Government of Sardar Ataullah Mengal was dismissed, the Provincial Assembly was suspended and President's rule in Balochistan was proclaimed. The Provincial Government was restored in April 1973 with Sardar Akbar Khan Bugti as the Governor of Balochistan and Jam of Lasbela as the Chief Minister. On April 12, 1973, "the members of the Constituent Assembly affixed their signatures to what has come to be known as the 1973 Constitution". A week had just passed, when on April 29, 1973, military action started in Balochistan. Dr. Mubashir Hasan writes "I happened to be with Bhutto when General Tikka Khan arrived to give the news of his troops entering the village of Khair Bakhsh

Marri". The Marri tribe did not seek peace, like the tribal chiefs of the south and south eastern Balochistan. A 4-year war was unleashed between the Pakistan army and the Marri tribesmen. The operation in Marri area remained a guarded secret. "Almost nothing came out in the press, but ultimately Bhutto and the PPP paid a heavy price for it".

The Marri uprising was well organized. There was a training camp for militant action at Kahan. Dissolution of the Provincial NAP Government in Balochistan had stirred militancy. The Marri tribesmen had previously rose against the One Unit merger as well. Now Sardar Khair Bakhsh Marri was stationed in Afghanistan; but his lieutenants, Sher Muhammad Bizenjo, called General Sherof, and Mir Hazar Khan Bizenjo, were commanding the Marri tribesmen inside Pakistan. Marri is a large tribe comprising three sub-tribes: Gazni, Bukarani and Lohrani. They live in a closed society which does not open up to modern ways of life. According to an independent analysis, "Zulfikar Ali Bhutto had directly come up against the intransigent ways of the Sardars in Balochistan, when he wanted to build roads, schools and hospitals in areas where the Sardars exercised influence. The Sardars realized that development and education would result in the weakening of their control over the people. The National Assembly passed the System of Sardari (Abolition) Act 1976, which prescribed punishment of three years imprisonment for any one exercising right of Sardari, or being "in possession of or derive any benefit from, any land belonging to a tribe". This law stated that Sardari "is the worst remnant of the oppressive feudal and tribal system which, being derogatory to human dignity and freedom, is repugnant to the spirit of democracy and equality as enunciated by Islam and enshrined in the constitution of the Islamic Republic of Pakistan and opposed to economic advancement of the people". The Marri and Mengal Sardars raised the nature and scale of revolt; they never forgave Bhutto for trying to complete the pre-independence work of the Muslim League in liberating the people of Balochistan". After coup d'etat of 1977, "The Generals effectively revived the Sardari

System by violating the law".

Mr. Rafi Raza another prominent PPP leader opines that the centre-province confrontation in Balochistan "was partly due to the Baloch leaders inexperience of formal government (system), they were natural administrators. More important however was ZAB's (Zulfikar Ali Bhutto's) failure to accept NAP dominated "Governments of Sardars" with their proud traditions, who rejected his assumption of superior wisdom and leadership". Sardar Attaullah Mengal's version is that "...the real problem lay with Bhutto who could not accept any power which did not emanate from himself.....In reality what the Baloch leaders could not understand was that it was not possible for Bhutto or his predecessors in a similar position, to go against the wishes of the establishment". Governor Sardar Akbar Khan Bugti resigned on October 31, 1973. He remained Governor of Balochistan only for eight-and-a half month, with effect from February 14, 1973, during which military operation went on in Balochistan. Prime Minister Bhutto held "a series of meetings with Tikka Khan and his top military advisers in Pindi. He decided to cease military operations....from mid-May 1974, onward and offer "amnesty" to all Baloch "rebels", who turned in their arms before mid-October. Wali Khan did not accept the Prime Minister's offer "nor would Bizenjo, Mengal or Marri speak to his peace offering emissaries as long as they remained behind bars". Wali Khan's 85-year old father Khan Abdul Ghafaar Khan was under house arrest in Peshawar. In an interview with the journal Outlook, on April 13, 1974, he said, "I had come from Kabul only after I was assured that there was democracy in the country. But what I saw was the worst ever dictatorship, it was virtually a one-man rule".

Governor Aslam Khatak and the Chief Minister Inayatullah Khan Gandapur were hard pressed to keep NAP out of power in the NWFP. In May 1974, Governor Aslam Khatak was replaced in power with the federal cabinet minister, Hayat Muhammad Khan Sherpao who was assassinated. The NWFP was a more serious flash point: King Zahir Shah of Afghanistan wanted to undo the

frontier with Pakistan along the Durand line, demarcated in 1893 for one hundred years only. He could enlist support of the USSR. The March 6, 1922 accord with the NAP-JUI opposition alliance could help get the Interim constitution passed in the central legislature and ultimately get the permanent constitution adopted by near consensus of all political parties. The NAP-JUI governments were set up in the two provinces, Balochistan and NWFP. The economic rights guaranteed under the constitution of the Islamic Republic of Pakistan 1973, were invoked. Dr. Mubashir Hasan then the Finance Minister of Pakistan writes, "NWFP and Balochistan were like poor relatives of Punjab and Sindh.....They deserved to get all that the federation could possibly part with". Initially, the gas and excise duty, transferable to Balochistan and NWFP, was enhanced.

By the end of January 1973, rumors were afloat about "Indo-Soviet sabotage" to turn Balochistan into another Bangladesh, and Russian-backed "Invasion" of NWFP to carve out "Pakhtoonistan". A "Baloch Liberation Front" was launched in Baghdad (Iraq), which boomed transmission in four regional languages, Balochi, Pushto, Punjabi and Sindhi, which was heard clearly in Pakistan. President Bhutto countered the move rather politically. He called it "a storm in the tea cup". But confidentially he appointed a three-member committee "to find a satisfactory long-term solution to the problem of Balochistan.....an honourable and lasting solution, without being cornered". In his minute for the committee comprising PPP's then stalwart leaders Messrs Ghulam Mustafa Jatoi, Ghulam Mustafa Khar and Rafi Raza, he wrote: (We) must always keep in mind that the antagonists of today might get together tomorrow, to pull the rug under our feet". The shrewd leader was right in foreseeing an unnatural alliance of two antagonist political parties, the JUI and the NAP, one religious and other secular respectively "to pull the rug under our (PPP) feet".

The specter of "Greater Balochistan and "Pakhtoonistan" loomed large on the political horizon. The Pakhtoon Khwa head Khan Abdul Ghafaar Khan arrived from self-exile in Afghanistan

and the Bhutto Government wisely desisted from resisting his arrival and profuse public welcome. On April 26, 1973, President Bhutto wrote a 9-page note to his Senior Ministers in which he linked the arrival of Ghafaar Khan to a signal: "Please note how certain events were orchestrated....., Ghafaar Khan's return from Kabul to 'unite the Pakhtoons' was the signal. This signal was acknowledged by Ghulam Jilani in London by virtue of the fact that he stepped up his subversive activities and pamphleteering...." The note contains names of prominent politicians who were working against his government, the People's Government, as he used to call it, inside Sindh, Punjab and the NWFP. "Wali Khan fired a fiery volley on the January 5, 1973 at Peshawar...." On March 23, 1973 the opposition had planned to hold a massive rally in Rawalpindi. It could rally public support to reject the constitution proposed by the Constitution Committee. Caravans coming from the NWFP to attend the rally were disarmed by Government functionaries of Punjab at Attock. "....the PPP also made elaborate arrangements, to make the opposition meeting a failure. No violence was planned....However, once the rally had been successfully disrupted.....firing started and many innocent lives were lost on both sides". Dr. Mubashir writes: "It was one of the most unfortunate events of Bhutto's regime". He suspects gunman of FSF (Federal Security Force) for opening fire. Mr. Haq Nawaz Tiwana, Director General of FSF, was removed on pointation by Governor Punjab, Mr. Ghulam Mustafa Khar, for ordering unnecessary and indiscriminate firing. He ordered the arrest and registration of murder case against Tiwana, but he got free. He was replaced with Mr. Masud Mahmud, who was to wreck havoc on Shaheed Bhutto in another murder case related to the FSF. Whether it was in retaliation of firing on NAP-JUI public meeting in Rawalpindi on March 23, 1973, the Pakistan Day, which killed many participants, or it has to be added to wild charges against Shaheed Bhutto via FSF, it has to be investigated as yet, but the fact is that a PPP leader, Hayat Muhammad Khan Sherpao, was assassinated in Peshawar by a bomb explosion on February 8, 1975.

Prime Minister Bhutto was abroad, he returned abruptly canceling his schedule and immediately ordered the arrest of the NAP Chief Khan Abdul Wali Khan. He dismissed the NWFP Provincial Government and imposed Governor's rule. The province had been in a bad shape of law-and-order, during 1974-75. Explosions and terrorist activities were the order of the day. The NAP was banned.

Notwithstanding majority of PPP in the Sindh Provincial Assembly, Bhutto Government was faced with volatile issues. It was Chairman Bhutto's home province and he had made his "talented cousin", MNA Mr. Mumtaz Ali Bhutto, the chief Minister of Sindh. He had been Governor of Sindh during the 4-months long civilian martial law and had shown "a maturity of administrative and political judgment". Mir Rasool Bakhsh Talpur was then the "Senior Advisor" (equivalent of Chief Minister). Another important PPP leader from Sindh, Rais Ghulam Mustafa Khan Jatoi, was taken up in the federal cabinet as Minister for Political Affairs, Communications and Natural Resources. Mr. Abdul Hafeez Pirzado was also taken up in the federal cabinet as the Information Minister, replacing the bureaucrat politician Mr. Roedad Khan.

Sindh mooted the concept of independent Muslim State in 1939, the Lahore Resolution was adopted in 1940; and the demand for partition and creation of a single Muslim State Pakistan was made in 1946. When Pakistan was achieved in 1947, Sindh was the only province which accommodated the influx of refugees from India and exodus of Hindu teachers administrators, technocrats and businessmen, as well as provided the capital for the new state from its own resources.

## TROUBLE IN SINDH

Sindhi Language was the official language of Sindh under the British Raj. It had been taught compulsorily in schools since pre-British period. But after independence, through an executive order of the then Education Minister of Sindh issued in 1948, Sindhi was made a noncompulsory subject, alternated with Urdu. Thus the

Mohajirin's children went without learning a single word of Sindhi for over two decades. At the end of the first decade, through the acceptance of the recommendations of the National Commission on Education, 1959, Sindhi was replaced with Urdu as the medium of instruction.

The PPP Government of Sindh decided to reintroduce Sindhi Language in the school system. It was in response to "rallies, processions and strikes by students, labour and businessmen". Violent protests followed from Urdu speaking Mohajirin severally settled in urban areas of Sindh, Karachi and Hyderabad in particular, whence it spread to other places. From the middle of June 1972, when President Bhutto was engaged in recovering lost territory and repatriation of prisoners of war, the protagonists of Urdu and Sindhi languages were preparing to fight for their cause. The Sindh Provincial Assembly enacted the "Teaching, Promotion and Use of Sindhi Language Bill" in early July 1972; the Mohajirin of Karachi went immediately into action, first taking on President Bhutto. "We want a Pakistani President, not a Sindhi President", was the demand, chalked on walls, vehicles and banners. President Bhutto, before leaving for Simla Summit had "gauged the seriousness of the situation and issued a statement on 26 June saying that he loved Urdu as a Pakistani, and was equally in love with Sindhi Language as a Sindhi, and there was really no clash between the two". But the response of the Mohajir Community was to demand: "A Pakistani, not a Sindhi President".

President Bhutto, on return from Simla, responded to the malicious demand saying: "How can I assure you that I am a Pakistani? .....By killing all the people in Sindh? By obliterating the culture of Sindh?" ..... "We (Sindhis) have given our lands; we have given our homes; we have given our lives.....to people from all parts (of Pakistan) to the Pathans, Punjabis, to the Mohajirin living in Sindh.....what else can we do to show our loyalty, our love and our respect for Pakistan and for our Mohajir brothers?"

Mohajir brothers had already announced, on June 19, 1972, formation of a strong muscle "committee for the protection of

Urdu" to hold "a series of demonstrations, rallies, and meetings to draw public opinion in favour of making Urdu as one of the official languages of Sindh. Some Sindhis read this as danger signal. One of their leaders stated, "The people who migrated to Sindh from India after partition were trying hard to destroy language, culture, and civilization of Sindhi people and capture their economy in order to turn them into 'Read Indians' ".

Dr. Mubashir Hasan states that two senior federal ministers, J. A. Rahim and Qasuri "were greatly agitated.....put all the blame on the Sindh Government of Mumtaz Bhutto, but the President stoutly defended him". He writes, "It was apparent that events in Karachi had taken Bhutto by surprise.....he must have hated to be attached by his colleagues...." Later in the night Dr. Mubashir says, Bhutto called him on telephone telling him: ".....Yes, Doctor, you must remember I was a Sindhi". He notes that "Bhutto was hurt and upset. He felt that injustice had been done to the Sindhi speaking people on the language issue."

Language riots lashed Sindh a week long (10 - 16, July 1972). The present author witnessed attacks on Sindhis in Hyderabad, Newspapers reported curfew, deaths firing and rioting daily. On July 10, 1972, Karachi University students "set ablaze Sindhi Department records". Troops were called in aid of civil administration. Three persons reportedly died in police firing in Karachi, when curfew was violated on July 11, thirteen more people died in police firing. Outside Karachi, two persons died in Tando Adam. President Bhutto called for restrain on both sides, as "Armed Sindhi extremists demonstrated in Sukkur City". A 4-Member Committee was appointed to find an agreed solution. By July 15, 1972 Karachi was almost normal but trouble was brewing in President's native city Larkana. The next day, July 16, 1972, he announced an agreed language formula. The previous night he addressed the nation on Radio and TV, in which he said that "documentary evidence was available to show that language riots were incited by the capitalists who threw about 39 lakh rupees for the purpose".

Karachi was different from interior Sindh. With its highest per capita income in Pakistan and the highest literacy rate and its population, "especially the Urdu speaking part (which) belong mostly to the middle and lower-middle commercial and industrial class....highly articulate and capable of coming out on the streets for the acceptance of its demands," Karachi was the most difficult city to be managed and handled properly. Dr. Mubashir Hasan writes, "What happened in Karachi during the first fortnight of July (1972) was unfortunate and the PPP Government paid a high political price for it".

## COUP D'ETAT TO JUDICIAL MURDER: TRIBULATION AND STEADFASTNESS

"I'm sorry, Sir, I had to do it... we have to hold you in protective custody for a while. But in ninety days I'll hold new elections. You'll be elected Prime Minister again, of course Sir, and I'll be saluting you." General Zia told him that he could be taken to anywhere he wanted, to the Prime Minister's rest house in Murree, Larkana, anywhere; the family could stay in the Prime Minister House for a month. Shaheed Bhutto said, "I will go to Larkana and my family will return to Karachi. This is the residence of the Prime Minister. As it appears that I am no longer the Prime Minister, my family will be gone by nightfall."<sup>2</sup> Mohtarma Benazir relates the tale of that night to the end; "It is almost 2.00 a.m. We wait for the Army to come and take Papa away.... as we continue to wait for the Army, my father seems almost relieved."<sup>3</sup> Around 4.00 a.m. the PM's Military Secretary came to inform that: "Zia regrets that it is not possible for my father [Shaheed Bhutto] to go to Larkana.... [He] will be taken to the Prime Minister's rest house in Murree.... will be held in accordance with the dignity of his office. Arrangements have been made for a 6.00 a.m. departure."<sup>4</sup> But it was at about 9.00 a.m., when Benazir heard "wailing from the lawn" where the [Prime Minister House] staff had gathered.<sup>5</sup> "Papa [Shaheed Bhutto] is already seated in the Prime Minister's black Mercedes. As the car begins to move, Sunny [Sanam Bhutto] and I rush past the weeping staff to the front porch. "Good-bye, Papa!, I cried out frantically waving my arms. He turns and gives a half smile....."<sup>6</sup>

On this fateful day General Zia ul Haq the COAS went on air to address "the great nation of this great country." He said "You must have learnt by now that the government of Mr. Zulfikar Ali Bhutto has ceased to exist.... the change-over which began at about midnight last night was completed by this morning... this action was carried out on my order.... A stream of congratulatory messages has been pouring in.... I am grateful for this to my nation as well as to the Armed Forces of Pakistan... some people have expressed misgivings that... General Zia had secretly concerted with the former Prime Minister... I can only say that truth can never remain unexplored... But, I genuinely feel that the survival of this country lies in democracy and democracy alone... we hope that when this climate of agitational (PNA) frenzy came to an end, the nation would be able to appreciate the correct and constitutional role of the armed forces and all fears would be allayed... I saw no prospects of a compromise between the People's Party and the PNA, because of their mutual distrust and lack of faith. It was feared that the failure of the PNA and PPP to reach a compromise would throw the country into chaos... the army had therefore to act.... Martial Law has been imposed throughout the country.... But the constitution has not been abrogated. Only the operation of certain parts of the constitution has been held in abeyance. Mr. Fazul Elahi Chaudhry has very kindly consented to continue to discharge his duties as President of Pakistan... to assist him... a four-member military council has been formed (comprising) the Chairman Joint Chief of Staff, and Chiefs of Staff of the Army, Navy and Air Force. I will discharge the duties of the Chief of Army Staff and Chief Martial Law Administrator. Martial Law Orders will be issued under my orders. I met Mr. Justice Yaqub Ali, Chief Justice of Pakistan this morning. I am grateful to him for the advice and guidance on legal matters. I want to make it absolutely clear that neither I have any political ambitions nor does the army want to be detracted from its profession of soldiering. I was obliged to step in to fill the vacuum created by the political leaders. My sole aim is to organize free and fair elections, which would be held in October this year... I give a

solemn assurance that I will not deviate from this schedule... I would not like to dissipate my powers and energies as CMLA or anything else... I will do my best to refrain from doing any thing, which is likely to restrict the power of the judiciary. However.... If and when Martial Law Orders and Martial Law Regulations are issued, they would not be challenged in any court of Law... I have... banned all political activities from to day till further orders... I am... pleased to announce that the Chief Justices of the Provincial High Courts have, on my request, consented to become the acting governors of their respective provinces... So far as foreign relations are concerned, I will honour all the agreements, commitments and contracts signed by the outgoing government.... To conclude, I must say that the spirit of Islam, demonstrated during the recent (PNA) movement, was commendable. It proves that Pakistan, which was created in the name of Islam, will continue to survive only if it sticks to Islam. That is why, I consider the introduction of Islamic system as an essential pre-requisite for the country. Pakistan Paindabad!"<sup>7</sup>

Thus from day one Zia was clear in his duplicity and cheating; contradictions in his first address as CMLA were manifest and his later conduct proved that he did not mean any thing which he professed solemnly, and he called his coup by a misnomer, "operation fair play". In the public, rumors were rife about American hand in it. However Mohtarma Benazir Bhutto writes, "Did the American play a role in disrupting my father's Govt? We will never have proof. I have once tried through friends in America... but was unsuccessful."<sup>8</sup>

### **MIR MURTAZA BHUTTO WANTED TO RESIST**

To him, his father said, "Never resist a military coup. The Generals want us dead, we must give them no pretext to justify our murders."<sup>9</sup> Sheikh Mujib's assassination along with his entire family present at that time, two years before (August 15, 1975), was a case in point. Only two of his daughters, who were away, survived the massacre. May be Zia had waited for the Bhutto family to be all-

together. Shaheed Bhutto said, "Zia miscalculated. He thought the talks with the PNA would break down and he would have a pretext to take over. He struck before the formal agreement could be signed."<sup>10</sup>

Then he sighed a sign of relief. He said, "the burden of responsibility is off my shoulders. Government is a trust and I upheld it faithfully. Now the burden is no longer on me."<sup>11</sup> In between the confirmation of the coup and arrival of arrest squad, Shaheed Bhutto seemed "almost relieved."<sup>12</sup>

Prime Minister Bhutto had been told by Gen. Zia on telephone that he would be taken into custody at 2:30 am; but up till 4:00 am no body arrived. The military secretary, then came in .... eyes red...and looking shocked... to convey Gen. Zia's orders that he would be taken to Murree instead of Larkana and the time for departure would be 6:00 am. Sanam wondered why they kept changing the plans. He said: "My phone call must have thrown Zia off balance. He is probably wondering if I had time to alert loyalist officers to mount a counter attack before I spoke to him."<sup>13</sup>

Shaheed Bhutto asked for Benazir's opinion vis-à-vis Gen. Zia's promise on phone of holding election within 90 days. "You are a student of world governments. Do you think Zia will hold elections? "Yes, I do, Papa. By supervising the elections himself, Zia will be able to deprive the opposition (PNA) of any claim [that] they were rigged and the pretext to start new agitations", she remarked. Shaheed rejected her opinion saying "Don't be an idiot, Pinkie! Armies do not take over power to relinquish it. Nor do Generals commit high treason in order to hold elections and restore democratic constitutions."<sup>14</sup>

Just before 9'O clock in the morning Begum Bhutto was calling her daughters, the two sons Mir and Shah had by then left Pakistan via Karachi, Pinkie! Sunny! Come quickly. [your] Papa is leaving!"... He is already seated in the PM's black Mercedes and the car begins to move... "Good bye Papa! Benazir cried out frantically waving her arms. Prime Minister turns and gives a half smile."<sup>15</sup>

The PM's Rest House at Murree is the colonial legacy of the

British, who had built this white house in the hills leading to Kashmir. Shaheed Bhutto narrates the first visit of Gen. Zia to him in that Rest House-turned Jail: "When the CMLA met me in Murree in July 1977, and then when we met a month later in Rawalpindi, he spoke scathingly against the stinking corruption of one of the ministers... [in the toppled PPP Govt:] I am not at all surprised. On the contrary, to make one province the hub of the examples of the total vices of Pakistan is perfectly understandable in the logic of coup-gemony. Now I understand the meaning of the telegram sent by Sir Charles Napier to Queen Victoria after the battle of Miani. He sent the cryptic message; "I have Sinned (Sindh)" I am taking into account the affidavits filed by G.M. Khar and Shaikh. A Rashid [said] in the S.C that Brigadier Naeem told him in Abbotabad, "That the trouble has been that the largest province, i.e. Punjab, has always desired its share of power, and the army would ensure that Punjab got its proper share in ruling the country".... I have many more cogent questions to ask. The time for these questions will come. If I am assassinated through the gallows, these questions will nevertheless be put very loudly... until the answers came, there will be turmoil and turbulence, conflict and conflagration. In drawing attention to these documentary landmarks, I am not preaching provincialism. I am exposing and condemning provincialism."<sup>16</sup>

### OPERATION FAIR PLAY COUP D'ETAT

One of the main players of "Operation Fair play", Lt. Gen. Faiz Ali Chishti admits that "Mr. Bhutto... was willing to meet the PNA team on July 5. [But] it was all too late, since Gen. Zia had already ordered the PM, who had originally come into power through Martial Law, to be removed by martial law."<sup>17</sup> Though suffering from blatant inconsistency, the evidence produced by Gen. Chishti, in his book: *Betrayals of Another Kind*, is revealing: In the fifth paragraph on the same page he states, "Operation Fair Play was not planned overnight. It was one of the contingency plans... information regarding FAIRPLAY was passed only to those

commanders who had to take action. All the others were informed only after its execution... Just one recoilless rifle or tank shell could instantly kill the PM and his entire family."<sup>18</sup> He writes, "I, [Gen. Chishti], have been blamed for not killing Mr. Bhutto on the night of the army take-over. I have also been blamed by some for installing Gen. Zia as the CMLA after the successful execution of the coup. I have no regrets on both counts."<sup>19</sup> His second act, which he admits, fulfilled the first task; albeit after torturing the towering victim and giving a bad name to Pakistan. Gen. Chishti further says, "If Gen. Zia had hesitated and waited a little longer, Pakistan might have become part of confederated India."<sup>20</sup> Different excuses were advanced, such as a civil war, massacre, economic doom, etc. Gen. Chishti also defends Zia saying, "Gen. Zia did not come into power through a conspiracy. He was sucked in by circumstances. And in the final analysis, Mr. Bhutto was himself responsible for bringing Zia to power."<sup>21</sup>

The military had in fact took position to takeover the PM House since March 10, 1977 when troops had been deployed for internal security duties. On April 30, the deployment ensured that nothing should get into the Prime Minister's House. Gen. Chishti was in command and he took the banned entry into the PM House in its reversal order as well, to ensure that nothing moved out either. He writes, "That is precisely what was done. The time to strike was chosen to ensure that the entire Bhutto family was in the PM House and the whole family of Gen. Zia was out of country on the pretext of medical treatment. He had shifted his family to UK during negotiations [between the PPP and the PNA], under the plea of his daughter's operation. Two sons and three daughters along with his wife were all abroad."<sup>22</sup> Furthermore Lt. Gen. Chishti writes, "On the night of the coup, my corps intelligence Chief told me that there was one "Puma" helicopter ready to take off at short notice from Dhamial. It could have been for the PM or for Gen. Zia, but it was unlikely to have been for the PM because he did not know what was happening, and secondly he would not leave his family behind... it could have been for Gen. Zia, because

he had everything at stake.... I [Lt. Gen. Chishti] recollect his last sentence to me after giving orders [to launch the coup]: "Murshid, do not get me killed."<sup>23</sup>

"It was the month of Ramazan, when the Army came to arrest Shaheed Bhutto in the false murder case of Nawab Mohammad Ahmed Khan" his personal attendant says, I was coming out of the bedroom of Bhutto Sahib, after serving Sehri to him. They caught me by the neck and pushed me against a wall as they had done to other servants too... They... grabbed all of us first, and then went in the room of Bhutto Sahib. After a short while, I saw Begum Sahiba coming out with the children. Bhutto Sahib had refused to come out... An Army Officer came out of Shaheed Baba's room and called out my name several times. I kept quiet. I came out from the hiding when I listened one of them ordering others to shoot me. I was frightened. They picked me up, took me to the room and threw me there. I got the brief of Shaheed Baba packed right in front of them. Next morning they released me and Begum Sahiba along with Mohtarma Benazir and Shah Nawaz Bhutto Shaheed, but all other servants were locked in the garage... looked as if they had come to fight another army and not to arrest."<sup>24</sup>

#### **THE MARTYR'S TRADITION: BRAVE IT ALONE!**

Shaheed Bhutto's personal attendant Dost Muhammed says, "I cannot forget the evening when after the dismissal of his government, he called me in the lawn of Al Murtaza, and told me that he foresaw very bad days ahead and he would happily relieve any servant who wanted to leave... I assured him on behalf of the entire staff that they had lived with him and would gladly die for him... he was very happy and praised our courage."<sup>25</sup> Incidentally it reminds history of Hazrat Imam Hussain (AS) the beau-ideal of all martyrs, who "pressed his friends [on the lopsided battlefield of Karbala, 61AH/661AD] to consult their safety by timely flight; they unanimously refused to desert or survive their beloved master."<sup>26</sup> "In the tradition of our Beloved Imam Hussain, Syed ush Shuhada," says Urs, "Shaheed Baba called all of us in AL Murtaza.

He told us that the future will bring lots of hardships for him. He will have to offer lots of sacrifices. Thus, if anyone among us wished to leave him, he was free to do so. Shaheed Baba said, he would be happy to release such a person. We, encouraged by the example of the blessed Shuhada-e-Karbala, refused to leave him. Each and every one of us said that he would remain with Shaheed Baba came what may."<sup>27</sup>

### **GRANTING MERCY PETITIONS ON THE NIGHT OF FALL AND DISPOSING OFF THE DAYS WORK**

On the dreadful night of 4-5 July 1977, waiting for the arrest squad, while his family sat numbly in his bed room, Shaheed Bhutto calmly followed his routine of reading files. One black file he didnt read at all but just signed... and turning to Benazir Bhutto, he said, "My first act as Prime Minister was to commute the death sentences of the condemned. My last act will be the same. I always hated reading appeals for life."<sup>28</sup> When Benazir Bhutto reached to hug him, he gently pushed her away saying, "There is no time for sentimentality. This is a time to be tough."<sup>29</sup>

Uris, the personal attendant further narrates thus: "I was serving him on the night between 4<sup>th</sup> and 5<sup>th</sup> July 1977. Mr. Abdul Hafeez Pirzada, Kausar Niazi, Ghulam Mustafa Jatoi and Mumtaz Ali Bhutto were having dinner with him and discussing political matters. At about 1:30 in the night Bhutto Sahib came into his bedroom..."<sup>30</sup> After 15 minutes he was informed about the military action. In the morning of July 5, 1977, he was taken into "protective" custody, and lodged in the Government Rest House at Murree. Then released and rearrested.

### **RE-ARREST AND AFTERWARDS:**

Arrested at Larkana, Shaheed Bhutto was taken to Karachi Central Jail. There, his personal attendant Dost Muhammed was allowed to meet him. He recalls, "I found him very calm and confident. He embraced me [it was going to be their last meeting, so embracing was a foreboding]... I was crying. He said it was not

the time to cry. "Listen to me very carefully and carry my message to Begum Sahiba: Mir should be sent to London without wasting a single day". Dost Muhammed asked, "If Mir Murtaza went away, who would look after the elections in his Larkana constituency?" He snapped him, "Which elections? There shall not be any elections. This country will see what it has never seen in its entire history". He was irritated, "Why don't you listen to what I am telling you to do? Tell Begum Sahiba that Mir has not completed his education, and by tomorrow I should know that he has left the country. Benazir knows what she has to do. She has completed her education. It will be good if she goes away too. Because if she stays here she will have to face unimaginable hardships. But she is free to decide for herself. Now you go and give this message very carefully to Begum Sahiba. Mir must leave". Dost Muhammad says..., "the next day, around four o'clock Mir Murtaza went abroad... Bibi Benazir refused to leave."<sup>31</sup>

### THE ARMY CONNECTION HEGEMONY AND COUP GEMONY

Shaheed Bhutto started his political career under the first Martial Law regime of Pakistan in October 1958. Three years in office as minister he was heard calling field Marshall Ayub Khan, more than Lincoln, more than a Lenin... our Ata Turk... a Salahuddin.<sup>32</sup> Four years later, he developed differences with the Field Marshal over the Tashkent Declaration. His critic would say, "There is reason to believe that in urging president Ayub to wage war against India, he was content to leave the defence of East Pakistan to China, acceptance of hegemony cannot go much further."<sup>33</sup> Five years later, he was still willing to let this two sided coin of hegemony and coup gemony jingle in his pocket. It was with the help of army generals and with the evidence of foreign backing that he became President and CMLA of Pakistan (Dec: 20-1971)... it was not the election, which he had won in West Pakistan that made him President but he was favored by the Super power and by two top military men, Lt. Gen. Gul Hassan, Chief of the Army

General Staff and Air Marshal Rahim Khan, the Air Chief. Before Bhutto left the UN debate on Bangladesh to rush back home, the air force planes had buzzed over the President House to unnerve Yahya Khan, and before he arrived in Rawalpindi the generals knew that he had arrived via clearance meetings in Washington with President Nixon and the Secretary of State William Rogers. He drove into the President House on the 20th December 1971 afternoon for a showdown meeting with Yehya Khan and later returned with the presidents flag fluttering on the flag rod of his car.<sup>34</sup>

However, in his Address to the Nation broadcast he said, "I have been elected by the people... I have not been capaciously thrust upon the people."<sup>35</sup> The editor of *If I Am Assassinated* writes in his introduction, "... Bhutto deserves more credit than any other Pakistani politician, with the exception only of the first President (G.G) Mr. Jinnah, and the first Prime Minister, Mr. Liaquat Ali Khan (who, was, it should be noted, assassinated), for insisting that political power must rest with the people, not with the armed forces, and that only an independent foreign policy pays in the long run"<sup>36</sup> ... "the value and importance of an independent foreign policy was being rapidly built into his foreign policy when he was deposed."<sup>37</sup> Bhutto in his statement said "This is part of the reason why his down fall was maneuvered at the "foreign" level of the deal."<sup>38</sup>

Shaheed Bhutto had witnessed, nay had been through, coupd'etat. From his experience and political perception he coined a new term "coup gemony" i.e. home made coup complied with external hegemony. He condemns this coup-gemony and calls itthe bridge upon which hegemony walks to stalk our lands."<sup>39</sup> He shows how each mar:ial Law regime was used by the foreign power, which created it.

Gen. Ziaul Haq is quoted as saying "Whether it is or it is not constitutional, power in Pakistan will always be wielded by the man who sits in the chair of the Chief of Army Staff."<sup>40</sup> Rao Abdur Rashid, a former Director of Intelligence bureau testified before the

S.C that Brigadier Abdul Naeem had the following talk with him: "Do you think that the army can afford to see Mr. Bhutto back in power?" No comments. Naeem replied his own question, "Obviously it can't". Then he advised Rao Rashid: "please cooperate with the army."<sup>41</sup>

### **THE MARTIAL LAW LEGACY:**

General Ayub Khan had planned military takeover in 1954, when he returned from U.S via Brussels and visited all major cities, but postponed it due to investigat able reasons. Four years further roughing up of democracy gave him a plausible recipe for staging a coup-etat, in addition to an emergency to save the OneUnit of West Pakistan in the face of the West Pakistan Assembly resolution of that year 1958 to undo it. He acted swiftly. The army started moving on September 20, 1958. On October 4, General Ayub Khan arrived in Karachi. His team of generals to form the junta was already there comprising Gen. Yahya Khan, Gen. Hameed, Gen. Azam Khan and Gen. Khalid Sheikh. The finale was set for October 7, just before midnight.<sup>42</sup>

The President's House in Karachi hummed that day with parleys of politicians planning their next move on the chess board of power politics, while the generals led by their Commander-in-Chief General Ayub Khan were waiting for the zero-hour to move in and undo the power game of politicians. Army units had already been stationed at Jhimpir to advance on Karachi. These units began moving around 8:0 pm and took over all sensitive installations in the capital before 10: 30 p.m.<sup>43</sup>

When the people of Pakistan woke the next morning it was a different country destined to be ruled by its armed forces. Democracy and civil liberties were a dream. It was a ground reality, which had emerged just after eleven years of independence from an alien rule of more than a century. Democratic institutions were abolished, the constitution abrogated, politics banned, and Martial Law regulations, proclamations and pronouncements became the order of the day. The Martial Law authorities had no limit put on

either their powers or their tenure. The first seeds of an unrecoverable distrust had been sown into the fertile field of political disunity and strife. How else the historian will record this event in the perspective of Pakistan which is feudal in structure and tribal in practice: The feudal perspective had been infested by corrupt practices of politicians propped up from the ranks of tribal Sardars, Maliks, Waderas all feudal lords. The reason for imposition of martial law, as claimed by the authors of the proclamation, was to save the country from "destruction". Justifying it Gen. Ayub Khan insisted that the political life had become corrupt, intolerable and unsustainable. So he launched his dictatorial rule of another eleven years of Pakistan history (1958-1969).

Responding to the historical compulsion of including the feudality in the rule of the polity, Gen. Ayub Khan devised a system of indirect democracy called the "Basic Democracies." He won an election through this system, framed his own constitution and formed a political party called the Pakistan (Convention) Muslim League. Introduction of Land reforms, the Basic Democracies system of partyless politics, pro-west national policies etc. etc. could not put Pakistan on the road of democracy, nor separate the corrupt element from the actual rule over the teeming millions of laboring Pakistanis, Gen. Ayub was a good administrator, though.

The armed personnel were inducted in civil administration for the first time to become an enduring precedent. Economic mismanagement resulted into concentration of means of income and wealth in fewer hands. The bureaucracy grew to be a bane. Floodgates of foreign loans opened up instead of an effective mobilization of domestic resources. Old institutions crumbled giving way to new dispensation of vested interests.

On the political plain slogans of national solidarity and integration overtook the zeal for Islamic ideology and/or Pakistan ideology, and became synonymous with loyalist to the Government. One-Unit was set up to secure an artificial parity with the single majority province of East Pakistan but it proved to be rather a

means of suppression of the small provinces in West Pakistan, and resistance, or even oral opposition to it, was termed sedition, while access to justice became rather a difficult and hazardous attempt.

On 25<sup>th</sup> March 1969, following public out cry from Dacca to Karachi in the preceding month, Gen. Yahya took over the army command from the ailing President Ayub Khan and declared the second Martial Law which lasted two-and-a half years. The end of Ayub era did not bring an end to the legacy of backdoor politics in Pakistan.

Gen. Yahya Khan's martial law rule is credited with holding the first free and fair general elections, but his junta did not allow him to hand over power to the majority, which led to the separation of the eastern wing or amputation of the painful limb. Historians have to investigate whether it was the outcome of political intrigue and collusion of the army or simple misgovernance and administrative mismanagement. The two separated parts of Pakistan, however, came out of military rule as a consequence of the military debacle in the East Pakistan. In the Western Wing, the Quaid-i-Awam Zulfikar Ali Bhutto emerged as the first civilian Martial Law Administrator and the President of the remaining, or the new, Pakistan.

It is said that "Zulfikar Ali Bhutto had his own perception of current and past events but he managed to put the wheels of the country, or what remained of it, back on the tracks. What actually brought an end to Bhutto's rule is yet to be analyzed but it led to another long spell of dictatorial rule by (Gen) Zia ul Haq that created all sorts of schisms in every walk of life... the absence of a political system has always given birth to totalitarianism and dictatorship..."<sup>44</sup>

Maulana Kauser Niazi, a former information minister in Bhutto government said that "God had gifted Bhutto with unbounded charisma... He would enamor his visitors quickly with his brilliance and intelligence. Hundreds of people would sacrifice their life at his behest."<sup>45</sup> But when Bhutto himself was facing death, none of those hundreds, and the Maulana himself, ventured to come out,

even to raise their first finger in his favor, lest it should be chopped off.

It is said by some critics that Zulfikar Ali Bhutto was a creation of Martial Law, he came to power through Martial law and was eliminated by Martial law. It is a fact and in the perspective of that fact, it may be observed that the State of Pakistan established in Aug. 1947 ran into destabilizing conditions just after four years. During the period following the assassination of the first prime minister, Quaid-i-Millat Nawabzada Liaquat Ali Khan in a public gathering at Rawalpindi on 16th October 1951, the polity lost its democratic character, and suffered Martial Law rule imposed by its first dictator General Muhammed Ayub Khan, Commander in Chief of the armed forces. The government had already passed into the hands of bureaucracy, following dismissal of the government of Khawaja Nazimuddin (October 24, 1954) and dissolution of the constituent Assembly (1954). So, the rudderless ship of the state offered a smooth sailing for the gunman.

Mr. Saeed Ahmed Khan, Chief of the Federal Security Force (FSF), who had manhandled Mr. J. A. Rahim on July 2-3, 1974, turned upon Chaudhry Zahoor Elahi. He was abducted and dispatched to Balochistan "to be tackled there"<sup>46</sup> as stated by Mr. Sardar Muhammad Chaudhry a retired I.G. Police Punjab. He writes that Chaudhry Zahur Elahi was a prominent Muslim League Leader, Secretary General of the party during Ayub Khan period, and now a bitter opponent of Bhutto. "He was later assassinated, allegedly by some Al-Zulfikar elements."<sup>47</sup> Mr. Sardar Muhammad Chaudhry, then SSP Police Lahore complained to Mr. Ghulam Mustafa Khar then Governor Punjab about the high handedness and threats of Mr. Saeed Ahmed. Mr. Khar said that he had already discussed the matter with Bhutto Sahib and that Bhutto Sahib had said, "I don't know what these wicked police officers are doing behind my back. Don't tell them do anything stupid."<sup>48</sup> On way back, the I.G.P told the SSP, "Now Saeed Ahmed Khan will start intriguing against Khar... Saeed Ahmed Khan, Masood Mehmood and Wakil Khan... is a dangerous trio and they will try to trap all of

us in the snare of wickedness and violence. Just remain alert!" Later in a meeting the then Home Secretary Punjab, Haji Akram, observed: "Bhutto will be destroyed by these police officers, who know only the evil ways."<sup>49</sup>

#### **THE TRIAL AND TRIBULATION:**

After imposition of martial law on July 5, 1977, military courts were setup and "a reign of terror was let loose on Bhutto's party. Hundreds of thousands of party workers, and sympathizers, were arrested."<sup>50</sup> The total number awarded sentence of lashes was 45000. Shaheed Bhutto was implicated in a murder conspiracy case, and arrested on September 3, 1977. The case was challaned before a magistrate at Lahore, who transferred it to the District and Sessions Court Lahore. The Lahore High Court was moved by the Martial Law Government for the transfer of the case to the Lahore High Court. Dr. Mubashir Hasan writes: "Next day, the Acting Chief Justice, Maulvi Mushtaq Hussain, passed the order transferring the case to the High Court (without any notice to Bhutto) and constituted a bench of five judges headed by himself"<sup>51</sup> [to try Shaheed Bhutto]. He writes that Justice Mushtaq Hussain was in Europe when Zia declared Martial Law. He was called back and took upon himself to preside over the bench to try the Prime Minister."<sup>52</sup> Dr. Mubashir and his friend Zahid Chaudhri, a respected journalist, met Justice Mushtaq Hussain and urged him "not to be a member of the bench that was hearing Bhutto's case, since", they said, "we thought Bhutto's conviction would be a great tragedy for the country. Our worst fears were confirmed when Mushtaq told Chaudhri; "If I do not try the case, no other judge will hang Bhutto."<sup>53</sup>

#### **THE CASE HISTORY OF MURDER CHARGE:**

On the night between 10-11 Nov. 1974 at about 3:00 am, Nawab Muhammad Ahmed Khan, father of Mr. Ahmed Raza Kasuri (MNA, a former party man of Prime Minister Zulfikar Ali Bhutto) was killed in an armed attack on the car carrying the father and the

son on return from a wedding party. The unknown assailants made good their escape. A tribunal was set up on December 13, 1975 to look into the incident. Mr. Justice Shafi ur Rahman of the Lahore High Court, headed the tribunal, but the report of the tribunal was not made public. The Ichhra Police Station and the CIA also conducted investigation in this case. In the mean-time Bhutto government was toppled through military coup d'tat on July 5, 1977 and the Martial Law Government under General Zia ul Haq decided to probe into the affairs of the Federal Security Force (FSF), established by the deposed Prime Minister. Two officials of FSF M/s Arshad Iqbal and Rana Iftikhar, Inspector and Sub Inspector respectively, were arrested on 25<sup>th</sup> July 1977, i.e. Within 20 days of the coup. Inspector Ghulam Hussain was arrested three days later, who became a prime witness/ approver to the murder of Nawab Muhammad Ahmed Khan by the FSF.

The Director General of the FSF, Masood Mehmood, who was arrested on 24<sup>th</sup> August 1977, also turned to become an approver. And a prime witness, Mian Abbas, Director operations of the FSF, had also become an approver and confessed to his involvement in the murder, but later he became a hostile witness. He had been arrested on 31<sup>st</sup> July 1977 along with Inspector Sufi Ghulam Hussain. The remaining two prime witnesses / approvers stated that the Prime Minister Bhutto had ordered them to assassinate the MNA Ahmed Raza Kasuri but he escaped the murder attempt and his father was killed instead. On the basis of this statement of approvers, Zulfikar Ali Khan Bhutto, the deposed Prime Minister, was arrested from his residence at 70-Clifton Karachi and brought to Lahore the same day. He was challaned on August 21, and released on bail by Mr. Justice Samdani on 13<sup>th</sup> September, 1977. He was rearrested on 27<sup>th</sup> October 1977 on the orders of the Lahore High Court, canceling the bail. For five months, proceedings of the case went on and on 18<sup>th</sup> March 1978, Shaheed Bhutto was sentenced to death along with four co-accused: Mian Abbas, Arshad Iqbal, Sufi Ghulam Hussain and Rana Iftikhar. The co-accused appealed to the Supreme Court of Pakistan against the

Lahore High Court verdict within four days on 22<sup>nd</sup> March 1978 and Shaheed Bhutto did the same on the 25<sup>th</sup> March. The appeals were admitted for regular hearing in April 1978 and the accused were transferred to the District Jail, Rawalpindi. The first hearing was held on May 20, 1978. The Supreme Court Bench consisted of nine judges of whom Mr. Justice Qaisar Khan retired on July 30, 1978; and the remaining eight Judges heard the case till November 20, 1978, when one more judge Mr. Justice Waheed suffered a cardio vascular stroke, which impaired his eyesight, speech and physical movement, so after an adjournment of three weeks waiting for him to recover, the bench decided to proceed without him. Now there were seven judges left on the bench.

An oral prayer was made at the commencement of hearing of the appeal, as well as at the close of arguments, that the appellant (Zulfikar Ali Bhutto) should be given an opportunity in this court to make a full statement under section 342 of the Criminal Procedure Code, as such an opportunity was denied to him in the trial Court (The Lahore High Court). Later Zulfikar Ali Bhutto himself submitted a written request to the Court for permission to address the Court personally, his personal request was allowed and he appeared before the Court for four days consecutively from the 18<sup>th</sup> to the 21<sup>st</sup> December, 1978. Maj Gen. (R) Rahat Latif was in charge of out-of-jail security of Bhutto Sahib and the Court was located on Peshawar Road at a distance of about three kilometers from the jail. He writes that "Elaborate arrangements were made to avert an attempt at getting him released on the way or assassinate him. ...the possibility of an attempt to rescue Mr. Bhutto remained a real threat and so it was kept on top of our list of contingencies for which counter measures had to be prepared."<sup>54</sup> He was to be taken to the Court in a prisoners police van and a set of three vehicles was to form a caravan: the lead and the rear vehicles served as escort guard, with Bhutto Sahib in the middle one. Besides, three alternative routes were considered and finally the shortest cut route was used... "while two other routes were also used simultaneously by dummy convoys of identical vehicles which

converged on the Supreme Court building."<sup>55</sup> There was top-secret plan under a code word. "Black Horse," which was to be used on the wireless in case Mr. Bhutto's appeal was rejected by the Supreme Court.

"When Shaheed Bhutto emerged from the jail complex", writes Maj Gen. Rahat Latif, "he looked elegant, wearing a well-tailored suit. He had however lost weight and his suit did fit a little loosely. He looked around in all directions, smiled and stood for some time. His face still carried the same radiance."<sup>56</sup> But, "when he saw the arrangements for his travel, Mr. Bhutto was furious. He refused to enter the vehicle... used harsh language with threatening words... Mr. Yar Mohammed (the Jail Superintendent) informed the court accordingly on telephone but the court insisted that Mr. Bhutto should travel in the van meant for prisoners. With great difficulty a chair was placed inside the van and furious Mr. Bhutto entered while using all sorts of harsh words."<sup>57</sup> Maj Gen. Rahat Latif further narrates that "As Mr. Bhutto moved out of the prisoners' van, he stood again for some time and looked around, waved and then moved into the Registrar's office which had been vacated for him and his family. Before the start of proceedings Mr. Bhutto used to meet his lawyers here. Here he was also "served coffee and biscuits."<sup>58</sup> When Shaheed Bhutto entered the court room, his party workers, who were seated under court pass, "stood up out of respect for their leader... he acknowledged them with a smile and embraced a few of them."<sup>59</sup> During the first day proceeding, which started at 11:35 am on December 18, 1978, he spoke in the court about geopolitical environment of Pakistan, the policies of the military government, the necessity of holding elections and the ill treatment he was being meted out in jail. "Time and again the judges interrupted... he was advised by the Chief Justice to stick to the case."<sup>60</sup> ...On December 21, 1978 Shaheed Bhutto finished arguing his own case; the other four co-accused were given the same opportunity soon after Bhutto Sahib; and on 6<sup>th</sup> February, 1979, after a hearing of about 8½ months (May 20, 1978 - Feb. 6, 79) Mr. Bhutto's appeal was finally rejected and it was immediately

conveyed to the DMLA [Deputy Martial Law Administrator] through the code word: Black Horse."<sup>61</sup>

The hearing of appeal had been concluded on 22nd December 1978 but the judgment was reserved; finally on 6<sup>th</sup> February 1979 it was announced with four out of seven judges holding the accused guilty. Three judges: Mr. Justice Muhammad Haleem, Mr. Justice Dorab Patel and Mr. Justice Safdar Shah, acquitted Mr. Bhutto and Mr. Abbas the director of FSF operations, but held the other three co-accused guilty of murder. Thus in a narrow four-to-three verdict, the judges confirmed the death sentence on Shaheed Bhutto. He was condemned for ordering assassination of a political enemy by the FSF in 1974. Maj. Gen. Rahat Latif points out in "Plus Bhutto Episode" that "The three dissenting Judges who voted to free Mr. Bhutto came from the Provinces of Sindh and NWFP. The other four were from the Punjab."<sup>62</sup>

#### THE LAST STAGE:

In the Lahore High Court, the trial was held in camera from January 25, 1978. The accused Shaheed Bhutto applied for transfer of case which was refused in chamber. He boycotted the proceedings; but on March 18, 1978, he was sentenced to death along with the co-accused for criminal conspiracy and murder. Shaheed went into appeal before the Supreme Court of Pakistan. The Chief Justice and the full bench of nine judges, one member Justice Qaisar Khan retired on July 30, 1978, till November 20, 1978, the remaining eight judges heard the appeal. Then Justice Waheeduddin Ahmad fell ill and the proceedings were adjourned for three weeks. But Justice Waheeduddin did not return and the proceeding were resumed with only seven judges left on the Full Bench of the Supreme Court, four from Punjab, who upheld the death sentence awarded by the Lahore Court and the remaining three judges acquitted the appellant Shaheed Bhutto of the murder conspiracy charge: thus the appeal was rejected by majority verdict on February 6, 1979, after a year and twelve days of continuous ruthless trial and cruel under-trial incarceration. Shaheed Bhutto

bore it with fortitude. A Review Petition could still be made under the C.P.C Sec. 114, which was filed in the Supreme Court but it was rejected unanimously on the ground that there were no fresh grounds to consider it and that the plea of reduction of sentence to imprisonment should have been made during the hearing of the Appeal, which was not done. Thus the Review Petition was also rejected on 24th March 1979. Justices Doral Patel and Muhammed Haleem still made a few observations on the question of sentence; "... there are judgments in which capital punishment has been imposed only on the persons who have actually participated in the killing of the victim of the offence, and the lesser sentence has been imposed on the person or persons who have instigated or abetted the murder. Similarly there are judgments in which the lesser sentence has been imposed for murder on account of a cleavage of opinion in the court which heard the appeal... the learned counsels main stress was on the fact that even, according to the prosecution, it was not Mr. Bhutto who had fired the fatal shots at Mr. Kasuri's car and that, in any event, the victim of the offence was not the person whose murder Mr. Bhutto had planned. But these are circumstances, which, according to the settled law, were relevant to a plea for mitigation of sentences, therefore learned council should have referred to them in his arguments before us in the appeal against Mr. Bhutto's conviction the more so as the question of sentence is a question in the discretion of the court... I therefore agree with the view of Akram J. that the question of sentence cannot be raised in the review petition... the grounds relied upon by Mr. Yahya Bakhtiar for mitigation of sentence are relevant for consideration by the executive authorities in the exercise of their prerogative of clemency."<sup>63</sup> Mr. Justice Muhammad Haleem wrote: "for the reason given by my learned brother, Dorab Patel J, in his separate note, I agree that this petition be dismissed. Now that the Supreme Court has rejected Mr. Bhutto's appeal against his death sentence, the former Prime Minister's only hope of escaping the gallows is an act of clemency from the Pakistani Head of State General Zia."<sup>64</sup> Zulfikar Bhutto did not appeal to General Zia for

mercy up to the last. However his first wife Mrs. Amir Begum and the second wife Begum Nusrat Bhutto made such an appeal but while Mrs. Amir Begum's appeal was not entertained, Begum Nusrat Bhuttos appeal was too late. There was intense international pressure on Gen. Zia against the death sentence; the USA, West German and Chinese Heads of State cabled their objection. Personal appeals were made by President Leonid Brezhnev of the USSR and Prime Minister James Callaghan of the Great Britain. The Libyan President Muammar Qaddafi offered to send a plane to Pakistan to take the former Prime Minister Bhutto out to exile, and the Iranian Government even let it be known that Pakistan would lose Iran's \$300 million in annual aid if the execution was carried out.<sup>65</sup>

On the last day of hearing, Mr. Muhammad Hanif Khan, a prominent PPP leader of the NWFP saw his leader Zulfikar Ali Bhutto for the last time. He expresses his feelings thus: "I could not bear him in that condition. I could not exercise control over my emotions. Tears started rolling down my eyes. Looking at me he came near and said, "Naheen, Naheen, Hanif! You have to work for the Party. It has to be brought forward. You have to take courage."<sup>66</sup> ... M. Hanif Khan says, "I was ashamed before him. He was facing torture for the last almost couple of years. He was given physical, emotional and mental tortures. Coming from wealthiest family, getting education in best institutes and having led a comfortable life, my leader was subjected to untold miseries, but he kept himself composed. He knew that he was being assassinated. He did not surrender. He did not compromise on principles. He kept his head high. He adopted the path of great Muslim saints who were unruffled in similar conditions."<sup>67</sup> [Mutazzalite tortures on Imam Humbal].

#### MERCY PETITIONS:

The Supreme Court of Pakistan through a split verdict rejected the appeal of Shaheed Bhutto against the death sentence on March 24, 1979. In view of the split verdict it was widely hoped and argued

in the PPP circles that a lesser punishment would be inflicted on all the five convicts. While four convicts preferred Mercy petitions to the President Gen. Zia, Shaheed Bhutto did not. The first to move on his behalf was his step sister Begum Shahrbano Imtiaz who personally submitted a mercy petition to the Military Secretary to the President in Rawalpindi on 31st March 1979. Out side the family, two mercy petitions were filed on behalf of the PPP, one by Sahibzada Farooq Ali on March 29, 1979 and the other by Mian Muhammed Yasin Wattoo, the then acting Secretary General PPP on March 30, 1979. The Central Executive committee of the PPP had urged the President "to remit or commute the sentence of Chairman Zulfikar Ali Bhutto in exercise of powers under Article 45 of the Constitution of the Islamic Republic of Pakistan."<sup>68</sup> Under this Article of the Constitution of 1973, it was the prerogative of the "Head of the State" to accept or reject a mercy petition. The Constitution empowered the President to grant mercy even if no mercy petition was filed.

It was the evening of the 1st April, 1979 when Gen. Zia ul Haq minuted the summary submitted by the Minister of Interior the very day and wrote; "Petition is rejected."<sup>69</sup> God knows whether his hand trembled, but one Chaudhry had already requested him that "the pen used to reject the mercy petitions might be gifted to him as a souvenir."<sup>70</sup>

Execution was originally fixed on 3rd April 1979; but as the Muslim faith holds death cannot occur a moment before or after that which Allah has ordained, the weather prevented execution on that day and flying dead body to the martyr's home village. The actual death moment occurred in the morning of 4th April 1979.

#### **BETWEEN HOPE AND DESPAIR:**

General K M Arif's recent book entitled "Working with Zia: Pakistan's Power politics 1977-1988" shows that between 24th March 1979 to his execution day the 3-4 April 1979, "Mr. Bhutto met eighteen visitors in his prison cell."<sup>71</sup> They included his two wives, one daughter, some other relatives, and his counsels. Mrs.

Nusrat Bhutto and Miss Benazir Bhutto were the last of his visitors whom he met jointly for nearly four hours from 11 am to 3 pm on 3rd April 1979. On their arrival at the jail gate, the two ladies inquired from the Deputy Superintendent (Jail) if this was their last meeting. They were given an affirmative reply... They met Chaudhry Yar Muhammed, the Superintendent of the Jail, who informed them that the mercy petitions filed in the case had been rejected and Mr. Bhutto will be hanged to death the next morning. He also told them that this would be their last meeting with Mr. Bhutto. The two ladies then went inside the jail to meet Shaheed Bhutto. Shortly thereafter, the Jail Superintendent came in and informed him, in the presence of his wife and daughter, that he would be executed the next morning. Not showing any sign of nervousness in the presence of his wife and daughter, Mr. Bhutto put up a brave face throughout the long meeting. Begum Nusrat Bhutto remained nervous but calm. Miss Benazir broke down several times. She sobbed and wept on a few occasions.<sup>72</sup> After their meeting, both the ladies were escorted back to the Sihala camp Jail where they had been lodged since their detention. They came under immense emotional stress when bidding farewell to their beloved husband and father, whom they were now destined to see again. The three ash-faced persons stood for a few moments looking at one another, motionless and speechless. Their parting was painful and difficult. It was a tormenting scene.

## CHAPTER - 12

# INSIDE DEATH CELL, AND OUT TO GALLOWES

"In this narrow, dark, stinking death cell, where I am confined 22 or 23 hours every day ... I am writing with the paper resting on my knees."<sup>1</sup> He was writing a 300-page rejoinder to voluminous White Paper of over a thousand pages published and widely and intensively publicized by the Martial Law Government, with the purpose of prejudicing his trial and appeal against death sentence awarded to him by the Lahore High Court, pending before the Supreme Court of Pakistan. It was this statement, which formed one of the principal documents of his appeal, The Martial Law Government blacked out this 300-page statement of Shaheed Bhutto written by him in his death cell. A few newspapers tried to report it but came under pre-censorship. Those days not only columns but also some times even full pages of newspapers appeared blank as censored, Yahya Bakhtiar tried to get some copies printed for distribution, but the press was sealed, However, a copy of this crucial statement of Shaheed Bhutto was smuggled out of his death cell to India, where Pran Chopra, a versatile journalist published it under the title: "If am assassinated".

There were in all five White Papers issued against Shaheed Bhutto. Here in his book, thus published, he has replied to only the first one. "The object," he writes in his statement, "is to vitiate the climate of opinion against me, so that everyone from the humblest clerk to the highest Court [the Supreme Court of Pakistan hearing the appeal] may be driven to one conclusion ... the

onslaughts have been gradually escalating from 5 July 1977 to 28 August 1978, but still the peak of the publicity will be reached when the judgment of my appeal is at hand."<sup>2</sup>

Pran Chopra writes in his introduction about the value of this statement at length, "... the main value of the document lies above and beyond... particular charges and countercharges, and this value will live whether Bhutto lives or not and whether he rigged the elections or not. This value lies in outpourings of a brilliant mind from his chamber of death, the most brilliant in Pakistan after Jinnah, and among the most brilliant any-where in southern Asia. ... What emerges in the end is an outstanding political document probably the most perceptive and most informative diagnoses of Pakistan. It is a document of great intensity and significance, as revealing of the man as of his times ... He is speaking to history from the platform of his own brilliant mind and his unique experience ..."<sup>3</sup> There is a total sweep of political process in developing countries and a much larger focus and function of his statement, which he is conscious of, as he writes; "Without the total sweep, this paper would have lacked political perception and been unworthy of the author. The post-martial law developments in the subcontinent, the state of relations between Afghanistan and Pakistan, the future of the nuclear reprocessing plant, the oscillation between alignment and non-alignment are poignantly pertinent to the destiny of Pakistan. Beyond the imperatives of being duty bound to present a picture in balance, it would have been a disservice to the reader to circumscribe the report".<sup>4</sup> Shaheed Bhutto could not be expected to produce any documentary evidence from his prolonged seclusion, first in prison and then in a death cell.

It was 21st June 1978. In the sizzling heat of Punjab and the death cell, Shaheed Bhutto remembered that it was the 25<sup>th</sup> birthday of his daughter Benazir, who was alongwith her mother, also a prisoner at that time. The three were separately incarcerated to wait for the first one to die. "What gift can I give you from this cell," he wrote, "out of which my hand cannot pass? I give you the

hand of the people."<sup>6</sup> He drew a parallel to the Muslim belief; "the paradise lies under the feet of your mother" by writing that "The paradise of politics lies under the feet of the people."<sup>7</sup> He gave her a message, calling it "the message of history": "Believe only in the people, work only for their emancipation and equality."<sup>8</sup> He formulated it into a political philosophy: "You cannot be big unless you are prepared to kiss the ground. You cannot defend the soil unless you know the smell of that soil ... the dominant factor is the aspiration of the people and the ability to seek total identification with it"<sup>9</sup>. He exposed his nationalistic creed in most convincing words for his dearest daughter to imbibe: "You are the heir to and an inheritor of the most ancient civilization. Please make your full contribution to making this ancient civilization the most progressive and the most powerful."<sup>10</sup> He had his own perception of power. When he heard his opponents calling him power thirsty, he retorted: "Yes, I want power-not for myself but for the people"<sup>11</sup>. Here in his death cell birthday greetings to his daughter he expounded it: "By progressive and powerful, I do not mean the most dreaded. A dreaded society is not a civilized society".<sup>12</sup> A progressive and powerful Pakistani society was his dream. Here, in this letter, he enunciated it thus: "the most progressive and powerful society, in the civilized sense, is a society which has recognized its ethos and come to terms with past and the present, with religion and science, with modernism and mysticism, with materialism and spirituality; a society free of tension a society rich in culture."<sup>13</sup> According to him, "Such a society cannot come with hocus-pocus formulas and with fraud. It has to flow from the depth of a divine search."<sup>14</sup>

An ambitious popular leader was facing death while writing a letter of birthday greetings to his talented daughter and indulged in a superb communication of his lifetime agenda. Pandit Jawahar Lal Nehru also used to write letters to his daughter Indu (Mrs. Indira Gandhi), which were compiled as "Glimpses of World History", and Shaheed Bhutto referred to this parallel but the case of "My Dearest Daughter" stands, unparalleled even though, and in the very words

of Shaheed Bhutto himself, "... the parallel is not all that close. Nehru was kept in jail by our alien rulers in some place with honour and respect. He was a freedom fighter ... He was not a petty murderer, an embezzler of the state, a nobody from a village of Larkana languishing in a death-cell at the hands of his nation's ruling clique. There is a wide difference"<sup>15</sup>. He told his daring daughter, "You are caught in the middle of a fire of a ruthless junta (as compared with Nehru's 13 year old daughter Indira who had not gone through the fire of politics at that time). There is therefore a world of difference."<sup>16</sup> He prompted Benazir to a political career showing the similarity and the difference between her and Indira: .. "the similarity, if any, lies in the fact that you, like Indira Gandhi, are making history. I can claim to know Indira Gandhi quite well ... I have no hesitation in saying that my daughter is more than a match for the daughter of Jawahar Lal Nehru ... It is my honest opinion."<sup>17</sup> He went on to point out more similarities: "one thing you have in common; both of you are equally brave. Both of you are made of pure damascene steel. But where will your talent take you? Normally it should take you to the very top."<sup>18</sup> Bhutto's experience of indigenous society called for caution so he hastened to add, "But we are living in a society where talent is a draw-back and suffocating mediocrity an asset."<sup>19</sup> Then he reiterated his hope and faith in the young generation: "Perhaps things will change with a struggle spearheaded by a militant youth." And he warned; "If things do not change, there will be nothing left to change. Either power must pass to the people or every thing will perish."<sup>20</sup>

Mr. Abdul Qayum, the farm-manager of Bhutto estates, was in attendance of Mrs. Amir Begum when she traveled to Rawalpindi to have the last meeting with her husband. After the meeting she told him that Bhutto Sahib was completely at peace and had asked whether the road which started from Madiji to Sukkur via Naodero [Larkana to Madiji having been completed already] had been completed."<sup>21</sup>

On return from her last meeting with Shaheed Bhutto, Mrs. Amir Begum could not get plane ticket and took train journey

accompanied by her attendants, reaching Larkana on 3rd April 1979. In the meantime, army had raided Al Murtaza House Larkana, 70 Clifton Karachi and the Bungalow of Mrs. Amir Begum at Naodero. Abdul Qayum says, "they completely uprooted these houses and even threw the clothes of Begum Sahiba on the road."<sup>22</sup>

### THE LAST MEETING:

April 3, 1979, Shaheed Bhutto was sitting on a mattress spread on the floor of his death cell. His most loved ones, wife Nusrat Bhutto and daughter Benazir called on him and he was yet unaware of his hanging schedule. "Why are you both here?" He asked and sensed it at once, 'Is this the last meeting?'<sup>23</sup>

The jail superintendent informed him that the execution date was fixed the next day at five o'clock in the morning and he had only half an hour to say good bye for good to his present visitors, though the jail manual allowed an hour but these were the orders of the jail superintendent. Shaheed Bhutto ignored the awful news and asked his jail keeper thus: "Make arrangements for me to have a bath and a shave. The world is beautiful and I want to leave it clean."<sup>24</sup> Then he asked his daughter to take the magazines and books and the cigars, leaving one cigar with himself saying, "I'll keep one for tonight."<sup>25</sup> He also kept his Shalimar Cologne perfume. When he started taking off his ring, his wife told him to keep it on. "I'll keep it for now," he agreed, "But afterwards I want it to go to Benazir."<sup>26</sup> Then he asked his wife: "Give my love to the other children. Tell Mir and Sunny and Shah that I have tried to be a good father and wish could have said good bye to them." Begum Bhutto could only nod, she was speechless. He looked into their eyes and said, "You have both suffered a lot. Now that they are going to kill me tonight, I want to free you as well. If you want to, you can leave Pakistan while the constitution is suspended and Martial Law imposed. If you want peace of mind and to pick up your lives again, then you might want to go to Europe. I give you my permission. You can go."<sup>27</sup>

A moment of a hard decision had come. Begum Bhutto crossed it instantly: "No, no. We can't go. We'll never go. The Generals must not think they have won. Zia has scheduled elections again, though who knows if he will dare to hold them? If we leave, there will be no one to lead the party, the party you built."<sup>28</sup> The brave wife was well aware of the ground reality. "And you, Pinkie?" the well composed father asked his dearest daughter Benazir, She replied in the same vein, "I could never go." The parting father smiled and said "I'm so glad!"<sup>29</sup>

Across the jail bars, Benazir whispered to her father, "I have managed to send out a message."<sup>30</sup> Had the message on the BBC been heard by the Prime Minister of Libya and the Foreign Minister of Saudi Arabia, who had promised to fly in should a date for execution be announced? Was there a time for them to fly in now?

"The time is up," thundered the jail superintendent repeating, "The time is up." Benazir requested him in vain to open up the cell so that she could hold her father to say good-bye. She gripped the bars and tried to reach her father through the bars: "he was so thin, almost wasted away from malaria, dysentery, and starvation. But he pulls himself erect and touch's my hand",<sup>31</sup> so writes the daughter of the East. "A glow suffusing his face," Shaheed Bhutto uttered his last words to the grief stricken mother and daughter as well as to himself indeed, "Tonight I will be free. I will be joining my mother, my father. I am going back to the land of my ancestors in Larkana to become part of its soil, its scent, its air. There will be songs about me. I will become part of its legend"<sup>32</sup>. Then he smiles, "But it is very hot in Larkana." Benazir responds readily, "I'll build a shade." Begum Nusrat reached through the bars to touch him for the last time and Benazir whooped through choked throat "Good bye Papa!"

#### THE DEATH SENTENCE:

In his foreword to 'My dearest Daughter' dated Quetta 10th January 1988, Mr. Yahya Bakhtiar, the former attorney General of Pakistan and the chief defence counsel of Shaheed Bhutto in the

appeal against the death sentence in the Supreme Court of Pakistan, writes: "I failed to save my most distinguished client."<sup>34</sup> In the process another able and dedicated colleague Mr. Ghulam Ali Memon expired "because he could no longer bear the heart breaking experience"<sup>35</sup> which they were going through for almost a year, from March 1978 to March 1979. After the Shaheed's execution it was surmised or purposely rumored by some opponents that Prime Minister Bhutto's defence was not properly conducted... "the appeal was argued on the wrong lines. Otherwise he would have been acquitted."<sup>36</sup> The jurists opinion across the world, however, confirmed that "injustice was done to Mr. Bhutto both in the High Court as well as in the Supreme Court",<sup>37</sup> the evidence against him "did not support a guilty verdict." There was the possibility of a 5:4 split decision in favour of acquittal instead of 4:3 decision in favour of conviction and execution if the two judges, who were not on the bench, "for reasons well known" had been there when the death sentence was confirmed. The international press reported legal opinion on these lines from the very day the death sentence was announced. On 25th March 1978, the Economist, London wrote: "The quality of evidence was highly questionable, the prosecution witnesses were a shady bunch. But the task set for the five justices by the soldiers who have ruled Pakistan since last July's coup was quite clear: "Mr. Bhutto must be removed." Like Mr. Ramsay Clark, Prof. F.C. Crone of Copenhagen (Denmark) also followed the proceedings of Bhutto trial in Pakistan. He wrote in Asia Week, May 5, 1978... "It appears that the coup generals see Bhutto's death -judicial murder as a logical necessity in removing a dangerous political foe. The cases were instigated when two months after the coup, it became obvious that Bhutto would win the proposed general elections."<sup>38</sup>

After Shaheed Bhutto was sentenced to death, he wrote to Mr. Yahya Bakhtiar, his chief defence counsel, "I did not kill that man. My God is aware of it. I am big enough to admit if I had done it, that admission would have been less of an ordeal and humiliation than this barbarous trial which no self-respecting man can endure.

I am a Muslim. A Muslim's fate is in the hands of God Almighty. I can face Him with a clear conscience and tell Him that I rebuilt his Islamic State of Pakistan from ashes into a respectable nation. I am entirely at peace with my conscience in this black hole of Kot Lakhpat. I am not afraid of death..."<sup>39</sup>

Before Shaheed Bhutto, President Daud of Afghanistan was killed by his soldiers. Bhutto, in his letter to Yahya Bakhtiar, called it the "logic of the moment". If the coup generals wanted to remove him they could have done that on the night of the coup. President Daud's murder "was not a preplanned, cold blooded and calculated judicial murder" writes Shaheed Bhutto, "as I am to be the victim of ... what is the purpose of such primitive vengeance? In this case it is selfish and retrograde. It is for the benefit of the coterie and not for the people of the country. If the people wanted my head I would bow without demur. If I had lost the confidence or respect of the people I would not want to live. The tragedy of the drama is that the very opposite is true..."

Shaheed Bhutto was a popular leader in the Punjab. Tables were turned on him in that very province. How and why? In his letter to Yahya Bakhtiar he elaborates: "In 1970, I went to every village of the Punjab and burst the balloon of the coterie (the Army generals) to become the undisputed leader of the masses of the Punjab just as I am the authentic leader of the rest of the country. This is why the coterie hates and despises me. I exposed them in their own backyard. I made people of the Punjab catch them by the neck... Even the PNA friends of the regime have been deceived and hoodwinked by the Junta. They were used and exploited to perpetuate the regime and to ease the regime's effort to get rid of me."<sup>41</sup>

Yahya Bakhtiar writes about his "most distinguished client" that, "He was a human being and also had his weaknesses as all human beings have, but he was an exceptionally brilliant politician and a very courageous man. Above all, he was an ardent patriot who loved his country, lived for it and died for it as a martyr."<sup>42</sup> According to Mr. Bakhtiar, the basic reason for the overthrow of the elected government of Zulfikar Ali Bhutto ... "was the Nuclear

Reprocessing Plant contract with France which the U.S wanted him to cancel and he in the vital interest of Pakistan, refused".<sup>43</sup> Shaheed Bhutto in his last letter to his "Dearest Daughter" refers to the difficulties and risks that a self respecting and patriotic leader of Third World country has to face: "It is even more dangerous to be pro West", he writes, "one disagreement in defence of a national cause, and out goes the civilian leader by a coup d'etat. He gets replaced by a tin-pot military dictator who would not dare to disagree about anything, including the vital national interest of his country."<sup>44</sup>

Shaheed Bhutto continued writing in his death-cell, 6'x9' dark and dirty, where he was confined for 23 hours a day for over a year. He spent his time in reading as well. He read US President Nixons memoirs, the Martial Authorities White Papers, the books and magazines given by his visitors, mainly Ms. Benazir Bhutto, whom he entrusted his reading material when he was informed during his last meeting with his wife and daughter that he was going to be hanged the next morning at 5 o'clock. Mr. Yahya Bakhtiar who visited him frequently writes, "He seemed completely oblivious about his own fate and the impending execution, which I did not believe would be carried out (thinking as a lawyer) but which he thought would be carried out and often said so."<sup>45</sup> Mr. Yahya Bakhtiar writes: "One is simply astounded at his courage. How could he possibly concentrate on world problems including those of Pakistan and give his objective assessment with regard to each issue... at times he is, no doubt, bitter and at times emotional ..."<sup>46</sup>

His government was toppled when he was set to convene a Third World Summit Conference. He muses and writes in his death-cell, "The new international order has to emerge through the demands of a Third World Summit Conference. The answer to the North-South conflict, which is more serious than the East-West conflict, has to be found honestly and with unimpeachable integrity. The Western attitude needs to be changed towards Africa. The pride and sensitivity of the 'ugly black man' has to be understood. The diplomacy of lip service will not do ..."<sup>47</sup>

## HOME THEY BROUGHT THE WARRIOR DEAD:

Shaheed Bhutto said, "The world is very beautiful..... life is a love affair..... I have no hesitation in saying that my most passionate love affair, my most thrilling romance, has been with the people."<sup>1</sup>

"There is call to gallows, friends!

Will any one of you go?

Those who talk of love may know

To gallows they must hurry up!"<sup>2</sup>

Shaheed Bhutto was unaware of his execution order till April 3, 1979 at 6 O'clock in the evening, when the Jail Superintendent served it. He stared into the Jail Superintendents eyes and said, "I should have been informed by the competent authority 24 hours prior to the execution, but it has not been done. On the contrary, when my daughter and wife met me to day all 11:30 a.m. they were not sure about it..... No written order [blackwarrant] for my execution has been shown to me so far. I want to see my counsels as soon as possible, my other relatives should have been allowed to see me."<sup>3</sup> His near relatives. Sardar Nabi Bux, Pir Bux, Mumtaz Ali, Mr. & Mrs. Munawar-ul-Islam and Pervez Ali Bhutto were permitted to met Bhutto Sahib after the meeting of Mohtarmas Nusrat and Benazir Bhutto; but it was cancelled abruptly "due to some apprehension."

Col. Rafi quotes further conversions: "Rafi! What is this drama being played? Col. said, "Sir! Have I ever tried to be funny with you?" Col. Saw, according to him for the first time, desert-like

fierceness in Bhutto's eyes and got shot back with a rebuke, "what do you mean?"<sup>4</sup> When he was plainly told that the final order has been received to hang you to day, he waived his hand and said loudly, "stop it, Stop it!"<sup>5</sup> He showed the natural reaction to imminent death, but he returned to almost normal condition. The First Class Magistrate, Mr. Bashir Ahmad Khan, came with the Jail Superintendent, Mr. Yar Muhammad, to tell Bhutto Sahib that he could write his "will" for which stationery would be provided. When they left, Bhutto Sahib rose from his seat but stumbled at the first step. He had become too weak as he had not taken food for several days. Col. Rafi gave him support and said, "You could have steel courage; but the body needs food for energy."<sup>6</sup> Bhutto Sahib smiled and patted the Col. He called the waterman Abdur Rahman and asked him to bring hot water for shave. During his hunger strike he had also stopped shaving. He shaved under the supervision of the Deputy Jail Superintendent, Khawaja Ghulam Rasool, at 7:5 p.m. and conversed with him simultaneously: "Deputy Sahib, where will you find such a leader; but you don't need him, either. The poor needed him. I used to speak before shoe-makers at the Mochi-Gate; because I am also a cobbler. You people are snatching leader of the poor. I am a revolutionary, a pro-poor [leader]. If you had to kill me, why did you waste two years? Why did you not respect me as the whole world does. You could have put me in a Rest House or a cell and killed me honorably. Today the Chairman of the Islamic Conference who is chosen by the Muslims of the whole world, is not permitted even to shave! You are standing by me lest I should cut my self with the razor blade. For another thing, please forgive me as I have given you much trouble: You have made the other accused commit perjury in order to get me hanged and set them free."<sup>7</sup> Then he called the sentry in and to his face asked the Deputy Superintendent to deliver his wristwatch to him, after his death. The waterman, Abdur Rahman brought a cup of coffee at 8:5 pm. He talked to him tearfully, "Rahman! If I have done any wrong to you, please forgive me. I am to be hanged anyway. It is my last night with you.

I am your guest for only a few hours."<sup>8</sup> Then he sat writing his "will", from 8:15 to 9:40 p.m. Then he trifled with his dressing table material and put it on the prayer cloth and then on the bathing towel, alternatively [like what the genius do at the time of a perplexed situation.] it went on for nearly ten minutes. Then cleansed his teeth, washed his hands and face and combed his hair. Then removed the cigar ash and some burnt papers with a tissue paper. Again he started writing his "will" from 10:10 to 1:5 pm. Then he burnt down what he had written, and its ash he spread in the cell. He called Abdur Rahman and asked him to cleanse the cell. Then asked the Sentry how much time was left (in hanging). He said that there was enough time but when asked how many hours, he remained silent. Bhutto Sahib said to himself I can sleep for an hour or two! Sentry said, "Yes, Sir!". "Won't you awake me!", he said and went to sleep silently. After 20 minutes, he murmured Sanam, Sanam,! (His younger daughter). Then said, "I am trying to sleep for a little while. I did not sleep the last night. I know, otherwise, you will wake me up at 12 o'clock."<sup>9</sup>

The Assistant Superintendent of Jail came at 11:50 p.m. to wake up Bhutto Sahib for hanging; but he lay motionless till 1:05 a.m. He was to be hanged at 2.0 a.m. during the night between April 3-4, 1979. He was asked about his "will". He was too weak to speak. In a very faint voice not clearly audible, he tried to say: "I had.... Tried... but my.... Thoughts.... Were.... So..... upset.... That.... I... could.... not.... Do it... I.... have... burnt.... it"<sup>10</sup> Long starvation and the last moment had left him with no more physical energy. The jail authorities had therefore arranged a stretcher. The jail wardens lifted him, but he tried to get free, wanting to walk by himself but could not. He said, "Leave me." then murmured "I... Pity.... My... Wife... Left" perhaps he meant that his wife would have given him support rather than the jail wardens lifting him like that. Put on the stretcher, he was handcuffed at the belly. Right at the moment the waterman Abdur Rahman brought a cup of coffee; and the jail wardens lifted the stretcher. Bhutto Sahib kept his head up above neck and watched his last journey of life.

Col. Rafi tells that "the night was cloudy and dark... The stretcher was laid at the hanging place...the hand-cuff was released with a jerk, arms were pulled from armpits and twisted and cuffed behind the back at the waist and pulled to stand on the hanging plank, Tara Masih the hangman covered the head with the black mask. He said, "This....to me...."<sup>11</sup> And the clock struck 4 minutes past 2 a.m. of April 4, 1979. Tara pressed the button and the great man fell with a thud in underground well.<sup>12</sup> Col. Rafi hurriedly went inside via stairs from the open place, and saw that the body was lightly waving but it was actually dead.

According to an official, present at the hanging, Bhutto was approached in his cell about an hour before the execution and told to prepare for the final act. He was told to have a bath, if he so wished. He declined and said that he had already done it during the day. However he wanted to shave his face. Permission was granted. Then he was told to recite some Quranic verses before being taken to the gallows, he held a tasbeeh [Rosery] in his hand and was turning it beads reciting some things quietly. He was told that his cell was about a furlong and a half [away] from the gallows, a distance which may be difficult for him to walk and he should better lie down in a waiting stretcher to be carried by the jail wardens. He protested and said that he would like to walk the distance himself. But he was made to lie down on the stretcher and carried to the gallows by wardens, Mr. Bhutto was unloaded from the stretcher and he climbed the stairs himself, where he was hanged. Dr. Mubashir Hassan writes, "To the shame and ignominy of Pakistan, Zulfikar Ali Bhutto was executed in Rawalpindi Jail on April 4, 1979."<sup>13</sup>

#### RUMOURS AND REPORTS:

· May 21st 1979, issue of the Daily Express, London carried reports gathered by Robert Addison. One report said that "Major Iftikhar Ahmed 30, a former Pakistan Army officer said in London yesterday that staff members of Rawalpindi jail had said in letters to the Bhutto family that they heard thuds and cries from Mr.

Bhutto's cell on the night of April 3rd 10:00 pm. "They suddenly ceased."<sup>14</sup> In another report it was said that "After agreeing that Mr. Bhutto should be hanged, Zia ordered Brigadier (later Maj. Gen) Rahat Latif, brother of a top policeman, to extract a handwritten confession from Bhutto before he died. Zia promised that "success would mean a general's baton for him by mid summer."<sup>15</sup> Under the same date-line, the Daily Express carried the news that the former Punjab governor Mustafa Khar had claimed that Ex-Premier Bhutto was tortured to death in his cell. His hanging was a cover up. He was kicked to death by an over zealous brigadier who had been promised a general's baton if he could extract a confession. Bhutto was to admit ordering the murder of a one-time political opponent but he continually refused and two kicks killed him.<sup>16</sup> Mohtarma Benazir Bhutto refers to another persistent report which claimed that "My father had died during a fight in his cell. Military officers had tried to force him to sign a "confession" that he had orchestrated the coup himself and invited Zia to take over the country. My father had refused to sign the lies the regime needed to give it legitimacy. In this version one of the officers had given my father a violent push. He had fallen, striking his head on the wall of his cell and had never regained consciousness. A doctor had been summoned to revive him, giving him a heart massage and a tracheotomy, which would explain the marks Nazar Mohammad had seen on his neck. But it had been to no avail. I tended to believe this story. Why else had my father's body shown no physical signs of hanging?"<sup>17</sup>

Mir Murtaza Bhutto was reported in the Daily telegraph dated 20<sup>th</sup> April 1979 by Amit Roy as saying in London the previous day that his father might have been murdered by Army officers and not executed by hanging. According to reports he had received from Pakistan, the officers entered his father's cell carrying documents and tortured him in an effort to force him to sign the papers.

Maj. Gen. Rahat Latif says: "the rumor has it that my promotion to Major General was dependent upon getting a signed confession from Mr. Bhutto before he was taken to the gallows.... the second

point for clarification, in my opinion, concerns the rumors where it is alleged that Mr. Bhutto was tortured in the jail cell. I am sure that nobody did that. If at all it happened then it should be investigated as to who did it and under whose orders? If it was a mere rumor then who, and with what purpose he, had spread it? Why Miss Benazir Bhutto, during her 20 months of Prime Ministership did not have it investigated to discover the truth?"

Ms. Asma Jehangir, Chairperson of Human Rights Commission of Pakistan (HRCP) addressing the concluding session of Annual general meeting 1997-98, said that the national institutions were being destroyed by the rulers one by one which was the main cause of the prevailing crisis in Pakistan. "In fact the process had started with the hanging of an elected prime minister as desired by the then Chief Martial Law Administer 19 years ago."<sup>18</sup> She asserted and called for an inquiry into the incident and asked who could conduct an impartial judicial inquiry? She lamented that "judiciary was the most affected institution whose dignity and image had been tarnished not only by the establishment, but rift in the superior judiciary was responsible for it."<sup>19</sup>

Executed: hanged, or tortured to death?

Mr. Sadiq Jafri was assigned the question: 'was ZAB killed before hanging?' He has produced a book on it. It came after Lt. Gen. Chishti's "Betrayals of Another Kind." Jafri says for sure, "I have been able to know much about Mr. Bhutto's end, though I may not have been able to say it all."<sup>20</sup> Lt. Gen. Chishti writes, "Gen. Zia's game was to have me in Rawalpindi on the night, Mr. Bhutto was to be hanged, and my effort was to keep away. It was to be rumored that Gen. Chishti went to Rawalpindi Jail to get some confession signed from Mr. Bhutto, which he refused to do, and as a result Gen. Chishti manhandled Mr. Bhutto etc. etc. I would not be surprised if "some other officer" did visit the jail and the story spread that it was Gen. Chishti."<sup>21</sup> This half confession came from the horse's mouth after a decade of the heinous crime. But the question had been raised in the media and public on streets just after the gory incident. More than six and half years later, Lt. Gen.

Chishti categorically rejected the news in a "Meet the Press" statement read out at Rawalpindi Press Club, Dec: 8<sup>th</sup> 1985, saying that he never went to see Mr. Bhutto in jail and that at the time of his execution he (Chishti) was at Gilgit. Still he could tell the Press faithfully that the late Prime minister Zulfikar Ali Bhutto was not subjected to physical torture in jail, it was totally wrong to say that Mr. Bhutto was first tortured to death and later wheeled to gallows.<sup>22</sup>

Mr. Ghulam Mustafa Khar had flashed the news first. On May 21, 1979, he gave an interview to Mr. Robert Eddison, a correspondent of the Daily Express London, in which he said that "hanging" was a cover up. He (the martyr) was kicked to death by an avaricious brigadier who had been promised a general's baton if he could extract a confession... Gen. Zia ordered the hanging to go ahead as if he (the martyr) was still alive and the ceremony was recorded by video-cameras. This secret according to Mr. Khar, was divulged to him by "highly placed Pakistan Government officials who were ordered to stage it."<sup>23</sup>

Gen. Chishti a decade late mentions 'some other officer' who would have visited the jail on the fateful night (April: 3-4, 1979) and further on, in his book, he confirms: "After my return from Gilgit I asked Major Gen. K.M. Arif as to how things had gone in Rawalpindi. He told me that when Mr. Bhutto was told at night that he was to be hanged, he collapsed..... The doctor was called to check if Mr. Bhutto was in good shape health wise so that he could be hanged. The doctor gave him an injection after which Mr. Bhutto's condition improved. He refused to go on foot outside the cell. So, he was carried on a stretcher.... But when he reached the site of the gallows..... He got up from the stretcher himself and with all courage walked and climbed up the steps on his own, offering himself to Tara Masih, the executioner, and said "Finish it."<sup>24</sup>

The Statements of the two horse's mouths are coached in contradiction. Gen. Chishti explains the collapsing of the martyr after hearing the news of "hanging" by asserting that he had been

told all the time by his advisors and colleagues that the Army dare not hang him. So, the news naturally, came to him as shock. The fact is that the martyr knew it very well and told every visitor not to entertain vain hopes of his being pardoned by Gen. Zia. That is why he did not prefer a mercy petition to him. Gen. K.M. Arif's collapse and refusal to walk hence stretcher lifting theory falls flat at the end of his narration that "with all his courage he walked and climbed up the steps on his own."<sup>25</sup>

Could it be in common human experience that a collapsed and unable to walk condemned prisoner being carried on a stretcher to the gallows, be "constantly popping his head up to see where he was being carried" being certain "it was all joke!" And when he realized that he really was to be hanged, then it was too late, Late for what? For submission! But the witness himself says, "He got up... and with all courage walked and climbed the steps on his own offering himself to Tara Masih the executioner" and said, "Finish it!"<sup>26</sup> He did not offer to submit, or sign the papers whatever. He did not collapse. He did not refuse to be hanged. He said, "Finish it", rather than expect a submission.

Major Gen. Shah Rafi Alam was DMLA Rawalpindi. He is said to have opposed the execution. Gen. Mirza Aslam Beg says he had opposed Mr. Bhutto's hanging. Gen. Chishti does not say it himself, but certain sources close to him say that he was one of those very few persons who had opposed the execution.

The Daughter of the East says, "Rumours quickly began to circulate about my father's death.... He had been tortured almost to death and, with only the barest flicker of a pulse, had been carried on a stretcher to his hanging. Another persistent report claimed that my father had died during a fight in his cell... I tended to believe this story. Why else had my father's body shown no physical signs of a hanging?"<sup>27</sup> Begum Nusrat Bhutto had to contradict Lt. Col. Rafiuddin's statement, in his book, to the effect that Mr. Bhutto was carried on a stretcher from the death cell to the gallows on the orders of the Jail-Superintendent and there was no mention of any incidence of torture or the presence of an un-named high

military official on the occasion. (Oct: 1991). The Daily Jung Lahore, Dec: 12, 1991 carried Begum Bhutto's interview with a group of journalists in which she described the book as a "pack of lies"... why Col. Rafi had tried to distort the facts.... according to authentic evidence Mr. Bhutto was already dead when he was hanged. Col. Rafi happened to be then "Special Security Superintendent of Rawalpindi Jail; and the jail Superintendent was Chaudhry Yar Muhammed Durriyana. To the Jung Publishers, investigating journalist Mr. Jafri he confided, "My life would be at stake if I tell you the truth."<sup>28</sup> The then jail Deputy Superintendent, Khawaja Ghulam Rasool, said, "I am saving every thing for my book. Mr. Bhutto has died and I have to die. I wouldn't tell lies as Col. Rafi has done."<sup>29</sup> Another one who avoided the journalist's investigation, on the pretext of writing a book on it himself, was Maj. Gen. Rahat Latif (then a brigadier and next in rank of jail command line to Col. Rafi, as SMLA Rawalpindi). One who does not intend writing a book is the Assistant Jail Superintendent Mr. Majid Qureshi. When asked about the incident, he said, "Why does your newspaper want to high light this controversy at this moment?"<sup>30</sup> That was all he could burst out.

Tara Masih the executioner is now dead. He can not give a testimony now; but what his family members say about the circumstances of his death, speaks volumes: "family sources say he was kept under alcoholic influence after April 4th (1979) right up to his death. His nephew was given the same job after his death. He too is afraid of journalists."<sup>31</sup> Tara Masih, according to one source, had told Begum Nusrat Bhutto, before his death, that Mr. Bhutto had been killed before his hanging,<sup>32</sup> but that does not fall in line with the family sources' assertion that Tara Masih was in stupor all the time up till his death. May be they, in their wisdom, avoided to be asked what did Tara Masih say about it. So, they now say, "We have already announced that we shall not give any statement on the subject."<sup>33</sup>

Col. Rafi's book mentions a mushaqqati (prisoner-servant) named Abdur Rahman of Golra Sharif, who was posted in the last

months of the martyr's incarceration to serve him. He was the third one. The earlier two were military men. The third one Abdul Rahman according to Col. Rafi "was a different person and he developed a love for Mr. Bhutto."<sup>34</sup> Jafri writes, "However, later inquiries reveal that there was no prisoner in Rawalpindi Jail named Abdul Rahman who had served Mr. Bhutto."<sup>35</sup> An insider source told the journalist that he was an intelligence man. "He was on duty in the jail, spying on Mr. Bhutto, and left soon after Mr. Bhutto was executed. Abdul Rahman is not his name. He is still in Rawalpindi (in 1992) in service."<sup>36</sup>

At 3:02 a.m. on April 4, 1979, the Shaheed's coffin was taken from the execution ground to Chaklala airport, covered with red flowers. It was unloaded on a C-130 plane, which took off for Jacobabad airport, but while flying over Multan the plane took a U-turn back to Chaklala, "due to a technical fault." The colonel incharge thought he had flown thousands of hours in C-130, but had never encountered such a fault before. He was told by the crew that a spark came from one engine, which had to be shut off. The colonel thought again, "a fatal accident had to occur but was averted by providence!"<sup>37</sup>

The Rose-Laden bier of the Shaheed was transferred to another C-130 VIP plane and flown to Jacobabad, where it landed at 7'O clock in the morning of April 4, 1979. The red sun was casting its brilliant rays on the coffin when it was transferred to a helicopter, which took off at 7:30 a.m. for Garhi Khuda Bakhsh. Haji Nazar Muhammad Lighari, the land manger woke up at about 3.00 am, about the time Shaheeds bier was being lifted after the last bath was given to his dead body. The military vehicles had arrived at the suburbs of Garhi Khuda Bakhsh, the way it was rehearsed two days ago. The high beam lights and rumbling of military vehicles woke up the entire vil:age. Men, women and children came out of homes sobbing and wailing. A police man asked Haji Nazar Muhammad to show the place of burial. Weeping he said, "Why should we show you the place of burial. We will perform the final rites ourselves."<sup>38</sup> His plea was ignored. Only eight men were allowed inside the

ancestral graveyard to dig the grave, fetch unbaked bricks to line the grave and bring wooden planks to be put on it. The village was cordoned off at 8 o'clock, two military helicopters landed near the graveyard, from one of the two helicopters, Shaheed's bier was taken out, and placed in an ambulance, twenty soldiers had taken position on the roof of the home of pesh imam and caretaker of the graveyard with their rifles pointed at the graveyard.

According to Muslim custom, the near relatives must have a last look; but the colonel, after long argument, allowed only the first wife, Ms. Ameer Begum to come from Nao Dero and have a look. "When she arrived", writes Haji Nazar Muhammad, "we opened the coffin, and transferred the [Shaheed's] body on to a rope-cot, and carried it into the walled home [Haveli]. Bhutto ladies observed strict parda [veil], but the army men forced their way into the house against all norms of decency. After half an hour the body was brought out and the Col. confirmed on oath that it had already received "ghusal" according to Muslim custom. "We were too perturbed and grief stricken to look at the rest of the body.... but his face was the face of a pearl, it shone like a pearl. He looked the way he had at sixteen, his skin was not of several colours, nor his eyes or tongue bulged out like the pictures I'd seen of the men that Zia had hanged in public. As ritual demands, I turned Bhutto Sahib's face to the west, towards Mecca. His head did not fall to the side, his neck was not broken, there were strange red and black dots on his throat, however, like an official stamp."<sup>39</sup>

About 1500 people of the village were forcing their way to have the last look and see "the glow from the martyr's face". Their wailing was heart rending, the Col. became very angry and threatened to baton charge the mourners if they didn't leave. "The burial must take place at once", he roared, "If we have to, we will do it with the help of the rod." "At gun point" says, Leghari "we hurried through... and lowered the body into the grave. The recitation of the Holy Quran mingled with the wailing of the women rising from the houses, and that was the last of the Shaheed I had seen."<sup>40</sup>

Abdul Qayoom another land Manager, tells that the army had

given only 10 minutes to all to have a last look of the martyr's face, but on the intervention of Mr. Shahid Aziz, then D.C Larkana, they agreed to extend the limit. When the body was taken out from Bhutto Haveli, he saw a certificate of a Maulvi attached which said that the body had been given bath in complete Islamic way hence it did not need re-bathing before burial. Later, Abdul Qayoom was taken into custody. "Actually", he says, 'they wanted me to withdraw my statement that... my Sahib had not been hanged but killed by torture."<sup>41</sup> After that in 1982 Abdul Qayoom was elected as Chairman Nao Daro Municipal Committee, which he resigned the next year during the MRD movement on the instructions of Mohtarma Begum Bhutto.

The present author is a votary of Hazrat Qalandar Lal Shahbaz and a regular visitor at his tomb at Sehwan. After the burial of Bhutto Shaheed at Garhi Khuda Bux, the usual rush of visitors at the dargah sharif reduced amazingly, the number of shoes keepers also reduced to one only. When he was asked about the reason of such a low turn out of visitors, he said, "All are now going to the mazar of Shaheed Baba. I can hardly earn my livelihood, here." It surprised all, because nobody had seen such small number of men, women and children at the dargah of Hazrat Qalandar Lal Shahbaz ever before. The news was carried in the papers; and this continued for sometime. The present author visited the Mazar of Shaheed Bhutto and found an unending train of supplicants there offering fateha and praying for their safety despite the rumors that visitors were being watched and noted by military intelligence of Zia, and subsequently booked on one or the other charge, taken as staunch PPP workers and supporters; but these were real devotees and were not deterred by rumors.

The news of Shaheed's death reached London around 3:30a.m, the very day of his martyrdom, April 4, 1979 by telephone. His nephew Tariq Islam received the call from Mir Murtaza Bhutto; "They had killed Zulfikar Ali Bhutto."<sup>42</sup> Omar Kureshi, likewise, got the news by an early telephone call: Turn on the radio! The death sentence of Zulfikar Ali Bhutto had been carried out. The friend of

the martyr writes, "Disbelief turned to rage and rage settled into grief..." "He had been an elected Prime Minister of our country. It seemed to me to be an evil moment and it was terrifying to consider the ramifications."<sup>43</sup> When Khan Bahadur Muhammad Ayub Khuhro learnt about the hanging of Shaheed Bhutto, his face turned red with rage and said, "Zia was not a politician, therefore he further elevated the great politician to immortality, and doomed himself to disgrace for ever."<sup>44</sup>

The news reached the present author's village Pat in Dadu Sindh by 12 O'clock, through All India Radio broadcast. Sitting on a rope cot in cattle pan with a few friends, the news hit like an anesthesia. For an unnoticed time everyone was in a state of shock, a trauma; and then everybody reacted orally. The present author promised to himself to research and write an authentic biography of Shaheed Zulfikar Ali Bhutto.

The martyr's sister, Mrs. Munawarul Islam, writes, "By the time we reached Nao Dero, it was too late. The women's haveli was crowded already. Everyone was crying. I left to drive to our graveyard. Here, there were men and women reciting the Holy Quran, some silently some aloud. I stood near my brother's grave. Near me was an old peasant lowering rose petals on the grave. He sighed very deeply and said in Sindhi, "Aba Zulfikar Ali! You have left us. What is to become of us!" She surmised, "Did the peasant have foreboding of a Sindh without Bhutto? Who knows, Sindhis are born mystics."<sup>45</sup>

Miss Emma Dulichand, Principal of the Piggot Memorial Girls High School Hyderabad (1956-1972) suffered heart attack, when she heard the Lahore High court judgment, sentencing Zulfikar Ali Bhutto to death, Dr Ghulam Rasool Baloch suffered a fatal stroke when he heard about the execution of the Quaid-i-Awam.

Shaheed's niece Miss Shabnam relates her personal experience after the martyrdom of her beloved uncle: "A strange incident took place after Chacha's, [uncle's] shahadat [martyrdom]. People used to say that they had seen chacha's picture in the moon. I and Rukhsana [another niece] would keep awake every night from the

moonrise to its setting staring at the moon. We did not see chacha [uncle] in the moon, but after about three months of his shahadat, we went to Sehwan to pay our respects at Mazar of Hazrat Lal Shahbaz Qalandar. Even there... (We) continued our stare at the moon. Every morning around four o'clock we used to go to the Mazar. After returning from there we would take tea and then go to sleep. It was fajar time on Friday, Rukhsana went to sleep. Rukhsana relates that she was woken up by a strong light that was falling on her eyes. When she opened her eyes she saw that Shaheed Chacha (the martyr uncle) was standing in the adjoining room. He was wearing emerald green Shalwar Kamiz. Rukhsana was startled, she immediately closed her eyes, and then she heard a voice saying: "Today [it] is Friday. Bhutto Shaheed had come to Mazar to pay his respect. On the way back, he stopped to see his children."<sup>66</sup> It was not a dream.

These two devoted nieces, Ms. Shabnam and Rukhsana jointly composed a poem in Urdu to reflect their esteem for the martyred uncle. Translated into English the lines read:

"O' Christ of my times  
"O' Zulfikar Ali  
The roses of your blood  
Blossom in this atmosphere.

I swear by the shining sun  
Of your honor  
You demolished the ill will of the evil  
Distinguished light from darkness.

O'Christ of my times  
O'Zulfikar Ali  
You weren't scared  
Of the courtyards of cruelty.

You fought battle  
With the Pharaohs of the time

Salute to your courage  
To your greatness and honor."<sup>47</sup>

While working on this project, the present author had a personal experience of spiritual elevation of Shaheed Bhutto. Worried by a constant thought that the present author had taken too much upon himself to write on Bhutto, he went to sleep and saw Shaheed Bhutto in a dream sitting attractively among supplicants, his arms glowing beautifully out of a half sleeves shirt, one petitioner was relating his difficulty with his job. Throwing his arms out nonchalantly the Shaheed said, "Well that is your job, do it or leave it." Then he rose and left swiftly. The dreamer ran after him barefoot but lost sight of him at a square, and woke up. It was a vivid dream and its interpretation, too, was clear enough: do it or leave it. The search is cut off at a square; you have to find out the way he has gone; difficult again to trace him! That's your job."

After about two years, when the write-up was being made press-worthy, there was another dream encounter with Shaheed Bhutto. He was accompanied with Begum Nusrat Bhutto Sahiba. She delivered the two cardboard files, the same in which the manuscript was actually tagged, saying "Bhutto Sahib does not like dots. He has filled in the gaps."

However the author could not remove dots and fill in the gaps, due to limitation of space and brevity of narration.

## THE LEGACY

Reminiscing and reflecting on the life and contribution of the "son of desert", "Bhuttoism" emerges as a legacy of the great leader of the masses. The present author requested Mohtarma Benazir to define Bhuttoism, she said, "egalitarianism, federalism, democracy and the power of the people". The son of desert personified these concepts; hence the personality traits of the great leader also go into the definition of his legacy: Bhuttoism.

On the 78th celebration of birthday of Shaheed Bhutto (January 5, 2005), Mohtarma Benazir Bhutto said, "As the nation pays tribute to one of its greatest sons, it is destined to move forward in the spirit of federation, democracy, autonomy and egalitarianism, which he lit through his example of courage in the defence of [his] principles and ideals"

Shaheed Bhutto confided his principles and ideals to his 'dearest daughter'. These are contained in the "Daughter of the East" as under:

1. Politics is the highest form of public service.
2. Ultimate victory belongs to the masses.
3. All men and women are equal.... A king and a beggar are buried in the some kafan (coffin).
4. We can take nothing to the grave except a good name.
5. Honor is more important than life.
6. Never go in for short-term gains; but for your place in history.

7. Realities change. This time, too, shall pass.<sup>2</sup>

December 18, 1978 was the last day, Shaheed Bhutto appeared in public, in the Supreme Court, to attend the concluding hearing of his appeal against the death sentence. "Memoirs of a Bystander" records the scene: "When he entered the court room, the entire audience spontaneously rose to its feet as if he was still the Prime Minister."<sup>3</sup> In his statement, he said: "My life matters little to me, but the Lahore High Court's unjust attack on my devotion to Islam is a calumny worse than death."<sup>4</sup>

His legacy also lies in his world appeal: After the death sentence pronounced by the Lahore High Court on March 18, 1978, the permanent representative of Germany in the United Nations, Baron von Wechmar, delivered Akhund Iqbal, the representative of Pakistan, a "personal message from the German Chancellor appealing for Bhutto's life and offering to accept him as an "exile" in the Federal Republic of Germany. The French President, Giscard' Estaing, spoke to Mr. Akhund, later, telling him that he "wanted to send an emissary (Prime Minister, Edgar Faure) to go to Islamabad and personally plead for Bhutto's life. French Foreign Minister de Guiringaud, told another prominent Pakistani diplomat Mr. Agha Shahi "....that in case of Bhutto's execution, the reaction in France could be emotional and would cause repercussions on relations."<sup>5</sup>

Shaheed Bhutto responded to French President's personal appeal to Gen. Ziaul Haq for sparing his life: "You will understand that writing from behind the heavily fortified bars of this death cell, my pride and vanity inhibit me from expressing to you my gratitude for your thoughtful concern."<sup>6</sup> The text of this letter was released by the French government in Paris following the news of Shaheed's execution on April 4, 1979. The letter also contains the martyrs conviction and feelings while facing death: "There is too much beauty in the world for it to be annihilated in a victory of the dying over the dead. Some thing of it will survive to bloom into fullness once more..... If I am done to death, my blood will fertilize and strengthen the resolve of the young men and young women of this

country. The most shining of my idylls, I have lived with people of my country."<sup>7</sup>

Thirty world leaders, including Chancellor Helmut Schmidt, President Giscard' Easaing, the UN Secretary General Kurt Waldheim, Prime Minister Indra Gandhi, Palestinian leader Yasser Arafat, Libyan leader Qaddafi, other leaders from the Muslim World, Saudi Arabia, Iran, Turkey, the UAE, Kuwait, Qatar, from the Soviet Union and China and US and others in the western world, all great people sent clemency requests to General Ziaul Haq, but he "was flustered at the flood of mercy appeals arriving from all over the world."<sup>8</sup> The US House of representatives passed a clemency resolution, which said, The commutation of sentence would be a statesman-like and humane gesture."<sup>9</sup> But General Zia knew it well that "it was either his neck or that of Bhutto";<sup>10</sup> so he was determined to hang Bhutto. The BBC correspondent reported that Bhutto was calm as he walked to the gallows and said, "Help me my God, for I am innocent."<sup>11</sup>

History has certain criteria and norms for accreditation of the great personalities: It comprise the persons influence over the course of history, his/her influence over the people's thoughts, actions and attitudes; and the overall influence on human history and the extent of change or revolution brought about by that personality at home and abroad. Those exceptional personalities, whether noble or reprehensible, famous or obscure, flamboyant or modest, are and will continue to be, the subject matter of history. And history puts premium on real achievements not on half-truths and zealous attributions.

The personal influence or real contribution of the great men of history should be averaged over the world at large, beyond the primarily local influence and impact; because a significant impact on one country or nation is a less equivalent of the some impact on the outside world.

History is not confined to a great personality's life time, nor his epoch. It extends to the subsequent impact on coming events and future generations. It is the sine qua non of permanent

accreditation to history.

Then, historiographers examine the personal contribution and self sacrifice that the great historic personalities made to push forward the movement and the mission they had initiated; so that it goes on afterwards, lives in the minds and acts of the living world of men.

There are some basic facts to be established in the life story of the great person: How he utilized his opportunities and how he faced opposition? How far he remained true to his mission up to the end of his life? And finally, whether or not any adverse propaganda floated against him, could influence public opinion and the people turned against him?

Reply to these questions, and the evaluation of the criteria and norms associated to recognized great men of history, may be obtained from this biography of Shaheed Zulfikar Ali Bhutto, written more than a quarter of a century after his death. His birth and death anniversaries are being celebrated widely in Pakistan, as well as abroad. "Jeay Bhutto" is still a vibrating and invigorating slogan with his followers. Even his adversaries admit his greatness in one or other aspect which is undeniable. He lived for a cause and died for it. Socio-economic uplift of the people of Pakistan and the down trodden masses among them was his life time mission; and he had freed them from fear and complaisance. They continue to demand their rights from feudality and bureaucracy. Politics is still public-oriented.

The institutions he built, and the systems he introduced, could not be demolished by his adversaries. Only the National Film Authority was disbanded, and the National Council of Arts was renamed Idara-e-Saqafat-e-Pakistan by General M. Ziaul Haq. Cultural policies were made and defined by subsequent governments but none could change the popular culture of Pakistan that got reinforced during the peoples government of Shaheed Zulfikar Ali Bhutto. Culture is an integral part of people's life and is embedded in their bone marrow. They would be looking for a leader for whom money and power is not everything.

The Son of Desert, Shaheed Zulfikar Ali Bhutto, has to his credit rebuilding of Pakistan after dismemberment. He retrieved more than 5000 sq. miles of the lost territory and got over 9000 prisoners-of-war repatriated without war crimes' trial. He gave the state a constitution which still lasts. He launched the nuclear capability programme and remained steadfast in his resolve to make Pakistan invulnerable to a next attempt to break it. The historic silk route is now the reminiscence of Shaheed Bhutto, in the name of the Kara Koram Highway, as are the Port Qasim, the Pakistan Steel Mill, the Kamrah Aeronautical Complex and the Heavy Machinery Complex. He procured finance and technical assistance from abroad and not taxed the people of Pakistan heavily to meet the development expenditure. He built a handsome image for Pakistan in the world community which was distorted by his cruel murder and the thanklessness of the nation. He also served the cause of the Muslim World and the Third world countries. He was rightly called the "Pride of Asia." Gen. Ayub Called him: "Rose of Sindh Desert" The present author chose to call him. "Son of the Desert".

The OIC summit in Lahore in 1974 was his crowning success in building the image of the Muslim World. There Yasir Arafat was given recognition as a head of a state and the "authentic voice of the Palestinian people." The cause of the freedom of the Kashmiri people was revigorated, which is still a burning world issue. His services for the landless peasants and work-charge labour are admirable. He commanded vast popularity and public respect which is still in place and vibrates on the political platforms ever since his martyrdom, politicians are divided into pro-Bhutto and anti-Bhutto stances. Bhuttoism in both cases provides the pivot of politics in Pakistan.

The place in the old Rawalpindi Central Jail, where Shaheed Zulfikar Ali Bhutto was hanged on April 4<sup>th</sup> 1979, has been converted into a garden, called "Jinnah Bagh" Next in importance to the burial place at Garhi Khuda Bakhsh in Larkana district, Jinnah Bagh in Rawalpindi is the sad rendezvous where followers of the martyr gather on April 4, every year to offer fateha.

**His political legacy:**

His politics rested on three main principles"

i. Not to be too ambitious, tread the path of realism with balance: neither get intoxicated by successes nor break down in adversity, but proceed cautiously;

ii. Truck the people, and be abreast of their sensibilities, Beware that one cannot hold on in the face of popular feelings and sensibilities; and

iii. Rise above family and group prejudices. Islam up holds universal brotherhood a brother hood which rests on equality.

His parting words echo in the corridors of the past and the present: He said, "Tonight I will be free.... Going back to the land of my ancestors..... to become part of its soil, its scent its air. There will be songs about me. I will become part of its legend."<sup>13</sup>

His legatary is the young generation to one of them, he confided: "I will live in the hearts and minds of the people. I will become a legend. People will write poetry about me, they will sing songs about me."<sup>14</sup>

By historical analysis, the legacy of Shaheed Bhutto lies in Bhuttoism, i.e. egalitarianism, federalism, democracy and the people's power. It is a recipe for integrity, solidarity and advancement of the people and the state of Pakistan for all times to come. Shaheed Bhutto stood all his life for "the cause of the poor" against the rich.<sup>15</sup> And that is his basic legacy:

## Notes & Reference

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