

BENAZIR BHUTTO

The Way Out



Mahmood Publications

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The way out

Interviews, Impressions, Statements and Messages



**Mahmood
Publications**

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'The Way Out' -- A political Analysis

International Edition

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COMPILER'S NOTE

Since the dark sun-rise of 5th July 1977, I and perhaps so many others, have been wondering 'What will be the way out?'

Federation of Pakistan witnessed the worst possible oppression, violence and tyranny meted out to her brave sons and daughters during these horrible years.

Days dawned and passed. Experiments were made. Pakistanis were whipped, summarily tried by military officers while constitution was claimed still to be supreme. There was Majlis-e-Shoora, the house of greed, and the rest of Pakistan was house of violence. The question was still there what is The Way Out.

February 1985, blessed us with non-party elections and gave birth to a party-less parliament which shamelessly baptised all illegitimate acts of Martial Law and then converted itself into a party-obviously Muslim League (Which is now bisected into Fida and Junejo Leagues).

Pakistan was still looking for 'The Way Out'.

Last year in early months, I had an appointment with Miss Benazir Bhutto Co-chairperson of the premier political party of the country and asked the same question in so many words. It was my suggestion that the answer be compiled in a book form. She very kindly agreed.

The question did relate to the crisis engulfing the country since Mid 1977, the way out of it, how PPP shall steer the country out of the mess created by the long military rule.

She very graciously granted her precious time to answer these penetrating questions. First six chapters consist on these sessions of interviews. As she keeps a busy schedule, it would have been injustice with the people of Pakistan to usurp her time for more questions. The answer of other questions were searched through her statements and messages released on different occasions. The compilers went through the records between January 1984 till August 1988 and luckily came across many comprehensive replies. All these chosen statements and messages constitute the later part of the book. It is to be noted that her statements are prepared with utmost consideration and apprehension and are comprehensive and compact as an article.

The whole book contains the words of Ms. Benazir Bhutto yet she is not the author.

We are proudly presenting this compilation of interviews, impressions, statements and messages which will be certainly a document of our times.

*My daughter,
Should anything happen to me,
promise me,
you will continue my mission.*

*Shaheed Zulfiqar Ali Bhutto
Kot Lakhpat Jail*

We do not impose our views on others because we believe in free expression and in dissent. Despite having faced the most persecution, we have not talked of revenge but sought to heal wounds and divisions - we dont live in the past or believe in Vendettas. We are political people who derive lessons from the past and look to the future as we build in the present.

**Benazir Bhutto
May 1987**

MILESTONES

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FOREWORD

"Life and death are in the hands of God"

For the past eleven years the Pakistani nation has been subjected to systematic terror and repression. The senseless persecution and inhuman treatment meted out to Chairman Shaheed Zulfikar Ali Bhutto, the former Prime-minister of Pakistan knows no parallel in modern sub-continental history. A leader of the people he proudly walked to the gallows. His blood and that of thousands of his supporters who chose death over compromise with the Military Junta not go in vain. The followers of Bhutto

Shaheed will go on struggling relentlessly, as they have in the past, to find a "Way Out" and defeat the dark forces of tyranny, dictatorship and non representative rule.

In opposing General Zia's tyranny the brave people of Pakistan endured severe imprisonments and humiliations. He was leading the country to chaos and anarchy-Zia was responsible for abrogating the unanimous constitution of 1973; suspension of fundamental liberties judicial murder of the first elected Prime Minister of Pakistan; jailing and torture of thousands of political activists; lashing of not only PPP workers but also set a record of lashing journalists, members of parliament, labourers, peasants, students and lawyers; he discredited the institution of the armed forces; and misused religion.

His rule deprived this poor nation of a democratic and egalitarian society. Therefore, the brutality of Zia's regime and the heroic presistance of the people must be analysed, authenticized and recorded so that our future generations can understand the true facts.

At this moment when Pakistan is passing through an extremely critical stage we must demonstrate patience, courage and fortitude to steer the people towards fulfilling Quaid's dream of a democratic Pakistan. As Bhutto Shaheed said "The shouts of democracy are far safer than the silence sought by guns".

Benazir Bhutto
1st September, 1988.

PREFACE

At a time when the clouds of conflict hover upon our borders and the fear of civil strife stalks our cities; at a time when adventurist elements, armed with extremist slogans and diabolical weaponry churn out the jargon of hate and disintegration; and at a time when a military leader, a self proclaimed custodian of the interests of the state, relinquishes claim of vast tracts of this country's sacred land; at such a time, more than ever, it is the duty of every citizen to come out and to be counted upon as an uncompromising believer in integrity and solidarity of this great country.

Let there be no doubt, the tension on our borders, the condition of civil strife, the slogans of extremism and the conscious neglect, nay the surrender of integral territories of Pakistan are all the logical and direct results of the policies; pursued over the past 11 years by the Military regime and its civilian off-spring. Let there also be no doubt that if they are permitted to pursue further their narrow and self seeking policies I fear a grievous and irreparable damage will be done to the Federation.

I and my party are concerned first, and above all, with the solidarity of the Federation and the welfare and progress of its people. Members of Pakistan Peoples Party have displayed an un-wavering commitment to this noble cause. Believing that a democratic consensus between the people of various provinces can provide a viable bases for a strong Federation, the PPP resolutely struggled along with other democratic forces for the restoration of democracy in the country. Neither chains, nor the sharp bite of the whip, nor indeed the rope of the executioner has deterred us from struggle. This is a unique record in the history of Sub-continent. And I am truly proud of them.

But pride alone, however will not suffice. We have to address ourselves to the problems of our country. We have to dedicate all our efforts and energies to their solution. It is a tragic irony that the very persons who pretend to be invested with the authority to solve the crisis that we face today, are themselves the authors of all those crisis. There is no crisis within this country except that of the regime's own making. Even the extremist and unacceptable demand for a confederal system is the direct reaction to the prolonged

unitary strangle-hold of Martial Law. The birth of centrifugal tendencies is implicit in the centripetal iron clasp of Military authoritarianism. Reaction, says the Newtonian law, has to be both equal and opposite.

The unmistakable alienation that is, today, writ large on the faces of our youth, is the direct product of military punishments and martial injustice. These have turned them, in frustration, to hard drugs. They have also initiated them in the language of weapons. Heroin and Klashinkovs are the two insidious gifts of the clamitous era.

The solidarity of a country depends upon the well-being of its people. Consider the dismal record of the regime. Any government that takes over from the present rulers is going to inherit economic anarchy and chaos. It will indeed be Herculean task to clean the economic health of the country after General Zia.

'Adhocism' has been perfected to such an art that long-term planning has been abandoned altogether.

The regime has not, in almost an entire decade, initiated a single project or programme vital to the infrastructure of the economy. The nation has been converted into a vast assembly-plant, tightening mere nuts and bolts upon manufacturers of foreign origin. It has been hooked to the import of spare parts and bottling plants.

It takes men with a vision, men with dreams, to plan and implement projects with a long period of gestation. Narrow-minded military rulers have smothered the vision and dreams which were given physical

shape by the Government of the Pakistan People's Party. The dreams of a strong and stable Pakistan. A vision of prosperous and progressing nation. Dreams which embodied in the Steel Mill, the Heavy Mechanical Complex, the KANNUP and Chashma and the Ter-bela Dam. How can we allow anyone to rob our youth of the dreams in their soft eyes?

Debilitating load-shedding is a tragic testimony to the regime's energy policy. It has crippled industrial and other economic activity of the country. The country has also acquired a burden of foreign debt. Today it stands at the astronomical figure of 20 billion dollars.

To compound the debt the regime has, in the last 5 years alone, permitted the value of the Pakistani rupee to fall by 75% against the US dollar, by almost hundred percent against the Deutsche Mark, and by as much as 137% against the Japanese Yen. This is a distressing performance for a country with a very high import bill.

The high cost of the establishment is an undisguised expropriation of the wealth of this nation by the State apparatus. Typified by expensive limosines and luxurious offices, this expenditure has eaten into the vitals of our economy. Even the hard-earned remittances of our immigrant manpower toiling in far and distant lands, has been frittered away. Government policies and examples have made suicidal consumerism the order of the day. The minimum amounts allocated for roads, transport, housing, health and education are sapped and consumed by official corruption. In agriculture our primary crops remain vul-

nerable either to international price fluctuations or to such domestic imponderables as governmental control and uneconomic pricing.

With a myopic lack of foresight, the regime has consistently treated every essential economic and political issue as a "law and order concern". This has finally, and necessarily, brought about a total break-down both of law and order.

In this undertaking the regime has not even spared the mainstay of its own support: The Armed Forces of Pakistan. First, it has undertaken to equip splinter groups with the most modern and deadly weapons. The only single criterion for this supply of arms, the sole qualification, is the recipient's opposition to the Pakistan People's Party. On this single criterion arms have been supplied to the Jamat-e-Islami, The Islami Jamiat-e-Talaba, the Hurs, Jiey Sind and others. Will these very arms not one day be used to confront the state itself?

Gen. Zia has been using the Army as a political party. He has tried to make them the policemen of the state. This is neither the duty of the army nor is it beneficial to the institution, or the country.

Zia has a habit of going from one Cantonment to another making speeches against me, either he should drop this habit or I too should be permitted to go from Cantonment to Cantonment.

An impression is also being created amongst officers of the Armed Forces that when in power the PPP will take repressive action against them. I must declare

that this is a baseless and mischievous propaganda against the PPP. It will still be fresh in minds of the people that it was the Quaid-e-Awam who after 1971 debacle rebuilt the Army restored confidence in them and it was the PPP government which was responsible for the honourable repatriation of ninety thousand prisoners of war. We want a strong and disciplined Army to defend the Frontiers of Pakistan. We are not against the Army but we are against the wrong and illegal use of Armed Forces which General Zia has indulged.

Similarly an impression is being created against civil servants that when in power, we will carry out a large scale screening as a repressive measure, I must say that this is baseless, on the contrary we will give a clean administration where there will be rule of law for every body and justice including the public servants. We will create an atmosphere where a public servant will be able to serve the people with zeal and devotion. Our Armed Forces are truly capable of guarding our Frontiers against external threats, but unfortunately General Zia in order to perpetuate his rule has been misusing the Army, he is retaining the office of the Chief of the Army Staff illegally, he must quit the use of army for political purposes and against the civilian must stop. At a time when 1400 km of Pakistani soil have been surrendered by Gen. Zia without firing a single shot, it is pertinent to ask why he is so keen to fire and kill the children of Pakistan?

I know I risk many things by exposing Gen.Zia's nefarious anti state policy. But for me the life of Pakistan is more important than my own life.

At any rate, I preferred death to dishonour and it is dishonour to remain silent in these days when our dear country is faced with so many dangers.

The challenge is complex and demanding. But it is not insurmountable we are resolved to confront it boldly and with determination. In struggle we will not relent. We will, of course, never be vindictive, but we will concede no quarter. The solidarity of this country is at stake. That is the paramount objective. That is our primary goal.

15 June 1988

Benazir Bhutto
70 Clifton.

Chapter I

BEGINING AND THE END

Where do we begin and where do we end? In some ways the beginning and the end is the same. For every generation of party activists, there is a clarion call, a conscience that does not rest, that seeks to perfect the self through devotion to society and thus seeks to perfect society. For us, yesterday, today, tomorrow there will always be:

Promises to keep
And miles to go before we sleep
Every beginning has an end. Every end has a begin-

ning. That is why we muslims say " there is a Karbala in every generation." We must face the oppressor, the Tyrant, the Usurper, the unjust in whatever fashion or manner he manifests himself. The martyr is the life of history and history is woven of the threads of revolution.

What is revolution? It is change. It is total change from a corrupt, decadent, dying, degenerate order to one shaped, built, created by man, reflecting his ideals and purest self. Revolution is life, it throbs with vitality and dynamism, it gives hope to individuals, motivates and inspires them to reach beyond themselves to test the limits of endurance. Revolution means creation, in every sphere and every walk. It is the breath of life that tantalises, it is the beauty of a dew drop in the dawn light on the soft velvet of a flower petal.

But how fragile it is? How easily it is crushed. How easily the crystal that dazzled the rainbow colour in the morning light vanishes.

It has to be nurtured. Not with fanaticism, narrow mindedness, individualism, greed, pettiness, jealousy, quarrels, enviousness, black mail, pressure sulks, factionalism, infighting, provocativeness, bravado, indiscretion, boasting. It needs nourishment in the form of tolerance, forbearance, patience, perseverance, generosity, kindness, brotherhood, harmony, confidence, courage, commitment, forgiveness.

And that is why in the darkness of tyranny, there can be a revolution. A revolution of the self, a revelation in it self.

Sometimes a person on the path of inner revolution passes on milestone to falter at another. There are so many illustrations.

The elderly man who spent one year in rigorous imprisonment who today sits in a sham parliament.

The religious scholar who's self braved a cold January morning only to give way to unworthy statements.

The ladies who ferociously fought like lionesses for their principles but could not forbear their sisters.

And then there are those who crossed the milestones; the prisoners with shackles on their bodies and smile on their face. The perseverance to face the dreary days of prison like a life in a grave. It is not where you are but what you are which matters.

The revolution of the self is the revolution of society.

Man moves forward, not backward. There have been bloody revolutions. Now there must be peaceful ones. An end to injustice, an end to inequality an end to poverty, an end to illiteracy, backwardness, slums, diseases, indignity. Security and stability to replace fear and discontent. A sense of direction, a sense of leadership to give shape to an inertia which crumbles in the face of a crises.

We lose Siachen and we say all is well. Foreign troops are massed on our borders and we say there is nothing for concern. Ethnic riots have claimed a hundred precious lives and we say there is a foreign hand behind it.

In 1972, we climbed the highest mountains and built the biggest bridges because of our leadership. We had a brilliant leader, a popular leader, a strong leader, a man who for his principles and his mother land would fight and fight and fight. Who did not know the meaning of word 'surrender' and who preferred death to dishonour.

We took the Nipa Valley

We got back our prisoners of war with honour

We got our lost territory in the western wing

We built the Karakorum Highway

We built cement, armour steel.

We freed man and built the human spirit

We broke the chains of serfdom and made our people masters of their government and of their destiny.

We did all that because we had a leader who galvanised the nation and our people, who motivated and inspired us and who had our prayers, our blessings, our support and our confidence.

And then the night of the Tyrant was imposed. The people lost their second term. Our Prime Minister was sent to the gallows and with him our national interest assassinated to fulfil the vindictive blood lust of an ignorant, tin pot dictator, unprincipled, unscrupulous, unintelligent for whom power, prestige, money, was more important than the jewels which we dreamed would adorn the history of the second term. Who are we to know what was thrown into the dustbin of history, what precious events and achievements, what goals and objectives were sabotaged. Where did the recognition of the Durand Line the solution to Kashmir, the peaceful energy programme go? Had our

Prime Minister any plans in these specific categories? In what context was Daud's visit to Pakistan to take place? In what context was the strike called in occupied Kashmir in 1976 given? In what context did the Martyred Prime Minister speak of his greatest achievement in the summer of 1976.

There are questions for which we have no answers. The gallows stole these answers. But we want to know what National Interest we lost on that fateful April night when we lost him who gave us life, honour, dignity, consciousness, progress. Who gave us Pakistan Peoples Party.

This party is the party of the down trodden and oppressed, the party of the discriminated and the exploited, the party of the human spirit, the party of those who wish to transform society and in the process transform themselves, a party of builders, a party of men and women who wish to see their nation progress, who wish to shape civilization, who believe the security of the federation lies in the security of its people, in their protection, in their salvation, in their liberation from tyranny and dictatorship.

Twenty years ago: a great journey was begun, great contributions made, great achievements obtained. Nineteen years later: a great journey lies before us.

Twenty years ago, Sarwar Shaheed was seven years old - he was inspired by a man called Zulfikar Ali Bhutto.

Twenty years ago, Abdul Razak was eight years old. He slept on footpaths but he dreamed of a better Pakis-

tan, a progressive Pakistan. He was inspired by a man called Zulfikar Ali Bhutto.

Twenty years ago, Iqbal Hisbani was a five years old who insisted on Jeay Bhutto. He was inspired by a man called Zulfikar Ali Bhutto.

Today the little children run in joy when they see the tri- coloured flag. In excited voices, they shout Jeay Bhutto.

Look into the faces. Look into the eyes. Such little children. Such happiness.

Jeay Bhutto. Its a lovely word. Its warm and wonderful. It lifts the heart. It elevates the spirit. It gives strength under the whip lash. It gives courage walking defiantly to the gallows. It reflects our commitments and our dedication. It means so much to us it drives us on. It makes us reach for the stars and the moon.

And yet there are those, albeit a minority who fear the resonance of the word. Who shrink back with fear for a word which gives us all so much joy.

Why ? We must ask ourselves why? They speak of our mistakes which makes us angry. Our mistakes? Was giving the country a Constitution, Steel Mill, hope, progress a mistake? Or did "they" make the mistakes?

"They" say we rigged the elections. We know we did not. Why should we when we had popular support. And Zia found no case of rigging except one. "They" say we were undemocratic while we gave our lives,

our liberty, our youth, our peace of mind for freedom and democracy while "they" sat as Ministers, took plots, made houses, ordered reconconditioned cars. So why?

Shorn of the exaggerated, politically motivated accusations made by our envious opponents, we still come up with a group of people who were not satisfied with the way things were. We know that mishandling of the legitimate issue of the Language Bill by one governor led to alienation of the Urdu speaking population in one province. We know that the repeated accounts of brutal behaviour by another governor led to the alienation of the Urban Areas in yet another province. We know that the Press Laws of another Minister were not appreciated by journalists.

But why should the party carry the burden of the errors or excesses of certain individuals. Or seek to justify it?

If there was any act which was negation of freedom, democracy, dignity, justice, we reject it and affirm our adherence to our ideals.

The wise learn from the past to make a promising morrow. Let us learn to make more friends by checking any amongst us who may deviate as representatives of the people from the course we have charted for ourselves as political activities. Let us ask those who oppose Bhuttoism on political grounds, not to do so on grounds of fear to take it in the meaning we put forward, and not the meaning in which they see it. Let us make clear that we stand for all that was great in the past and for none that was a disappointment.

We are men and women of reason. We have our ideals and our emotions. we know how to live and to die.

**And we know how to fight and fight and fight again :
for our people, for our federation, for our principles.**

Chapter II

THE SCENE TODAY

The scene today is a dismal one, it is a disappointing one for all those who love our country, for all those who believe in dignity, who believe that Pakistan was created so that the Muslims of sub-continent could live with honour and peace, could go forward, suddenly we are confronted with the harsh reality, created by the forces of Martial Law. Wherever we look, we see discontent and disappointment. There is a sense of despair in the country. Oh where we are going? What is the direction? What is the future? Sometimes people say that we are taking our property out, our in-

dustry out, because there is no future here. Sometimes in the sense of being desperate people say we had got our industries from India and if Pakistan breaks up we can take our industries back there.

Now this is really a frightening question that people should be planning what to do in the event of the collapse of the state, what has brought this despair about ? Why is this despair here ? And what is the way out of this despair ?

If we look at the situation on the frontiers it is not also encouraging. We see on one side the presence of Soviet troops in Afghanistan and three million refugees on other side in Pakistan. We see on the other borders the manning of Indian troops. Sometimes we hear a red alert has been announced. The Iran/Iraq war continues in a sensitive part of the world. It continues in the Gulf which carries the life line of Oil. We have in the recent parts the horrors of the Israeli strike on the Iraqi nuclear reactor thereby conjuring up apprehensions and suspicions regarding Pakistan's nuclear potential. If we look inside, the situation is no better. We see the Sind has been pitched against Punjab. We see that Shias has been pitched against Sunnis. We see that Mohajirs has been pitched against Pathans and we see Pakistanis are killing Pakistanis and Muslims are killing Muslims. So when we see all this, it is but natural there should be despair writ large on so many faces.

The city of Karachi where I was born and which has always been a city of hope, city of promise, turned into a city of despair, city of terror. People are unsure about their future. They are unsure even of their daily

lives. They do not know when there will be a bank robbery and their valuables will be stolen from the vaults. They do not know when there will be a dacoity or a kidnapping and they will return dead or murdered. They do not know whether there will be a curfew or whether they will be permitted to go to their jobs to get their daily wages earnings. They do not even know whether their daughters can go safely to school and return or whether they will be harmed. They don't even know who to get to because the police, as any other institution in Pakistan, does not function according to rules. It functions according to the contacts.

I was recently in Islamabad, I was horrified to learn that a seventeen years old boy, without a license, had been driving a car and killed in an accident three people. Now, the boy would have been bailed out because he had Navy contacts but for the fact that the victims also had superior Navy contacts. So it was not a question that the boy was wrong, that he was driving when he did not have a license. It was not even a question that three people had been murdered. Three lives had been lost. A whole family had been devastated but it was simply a question of whose contact was more. In such a situation if people do not feel despair, what else can they feel ? So we have to recognise the cause of this despair. However side by side with this despair there is also a hope an encouragement and the vision of a Govt. led by Pakistan Peoples Party which can help secure the external boundries and which can help heal the internal wounds and make Pakistan the kind of place to live in, which our founding fathers dreamt of.

Chapter III

ISLAMIC LAW AND OUR SOCIETY

Pakistan is not a geographical state in the sense that it did not exist on the map as a state until 1947. Pakistan came into being as a matter of free choice. There was a manifesto for Pakistan. Often we have a quarrel on what this manifesto was? The fundamentalists like to say that we created Pakistan so that we could have Islamic Law. Now they are clearly fudging over history. History can not be changed nor facts distorted.

The historical truth is that the fundamentalists opposed the creation of Pakistan. The historical truth is

that Islamic Law was obtained in pre-partition India and Islamic Law operated in post-partition India, and if it was a matter of Muslims wanting to amputate their hands, I'm sure the Indians could have evolved a legal method in which the Muslims could continue to do this. But the genesis of Pakistan lay in the sense of deprivation which the Muslims of the sub-continent had. They felt that they were a minority who would not be treated with equality, who could not prosper unless they had a homeland of their own.

The local Govt. Act of 1935, the Indian Act of 1935 which culminated in the elections of 1937 fed the insecurity of the Muslims because the Hindus, the Congress took majorities in particular, in most parts of India and where the Muslims were in minority in particular, there was a discrimination of a nature which fuelled the fears of the Muslims and therefore gave greater thrust and impetus for their desire for a separate homeland. This desire expressed itself in 1940 Resolution of the Muslim League which originally envisaged independent states and was subsequently amended in 1947 to one state.

If Islamic Law already existed and when the fundamentalists had opposed it then it is clear that Pakistan was created so that the Muslims of the sub-continent could persue their political, social and economic life without fear of persecution. Now as the state came into being because of free choice, for a particular kind of life. When that kind of life is denied, than those people who opposed the creation of Pakistan get a upper hand. They say we told you ; you would not have freedom in Pakistan, we told you ; you would not get jobs in Pakistan, we told you ; you would not

have honour and dignity in Pakistan-see the choice was wrong.

I would say the choice was right but it is the wrong people who have taken over, to try and subvert the Quaid's dream into a nightmare. Islam has never been in question. The sacred name of Islam has always been exploited by the rulers to usurp the rights of people. The exploitation of this holy religion has been to its extreme during Zia's dark period. Every step of exploitation has been taken in the garb of Islam. But the sincerity can be well assessed by the fact that Shariat has always been subservient before the higher courts while the Martial Law regulations and orders could not be challenged before any highest court of law.

Chapter IV

SURVIVAL - THE MOST GRAVE PROBLEM

People ask what is the major problem that confronts Pakistan today. It is the problem of survival. If one had asked me this question a few years back, I would have told that the major problem was the problem of integration but with the passage of time I would say that it is a problem of the survival of Pakistan because we have seen that Gen. Zia does not have the will to defend the territorial integrity of Pakistan and in the past we could say that the people of Pakistan had been denied their rights, judiciary had been curtailed, parliament had been silenced, political parties had been

banned.

Now, unfortunately, if you look at the one institution that was permitted to work unchallenged, it was the institution of Army. We see even that institution has been so mishandled by Gen. Zia that it casts doubts on our ability to stave out external dangers which itself is a tremendous danger. In early 1984, reports had been received that territory in the Siachin, a glacier, had been lost, but nothing was done to tell the Pakistan's people about it. No issue was created out of it. In fact Gen. Zia conspired to acquiesce to the Indian take-over through silence. He did not make an issue or galvanise political power so it would have been more difficult, What was the message he was sending to India ? The message he was sending was clearly that I am not prepared to defend the territorial integrity of Pakistan.

As a consequence, we saw in the November of the same year, there was a greater build up by India, and it was only averted because Mrs. Gandhi was assassinated. Again in 1986, two years later, we saw another build up and this build up has been averted by going to Moscow and by asking Moscow to restrain India. So these are ad-hoc policies they have clearly demonstrated that we don't have the will to defend our integrity. It is common military sense that when there is one frontier you do not open up a second front. Zia has not only opened the Afghan front and the Indian front but he also opened the Internal Front. In this situation we must ask that in view of all the aid, the Army was receiving, military aid. What had happened to that military aid ? Where is it gone ? Because if all this military aid had been received by us

to face a super power like the Soviet Union then surely India is not a super power like Soviet Union that we should become helpless before it.

Let me make it clear that I don't believe that matters should be allowed to deteriorate to the point of conflict but I do believe that in the world, there are big states and small states. In the world, there are certain states that have more military power and other states that have less military power. It does not mean that one country has to be subjugated or subservient simply because the other country has greater military power. If we look at the balance of the power in 1971 India had greater power in the military sense because it had broken Pakistan. Our Army was defeated and they were prisoners of war. Our treasure was empty but yet we got an honourable settlement which some called a victory of Pakistan at the negotiating table, we did this through diplomacy, through statesmanship, through understanding. To run the foreign policy of the country one needs to have a knowledge of history, one needs to have a knowledge of politics, and one needs to have an ability to predict the consequences of particular action. If one does not have such knowledge then one is unable to run the foreign policy in a manner which can advance the interests of a nation and this is what we have found in Pakistan today. It is not an irony that on one hand we see that so much aid is being given to us and on the other hand we see that our soldiers in the Siachean glacier are without the warm clothing to keep them protected from the cold. It is not an irony that we hear that the Indian troops are aboard the Rajhistan border and Thatta and Badin and at the same time we hear that the Army is being sent to take action against innocent villagers in the in-

terior of Sind. These actions cannot be conducted by any friend of Pakistan or by any patriot. Such actions can only be conducted by an enemy of Pakistan or one who does not have the interest of Pakistan at stake and from his actions since 5 July 1977, it is clear that Zia does not have the interest of Pakistan at stake.

Chapter V

ZIA'S RULE

The constitution of 1973 was unanimous, democratic, Islamic and representative. It settled all the issues which had played with the unity and integrity in the past. It closed the chapter of provincial autonomy for once and for all. It provided for fundamental human rights and an independent judiciary. It provided for the progressive socioeconomic order and it provided for the protection of weak and the dispossessed, and the protection of minorities, of women and of religious, of racial groups. This constitution was a living instrument, and was a contract between

four separate units as how they would live together.

Zia-ul-Haq violated this contract and reopened certain issues. Gen. Zia, to harm Pakistan, unleashed a campaign of venom, of vilification and of revenge and of character assassination against the elected Prime Minister of the country and against the Premier Political party of the country. Pakistan's only National party of the times as to this day is the Pakistan People Party. Pakistan's only national leader of stature who could bring the different parts of the country today was Prime Minister Bhutto. It is national leader and national parties that pull a country together. When that country is a federation, with different cultural background, with different ethnic make-up, with dialects and languages, with different cultures and traditions, it is all the important, that there should be someone of national stature and an institution which is national in structure, which could pull the entire country together.

When you want to break a nation then you make the national party and the national leader a target because when you take out the national leader and the national political party you have provincial leaders and you have the growth of provincialism that means you have the growth of secessionism. So Zia-ul-Haq took a conscious decision to persecute Zulfikar Ali Bhutto, because in my opinion he is not a friend of Pakistan, he wants to destabilize, destroy and disintegrate Pakistan and this is the very reason why he wanted to clear the country from having a national leader. He did not realize at that time that the spirit of Shaheed Bhutto would reinvigorate the Pakistan Peoples Party, the courage of its workers and their dedication to Shaheed Bhutto and the principles of PPP would make the PPP

a formidable force, and he did not realize that the political consciousness in this country was at such a level that all his intrigues for the seizure of the Pakistan Peoples Party would fail.

But this was his task to destroy national institution, to destroy a national political leader, so that the forces of regionalism and secessionists would get an upper hand. He did this only by destroying a national leader, a national institution but he did this by seeking to patronize all such elements who had been opposed to Pakistan. Now one can have respect for Ghaffar Khan in this sense that he was an old man and he had remained committed to his principles but at the sametime it is no secret that he opposed the creation of Pakistan. Yet Zia-ul-Haq gave him an open certificate of patriotism. He said he is a patriot. In Zia's scheme he was a patriot, because Ghaffar Khan was a patriot to any body who did not believe in Pakistan, and Zia also did not believe in Pakistan. Mr. G.M. Syed has never made a secret of the fact that Sind should be an independent nation. Zia-ul-Haq patronized him, visited him, praised him. G.M. Syed is the same to him, Zia said G.M. is doing my work and G.M. said Zia is doing my work. Both were doing each other's work and destroying Pakistan as taking it to the point of disintegration.

Third or rather fourth Zia-ul-Haq bartered the vital interests of Pakistan. Prime Minister Bhutto himself had integrated and there are other reports that the Pakistan Peoples Party govt had reached a draft agreement with Afghanistan and the recognition of the Durand Line. According to this draft agreement Afghanistan would recognise the Durand Line and Pakis-

tan would release the detained NAP leaders. But Zia-ul-Haq instead sabotaged this vital interest by releasing the NAP leaders before Afghanistan recognized the Durand Line. The result is that to this day the Durand Line has not been recognized by Afghanistan.

Next is the nuclear program. Zia-ul-Haq not only dropped the Nuclear Reprocessing Plant Agreement, cancelled and thereby sabotaged a vital interest of Pakistan but simultaneously disclosed after the assassination that Pakistan had an alternative nuclear program. It is evident now, that the Nuclear Reprocessing Plant was the cover, the distraction or the decoy for the real nuclear program, but the success of the nuclear program depends upon its secrecy, it depended on the ability of Pakistani Scientists to procure elements vital for the development of the project from overseas without overseas intelligence being alerted. Now we hear talk of the intelligence of the Soviet Union, the United States, India and that of Israel. Nobody is interested in Pakistan having acquired any capability in this field but soon after the assassination of the Prime Minister, a distorted letter was released as for instance we did not have any knowledge of any alternative programme but they tried to give an hint on this by putting three different letters, innocent letters I had written to my brother, I challenge them to print the letters and once they printed the letters it was obvious to the entire world that they were telling a lie. But why did they do this. They did this because they wanted to sabotage the nuclear program, they could only sabotage it by making it open. If it was a secret nobody could have stopped us, nobody was alerted, no pressures could be made, no markets could be absorbed. Pakistani Scien-

tists could continue going on. Now he had made us vulnerable to an attack from overseas at any time on that installation without or having a deterrent. If we had a deterrent nobody would make an attack on us, but without a deterrent we are vulnerable. We can't even go for shopping for the completion of the project. So for all practical purpose Zia-ul-Haq has finished, the nuclear program, both the reprocessing and the alternative program to great harm of Pakistan.

Now in addition to that the crimes against humanity unleashed by Zia-ul-Haq the number of people he has tortured. These are the sons and daughters of Pakistan. He has considered the sons and daughters of Pakistan as his enemies. Perhaps only the Sikhs or the Hindus butchered the people who were coming to their homeland as ruthlessly as Zia-ul-Haq has tortured them. This makes one wonder about it all as to what hatred he has against Pakistan, what hatred he has against Muslims that he should treat us so callously, that he should take our sons and daughters to the hangman's noose, to torture camp, to unhappiness, throw them out of jobs, raid their homes, break the teeth of old mothers, kick open doors while little children die in the pursuit. What is the source of his enmity, because the way he has behaved, he has behaved as though he has a hatred for the people of Pakistan and this hatred itself is an obsession. Sometimes he has even said that I will say who is a Musalman. Who is he to say who is a Musalman ? Is he a Musalman himself ? Who says he is a Musalman. He comes from Jalandhar and he thinks because he wears an army uniform we are going to accept him and say that he is a Musalman. He has acted as an enemy of Muslims and he has acted as an enemy of Pakistanis.

If we look at the Palestinians, he has criticized them at every stage and at every step. If we look at the Iran/Iraq war, he got himself put in a position where he could solve it and he did not solve it. So Muslims have been shedding the blood of Muslims. Look at Afghanistan, situation in Afghanistan would not have arisen if Peoples Party Government would have been there, but this whole situation has arisen because he likes the idea of Muslims killing Muslims and wherever we look, whether it is Afghanistan, whether it is Iran/Iraq, or whether it is in Pakistan, muslims are killing muslims. One can understand the conspiracy that is unleashed because both Shah Faisal and Shaheed Bhutto who were the leaders of the Islamic Conference were assassinated, world witnessed that Muslim's glory reached the peak in those times, Muslims power was expanding, Muslims economic power was being shared amongst muslim nation and we could look forward with real hope to a sense of muslim identity emerging on the world arena, but with the assassination of Shah Faisal and with the assassination of Shaheed Bhutto the entire muslim cause has taken a backward plunge.

Chapter VI

Professional Role of the Army

Zia has damaged the professional nature of Pakistan Army which is essential for the territorial defence of the country. He has tried to corrupt certain officials in it and he has tried to promote others on the basis of professionalism. So he has damaged the army, in its ability, in its professionalism and thereby in its ability to defend the territorial integrity of Pakistan. Secondly, in side the country he has unleashed a program of dividing the country. It is during his dictatorship that people has started saying we are Mohajirs, we are Sindhis, we are Punjabis, we are Pukhtoon, we are Baluch. We don't see

people having a sense of Pakistanis because a country must mean something to them, it must be the umbrella, it must be the security and when it means something people take a pride, but when they are deprived than they don't, they feel that it is the source of their deprivation that Islamabad is the source of their deprivation and therefore Pakistan is the source of their deprivation. Thus there is an extreme frustration as far as the relation between individual and country is concerned which is destroying. To remove this frustration we have to give each and every one their rights. We have to make them feel part of this country. We have to make them feel that they are sons and daughters of this sacred land. And the day we do that we will see them want to have the spirit of pride in their own nation and their own identity. So for the external defence of a country, it is the army that is needed and that should be a professional army. For the internal strenght of the country what is needed, is the security and the progress of its people, to be united to be revitalized, to have a sense of protection to have a sense of security. How can sense of security go further when people are hungry. There can be no sense of security, if they are facing malnutrition, if they are ill, if they are unemployed. To make the country secure, we have to make the citizens secure, to make the citizens secure we have to put an end to poverty, backwardness, superstition, illitracy. Until we build factories, roads, institutions of learning, of culture we cannot secure for us an internal consolidation that is essential to us. For 11 years, the spirit of the people of this country has been crushed under military boots, it has been crushed by bullets, by teargassing, by lathi charging and by whipping. When people are crushed and supressed, how can they arise to heights of glory ? We need to let the human beings develop, progress so that the entire country can develop

and progress. So far Pakistan, the No:- one issue today is the issue of national survival. National survival depends on extricating the army from the civilian life, on running the army on completely professional lines and by undertaking socio economic measures to improve the quality life for our people and ending the deprivation and discrimination that citizens of the different federating units feel and thereby giving them a state in Pakistan.



As a Chief Guest at young Memon Social Group dinner in 1988.

Generation by Generation

Chairman Shaheed presiding over PPP C.E.C. session



Begum Nusrat Bhutto presiding over PPP C.E.C. session

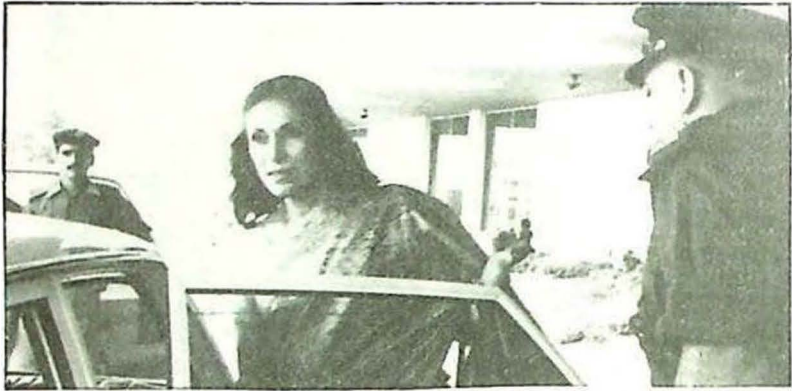


Benazir Bhutto presiding over PPP C.E.C. session



A rare photograph of the elected Prime Minister of Pakistan addressing a Press conference on the fateful night few hours before the coup-d'etat.

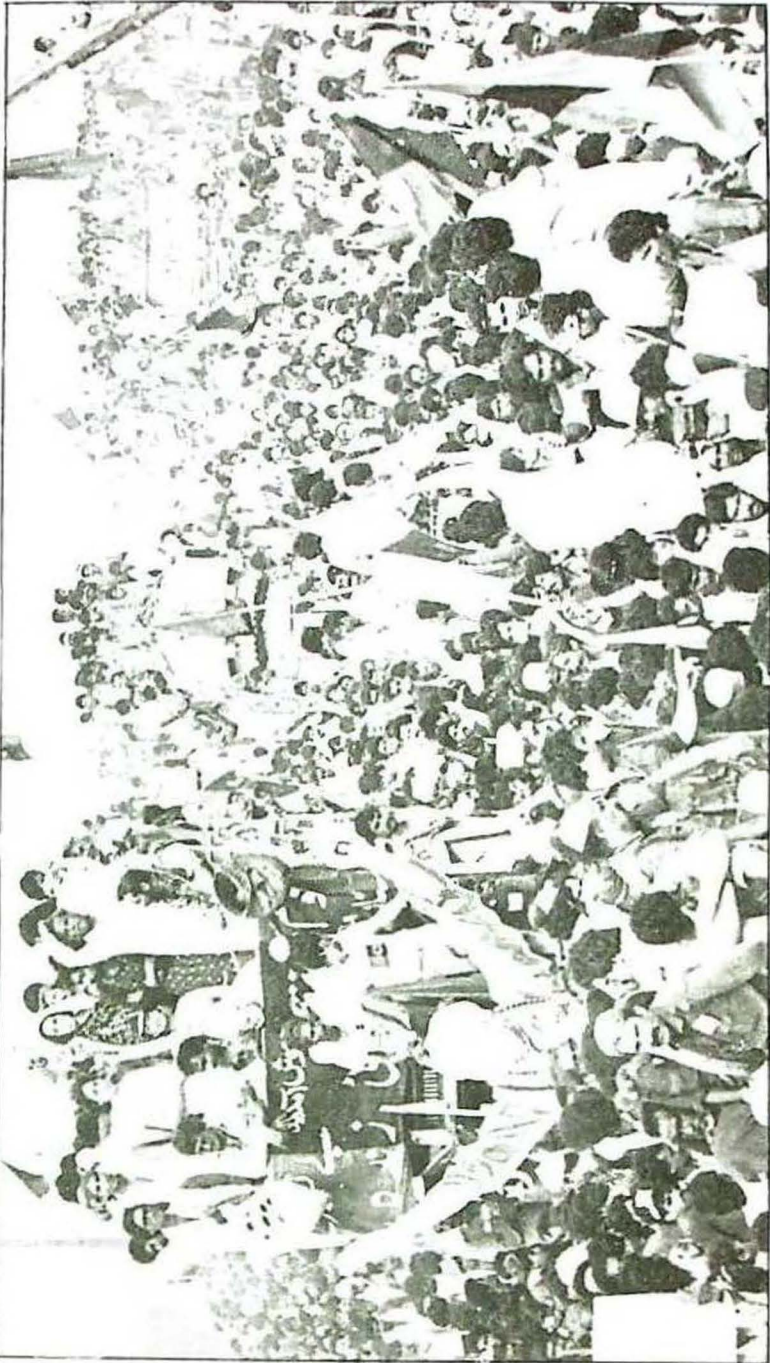
*Chairman Shaheed coming out after addressing the
supreme court escorted by police*



*Begum Nusrat Bhutto being escorted by Police to
Sihala-sub-Jail*



*Benazir receiving warrants, lady inspectors standing
behind.*



Leading millions down-tradden to victory in Karachi on 3.5.1986



Addressing a mammoth public meeting in Karachi on 3.5.1986



*A view of the mammoth reception at Lahore
on 10-4-86*



after leading a 11 hour long procession



*Receiving spasmata from Aziz Memon on the occasion of
announcement of Labour Policy on 5.7.1986*



اب کے یومِ آزادی
نئی پابندیاں لے کر آیا

*Benazir Bhutto receiving detention orders before
being escorted to Landhi Jail*



*Addressing a gathering in mid of Lyari despite
teargasing on 14 August 1986*



*Arrest on the independence day being escorted by
ladies police*

DEATH SENTENCE

(A rare manuscript written on a historic tragedy)

Two Hours before the death sentence was flashed across the nation, his daughter Benazir was put under arrest at 70, Clifton. She was all alone in the house when the telephone rang with the news. Her mother, Begum Nusrat Bhutto, the Acting Chairman of the Pakistan Peoples Party had already been detained in Lahore. The operator was crying, the staff was crying. Benazir did not cry. A mujahid's daughter does not cry.

When the television announcer had read out the news of the ban on political activities on February 28th, Miss

Benazir had remarked, " this means the death sentence". The news carried daily in the press of the countrywide arrests had only confirmed her views. But nobody would believe her. "How is it possible ? " Mujeeb Pirzada, brother of the detained PPP leader Hafiz Pirzada asked. " They would have to re-write the entire Criminal Procedure Code."

Miss Benazir did not reply. Perhaps she thought of the new oath that the Judiciary had sworn within twenty-four hours. Perhaps she thought of all the cases that had been filed in the Lahore High Court against the various PNA leaders who had committed contempt of Court. The cases had not still come up. Perhaps her mind went back to the times she had spent watching the trial proceedings in Lahore. When she used to leave the Court Room, Miss Benazir Bhutto would refuse to comment on the proceedings. She said she was saving her comments for the time when parliament met and the voice of the people was heard. It is said that she once remarked, "sitting through those proceedings, I know how crimes of passion are committed".

On March 12th, Miss Benazir visited the PPP's Acting President of Sind, Mr. Ghulam Mustafa Jatoi, Mr. Kamal Azfar, PPP President of Karachi was also present. Miss Benazir told them that she had reliable news from Rawalpindi that the Lahore High Court would pronounce the death sentence. Mr. Jatoi was shocked into silence. Mr. Kamal Azfar said, "No, No, it cannot be true." Both had heard it would be fourteen years. Benazir said her news was absolutely reliable. She did not disclose the source. She did say that the Chairman would not appeal to the Supreme Court." Mr. Kamal Azfar agreed.

It is said that Miss Benazir had said, "They regret not finishing us all off on the night of July 4th when the entire family was in PM's House. They will not spare Chairman now. Chairman has said he does not expect a fair trial from the bench presided over by Molvi Mushtaq. Twice Molvi Mushtaq was not promoted by Chairman. Now he sits in judgement of the Chairman. Only the people of Pakistan can ensure justice for the Chairman. It is in the people's hand".

Her father had served Pakistan for more than 20 years. He has faced the bullets of the Congress Militant Maharastrian students on the steps of Elphinstone College in Bombay for the cause of a separate Muslim Nation. He has been the Minister of Commerce, the Minister of Fuel and Natural Resources, the Minister of Information, the Minister of Foreign Affairs, the Chief Martial Law Administrator, the first elected President and Prime Minister of Pakistan, he has held the portfolio of Defence, he is the father the modern Armed Forces of Pakistan, he is the supreme National Leader, the most popular and premier leader of the nation whose foot prints can be seen in the remote parts of the country, whose services are carved in every brick and mortar of this land. And yet, after pronouncing the death sentence on him, they keep his daughter away from him for seven days. She is not asking for any favours. According to their own jail rules, she is allowed to visit her father every two weeks. But 3 weeks pass before she is allowed to see the man who built this land from the ashes of defeat, who made the deserts bloom and foresaken gardens flower. And in the week that she waits, under heavy guard with no contact with her mother the saviour of exploited people, the voice of the Third World against imperialism, the exponent of a just peace in the Middle East, the Chairman of the Is-

Islamic Summit Conference has been put in a condemned cell. When Maulana Maudoodi was sentenced to death, he was not put in a condemned cell. When Akber Bugti was sentenced to death, he was not put in a condemned cell. But this is Zulfikhar Ali Bhutto the son of Sir Shah-nawaz Bhutto and he is feared by the vested interests and the imperialists. So feared is Zulfikhar Ali Bhutto that every effort is made to humiliate him. But you cannot humiliate a man who is at peace with his conscience and Zulfikhar Ali Bhutto is such a man. A lion is still a lion whether he is free or in a condemned cell.

On the 7th day as the morning sun rises, the SHO clifton accompanied by an Inspectoratte arrives at the house where momentous policy decisions have been taken, where the struggle against dictatorships have emanated. Miss Benazir is taken to a car. The Inspectoratte sits on one side of Miss Benazir and the SP Nazimabad sits on the other side. The car is driven by a police man and another police man sits in the front seat. As the gates of the house opens a police jeep with armed policemen takes the lead. It is followed by an intelligence car. There is another intelligence car behind Miss Benazir. The car goes straight through the Airport gates following the tarmac to where a DC-10 stands. Miss Benazir thinks, " It was during the PPP government that this DC was bought. It was during the PPP Government that PIA soared into the sky of success." No word is spoken. There are police around the plane. Miss Benazir never handles her ticket. The SP Nazimabad has the boarding pass. They climbed the stairs and the SP stands guard so that no one can communicate with her

As the plane lands, the Lahore skyline comes into view. Lahore which cried in the summer of 1966 to a youthful

Foreign Minister, " Humain Choor Kar Na Jana " Lahore which scintillated with the Islamic Summit Council. Lahore, where Henry Kissinger said, " We will make a horrible example out of you".

Miss Benazir is taken off the plane first. A curtained car waits at the bottom. Under the heavy gaurd through the Army Area Miss Benazir is whisked off to Kotlakhpat Jail. Outside the Airport gates the British and American television crew, the foreign and domestic press corps wait in vain.

The iron gates of Kotlakhpat Jail open and the car goes in. Miss Benazir gets out and walks. It is a long walk to the condemned prisoner cell. One steel gate is unlocked. More policemen inside. Another steel gate is unlocked and she steps into a small 2 foot by 2 foot courtyard. The sun is shining brightly in courtyard. There is a door with iron bars and it is pitch dark beyond that. She dose not uderstand. She turns towards the policeman to ask what is happening when she hears a voice from the darkness, it is her father's voice. She cannot see him because his cell is pitch dark but she hears him say, " Baitty please go away. How can I see you when my people are not allowed to see me. How can I see you when this Jail is filled with my sons who have been lashed and my daughters who are mistreated and kept in C class. If they cannot see me then you should not see me either. " Benazir pleads with him she says, "I must see you because our people ask about you, they want to know how you are. Our people get sakoon when I meet you because when I speak to them they feel that they have met you through me." With the mention of the poor people of this country, the shirtless exploited ones for whom he has dedicated his life, the Chairman relents. Benazir goes for-

ward and grips the bars of the cell door. Her eyes grow use to the darkness and she sees the Chairman. His face is covered with mosquito bites, the same face that bent and kissed the stone in the Kaaba.

Chairman puts out his hand and Benazir is appalled to see that it is covered with lumps. She feels lumps and lumps because the cell is full of mosquitos and flies and a horrible stink reaches her nostril because a hole in the ground serves as the toilet. There is no flush and the toilet has not been cleaned for 7 days. There is only a bed in the room and it is tied with a heavy chain to the floor. The cell is 8 foot by 11 foot. It is small, it stinks, it is dark, the mosquitos bite, the flies buz, the birds come through a slat high in the wall, ants climb all over and in this stinking, ghastly cell is the first elected President and Prime Minister of the Country. His face is serene and his eyes mirror a man who is at peace with himself. The Chairman's courage and confidence and calmness are mirrored in his face and in his voice. He touches Benazir's head with his out streched hands and says, "Pakistan is a very complex country. Now listen " and he explains to her the crisis the country is in. He teaches her about the political dynamics at work. They talk breifly Court and the chairman says that he never expected any justice from Moulvi Mushtaq's bench and that is why he had boycotted the proceedings. Now the sentence has proved that his assumption was right. The twenty minutes pass soon. It is time for her to go. The Chairman grips Benazir's hand and says, " My daughter, should anything happen to me, promise me, you will continue my mission." Benazir promises. As she walks away she dosent look back at the dark and filthy cell where the leader of the people is in solitary confinement. She thinks: "If the people of Pakistan ever saw their leader kept in such a

disgusting and disrespectful manner their blood would boil and from Khyber to Karachi a fierce fire would rage which no guns could wipe out.

The curtained car and the heavy guard await her.

(A very rare document revealing the impression on hearing the death sentence by Lahore High Court. Miss Benazir Bhutto managed to convey these lines to the publisher in March 1978. Hither to these historic lines have remained unpublished.)

STRUGGLE WILL CONTINUE

(Message released on departure for abroad on 9.1.1984)

Brave Party Workers and dear Countrymen,

Before embarking on this journey in connection with ill health, I seek your leave, your prayers and your blessings. The journey is being undertaken in connection with an ear problem which has failed to respond to diagnosis and care since 1978. The situation has become complicated and complex.

- a. Total loss of hearing on left side;
- b. Total loss of balance in left ear;
- c. Facial Paralysis.

In fact, it is only due to your prayers and good wishes that these side effects have been escaped so far.

During my imprisonment, the Senior Vice Chairman has been presiding over Party Affairs. Now that imprisonment will no longer be an impediment to communication with Party leaders and workers and to consultation with Begum Sahiba, your Sister hopes to play redemption of the lost rights of the people.

At the moment, the Senior Vice Chairman is abroad and members of Steering Committee behind bars alongwith the mujahids of democracy, autonomy and economic equality. The Senior Vice Chairman will be contacted and consulted, his plans ascertained and steps taken accordingly with regard to party affairs which will be made known.

The nation pays tribute to the mothers who gave fearless sons who laid down their lives for the Nation. We are proud of such mothers and such brothers. They have passed into history and history has passed into them. They have become a part of civilization, its process, purification and perfection.

The continued incarceration of political leaders and workers is a matter of concern for the Federation as indeed are military trials and sentences. As members of political parties they represent the views of the people in the cities and the villages, in the fields and the factories, in colleges and the courtrooms. Their continued detention can only deepen the wounds which fester and heighten the process of horizontal and vertical polarisation.

Our case is noble, our struggle pristine. The struggle

for constitutional rule, provincial autonomy, democracy and economic equality continues. It will continue until its attainment.

Miss Benazir Bhutto

*(Message to people of Pakistan
and PPP workers on eve of my
departure for medical reasons in 1984
after the longest period of detention under
Martial Law.)*

TIME WILL OVERTAKE REGIME

(Message released on departure for abroad on 3.11.1985)

Tonight I begin a difficult journey, a sad journey, a journey which will take me into the courtrooms of a foreign land to enquire into the death of my beloved brother Shahnawaz Khan, a political activist in his own right and an avowed opponent of Martial Law. The courtroom will carry echoes of an earlier courtroom and the trauma of the assassination of my Prime Minister and political leader, Shaheed Zulfiqar Ali Bhutto.

No doubt if we had not committed ourselves to a

political struggle for the emancipation of our people from bondage and poverty, no doubt if we had not raised high the banner of the oppressed and exploited people of Pakistan, no doubt if we had not fought for the principles of Federalism, Socialism, and Democracy, we would not have had to face such traumas.

But if this is the price one has to pay in the service of mankind, if this is the price history demands of those who wish to bring transformation and change then I welcome it.

In his death cell Shaheed Bhutto never regreted his life. He said if this was the price for breaking bastion of feudalism and exploitation, he was prepared to pay it.

Shahnawaz Khan could have led a life of luxury and ease. But he chose to live one of hardship and difficulty. His path may have been different from mine and Peoples Party but his goal was also to become part of the historical process of transformation and change. Had he not made such a choice, today he would have been alive. He would not have had to die in a foreign land, far from his people and his home at the young age of twenty six.

Attempts are being made to show that Shahnawaz Khan's death was because of personal difficulties just as yesterday an attempt was made to show that Shaheed's assassination was part of a judicial process. Whether personal difficulties existed or not are irrelevant for those who can face political difficulties with nerves of steel. We, the family are convinced

that Shahnawaz Khan's death took place in a wider political context. We have done everything to assist the investigating team. We are awaiting its findings.

In the meantime, I am determined to return as soon as possible. God willing, I hope to be back in three months. I know very well what fate awaits me here. A regime which could so cruelly detain me for no rhyme or reason while I was in deep grief will not hesitate to detain me tomorrow, if not do worse. But I have every confidence in my Party and in our Countrymen and am prepared to return no matter what the consequences.

It is said that I was arrested because I was going to visit "sensitive areas". It is strange that these areas do not become sensitive when other political leaders visit them but become sensitive when Benazir Bhutto wants to visit them. If it was the aim of the military regime to prevent me from visiting Lyari and Malir, then what was the need to arrest me and keep me in isolation so much so that even my grieving sister Sanam was only permitted to visit once a week for an hour. Surely a restrictive order banning me from entering Lyari and Malir was sufficient.

But such an order was not entered into. In fact, when I wrote to the Home Secretary in connection with the French summons and asked to be freed ten days before my departure, even these ten days were not entertained by an administration which had publicly boasted that I was free to go anywhere I liked.

This is what happens when selections are held from which Peoples Party and other political parties are excluded. If my detention proves anything, it proves the impotency of the new structures the military regime is

trying to create. If my detention proves anything, it proves that the entire assembly put together cannot face me. Which means that the entire Assembly put together cannot face the hopes and aspirations of the people and provinces of Pakistan for an egalitarian order based on justice for I am no one as an individual. My detention has not demonstrated my strength. It has demonstrated the strength of the people of the Country. Then what sort of "democracy" is this which does not encompass the hopes and aspirations of the people of the Country?

It is not democracy. The Assemblies are a cover up, a mask for the usurpation of the rights of the people and provinces of Pakistan. The Pakistan Peoples Party is vehemently opposed by the ruling conglomerate of Generals, Industrialists, Jagirdars and Mullahs. This is because PPP is an instrument of change in the hands of the discriminated people of Pakistan who seek through democracy to build a modern state proud of its heritage and eager to harness technology and science for economic development, eager to build structure governed by laws guaranteeing dignity and freedom and welfare of every individual, a Federation free from hunger, ignorance, illiteracy, unemployment and poverty. A Country whose integrity is safe guarded by securing the rights of the federating units. A state at peace with itself and with its neighbours.

There is a crisis and a deadlock in the Country. A regime obsessed with Bhutto-phobia is only concerned with keeping the PPP out of the political process. Neither the referendum nor the new Assemblies can break this deadlock. It is time the regime gave up its

myopic pre-occupations and allowed the full play of popular will.

Otherwise time will overtake the regime.

Yours sister,
Benazir Bhutto

*Message to the people of Pakistan and PPP
workers on eve of my departure to France after the
last detention under Martial Law
first during Junejo's premiership.*

WE ARE PROUD OF YOU

(Statement on the death sentence passed on Four political workers in Pakistan)

I have been deeply disturbed by the news that a special military court in Karachi has passed death sentences on four supporters of Pakistan Peoples Party. Coming only two months after the execution of three young Peoples Party workers, this draconian sentence has shown that, contrary to impressions in some western countries, General Zia's regime is becoming more and more ruthless as the time of the so-called elections approaches.

The four Nasir Baloch, Isa Baloch, Malik Ayoob and

Saifullah Khalid have been sentenced for their alleged involvement in the 1981 hijacking of a PIA plane. The sole evidence produced was "confessional statements" extracted under savage torture. We challenge the Military regime to try them in a civil court in the light of which the false accusations would dissolve.

Nasir Baloch, PPP Labour Representative in Pakistan Steel Mills was at work according to official records and Isa Baloch, his nephew was off duty and away when they were alleged to have helped the hijackers. There was no evidence of involvement of Saifullah Khalid or Malik Ayub, whose father had been threatened with dire consequences when he refused to collaborate with military regime in cases against PPP ministers, in the whole affair. That was the reason why they were tried in secret by a military court where the accused had no chance of getting a fair trial. This sentence is intended to "punish" them for their political sympathies and as an example for others who dare to defy military rule.

This sentence and recent incidents show that the regime is carrying on a scheme to terrify Pakistani people before implementing their plan for a sham election intended to legitimize military rule.

The four lives lie in balance. In their death cells these brave and innocent young men await the response of the world conscience. The condemned Karachi four have seven days to appeal. The time is running out - unless quick and effective international pressure is exerted to save their lives by all those who espouse the cause of human rights, freedom and justice.

To my brave brothers in the death cells I would say "

your sister is proud of you, your party is proud of you, of your defiance and your courage. Your struggle is my struggle, it is our people's struggle; your pain is my pain, it is the pain of a nation. Godforbid, if any action is taken against you, it will be interpreted as an action against our party. Therefore, if a semblance of sanity is to return to the body politic of our Country that way is to spare your lives".

Miss Benazir Bhutto

Released by:

Mr. Bashir Riaz

(Press Spokesman)

AWAMI BUDGET

(Policy statement an Economy presented before nation in 1986)

The Pakistan Peoples Party believes the role of the Government is in creating a society free from social and economic inequalities - a society where there is respect for the individual dignity and opportunity for development and mobility.

We want to see that our people are free from hunger and disease, free from oppression and exploitation, free from unemployment and injustice.

According to our philosophy, we believe that we can

provide our people with happiness, security and prosperity. Our philosophy has the following cardinal principles, namely:

- Islam is our faith
- Democracy is our polity
- Socialism is our economy - All power to the people
- Shahdat for our cause

We believe there is nothing nobler than devoting oneself to our people, society and country. From the founder of our Party, Shaheed Zulfiqar Ali Bhutto to the latest martyr of our Party Shaheed Faqir Iqbal Hisbani, we have demonstrated courage in the face of adversity, determination and dedication in the defence of our principles and unwavering commitment to the establishment of a Pakistan based on federalism, democracy, egalitarianism and social justice.

We do not impose our views on others because we believe in free expression and in dissent. Despite having faced the most persecution, we have not talked of revenge but sought to heal wounds and divisions. We don't live in the past or believe in vendettas. We are political people who derive lessons from the past and look to the future as we build in the present.

We take pride in our party having been honoured by the masses in giving the country the first democratically elected Prime Minister of the country; the first unanimous democratic Islamic representative and egalitarian constitution of 1973, of bringing back 90,000 prisoners of war with honour and dignity and in secur-

ing 5,000 sq miles of Pakistan territory lost in 1971 war. We take pride in having laid the foundation of our economic structure with Steel Mills, Hospitals, Schools, tubewells, highways, water connections throughout the length and breadth of the nation. We have solved the energy problem too but unfortunately for the nation this programme was scuttled by the usurper for which the nation is paying the price. We are proud that we gave dignity to the peasant, mazdoor, teacher, student, lawyer and shopkeeper alongwith opening the doors of police, bureaucracy, foreign service judiciary to women and in promoting people irrespective of background and on merit. We rebuilt the Armed Forces and made it a force capable of defending the Country from external aggression. We brought labour laws in line with the international labour organization. Increased pay scales of Government servants, gave land to landless peasants, introduced fundamental human rights, opened the doors of education to the undeprieviled and extended health services and low cost housing.

Ofcourse we are proudest of our role in being the foremost defenders of democracy. From 1977 to the present, our Party has given unparalleled sacrifices and our martyred workers, our lashed workers, our tortured and imprisoned workers have brought honour to the party, to the people and to the federation. There is no country in history where it took 8 years to lift Martial Law and when it was lifted it was minifest that the purpose of Martial Law -- to destroy PPP and thereby the hopes and aspirations of the people -- had miserably failed. We are proud of people who had political consciousness to defeat the machinations of the usurper. We are proud of our people who, despite

their poverty and hardship, have a spirit that cannot be crushed. Our people cannot be bought or bribed, beaten or denied their rights. The masses of Pakistan have integrity, commitment, political perception and determination to build a federation where there is hope for those who have been denied hope, justice for those who have been denied justice, a society free from exploitation for those who have known exploitation, a federation where there is justice, honour and spirit of egalitarianism, where there is security of the law for every citizen of Pakistan irrespective of their sex, race, or religion.

Now I have the privilege of presenting to the people the ' Annual Budget ' . The Budget is being placed in view of the Party's programme to use peoples power peacefully for the restoration of full democracy in the Autumn through elections under the 1973 constitution. After the dark days of the Martial Law regime and its present Civilian Facade lasting over 9 years, this would be the first budget which will attempt to cater to the real needs of the deprived sections of the society i.e. the peasants, workers, small fixed income groups, small businessmen, entrepreneurs and house wives.

The budgetary proposals encompass various facets of the economy i.e. agriculture, industry, infrastructure service, health, education and employment.

The economic thrust of our policies will be aimed at bringing about fundamental restructuring of the economy of the country to serve the downtrodden masses by providing them the basic necessities of life in

accordance with our party's manifesto. We shall have the following order of priorities:

1 Economic development in the country will be maintained through determined efforts by maximum utilization of our national potential and human resource thus making the economy self-reliant.

2 Social justice will be achieved through the principles of the party and creation of just and respectable society.

3 Further equitable distribution of wealth will be achieved by directing the economic policies towards minimising the disparity of incomes.

National Charter for Rapid Rural Development

1. In keeping with the national charter for peasants of Pakistan signed by Zulfiqar Ali Bhutto (Shaheed) in December 1976, immediate steps will be taken to ensure that at least one crore acres of land will be distributed in addition to the grant of kutchra lands to peasants including landless persons who own no land or own less than a subsistence holding i.e. in the Provinces of Punjab and N.W.F.P. 12.5 acres and in Sind and Baluchistan 16 and 32 acres respectively. All culturable state land will be distributed with full ownership rights amongst the peasants. Culturable lands are those which are available for cultivation, but have not been taken up or were abandoned. The payment for the land will be based on deferred and concessional terms.

2. Benamdar Haris and Muzairas and other peasants all over Pakistan will be able to set up legal claims of their full ownership rights on the agricultural lands which although are de-jure and ostensibly standing in their names but are under the control of the Jagirdars and Zamindars etc. No cognizance will be taken regarding the proprietary claims of the feudals on such lands, if these were transferred as a subterfuge to subvert the land reforms announced by Shaheed Zulfiqar Ali Bhutto on 5th January, 1977.

3. Small farmers having land upto 25 acres will be given interest free loans for crop production upto maximum limit of Rs.25,000/- which will be adjusted against the sale proceeds realised by them on the sale of their produce to Cotton Export Corporation, Rice Export Corporation, Provincial Government for Wheat and Sugar Mills in their respective zones.

4. Liberal concessions and loan facilities will be provided to the Voluntary farmers Cooperatives to encourage farming on a cooperative basis. Loans on easy terms will also be provided to Cooperatives and Small Farmers to set up labour intensive business, agro-services and small units in the field of repair workshop for Tractors, Trailers and agricultural implements, small scale industries etc. will be made available by the Financial Institutions. Our aim is to provide loans for sons of subsistence farmers and mazdoors so that they may become economically self-reliant. We want to create a rural middle-class. Thus loans will be provided for tractors, dairy farming, fisheries with training, feed and support structure. We want to spread modern agricultural technology to the small and middle-class farmers in a package aided by

liberal credit facilities.

5. The scope of the integrated Rural Development Programme would be widened and a new programme called " Rural Land- less Employment Gauranteed Programme " will be introduced. This would involve close cooperation of the representatives of local bodies and development efforts will be undertaken at the grass roots level to accelerate the pace of development of the rural sector of the economy. Government will provide contribution in kind, in the shape of construction materials implements etc. and funds will also be allocated to pay for the services of the local labourers for the construction of Roads, School Buildings, Community Centres and Storage Godowns. Digging of wells and provision of drinking water will also be encouraged to be undertaken on a self-help basis at the village level.

6.Non-inflationary programmes such as the World Food Programme would be utilised on a much larger scale to build rural infrastructure such as roads, water reservoirs, small irrigation schemes and at the same time to usefully employ the large under and unemployed rural labour force.

7. The large force of unemployed engineers will be inducted into an Engineers Corps which will help build rural infrastructure.

8.Crop Insurance Scheme will be introduced to initially cover the major crops.

It has been decided to contribute 50% of the premium to be paid to the Insurance Corporation on

behalf of small farmers owning less than 25 acres.

9. We have also decided to increase the present allocation in the budget of 1986-87 for providing clean drinking water and farm to market roads by at least 50%.

New Deal for Middle and Low income Residents of Urban Areas

Loan Scheme for self-employed

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The scheme for providing loans to self-employed persons such as, rickshaw drivers, taxi drivers, hawkers, washermen, cobblers etc. will be introduced so as to enable them to purchase equipment and also working capital. The loans will be advanced against the security of the purchased equipment and will be at concessional rates. The small business corporation is now being re-named as 'Peoples Finance Corporation' which will be directed to implement the scheme in letter and spirit. Enhanced Credit Allocation amounting to Rs.50 Crores will be made by instructing the National Credit Council for the successful implementation of the scheme during the remainder of 1986-87.

Labourers and Workers

In view of the rampant inflation it has become extremely difficult for workers to meet even their bare minimum needs. The consumer price index according to the Federal Bureau of Statistics, had doubled since 1976-77. It has gone up from 111.17 in 1976-77 to

223.76 in 1985-86. It is, therefore, imperative that minimum wages are fixed at a reasonable level so as to provide relief and succour to the poor wage-earners. It has, therefore, been decided that minimum wage of all adult workers will be fixed at Rs.7/- per hour or Rs.50/- per 8 hours working day, excluding one hour's rest, for daily workers and for workers and salaried employees being paid on monthly basis, minimum wage/salary will be Rs.1000/- per month subject to further tri-partite talks. The industrial worker will also be provided either living accommodation by the employer or will be paid a minimum House Rent Allowance of not less than 30% of their monthly basic pay. For Government employees the salaries and allowances will be merged and the minimum salary of the employees in the existing National Pay Scale no.1 will be fixed at par with the minimum monthly wage/salary announced for the permanent employees in the private and public sector enterprises. The salaries of the other employees in the various National Pay Scale would be suitably adjusted, for categories of Government servants earning upto Rs.1,500/- per month.

Urban Transport

One of the serious problems being faced by the residents of the big cities is of transport. Lack of cheap and efficient transport to the common man in Urban Areas is not only waste of productive time but also reduces the earning power of the poor workers. The PPP will bring a radical improvement in the quality of public transportation services particularly in major cities with an additional 10 thousand buses. A High Powered Commission having representatives of all the

four Provinces will be formed to look into the transportation and utility services problems which are being faced by the city dwellers and come up with concrete recommendations within a period of three months. The Committee will examine the viability of an underground train service which PPP had begun in Karachi but which was abandoned by the present regime.

National Housing Policy

National Housing Policy has been evolved which shall aim at the construction of specified number of houses every year in the Urban and Rural Areas, province, district by district and municipality by municipality. Five Marla Plots, house facilities and regularisation of Kutchi Abadies Schemes which were originally introduced by the Peoples Party Government shall be expeditiously implemented. The schemes will be further strengthened by adding infrastructural facilities.

Municipal Housing for low Rent Houses will be encouraged by the Federal and Provincial Governments. Finance will be made available by Municipalities own funds and the rest from the Financing Agencies. The interest costs shall be borne by grants from the Federal and Provincial Government.

Urban authorities like K.D.A., C.D.A. & L.D.A., etc. will be asked to build houses for hire-purchase-sale, in the cities. This provision will be for the lower Income Groups who will be afforded the facility of buying the three rooms Housing Units by investing 25% of the cost from their own resources and the balance of 75% will be financed by the House building Finance Corporation

whose affairs will be re-vamped. Labour Housing shall be encouraged and incentive for the provision of such housing to the workmen by Public & Private Sector Industries is being provided under the Income Tax Ordinance.

Health

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In order to provide health facilities to rural as well as Urban population, the following measures will prove helpful in achieving a much larger health programme :-
The unemployed Doctors will also be galvanised in implementation of the schemes outlined:

1. The imbalance between health services in the Urban and Rural Areas will be reduced by introducing a crash programme for extending health cover to Rural Areas. This will be achieved through laying greater emphasis of enlisting para-medical staff and doctors in at least a 5:1 ratio, so that there is one doctor to every five paramedical staff.
2. The Government will also set up a special corps of Physicians to be recruited from amongst the Hakims and Homeopaths. This special corps of physicians shall be given an intensive half-year training and assigned to the rural areas for looking after the common ailments like Malaria, Gastroenteritis, Typhoid, Cholera, Flu, etc.
3. A People's health Packet containing safe proprietary medicines for common ailments like Malaria, Gastroenteritis, Flu, Typhoid etc. with instructions for simple local language shall be distributed all over the country-side at a subsidised price.
4. The emphasis shall be on preventive services by such

physicians in the field of such common ailments. Preventive medication shall be distributed free to rural and poor urban sector.

5. Provision of drinking water through a programme for installing hand pumps in villages, shall be given special priority.
6. Rural broadcasting programme shall be specially drawn up in the language of the villages advising them on prevention from and cure for common and seasonal ailments.
7. The corps of physicians will be required to coordinate their efforts, providing the health services and setting up of dispensaries, with local Governments, so that an integrated approach is evolved for providing the health services within the ambit of the programme of rural development and social welfare schemes.
8. Unemployed doctors will be provided with loans for setting up small clinics alongwith back-up support of medicines etc. in the rural areas.

Education

The education problems and achievements shall be thoroughly examined in a sort of parliamentary review through a committee and a commission in which elected representatives shall be associated. Such a committee and commission shall evaluate the achievements and the difficulties in the implementation of the education policy, and take note of all recommendations that have been

made during the past many years. The review shall not take more than three months.

The need for linking education to the labour market in the country and demands for skills and talent from abroad shall be given full consideration. The curricula shall accordingly be adjusted and amended. What is in demand shall be produced by the labour force management authorities in consultation with the educational planners.

In addition to the continuous efforts of the Government to achieve the goals set out in the education policy and adhering to the priorities in achieving these objectives, it will also be necessary to mobilise a special task force to eradicate adult illiteracy in the shortest possible time. In order to overcome the problem of shortage of teachers, a Special Education Youth Corps of educated youth shall be established. All students who are studying in college should be required to devote six months of their education career by becoming members of the Youth Corps. The students shall, during this six months period be assigned to specific villages or community centres to teach the adults residing in such places. These centres shall be equipped with audio-visual aids provided by the Government. During the period, the Government stipends to the college students alongwith providing the arrangements for their accomodation. The University Degree to the students would be awarded only after they have completed the six months secondment with the Special Education Youth Corps for eradicating illiteracy.

Experience of other countries has shown that education can be imparted with systematic and wide use of television. The efforts to impart adult literacy combined with social and vocational education shall be intensified through regular programme by the T.V. corporation. The

lessons will provide adult education aimed towards acquiring agricultural and industrial know-how and also to promote the programme in the field of community development, health and population planning. The T.V. media will be required to work in close Collaboration with local Governments in the provinces which will be interested with the work of Rural Development Programme and Social Welfare.

Pakistan is the only country where during the last 9 years the percentage of literacy has gone down. In order to enable the T.V. media to play an effective role in expeditiously eradicating illiteracy and to make a positive contribution in the fields of adult education, agricultural and agro-industrial development, community development, health and population planning, sectors outlined above, and to give an impetus to artists, play writers and other associated with cultural, intellectual and journalistic creativeness. We have decided to set up a second T.V. channel in each province. The first channel will be broadcast from the centre in Urdu and the second channel will be in the local languages. However, news from the centre will be broadcast on both channels and any special programme not taking more than 25% viewing time totally in a year. The second channel will provide means of expression for local culture and give depth to the richness and diversion within Pakistan.

The profits of the T.V. corporation will be examined with a view to increasing pay scales of T.V. artists, play writers and other associated with media.

Industrial Sector

 We are committed to the concept of mixed economy and

will, therefore, not only improve the running of the public sector enterprises but will also, as a policy, encourage the private sector. Despite the rhetoric used by the Martial Law regime with regard to the encouragement of the private sector hardly 20 to 30 percent of the target set for the private industrial sector during the planned periods of 1978-83 and 1983-88 have been achieved. The poor response of the private sector appears to be due to the lack of appropriate policy packages and insufficient infrastructure facilities made available to the private sector in the industrial field. Furthermore, due to bureaucratic red-tape and bottle necks, not many major large scale private sector projects have been set up during the last 9 long years. In order to accelerate the pace of private sector industrial development, we have decided to initiate the following reforms:

1. Price of P.O.L.

The price of P.O.L. will be reduced substantially thus providing considerable relief to Taxis, rickshaws, transporters, car motor cycle and scooter drivers and the general public and in particular the agricultural community in the use of tractors and diesel tubewells. The reduced P.O.L. prices will also enable farmers to install more diesel power driven tubewells thus relieving pressure on electrical energy available.

2. Impending sale of Sui gas fields

We will stop the sale of Sui Gas Fields pending examination by a high powered commission and views of the

elected provincial Government in the Province of Baluchistan.

3. Abolition of Investment Promotion Bureau

Since industry is a provincial subject the work of the Investment Promotion Bureau (I.B.P.), which has rightly been termed as "Investment Prevention Bureau", in respect of sanctioning of industrial projects, will be transferred to the provinces. Henceforth, all sanctions and approvals for the industries, wherever necessary will be given by the Industries Departments of the respective provincial Governments. In any case to deregulate the economy the Provincial Industries Departments will strengthen their Industrial Facilities Boards and the entrepreneurs will be fully assisted in obtaining all the necessary facilities i.e. Water, Power, Gas and telephone etc., through such boards with the minimum delay. Generally the entrepreneurs will be free to set up any kind of industry at any place in a province without any prior approval if such an industry does not fall within the negative list prescribed by the respective Provincial Government.

4. Provincial Financial Institutions for Industrial developments

In order to provide industrial credit to the Units to be set up in each province it has been decided to establish provincial financial institutions which shall have their Headquarters in the respective provincial capitals. These institutions will initially obtain their foreign exchange and local rupee funds through the existing financial in-

stitutions such as PICIC, IDBP, ICP and Bankers Equity etc. The present financial development institutions will henceforth stop disbursing direct credit to future industrial projects and will pass on the funds allocated to them by the Federal Government to the respective Provincial Financial Institutions. The other details regarding the future operations of the financial institutions will be separately announced.

5. Provincial Autonomous Boards Of Banks

It has also been decided to set up autonomous boards for each of the Nationalized commercial banks in the four provinces. These boards will be vested with full power to supervise the banking operations in each province and will have full authority to disburse the allocated credit facilities. The Banking Council shall ensure that annual credit allocation is made by each bank to its respective Provincial Autonomous Board.

With the above proposed improvements in the Investment Procedures setting up of the Provincial Financial Institutions and the establishment of Provincial Autonomous Boards for each bank in each province, we are confident that the entrepreneurs will not have to run from pillar to post for their credit needs and will also be able to set up their industrial projects expeditiously. Further more, the decentralisation of the Nationalised Banks, will greatly assist in disbursing the credits to the priority areas of agriculture industry small businessman and self employed professional etc. in each province.

6. Restructuring of Taxation System

We will carefully examine the recommendations of the

National Taxation Reform Commission. We will ensure that each recommendation will cater to the felt needs of the common man and achieve our committed objectives of bringing about equitable distribution of wealth in the shortest possible time. We will also ensure that only such recommendations are accepted which do not impose heavy burden on the common man in the form of increase in direct or indirect taxation. We shall appoint a high powered committee of the elected representatives of the people in which all the four provinces will participate expeditiously examine the recommendations and submit those which are found to be appropriate, keeping in view the commitments of the Peoples Party for the welfare of the broad masses for the consideration of the Parliament.

7. Income Tax

In this budget however, the following specific measures are being introduced in the Income Tax Law :

i) In 1977 the Peoples Party had introduced the provision for levying income tax on the Agricultural income from land. Unfortunately, the Martial Law regime, in order to appease the feudal lords decided to delete the provision of taxing the agricultural income from the new Ordinance of Income Tax introduced in 1979. Thus a major reform was very conveniently deleted from the statute relating to income tax. We have not decided to reimpose tax on agricultural income. However, every 50 Acres of irrigated land or 10 Acres of unirrigated land, or an area equivalent to 4000 produce index units of land calculated on the basis of classification of soil as entered in the revenue records for rabi 1985-86 whichever shall be greater, shall be exempted from the levy of income tax. Those paying Usher will deduct the Usher rate from

payable tax.

ii) In order to simplify the tax laws, exemption limit from income tax will be raised to Rs.48000/-. However, all other exemptions in respect of perquisites etc. will be withdrawn.

iii) The maximum rate of income tax on individuals and association of persons, will be brought down from 45% to 40%.

iv) The tax on Private Limited Companies will be reduced from 55% to 45%.

v) Tax on dividends from private limited companies will be exempted upto a limit of Rs.48000/-.

vi) Investment allowances being increased from 33% to 40% subject to a maximum level of rupees one lac.

vii) The industrial undertakings employing more than 50 workers will be given special incentive to provide housing facilities for their workers by allowing the cost of construction of house for industrial workers as a direct deduction against the income as an admissible expenditure in the year in which such costs are incurred.

viii) In order to encourage industries eligible for tax holiday, it had been decided that the depreciation to the tax holiday units will be calculated at ordinary rates instead of accelerated rates. This will enable the tax holiday units to effectively enjoy the tax holiday exemption.

8. Tax Reliefs on Savings and Investments

i) In order to encourage savings and investments atleast

50% of the investment allowance (which has been raised from 33% to 40%, subject to a monetary limit of rupees one lac), must exclusively be invested in Defence Savings Certificates/N.D.Cs. which will have to be retained for a minimum period of 5 years.

ii)It also has been decided to provide legal cover in the Ordinance for not only exempting the remittances of overseas Pakistanis but also the remittance of commission fees. The commission / fees will however, be only exempted if these are invested in "Khas Development Deposit Receipts" to be issued for the purpose which will carry a 5% rate of return.

These Khas Development Deposit Receipts shall not be encashable for a period of 3 years from the date of issue but will however, be eligible for obtaining loans from Commercial Banks upto 75% of the value of such Khas Development Deposit Receipts.

iii)We have also decided to increase the limits of investments in Defence Saving Certificates and National Deposit Certificates from rupees 3 lac to rupees 5 lac per individual, and in joint names from Rs. 5 lac to Rs. 10 lac. The rates of return on these certificates will also be increased.

9. Zakat and Ushr

We have decided to set up a Special Committee to go into the working of organization responsible for the collection and disbursement of Zakat and Ushr and to ascertain the charges levelled regarding mal-administration and mis-appropriation of funds. On the basis of the report appropriate action will be taken to improve the efficiency of

the concerned departments. We have also decided that only 50% of the rate of Zakat and Ushr now being deducted / collected will be done by the state. The balance of Zakat and Ushr will be left to the Sahib-e-Nisab who will deduct and disburse according to his own likes and choice.

10. Wealth Tax

We have carefully examined the impact of wealth tax and find that although the receipts on this account are negligible yet it is a source of great annoyance to the middle income group particularly to retired people and widows etc. The affluent and influential individuals somehow any way manage to escape from the appropriate levy of wealth tax yet retired people and widows owning houses which are their only source of income or middle income groups are put through great difficulties by the tax collectors. The collectors of wealth tax is barely 10.8 crores against a total collection of Rs.850 crores of income tax a year but substantial cost are incurred in the recovery of the same. We have therefore, decided to abolish the wealth tax with immediate effect.

11. Customs Baggage Scheme

An aim is to take the heavy hand of the state off the shoulders of the people. One of the areas where this is most evident is when Pakistanis return from abroad. The big shots get their baggage clear through contacts and the ordinary passengers suffer. To provide relief, every Pakistani returning from abroad once a year is entitled to bring luggage in accordance with International Baggage Rules which will not be searched unless customs suspect arms ammunition or other such items. This luggage will be

free of custom duty. In addition no custom duty will be charged on the items brought by Overseas Pakistanis packed in their accompanying suit-cases provided they can establish at the customs that they have been working abroad for a minimum period of six months. A certificate from the respective Pakistan Embassy will be sufficient proof and the Custom Authorities at the airport shall be duty bond to clear the suitcases of such Overseas Pakistanis without any let or hinderance. Ofcourse the duty will be payable on other accompanying packages and un-accompanied goods. The details of the scheme will be separately announced.

12. Energy Crisis

Pakistan has been facing an acute energy crisis since 1983, primarily on account of the neglect of this sector since 1977-78. This gross failure of Zia's system has caused a severe set back to the growth potential of Pakistan's economy especially in the agricultural and industrial sectors. The energy crisis can and must be overcome within two years.

A LIFE IN THE DAY OF BENAZIR

(An article on the activities of co-chairperson in a day)

The story of my life is that either I'm in jail and have all the time in the world, but can't see anyone- or, like now, I'm free and have endless demands on my time. When I returned from exile I was expecting a big welcome, but what happened was beyond my wildest imaginings. There was a sea of people. Nobody had anticipated such crowd, and arrangements were totally inadequate. I used to have nightmares when I was young about climbing ladders. Suddenly in front of me I saw the ladder of my dreams. There were thousands of people around me and I had to climb it to get on top of the truck. By some

miracle I got to the platform, and my heart was singing with joy.

I was thinking: what better vindication for my father than that he died for his country, and that after all the terror, the oppression, the darkness, here are people who acknowledge and respect him? Everyone says people's memories are short, but it isn't true. The crowd was shouting. "Bhutto, Bhutto !"

I had prepared a speech. I wrote it in England with the help of Tariq Ali, whose political beliefs are different from mine, but we were both believers in democracy. I always get butterflies before speaking. Even when I was president of the Oxford Union I used to worry that I'd forget myself in mid-sentence. This time so much depended on it. But the larger the crowd, the more I felt the magnetism and the crowd was with me all the way.

I like to think I'm carrying on my father's vision of a federal democratic Pakistan. He set the way for a society in which there should be no discrimination on the basis of sex, race or religion, and I too am fighting for this.

My day varies depending on whether I'm on tour or at home in Karachi. When I'm at home, I'm woken at 8am, and one of my staff wheels my breakfast trolley in. It arrives with tea, fruit and bran flakes from Sefeway - I brought quite a few cartons back from England with me - but I get so involved reading and marking the newspapers that I only have time for the tea I take all international papers that carry news on Pakistan and that are not banned. Then I force myself to get up and, still in my pyjamas, I do 20 minutes of keep-fit exercises.

By 9am I'm washed and dressed. I wear shalwar kameez [traditional dress and trousers] and a duppatta [matching shawl] because for this climate I need loose comfortable clothes. In England I found shalwar material too chilly so I often changed over to jeans and Western clothes. For an hour I deal with bills and paper, and then at 10 a.m. I start seeing people at half-hourly intervals. I have advisers on every subject but no one person whose advice I take on everything. I don't like to be caught up with details so people come to me with well-prepared options. A typical morning's discussion revolve around constitutional and parliamentary matters, intelligence reports and the state of the party.

At about 1pm I have a working lunch: something light like lentils and yoghurt. I don't cook or do any housework - an old family retainer manages the household. In the afternoon the pace hots up. I see people 15-minute intervals until 5pm, and then at 5-minute intervals until 8pm. I always ask for my schedule to end at 8pm, knowing that if I do this I may finish at midnight. In Pakistan you say one thing, and it always ends up something else.

When I'm on tour, my day is equally relentless. The programme is arranged by local organisers and approved by me. I like to have the morning to assimilate information and write speeches so I request a midday start, but it rarely goes according to plan. Like tomorrow - the tour starts at 8am. I usually squeeze in 10 to 14 places a day, stopping to address roadside gatherings and public meetings. Everywhere I go, people press food and drink on me. It's a matter of honour that I eat with them, so I end up having several snacks too many.

It's not an issue that I'm a woman politician in a Muslim country. Although in general women have fewer rights than in the West, Asia has a history of politically prominent women. I'm not a militant feminist, but I strongly oppose cruel inhuman laws that degrade women and make us second-class citizens. There are personal difficulties that I experience as a female politician. I can't embrace people or ruffle their hair like my father and brother used to do. Such actions often say more than words, but this camaraderie can only exist man to man.

I haven't always wanted to be a politician. When I was a kid I wanted to be a lawyer or a journalist. I read PPE at Oxford and then decided I wanted to join the foreign service. My father didn't want people to think I had got in just because he was prime minister, so on his advice I took courses in contemporary government and international relations.

when he was arrested it was an agonising time. I had to watch how he was kept in a death cell. They didn't really let him live before they killed him. They even refused permission for me to go to Mecca on his behalf, but I managed to make the pilgrimage in his name before I returned from exile. There were reports that the regime would assassinate me, so I went while I had the chance.

I came to terms with life during the years I was in prison. The first month was the worst. I was fed information that other party supporters had compromised, and was urged not to waste my youth and health. I felt so alone that if any body had been sweet or kind to me, perhaps I would have broken down. But I was treated harshly, which brought out my individual defiance. Most of the time I was in solitary confinement without books or newspapers.

If I wanted to write a letter, I was given one piece of paper at a time. I learned patience. I had to deal with the options in front of me, and not dream of the options that I might have.

When I was freed it was a moment of pure joy. As the plane landed at Zurich I felt burdens falling from me, like rocks off my shoulders. People who've had a lot of grief and pain know when a magic moment occurs. Just being able to see the world again, realising that Zia wasn't behind me and that I wasn't going to be arrested was such a moment.

I went to England and lived in a flat in the Barbican. It took me a while to relate to people again. I was fearful of being on the street and seeing so many new faces.. I kept trying to take the tube, but my heart beat so fast, I ended up in taxis. My days were spent dealing with party matters and forging international links. I hardly socialised at all.

Now I'm home I work 16 hours a day. Most evenings I spends four hours on the phone talking to people all over the country to keep abreast of the situation. The sooner we can force an election and free Pakistan from dictatorship the better. When I was in London a distinguished politician warned me that wherever I went, in my house, my car, my garden, others would be listening. On his advice I bought a little anti-bugging device and I keep it in my bag at all times. He was right. When I don't have it on, I can overhear the security forces trying to listen to me on my short-wave radio.

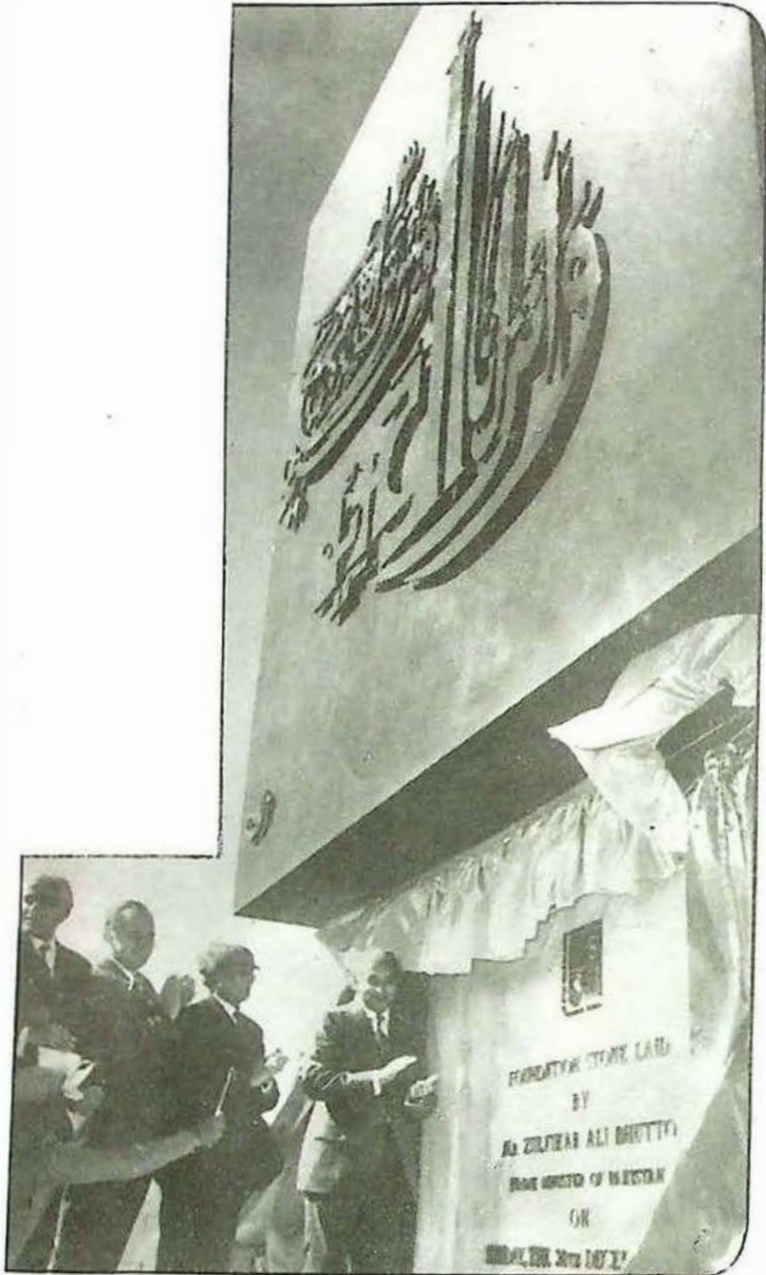
At about 1am I go my room, and while I'm washing and creaming my face, a couple of girl friends from school

come to see me. One of them always spends the night in my sister's old room. We have a chit-chat about who's doing what, who's wearing what. I really need an hour or so to unwind like this. I have no time for hobbies, nor for romance. I don't know how I'd fit it into my schedule, but one never knows. No I'm not lonely. I meet so many people who pray for me and who support me because of what I'm doing that it gives me strength. In jail I had trouble getting to sleep. But now I just close my eyes and that's it.

(printed in Sunday Times in early 1987 as she narrated to Micheal Jaffe.)



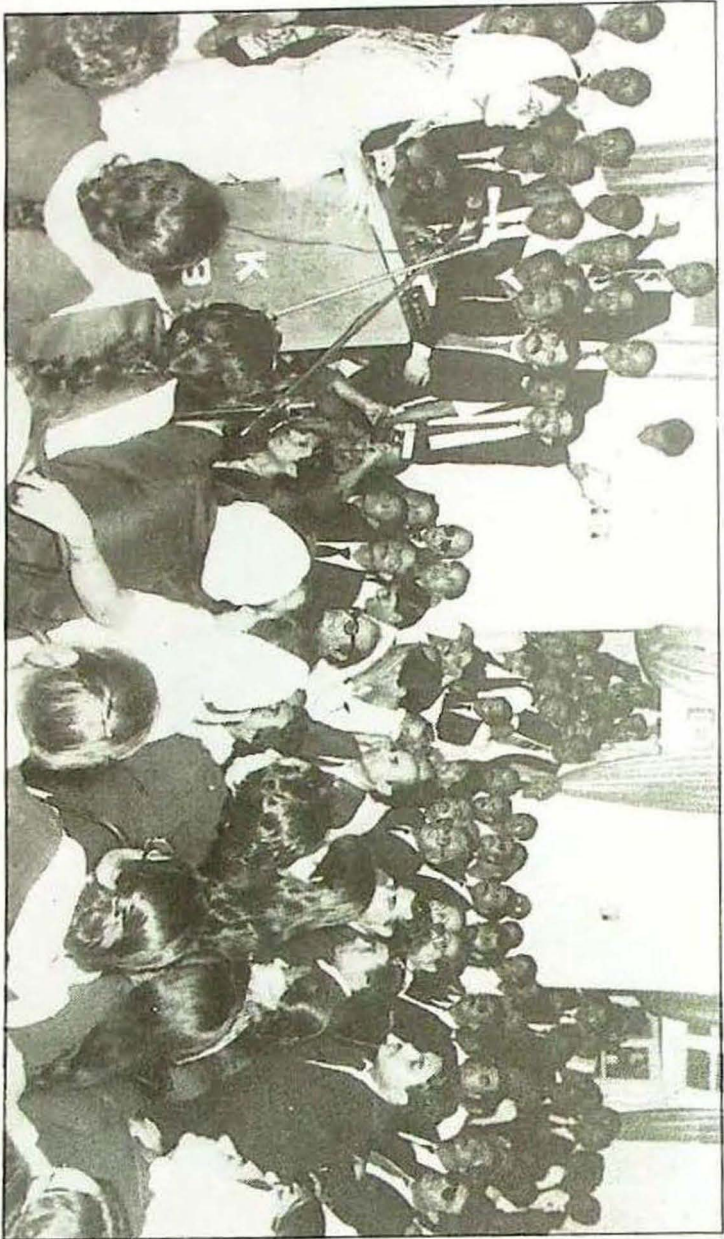
*Presiding over an important Central Executive Committee meeting
of PPP at 70 Clifton*



Shaheed Chairman laying the foundation of Steel Mills at Karachi



Chairman Shaheed performing UMRA



Addressing the Karachi Bar Association



*Waiving to the crowds in Karachi Old Golimar area
in 1988*



Leading a major procession towards old Golimar in Karachi

INDEPENDENCE DETAINED

(Message released on the independence day on 14.8.1986)

Today we celebrate the 39th anniversary of the Independence of Pakistan. For us Independence meant not just struggling against and overthrowing our Colonial Masters, but, at the same time, striving for Quaid-e-Azam's conviction that only partition of the sub-continent could give the Mussalmans what they wanted, that is, political and economic rights and responsibilities, which were totally denied to us.

Therefore, living in Pakistan would mean being protected from unreasonable searches, harrasments

and seizures, guaranteed free movement within its boundaries, freedom of worship, speech and assembly. We would have the right to vote and to hold public office. And all communities would enjoy equal rights, privileges and immunities.

Unfortunately, the ghastly tragedy of this nation has been that it has borne more suffering and hardship under its own dictatorial Masters within a short span of 39 years. For most of its existence Pakistan has been ruled not according to the principles and values enunciated by the Father of the nation, Mohammad Ali Jinnah but by a crude and cruel form of Colonial Law, called Martial Law.

Under the rule of our ambitious Generals we have witnessed one catastrophe after another. General Ayub's 10 years rule eventually gave birth to Bangladesh, under Gen. Yahya Khan.

Zia-ul-Haq went a step further. He coldbloodedly conspired to murder a popularly elected Prime Minister, Zulfikar Ali Bhutto Shaheed, thereby, setting a bloody precedent of violence. As expected this violent act has permeated to the lowest level of our society. The law and order situation is well known to every Pakistani.

Zia-ul-Haq's regime has created bitterness and resentment among the four provinces of the Federation Of Pakistan. Serious misunderstandings have occurred owing to the misrule of the military-bureaucracy.

From Sarhad to Sindh, from Punjab to Baluchistan people have suffered indignities, lashings, imprisonments, harrassments, threats and abuses.

A systematic propaganda and persecution has been carried out against the Pakistan Peoples Party, its leaders and other major political parties.

Women, students and minorities are consciously being victimized and discriminated against.

The lawyers and the Judiciary have not only been inflicted with three different kinds of law i.e. Shariat Law, Martial Law and Civilian Law but they have seen their powers curbed arbitrarily.

For the first time in the history of Pakistan the journalists suffered the whip and the lash and found themselves in fetters like their fellow Pakistanis.

It is important to stress that today Religion is being misused as never before. One must emphasize that though on one hand religion is being exploited, on the other, all major constitutional and other changes have come about through Martial Law Ordinances.

Prices have skyrocketed and are rising unchecked.

The mental, emotional and physical state of the people, as a result of prolonged Martial Law can be judged from the severe dependence on Heroin. A nation which was safe from such a serious malady only a few years ago finds itself in the grip of a heroin addiction epidemic.

The geographical boundaries of the state have been eroded. Jawans have lost their lives in the Siachin Glacier area and Pakistan has lost 1400 kilometers of territory.

One may continue endlessly about the corruption and poverty which has increased tenfold under Zia and his collaborators.

This has given me as an individual and the Pakistan Peoples Party the strength to take up the cause of the people and further it. My countrywide tours, the speech making, the sitting of committees, the fight against apathy, and the long long discussions with people from all walks of life is, no doubt, a very arduous and demanding toil but I have had no regrets because in the end we shall all fight collectively towards eliminating those obstacles which stand in the way of literacy, equality and prosperity.

On this day Ms Bhutto managed to reach the public meeting venue in the centre of Liyari despite heavy chase by large contingents of Police. She addressed a gathering for quite a long while there was continued teargassing. She was arrested later on in the evening while she was addressing a press conference largely attended by foreign and local journalists.

REIGN OF TERROR

(Address to District Bar Lahore on 27.11.1986)

Mr. President, Learned members of the District Bar Association, ladies and gentlemen.

As I stand before you today I am conscious of the privileges bestowed upon me by the Bar Association in inviting me to address this distinguished gathering. I am conscious also of the singular commitment that its members have displayed in their unrelenting struggle against an autocratic and repressive regime.

When others in more exalted position have abandoned

their primary duty to preserve the Constitution, you have come out to protect and uphold it. When the perpetrators of the long night of Martial Law have traded in violence and terror, you have carried high the banner of resistance to military rule. You have, in fact been the van-guard in the struggle for the restoration of democracy in Pakistan.

And in the process you have suffered in more ways than one. Unprecedented curbs have been placed on the normal and ordinary activities of Bar Association by amendments in the Legal Practitioners and Bar Councils Act 1974.

You have encountered detentions and jail terms. I am conscious that less than one kilometer from where I stand today, no less than 80 learned members of this distinguished profession were arrested in June 1980 after a merciless lathi charge by the Punjab Police. During the Peoples' movement in 1983, when terror reigned supreme over Sind, the Lawyers of Punjab again came out on the streets of Lahore in anger, but with dignity. As many as six thousand advocates offered Fateha for the "Shuhada-e-Sind" on October 6, 1983 before the Punjab Assembly Building, then the Headquarters of Martial Law. Several of the most distinguished members of your fraternity, Mr. President, have unconditionally assisted countless political prisoners. Quite often they have themselves added to the ranks of these prisoners.

I am proud to say, Mr. President, that member of my own party who belong to your fraternity have resisted Martial Law with commendable courage and conviction. My Party in the Punjab is headed by an advocate

who has the distinction of having courageously suffered the sharp pain of the whip under the illegal and immoral orders of a Military Court. Others have been subjected to prolonged and inhuman torture inside the infamous Lahore Fort and other lock-ups euphemistically called "interrogation centres". We Mr. President, are all one in that struggle.

This country has seen its darkest days in the nine years since July 5, 1977. You will recall the purported effect of the Proclamation of that date. In promulgating Martial Law it suspended the unanimously adopted Constitution of 1973. It then proclaimed the superiority of the arbitrary will of the Military Commander over all institutions, executive, judicial and legislative. It sought to inhibit superior courts in the exercise by them of their inherent Constitutional Jurisdiction to review the conduct of the execution.

Martial Law Regulations and Orders that accompanied the Proclamation provided for primitive procedures and draconian punishments. Military Courts were empowered, under Martial Law Order No; 4, to inflict death, amputation of limbs, imprisonment for life, stripes (with the victim secured on stocks), unlimited fine, (recoverable as arrears of land revenue), and forfeiture of all moveable and immoveable property.

A vast network of military courts dotted the entire land. A reign of terror was unleashed upon the citizens of this country. Thousands of Political workers were arrested and summarily sentenced. Every sacred profession experienced the tyranny of the regime. Journalists, factory workers, nurses, doctors, students, teachers, even women were brought

before Military Courts and hastily sentenced.

Circumstances and widespread popular disaffection, however, remained beyond Gen. Zia's political control. He had no option. Like Macbeth he could only move in one direction: more and more repression, and the promulgation of ever more repressive laws.

As the regime continued to fail in establishing even a marginally popular base, it was forced to tighten its martial grip. In due course of time it created hitherto unheard of offences. MLR 54, for instance, made the ill-defined action of "spreading despondency", punishable with death. This is not all. As if you compound shame with more shame, it further provided that Military Courts would, unless the contrary was proved by the accused himself, presume that he was guilty of the charge.

Another contemporaneous, and equally immoral law, called the President's Order No: 4 of 1982, went still further. Enabling military courts to hold their proceedings 'in camera', it prescribed an oath upon all the participants in the trial, including advocates, to keep secret the entire proceedings. Violation of this undertaking was made punishable under the Official Secrets Act. The Order also allowed military courts unlimited discretion to curtail cross-examination. And, like MLR 54, it also repealed the age-old presumption of innocence.

These laws establish, conclusively, the unprecedented unpopularity of Gen. Zia's military regime. They were promulgated as defences and bastions to protect and shield an isolated and repressive junta.

One other Martial Law Order deserves special mention. It empowered army commanders to bypass even their own military courts while decreeing imprisonments of the political opponents of the regime. Thousands of the political workers, and hundreds of political leaders, were repeatedly, and for indefinite durations, detained under the provisions of MLO No: 12. The detaining authority was expressly absolved of the duty of supplying the grounds of detention to the detenu. It thus made the already unfettered discretion of the authority at once subjective and arbitrary.

While ceaselessly arrogating to itself these arbitrary and unfettered powers, the Junta continued, at the same time, to strike at the very foundations of the established judicial system. Having executed the elected Prime Minister of Pakistan in April, 1979, General Zia-ul-Haq, embarked upon a consistent policy of denuding superior courts of their jurisdiction.

On October 16, 1979 the day on which General Zia-ul-Haq reneged from his commitment to hold general elections scheduled for November 17, he enforced the so called Constitution (Second Amendment) Order 1979. The order inserted Article 212-A in the Constitution. Such was the audacity of this measure that it purported to implant military courts into the text of the Constitution of 1973. And this, despite the fact that a full bench of five judges in the case Darvesh Muhammed Arbey had held, in July, 1977, that such courts were 'abhorrent' to the Constitution.

This insertion, however, did not suffice. Within a few months Gen. Zia was compelled to promulgate the so called Constitution (Amendment) Order 1980. This

order purported to amend Article 199 of the Constitution. The order divested the High Courts of their powers. Your colleagues were protesting against this amendment, Mr. President, when no less than 80 of them were arrested in Lahore in June 1980. That, if you recall, was on the occasion of the " FIRST ALL PAKISTAN LAWYERS' CONVENTION ". It was the beginning of the Lawyers' struggle. It was the dawn of a new era. This fraternity displayed such unity in its struggle that the Political Parties took the cue, and in February 1981, the Movement of the Restoration of the Democracy was born.

As the struggle of the people, now under the joint banners of the MRD and the Pakistan People's Party intensified, Gen. Zia was again forced to resort to his only and final option: the application of the military grip. On March-24, 1981, he promulgated the Provisional Constitution Order. This order will long be remembered for the manner in which it attempted to demean judges of the superior courts of Pakistan. They, who were bound to oath to " preserve, protect and defend the Constitution ", of 1973, were required to take an oath to " abide by the Provisional Constitution Order 1981 ". Failure to take the oath entailed the loss of the judicial office. Several judges lost their jobs.

This was ironical, Mr. President, since Gen. Zia's Martial Law had been validated by a Court. But he had obtained a limited and transient mandate from the Supreme Court of Pakistan.

In its judgement in the BEGUM NUSRAT BHUTTO CASE of 1977, the Supreme Court had clearly found

that Gen. Zia's action of July 5 was beyond the ambit of the Constitution of 1973. There is no ambiguity in this finding.

The court had chosen, however, to validate the imposition of Martial Law on the SOLE GROUND of State Necessity. And this validity was expressly confined within certain very definite and limited parameters.

The conditions were explicit. General Zia was not permitted to introduce a new legal order. He would restore the Constitution, in its original form, and to the fullest extent, within the shortest period of time. Finally the judgement gave no authority to the Chief Martial Law Administrator to assume the office of President of Pakistan.

By the promulgation of the P.C.O., however, Gen. Zia violated every single condition and restraint placed upon him.

You as men learned in law, are well aware of the principle that when the very conditions on which validation rests are thwarted, the claimant becomes a trespasser ' abinitio '. Even if, therefore, the promulgation of Martial Law ever valid, Gen. Zia, by his own conduct, became a usurper retrospectively with effect from July 5, 1977, when he first entered the office of Chief Martial Law Administrator. Conscious of the illegitimate foundations of his power Gen. Zia-ul-Haq resorted to another fraudulent exercise. On 1st December 1984, he promulgated the REFRENDUM ORDER.

The Provisions of this order make interesting reading. By the terms of Para 4 of the order the people of

Pakistan were asked whether they would like the laws of Pakistan to be brought in confirmity with the injunctions of Islam as laid down in the Holy Quran and the Sunna of the Holy Prophet. The CONSEQUENCE of a majority of the answers to the question being in the affirmative was, IN THE WORDS OF THE ORDER the " General Zia-ul-Haq shall be deemed to have been DULY ELECTED PRESIDENT of Pakistan for a term of five years from the date of the first meeting of the Houses of Parliament in joint sitting. Courts were prohibited from entertaining any proceedings relating to the Refrendum.

You are all aware of the result of the refrendum. The world has taken notice of it. HABIB JALIB has captured the scene in a short pithy couplet.

شہر میں ہو کا عالم تھا۔ جن تھا یا ریفرنڈم تھا

Gen. Zia-ul-Haq brazenly chose to accept the contrived verdict of the refrendum without hesitation ! And, he accepted the office of President in consequence of that verdict.

Assuming the validity of refrendum, Gen. Zia embarked upon another male-fide exercise. He decided to rig Parliamentary elections by means of legal contrivances.

On January 12, 1985, he announced general elections. By purposefully designed legislation, political parties and their members excluded from the election. But Zia was not confident even of the turf of his own manufacture. Between the announcement and the convening of Parliament the REPRESENTATION OF

THE PEOPLE ACT was amended no less than eight times. Thrice he found it necessary to amend the **POLITICAL PARTIES ACT**. Thirteen amendments were introduced in the House of Parliament and Provincial Assemblies Order ! Even the Constitution could not escape mutilation. The so called " Restoration of the Constitution of 1973, Order 1985 " demolished the Federal, Parliamentary, and democratic foundations of that constitution. It purported to civilianize Martial Law. It is in this atmosphere of rapid and incessant variation of rules, electoral procedures, qualifications and disqualifications, that the Pakistan Peoples Party, alongwith the component parties of the MRD, decided to boycott the elections. We have been vindicated in that decision.

The Parliament that came into being in these elections proceeded to validate each and every decision, action and sentence of Martial Law authorities and military courts. Draconian punishments, executions, solitary confinements, torture, confiscation of property, even lashes were validated. The perpetrators of these inhuman punishments were indemnified by the passage of the Eighth Amendment Act.

During Martial Law I had twice been compelled to leave the country. Both times I chose to return. I did so for good reasons. This is the land of my people. Here my fore-fathers lie buried. It is here that my late father, the popularly elected Prime Minister of Pakistan, lies in eternal sleep having been awarded the sentence of death despite the fact that at least three judges of the Supreme Court of Pakistan had found him not guilty of the charge on which he was tried. When my younger brother was murdered in exile last

year I myself brought his dead body back to this country to be buried by the side of my father in the home of our ancestors. This land and its people have always pulled me towards them. Their love have sustained me, as it sustained my father, in the most challenging times.

I cannot leave this land and its people. I know that they will not leave me.

The second time that I returned home was also to test the claims made by the regime that it had restored democracy. Curbs on political activities had been lifted they said.

The warmth affection, the support and love that the people of my country bestowed upon me on my return was over-whelming. You have all seen it with your own eyes. This was the truly national referendum.

But the claims of the regime were hollow. For the first time in the history of this country people were fired at as they were assembling to celebrate the day on which this Nation was created. Lahore's streets were painted in blood on August 14, 1986 a day meant for rejoicing. Thousands of political workers and leaders had already been arrested on the eve of Independence Day. Deputy Commissioners were required to issue blank detention orders to the police. The extent and sweep of arrests was unprecedented. The mask of democracy was ripped assunder.

Although political workers in Punjab assumed the vanguard role, the repression of the State apparatus in the Province of Sind, was unsurpassed in its severity.

The conditions in Sind, Mr. President, need special mention. Continued denial of democratic rights and Constitutional privileges is fanning despondency and hatred. Political adventurers, articulating extreme slogans, have entered the arena.

We, on our part, will resist all moves intended to weaken the Federation. So long as the Pakistan Peoples Party exist, and that it shall forever, we shall preserve defend and protect the Federation. The party enjoys overwhelming support in all provinces of the country. Its own primary interests are therefore dependent upon the continuing prosperity and solidarity of the Federation of Pakistan.

Yet it is my duty to remind you, Mr. President, that the continued denial of democratic rights and political freedom will breed irreversible alienation. This alienation, in time, can become a great threat to this country.

The Federation cannot be held together by a military grip. Only imperceptible bonds of love, brotherhood, equality, human dignity, and shared aspirations of progress and prosperity can bind the people of different regions in one State.

We, on our part, believe in the prosperity and progress of all regions of the country. We believe in the restoration of democratic rights and liberties to all the people of Pakistan. We believe in a progressive just and equitable economic, and social order. We believe in the rights of the minorities to practice their beliefs with freedom and security. We believe in the right of the writers, journalists, and intellectuals to express themselves freely and each in accordance with his con-

science. We believe that the peasant is entitled to a proper share of the produce of the land that he tills. We believe in the right of the student and academic to pursue his discipline and research without fear of any interference by the State.

We have suffered long the tyranny of a repressive regime. We know the agony of the oppressed. We aim to put an end to this agony. We aim to heal the wounds, not to bleed and aggravate them. We strive to bring harmony, not discord. We will never allow our own personal grievances to tip the golden scales of justice. The value of the Independent and unbiased judicial process is known to those who have repeatedly encountered a brutal denial of due process. Endless and unending terms in jail have taught us the value of liberty. From life in exile we have acquired a passionate and consuming love for our home land.

We will make this country strong. We will bind the people of all the four provinces in bounds of love and fraternity. We will repair the damage done to the Federation by prolonged military rule. We will strive for the progress, prosperity and well being of the people of this great country. This is our covenant, Mr. President, God willing , we will keep it.

I thank you, Mr. President.

OPPRESSORS DONOT LIVE FOREVER

(Message released on 1.1.1987)

On this first day of 1987, a day when the past meets an ominous present, how should I address my countrymen ?

Our wounds are still fresh, the atmosphere still heavy with the smoke of gunpowder, charred bodies and burnt property. The orphans and widows of Karachi, Quetta, Lahore and Peshawar, of Brihamani, Machi, Hisbani, Goth Thaheem, Mirpur Mathelo and Jam Goth, all bear silent witness to the depradations and ravages of a regime striving to extend its immoral rule over a people who are determined to free themselves.

Must I recount the wrongs that this illegal and unrepresentative regime have perpetrated on the people of our country ? They have pitted brother against brother, tribe against tribe, sect against sect and province against province. They have sought to prolong their loot, their plunder, their immorality -- but above all they have sought to avoid the inevitable day of accountability before the people of Pakistan for the overthrow of a legal leader -- for the black warrants signed; for the innocents killed, for the torture cells and dungeons, and for filling the coffers of their personal profit with the ill gotten gains of political corruption.

The rulers have forgotten the lessons of history -- even our own history -- and behave as if the end will never come. Can oppressors live on forever? Was mankind destined to subjugation? Was Pakistan created so that terror should hold sway ? Did the Muslims of India strive to be free so that one master can be changed for another ? Did we seek a home for a prison cell ? Did the poor perish in 1947 so that the bounty of this land be 'delivered to a few?

I need hardly state, my countrymen ! the answer to all these questions surely lie in the negative.

Countrymen: the unholy order that rules this country today must go before it can further damage Pakistan, this land of last refuge. There is still time to salvage and save the Federation,

We in the Pakistan Peoples' Party resolve that we shall keep the flame of struggle burning, we shall not be found wanting in effort or sacrifice to save Pakistan; to restore your stolen rights; to give each federating unit genuine

autonomy, we further reiterate that our goal is to lay the foundations firmly for an enlightened society from which obscurantist darkness will be expelled and the basic needs of every citizen fulfilled.

Let us pledge ourselves to building a Pakistan that is free of terror and of oppression - where poverty and hunger is banished, where the youth can look towards a bright future and where there is progress and prosperity for the peasant and worker for the lawyer and teacher, and for the student and journalist. Indeed, for every Pakistan, irrespective of race, religion or creed.

1987 will not be our easy year - but it will be a year of reckoning; Today we can look forward to all the positive values which nine years of dictatorship have attempted to suppress - to fraternity, to equality to sacrifice and indeed to motivation. we must use these values to strengthen ourselves, to walk forward.

We must shun apathy, and reject indifference. Let us all work together to restore Pakistan to her formal health. Let us work to build a democratic society where the rights of the individual are respected, and the rule of law prevails. Together we can stand before an illegal regime, that has lost its sense of sanity and all respect for such values.

Released by;

Press Spokesman
December 31, 1986.



*Shaheed Prime Minister Z.A. Bhutto with Qaddafi,
Mujeed and Arafat*

PUPPET PARLIAMENT

(Statement on whipping of P.P.P. activist on 13.1.1987)

Miss. Benazir Bhutto, Co-Chairperson of the Pakistan Peoples Party has condemned the whipping of young PPP activist Hanif Patel in Karachi Central Jail on January 13.1.1987 by the cruel and inhuman Zia-Junejo administration.

That a military court ruling was carried out two years after the so-called elections of 1985 reveal the true nature of Gen. Zia's deception.

On paper fundamental human rights are said to have

been restored with an eye to pleasing the American Congress. But the harsh reality is that fundamental human rights continue to be violated by Gen. Zia's unrepresentative and cruel rule.

No sooner had the " elections " taken place in January 1985, than Nasir Baloch was hanged in March despite his innocence having been proved at the bar of public opinion. In June 1985, Ayaz Samoo was hanged despite his blood group not matching that of the assailant required by the authorities.

These brave sons who believe in freedom were put to a cruel death on the hangman's noose to demonstrate to the people of Pakistan that although a " Parliament " had been elected to please foreign aid donors, nothing had changed in Pakistan. Their deaths left a stain on the name of the puppet Prime Minister and the puppet Parliament which has been further compounded by the subsequent atrocities of the Zia-Junejo administration.

Periodically PPP workers have been arrested and inhumanly tortured at Police Stations on the instructions of Gen. Zia's regime. False cases have been filed against them to make it impossible for them to earn a livelihood as they have to appear in court daily. At the end of the day they are told to come tomorrow according to Pakistan's antiquated legal system. Of course tomorrow never comes -- but if one fails to turn up, it is contempt of court and instantly punishable. This is the new face of persecution by Zia the dictator, hated by our people who rules through force, torture, death. Anyone who associates with Zia is at once condemned by the people of Pakistan because feelings against Zia

and his cronies' corruption and terror run high.

Press freedom remains curtailed. MUSAWAAT continues to be banned, HILAL, illegally takeover. JAVAID receives notices to cripple it economically and force it shut for reprinting articles picked from other magazines that did not receive such a notice. An example is " Sind the untold story " which HERALD printed without receiving a notice. As soon as it was picked up by JAVAID, JAVAID received a notice. Again, when JAVAID printed a First Information Report which is a public document, it received a notice. One can go on citing examples.

Freedom of Association remains curtailed. In theory, for the benefit of the Aid negotiations, public meetings are permitted. In fact, Section 144 is imposed as soon as a decision to hold a public meeting is taken. On January 8, 1987 the public meeting of the PPP was prevented by imposing Section 144 restricting the association of people. Similarly Section 144 was imposed in Larkana and in other places when PPP wanted to hold a public meeting. And everywhere the Co-Chairperson goes, Section 144 is imposed to restrict access to her and intimidate the population.

The only public meetings permitted so far have been those held by national MRD Leaders as a show-piece and sop to international opinion.

Freedom of Association does not exist in Pakistan. A few persons have such "freedom" carefully stage -- managed by the regime and operating on their caprice rather than in law.

A new form of preventive detention has been introduced. A person is charged with a false criminal and civil case with malefide intention to deprive him/her of his liberty. After a lengthy and expensive procedure, he is freed on bail. As soon as the bail is placed, another case is slapped on and the process is repeated again and again against political activists thus placing them behind bars.

The "Subah Badar" [Provincial Entry Ban] introduced by Martial Law is very much a part of the Civilian Martial Law. On January 10, 1987, Mr. Wali Khan, President of Awami National Party was ex-terned from the Province of Sind as well as other leaders of political parties. Even intra-Pakistan movement of political leaders is curtailed and, as far as international travel, an Exit Control List illegally exists to prevent travel by political activists. The name of Co-Chairperson of PPP heads this list.

The atrocities perpetuated in August to crush the peaceful and political activities of the people of Pakistan showed the real face of Zia-Junejo regime. Doctors were shelled to prevent them from treating the injured. Pellets were fired at eyes and have permanently blinded many young men simply for taking part in a rally. Shots were fired to kill and people slaughtered ruthlessly in the streets of Karachi, Lahore and other places. In Thatta, blood transfusion bags were removed from a patient and chains clamped on him which resulted in his death. These are just a few samples to illustrate the depth of terror and inhuman activities of the Zia regime.

Selective terror continues in that intelligent men of

conviction with leadership qualities are selected for elimination from the political field. This takes place by killing [case of Fakir Iqbal Hisbani] by paralysing [case of Jahangir Pathan and Ghulam Abbas] or by imprisoning [Ghulam Hussain and others].

People are taken to prison on charge of being " dacoits " [when, in fact, the dacoits and drug smugglers thrive on the backing of the administration to which they reportedly give heavy pay offs]. Then Muslim League forms [Prime Minister's Party] are sent. The "dacoit " is asked to sign a Muslim League form. When he refuses, he continues to be incarcerated [the case of Shabbir Chandio is just one example of this].

In Nazi propoganda style, attempts were made to sell the "elections" of 1985 as a success. The PPP declared that the elections were a farce which had been boycotted by 75% of the people. The puppet "Parliament" being unrepresentative, would be unable to cope. A democracy cannot function in the void created by lack of popular support. The result is before us today. The Army has been sent into villages of Sind to burn villages, crops, kill people and cattle [Thaheem, Machi, Birhamani, to name three] and victimise innocent villagers in the vain hope that general terror will subjugate the people and permit the "Parliament" to survive on the terror unleashed.

In Karachi, the Army has been sent to quell the civilian strife. The Army was used in the sectarian strife in Lahore. Never was the Army so used in the past in Pakistan, Zia is misusing a national institution as a political party.

Is this good for Army ? Most certainly not. With the situation in Afghanistan and on the Indian border, the Army needs to be free of civilian and police jobs to do its own job. It needs a professional Chief of Army Staff to bring it to its peak professional level.

But Gen. Zia having no support amongst the people is clinging to the post of Chief of Staff thus damaging the Army and the country simultaneously.

In December 1986, Gen. Zia tried to enter Civil Hospital Karachi. He was refused entry. All his security could not gain him entry into Civil Hospital. Such is the state of the so-called "President" and Chief of Staff. He even invoked the name of the "Azaan" in his favourite trick of exploiting religion for political purposes. But even this did not work for people have seen through his hypocrisy.

The religious parties are hard pushed to support a man under whose administration, Mosques have been burned or desecrated, where the Holy Book has been burnt or treated in a sacrilegious manner, where the Alam of Hazrat Abbas has been treated in a sacrilegious manner.

The whipping of Hanif Patel is an act of vindictiveness by Gen. Zia against the Pakistan Peoples Party. During the recent troubles in Karachi, the Party has tried to do whatever it can no matter how small to provide relief. The people of Karachi have been kind to Co-Chairperson and so Gen. Zia, to get his revenge, has ordered the whipping of Karachi's son Hanif Patel.

Nothing can deter the PPP from path of the people.

We are above and beyond the reach of General Zia. He can whip us, kill us, torture us but he cannot touch our soul for our soul is the soul of Pakistan and the aspiration of its people.

A SUFFERING SOCIETY

(Speech at the occasion of the announcement of people's health scheme on 3.04.1987)

Doctors, Members of the Press, Ladies and Gentlemen

I am pleased to preside at the policy presentation of the Peoples' Health Scheme of the Pakistan Peoples Party. I am speaking to you today on a subject of great importance to every citizen. It concerns not only the people suffering, not only the people who are responsible for the maintenance of health and health services, but is also very important for every citizen who has an interest in the welfare of the society. A

society that is not healthy is working at a much lower level of efficiency than its potential. A society that has in its midst a large number of illnesses that are preventable that is not fair society. It is, therefore, of great interest to every person to become conscious of the problems of health and to contribute to its improvement in whatever way he can. The Nation needs the enlightened and the articulate intelligentsia to mobilise itself and to contribute to a discussion of the problems that a society faces. A society that is sick, is a society that is depriving itself of all the benefits of modern science and technology. An unhealthy society reflects stagnation that has come about as part of a process of decadence. The Pakistan Peoples Party is deeply concerned at the deterioration that has taken place in the health sector due to the present regime's failure and neglect of the health needs of the country.

In Pakistan the Health Delivery System is mostly run by the General Cadre doctors and para-medical staff including nurses. The Cadre has been totally neglected in the way of salaries, promotions and other facilities such as housing and transport. Our attempt in this scheme is to give incentive to the general cadre doctors and para-medical staff so that they feel dignified and willingly render service to the sick. At present we have a broad base of 17 Grade doctors but apex of this pyramid is narrow and consists of a few Grade 20 posts. What we are proposing is a proportional increase in 18 Grade and above, as and when 17 is expanded. This will facilitate upward mobility into higher grades. It was Shaheed Bhutto who gave recognition to the teachers of Medical College and other teaching institutions by giving them Grade 20 for the first time whereas previously this Grade was reserved

for CSP Officers.

Friends, in a short term of 5 years, the last PPP Government not only started new medical colleges but initiated the construction of various new hospitals in different parts of the country e.g. Teaching hospitals of new medical colleges, Liyari General Hospital, Shaikh Zayd Bin Sultan Hospitals at Larkana and Lahore, Liaquatabad Hospital in Karachi etc. We also started the Bolan Medical College and Hospital project in Baluchistan. After 10 years this project has still not been completed. So much for this regime's concern for development.

The PPP is concerned that, 300 adhoc appointees in Sind, who served in hospitals as doctors for 8 years, were terminated recently. It was said that they failed to pass the Public Service Commission examination. It is fair to re-examine a person after 8 years and then sack him ? If they are not competent, why were they appointed ? And if they were competent for 8 years, why were they sacked ? It is strange that they were appointed by Provincial Selection Committee of doctors headed by Secretary Health, yet re-examined by a non-technical member of the Provincial Public Service Commission.

All the expansion plans and schemes of the PPP were dropped or slashed by the military regime. No serious attempts were ever made by the military rulers to expand the health facilities in the public sector. For example, it was our Government's decision that to upgrade Taluka District Hospitals with the bed strength of 200 and 500 respectively. Similarly, we have plan to have more general hospitals in big cities

on the pattern of Liaquatabad Hospital, Liyari General Hospital and Abbasi Shaheed Hospital. If those schemes had been carried out by the military regime, then this crisis of un-employment would not have been occurred.

The students have become doctors but the health facilities in which they are to work remain only in the files and are not available. Whenever doctors have approached the authorities, the Ministers at federal and provincial levels always blamed the People's Government for producing such large number of doctors.

The number of registered doctors in 1973 was 15789, which today has risen to 41,000. In order to achieve the recommended ratio of 1 : 800, the desired number should be more than 100,000.

It is a matter of regret that the model for development planning that has been adopted in this country has assumed that many of the social problems related to poverty will be eliminated simply by increasing economic productivity. This concept disregards the many facts of social development and the complicated matrix of society.

I need hardly add that the present regime has given up all attempts at achieving any modicum of social well being of the people of Pakistan. It has chosen to hide its failing behind obscurantist slogans and medieval concepts.

It is the right of the brave people of Pakistan -- the hard working but unrewarded workers, the toiling peasants, the middle classes and the long suffering stu-

dents -- to enter the 21st century with hope and confidence. This they can do by abandoning ignorance and myth and adopting sciences and technology.

We in the third world, live in the midst of famine, droughts, floods and earthquakes as major destroyers. Illness and suffering seem to be built into the very pattern of our life. Our countrymen live in extremely poor and inhospitable circumstances. There is no rapid water supply. The childhood years are not the happiest years of life but the most dangerous. The official figures record an average of 150 children in every one thousand who die before their birth day. true figures may be much higher, specially in the rural area where the child often leaves, before his arrival has been registered. For those who survives one complaint follows another without respite. They include diarrhoea, lung infection, bronchitis, disease of eye, nose, burns, round worms and tonsilitis. As the child grows older, the risk diminish but they do not disappear. Chronic disease causes poverty, and poverty provides the ideal breeding ground for disease in a recurrent cycle of re-infection. Disease also reduces a man's productivity as surely as hunger does. It raises the cost of living for the victim, as he must pay for treatment. At the same time it reduces his income as he takes time off work.

Good health is less the work of doctors and hospitals than of advances in public health. We need improvement in clean water and sanitation ; improvement in housing and nutrition. There are historical reasons for present neglect : In the pre-colonial times the health of this part of the world was no worse than that of what is now in advanced society. During the colonial

times, a system of health care was developed which was confined to the area of the country which were of concern to the rulers. They had developed a pattern of health care which catered for the army and the senior civil servants while the rest of the country was left to fend for itself. This it did by using the traditional methods of treatment. These traditional methods have been left behind because not enough research has been devoted in their development. The pattern of medical education and the pattern of health care which is continuing has remained unchanged since colonial times. The changes which have occurred in the advanced societies have not taken place in our country. This has been due to the fact that most of the administrative measures that have taken place in the field of health have been based on alien concept of extremely centralized bureaucratic approach. It is essential to decentralize social services, as creativity and innovation always grows better at the periphery.

One important measure that we intend to make is in the area of medicine. In Pakistan, it is reported that there are nearly 10,000 registered medical products and their cost to the country is Rs. 3,000 million, when they do not cover the whole country. At this rate this would be virtually impossible for us to provide medicines for the whole country. Therefore, we intend to take the very important step of ensuring the supply of a minimum number of essential medicines to the public through government hospitals. The World Health Organization has prepared a list of 250 medicines which it believes are sufficient to cover most of the medical conditions that are present in third world countries and these medicines will be made available at low prices, if necessary by

manufacturing in the public sector.

Early on I had alluded to the historic process in the context of our societies in the third world. The struggle raging in the societies of the Third World have a truly global character. One can only hope that the struggles do not turn into conflicts which produces either prolonged psycho-social disturbances or short term intense aberration capable of overshadowing the normal course of evolution of human societies. It is contended that the "Dilemma" arises only when the compulsion of the inexorable process of change are not recognised and the present is viewed in the framework of unchangeable or slowly changing past. In other words when the narrow and parochial interests of today blur the vision of a better tomorrow. I believe that the only Dilemma can change to Hope is by our adopting over a short period of time a new direction in science and technology. This is the only path that can help in modernising our society to enable us to achieve a level of economic prosperity and a modern outlook on society, it seems when first stated to be an almost impossible task. But I have every confidence that the great people of Pakistan can achieve this, there are many examples in recent years where this has been possible. I am thinking of Japan and South Korea who, following the meiji revolution, succeeded in adopting modern technology almost with the persistence of a cult. Islam in its sublime manifestations and shorn of archaic trapping demonstrates rationalism, which can be blended with the aspirations of a modern state. Pakistan, like any other third world country needs to develop an independent national scientific and technological capacity. In our effort to achieve industrial development, we had to import ad-

vanced technology. These projects have sometimes turned out to be alien bodies in the new environment. They have not much added to employment because they have no link with local knowledge. This has a technical and economic aspect. But the problems are basically, social and political. We need to cover a period that other countries have taken two hundred years to cover in a short time. But, for us, there is no choice, we will adopt technology to succeed. The reason that I am mentioning technology in the context of health is because I realize that health services cannot be continued in the absence of a technological and scientific mind. Also modern equipment requires constant development and that requires an ever increasing level of technology. Therefore, I believe that technology is an absolute must for our development efforts.

I would now like to talk a little about women in the context of health and development. The status of women in a society is a significant reflection of the level of social justice in that society. The biological and social realities of their maternal morality are closely linked to their health status and are major factors in the problems they face in health, employment, education and many other areas. The health of women has some particular aspects. Maternal morality is a very high cause of death in our country. Like many other avoidable deaths this can be reduced by adequate antenatal care and better maternity practices. Their level of nutrition is also a serious health problem specially in women who have too many pregnancies closely spaced. Anaemia is wide spread in women of child bearing age and added to both are occupational hazards which engage women in heavy labour during pregnancy. Women's contribution to the economy is

grossly under estimated and is not reflected in labour statistics. In our country women are responsible for at least a large part of food production by fully sharing the burdens of sowing transplanting and harvesting.

At the same time there is at present a great potential of drastic improvement in health and well being of children. Immunization against six major diseases of childhood -- measles, Tetanus, Whooping Cough, Diphtheria, Poliomyelitis and tuberculosis cost very little. But the reward for this one time simple activity is great and it produces dramatic results. The efforts directed towards preventing these diseases by the combined use of ammunition and oral dehydration therapy will be spread to cover the entire population.

At the end, I would like to emphasize that the people's health scheme must remain a dynamic and vibrant policy, must keep changing according to needs of the time. This policy document must be seen as a minimal programme on which larger projects can be built. Further details may be obtained from the Policy Planning Group or Dr. Abbasi: Coordinator Health Committee. Any suggestions for improvement in our scheme, specially from the medical profession will be welcomed and appreciated

Thankyou,

DIVIDE - DESTROY AND RULE

(Address to Journalists at Lahore Pearl Continental on 19.5.1987)

Mr. President, Ladies and Gentlemen,

The Press has faced the worst victimization in the history during the last decade shadowed by the darkness of Martial Law - first as political prisoners have faced the worst victimization known in the history of the sub-continent.

Victimization is one word. Sometimes people when asked in its true meaning, can hardly cover what we have been through. Let us today recall what we mean when we say the press was victimized by the brutal Martial Law im-

posed by the Usurper Zia-ul-Haq. Recall, ladies and gentlemen, that within one month of the imposition of Martial Law eminent journalists including the chairman of NPT Khwaja Asif were sacked in 1977. A few months later the entire staff of the Islamabad Bureau of the Pakistan Times, such as H.K.Burki Aslam Shaikh, and Salamat Ali were sacked without reasons. In Karachi the editor of the Morning News Sultan Ahmad and editor of Hilal-e-Pakistan, Sirajul Haq Memon were dismissed. Noted writer and journalist Ibrahim Jalees was terrorised to such an extent that he died of a heart attack.

In 1978 when journalists started a movement against the closure of Musawat scores of journalists and press workers of NPT papers were sacked.

During the Martial Law years over 200 journalists and press workers were given harsh sentenced of rigorous imprisonment and fines by Martial Law Courts for launching peaceful movements against closures of Musawat in Lahore and later in Karachi against termination of service.

In 1978, in a most shameful act four journalists were sentences to lashes. Three were actually flogged: Salamat Ali of the Far Eastern Economic Review was jailed for one year, Badar-ud-din, Jamil-ur-Rehman, Zahir Kashmiri of Musawat were also jailed. Musawat was closed down in 1978 and later in 1979. On October 16th 1979 when Zia reneged on his election promises he closed down eight newspapers and journals including Musawat, Sadaqat, Mayar and Al Fatah.. New Times an english daily of Rawalpindi were also closed down when its declaration was cancelled.

Todate no opposition paper has been given a declaration. The press remains under strict control through censorship and press advice. For three years upto 1982, all newspapers and journals remained under strict precensorship for the longest period ever in Pakistan. During the following 16 months weeklies and journals continued to be under precensorship. Later when censorship was lifted independent papers and journals like Aman, View Point etc. were put under selective censorship. During censorship even Quranic verses in Musawat and other papers were censored and so also were the saying of the founder of the Nation Quaid-e-Azam. Opposition newspapers were not even allowed to publish editorials and reports which appeared in other newspapers in the country.

In 1983 (when 10 prominent journalists of Pakistan Times, Mashriq and Imroze signed a memorandum calling for restoration of democratic rights and an end to the suppression in Sindh their services were terminated.

Minhaj Barna, President of PFUJ was transferred to Kalat and later dismissed from service. During the referendum and so called elections all newspapers were prohibited from giving any news about the opposition boycott and all news regarding the opposition was censored. Independent newspapers and journals have been and still continue to be denied government and public corporations' advertisements. There is a complete ban on the ads for Frontier Post, Peshawar and Aman Karachi. The ads for Daily Muslim and Dawn are also periodically curtailed. For eight years the PFUJ continued to face the wrath of Martial Law regime which raised a puppet organisation of its own to cause division amongst the journalist community. This organisation was extended all kinds of patronage while members of the genuine PFUJ were victimized and

denied NOCs to go abroad and were harassed in the official newspapers and agencies. Even while this suppression was going on Zia himself and successive information ministers of the government frequently claimed in public that the press had never been so free. This government had the dubious distinction of introducing the law (PPC 499) which prohibited publication of any news against government functionaries or others even if it was in the public interest and based on fact.

News week in a comment on this law said 'where truth is a crime.

I am proud to say that Pakistan Peoples Party is committed to a free and responsible press. The PPP Press Policy has already been elaborated at the Karachi and Rawalpindi Press Clubs. We stand to repeal the Press and Publications Ordinance, withdraw the ban on travel by journalists, reinstate the journalists fired by the Military regime and permit the reopening of banned press with compensation.

Now, let us address ourselves to some aspects of the comprehensive mess in which the Martial Law regime and its civilian off-spring have landed us. From the subversion of the Constitution to the invasion of the citizen's domestic peace, from attempts to convert the Pakistan Army into a private "lashkar" to the legalised robbery of the Pakistani banks called "written-off loans", from the ravaging of Pakistan's economy to the fragmentation of its polity, the crisis has become a Hydra-headed monster. And neither General Zia nor Mr. Junejo is a Hercules capable of combating this demon. If anything, the crisis is of their own creation. They spend much effort underplaying it. They have unleashed a campaign of disinformation upon the na-

tion. Even the Parliament of General Zia's own creation is not spared.

Take for instance the subversion of the Constitution. Who does not know what he has done to it. Yet he recently informed a joint session of his Parliament that the civilian government had supremacy over the Armed Forces. Parliamentarians must be a particularly credulous lot to have stomached such an obvious false-hood.

How can it be believed that the Pakistan Army has subordinated itself to the civilian government when Parliament, by adopting Martial Law Order No: 107 and Article 270-A, itself chose to extend the effect of Martial Law beyond the date of its apparent withdrawal? How can the supremacy of the civilian government be accepted when it has itself piloted legislation amending the Constitution to allow the Chief of Army Staff to continue to occupy the office of President of Pakistan which he had usurped under cover of Martial Law? How can the civilian administration be credited with any authority when it has no power to determine or enforce statutory tenures fixed by law for the offices of the Senior Army Commanders?

Was any member of the Cabinet ever consulted when, in March, some Senior Army Commanders were retired and new ones appointed in their place? Has a willing endorsement been taken from the civilian rulers on the continued and indefinite holding of the office of COAS by Gen. Zia-ul-Haq? Was the civilian government ever taken into confidence when, in January last, the country was taken to the very brink of War with India? Was it ever taken into confidence before the crucial movement of the sixth Armoured Division? Was this movement not a 'suo moto' action of a handful of top generals?

It goes without saying that each one of the above questions has but one answer, and that too in the negative. Nor is this all. We know, for instance, that the Prime Minister was not even aware Navy's "Enterprise" until after General Zia had been reported having visited that Ship. It is also known that Mr. Junejo was not consulted about the major, and unilateral, foreign policy initiative taken by his Chief of Army Staff towards making peace with India in February this year. Ostensibly on his way to watch the cricket match at Jaipur. General Zia took time to stop in Delhi and to bow in abject surrender before the Indian government.

It is quite obvious that the civilian regime has no option but to permit the Armed Forces of Pakistan to retain an autonomy that is neither sanctioned by the Constitution, nor is it in the larger interests of the State. Despite the fact that Article 243 of the Constitution provides that the Federal Government shall have the "control and command on the Armed Forces", they remain an autonomous and independent corporate entity.

To use them solely as a vehicle for his own personal power General Zia has effectively delinked the Armed Forces and insulated them from the body politic. The officers and soldiers are employed as mere automatons. Only the top generals continue to participate in, and to determine the nature of the political process. Having delinked the soldiers from their own civilian brethren, the High Command employs them as a mechanical device for its own power and privilege. De-linked from the people and insulated from their concerns and woes, it becomes a mechanical monster capable of causing immense suffering and terror. De-linked from the people it takes on a colonial role.

This, no doubt, suits the military commanders. Given this insularity, soldiers and officers are left with no other identification and mooring except the High Command of the Army. They cannot but lean on their superiors. They are thus compelled to obey superior orders regardless of the moral content of these orders.

This de-linking is, however, neither in the interests of the country nor in that of the Armed Forces. An Army which insulates itself from the representatives of the people, that is made immune from superior civilian command and is autonomous of popular will, can neither remain dedicated to the service of the country, nor can it continue to enjoy the love and respect of the people. The insulated and distanced soldier breeds alienation among the populace. After all it was not for nothing that the wisdom of the Constitution-makers dictated that the "control and command" of the Armed Forces of Pakistan shall remain, not with uniformed generals, but with the civilian representative administration.

The merger of the offices of President of Pakistan and Chief of Army Staff in one person is, in itself, a grievous enough subversion of the Constitution of Pakistan. It is also a subversion of the Pakistan Army. It impedes other, more deserving and thoroughly professional officers from taking the ultimate fruit of their dedicated careers: promotion. Is the Pakistan Army so starved of men of calibre that there is none who can relieve Gen. Zia of the onerous task of Chief of Army Staff? That surely is not the case. It is simply General Zia's maniacal obsession with power and the gnawing sense of insecurity that compels him to hang on to that office. To do so, however, he has to continuously ponder the soldiers. And Mr. Junejo readily picks up the tune selected by his benefactor. Both

constantly praise the Armed Forces. "They have spent several nights under the open sky" says Zia after the recent troop withdrawal, and they deserve the respect and admiration of the entire nation."

No doubt. But has the nation ever let its armed forces down?

Never. Never has the nation abandoned its duty towards its defenders. Only the Senior Commanders have betrayed our brave soldiers and their officers. When, during the 1965 war, they were locked in battle, civilian citizens, in thousands, risked their lives to go with gifts and food-stuffs to the forward defence lines of the Pakistan Army. Donations, in blood and money, far exceeded the capacity of the Armed Forces to absorb them while engaged in combat. Crowds assembled at recruitment centres volunteering to take up arms alongwith their brothers in uniform.

When after deft and difficult diplomacy the Chairman of the Peoples Party and President of Pakistan, Zulfikar Ali Bhutto Shaheed finally obtained the release of 90,000 officers and soldiers who had surrendered in East Pakistan, people received them back with garlands and open arms. All was forgotten. They came back as sons and brothers. Civilians continued to shower their love and largess upon them.

Pakistan's civilian population has, in fact, for decades been willing to go without bread to feed, clothe and equip the Armed Forces of Pakistan. Immense and ceaseless sacrifices has been sought of the Pakistani citizenry. It has always provided these willingly. Every preceding annual budget of Pakistan bears testimony to this voluntary

forbearance and sacrifice.

Despite the sacrifices, and despite the continuing budgetary emphasis on Defence, Pakistani Generals have used the Armed Forces to inflict unimaginable suffering upon her citizens. In the most brutal period of Martial Law young men have been tied to stocks and flogged in public. To this day contused lines on their backs bear testimony to the sharp bite of the whip and the unwarranted humiliations and pain. Countless others have been jailed and held in inhuman fetters. Many, along with their women, have seen the insides of interrogation centres where they have been tortured by officers belonging to the intelligence services of the Armed Forces of Pakistan. What has the citizenry done to deserve all this? Will the Armed Forces also give credit to the people of Pakistan for all this forbearance and sacrifice?

Neither Zia nor Mr. Junejo can, however, afford to give any credit to the people of Pakistan. They are, in fact, the very anti-thesis of the people. It was, after all General Zia who murdered the elected prime Minister of this country. He ousted a truly representative government and a fully sovereign Parliament by means of an illegal 'coup de tat.' he cannot, therefore, countenance the existence of another truly sovereign Parliament. The mere existence of any such sovereign Assembly would, "ipso facto" imply Zia's abdication or dismissal from that office.

In creating a Parliament subordinated to the office of President and Chief of Army Staff, General Zia has again subverted the Constitution. The wonder is that Parliamentarians are prepared to believe Zia when he tells them that they are "sovereign and independent." Nothing could be more removed from the truth. Parliament has never

been allowed by Zia to establish its sovereignty and independence. He has taken effective measures to prevent any such eventuality.

The Constitution of 1973 did, no doubt, envisage a parliamentary system. It did provide for a sovereign and independent Parliament. The Chief Executive (the Prime Minister) was elected by, and responsible to it. The President, too, was elected by Parliament.

The Constitution of 1985 does not even countenance any such parliamentary authority. We are now subject to a Presidential System of Government. There is, thus, no question of Parliamentary sovereignty.

A Parliament does not become sovereign by merely being told that it is sovereign. Sovereignty can only be derived from the Constitutional provisions and laws that governs the powers and functioning of Parliament. Did Parliament elect the President? No. Gen. Zia was "deemed" to have been elected not under and in accordance with the Constitution. His "election" is alleged to have been consecrated in the Referendum of December, 1984. we all know the turn-out on that day. Gen. Zia has thus inflicted himself upon the new Constitutional Order.

Was Mr. Junejo elected by Parliament? No. He was appointed by Gen. Zia

Parliamentary sovereignty is inherent in Parliament's ability to choose the head of Government. Under the Constitution of 1973, the National Assembly was empowered to elect one of its Muslim members to be the Prime Minister "(Article 91(2). Under the Constitution of 1985 the President, "in his discretion", appoints from amongst the

members of the National Assembly, a Prime Minister. (Article 91(2). Under the 1973 Constitution the Prime Minister was to "continue to hold office until his successor entered upon the office of Prime Minister." (Article 93). Under the 1985 Constitution the Prime Minister is to hold office "during the pleasure of the President."

The independence of Parliament has been further denuded by vesting in the President the discretionary power to dissolve the National Assembly without, or contrary to the advice of the leader of the House.

Even in its functioning Parliament has been unable to establish its independence or sovereignty. Despite the claim of being the "elected representatives of the people", members of Parliament were constrained to pass and adopt the immoral Eighth Amendment Act which purported to legitimize all the draconian, inhuman, immoral and uncivilized actions of the preceding Martial Law regime including sentences of flogging, confiscation of property, and death passed by Military Courts.

Let me now turn to the pitiable state of the country's economy.

Never before has the country's wealth been plundered in the manner in which it has been in the past decade under General Zia. Never before has it been so callously ravaged as in the last 10 years. Never before has the nation's wealth been squandered with such impunity and abandon as during the period that General Zia- ul-Haq has held power. A mere superficial prosperity has, no doubt, been generated by remittances, unprecedented aid, and the dollar inflow caused by regimes' patronage of the Heroin Mafia and of its insidious trade. This prosperity

however, has been out-paced by the loot and plunder of the elite.

Look at the profusion of official Mercedes Cars. They are swarming the roads. Even lowly officials are going about in expensive brand new Honda Accords. The officials are allowed to change models as they change their clothes. Look at the aircraft being imported for VIP transport in this poor country. These are high priced luxury liners of the air. Then look at the illegal means for generating resources.

If only General Zia had read the report of none other than the State Bank of Pakistan, he would know how the monsters of corruption, debt, and smuggling are eating into vitals of the economy.

Corruption has assumed un-heard of proportions. Nothing happens without the palms of the concerned officers being greased. The entire department takes it share, the big bosses getting the most. Corruption has been institutionalised. Scandals of cut-backs, commissions, and bribery are now common-place. They evoke no amazement and create no shock. Banks have been defrauded of billions. Many more billions have been written off. The greed of the State apparatus is unlimited. It knows no bounds. Its appetite cannot be satiated. The scandals of allotment of plots in Jauhar Town and Garden Town in Lahore are only two minor examples of bureaucratic graft and greed. The mis-appropriation of the Cooperative Housing Society in which, according to the Press reports that listed the names, "of Senior Officers who were given plots as gratification to cover the fraud and misdeeds with the Society's land", is only another. All the top bosses of the administration can be accused of unimaginable mis-ap-

appropriation.

There are other ways in which Pakistan's economy has been sapped of its vitality. One of the more disastrous gifts of the Zia regime is that it has made chronic the imbalance in Pakistan's trade. This is largely due to its import policies and its propensity to acquire un-called for debts. External debt now exceeds U.S.\$16 billion. According to the recent report of the State Bank of Pakistan more than one billion dollars are being spent, annually, on debt servicing alone. As matters stand today, the ratio of external debt to the GNP of the country is an alarming 30%. Debt-service payments form, today, 40.5% of the total exports of Pakistan!

The debt servicing figure does not include the cost of servicing the publicly un-disclosed military debt.

Imports, at the same time, have designedly been made to spiral almost in geometric progression. To a large extent these go directly into the consumption Sector. Consumerism has been deliberately encouraged in efforts to de-politicise the people. In the process, the economy has been mortgaged.

Despite paper laws providing for severe punishment for smuggling, it has been given a free hand.

Can any body in his right mind call this a stable economy? Even the Minister of Planning is on record having admitted that the strategy for mobilising resources visualised under the ill-fated Sixth Five Year Plan has fallen flat on its face.

In fact the state of the economy is so fragile, so vul-

nerable even to such obvious variables as the weather, that it has been brought to the verge of ruin by the freak rains in the Punjab. The calamitous effects of the rains will soon be felt upon the health of the economy. So disastrous is the impending impact that the Pakistan Peoples Party call for the immediate declaration of the Rawalpindi, Sargodha, Gujranwala, Lahore and Faisalabad Divisions as disaster-stricken areas with compensation to affected farmers.

Complacent and smug in his ivory tower, Gen. Zia seems to have other indecii to gauge the health of the economy. One index, perhaps, is what he and his nominated Prime Minister can spend out of the depleted coffers of this poor country. If we go by that measure the country is, of course, rich. After all which Prime Minister can spend and 2 million on one 'private tour' of the United Kingdom. It can only be called a "private visit" as he was received at Heathrow by a junior Minister of Mrs. Thatcher's voernment. Mr. Junejo's entourage of 101 members kept a big PIA jet idle for 11 days. The 50 limousines hired by the embassy alone cost 75,000/-. Bills of five-star luxury hoels have yet to be deared.

Foreign tours are not the only expenditure extravaganzas. A mere five hour Prime Ministerial visit to Jhang cost Rs.35 lacs! Out of this total the Jhang municipality had to foot Rs.17 lacs. Junejo, in turn, donated Rs.5 lacs to it. The poor "Jhangis" who had been brought to the 'jalsa' on official transport were required to cheer at this magnificent gesture. They did not know what they had lost in the bargain. This is the kind of bargain he and Zia want to strike with the nation.

Finally, let us briefly review the law and order situation. Again, Gen. Zia and Mr. Junejo have their own exclusive point of view.

Calling Pakistan an "island of peace" they have been reiterating that the "law and order" situation is satisfactory. Yes. If "Law and Order" implies that the police have the power to take "law" into their own hands and impose a brutal "order" on the citizens then, no doubt, they are right. If the term 'law and order' should conjure up in one's mind the picture of the Kamoke youth stripped naked by helmeted policemen on the main Grand Truck Road of Pakistan, then too, they are right. If 'law and order' refers to the torture, amputation of the limbs or death of prisoners in Sukkur Jail then, too, there is law and order. If 'law and order' implies the throttling and dragging of old and bearded citizens by platoons of riot police then also that must be it.

The police in the Punjab, and the Army in Sind, have been given the license to kill. The so called "police encounters" have so completely eroded the credibility of that organisation that even when hardened criminals die at its hands, there is substantial suspicion that the whole 'encounter' was engineered by it.

Sindh, from where the Pakistan Army has affected a partial withdrawal, has now come under several other armies. The Hur Army, the Jiey Sindh Army and the Magsi Army now hold sway in that province. Each enjoys the patronage of the state. They have been armed by Zia. Any group that displays the slightest propensity of opposing the Pakistan Peoples' Party has been equipped with the latest weaponry. No regard is paid to the social consequences of this militarisation of society and splinter-

groups. It will repute and destroy society itself.

The colonial policy of 'divide and rule' has been bettered. The new policy is: 'divide, destroy and rule.' To destroy, be brutal. Society, today, has effectively been brutalised. The continuing tension in strife-torn Karachi speaks volumes about the disastrous policies pursued by the regime in the last one decade. The Magsi attack on the un-armed citizens at the Gopang village is a logical by-product. The brutal elimination of Fazil Rahoo and Al-lama Ehsan Elahi Zaheer goes along with the sinister conspiracy to eliminate the Chair-person of Pakistan's largest political party. The citizen's peace has been ruptured by the Kalashnikov and the Heroin Mafia. Yet Pakistan is called an "island of peace."

Never has the citizen of Pakistan been so vulnerable so insecure. Never has he been so criminally exposed, even within the confines of the "Chardivari" of his own home, to the fearsome extortion of the dacoit or the gory undertakings of the Hammer Group. Only the most credulous can believe Gen. Zia when he calls his country today an "island of peace." After all, the reverberations of the Peshawar, Lahore, and Pindi bomb blasts have yet not died down. Nor have we as yet swallowed the downing of Pakistani F-16s on our Northern Borders. The murders of Faqir Iqbal Hisbani and Iftikhar are before you. The conscious display, Beirut-style display, of sophisticated arms by a youth body patronised by the ruling party has been prominently carried by the national press. The sharp language of the Kalashnikov has become the current Pakistani vernacular.

Who is the citizen to turn to? what is the remedy? How can we get out of this veritable mess?

The Pakistan Peoples' Party enjoys overwhelming popular support in all the four provinces of the country. We can arrest the process of fragmentation generated by the Zia regime. We can weld the Federation together. We promise to heal the wounds inflicted by military rule and police brutality. Our programme is to build a stable Pakistan on the principles of freedom, justice, and an egalitarian and self-reliant economy. It is our commitment to strive for the sovereignty of civilian democratic institutions which truly represent the people of Pakistan in accordance with the Constitution. It is for these reasons that the people of Pakistan stand with us. We in our turn, stand with the people together, and with the help of the Almighty, we shall win. Together we shall overcome. together we will restore civil society in Pakistan. Together we will rebuild Pakistan.

Thank you, ladies and gentlemen.

NO TO OPPRESSION – NO TO MILITARIZATION

(Address to Shikarpur Bar on 7.6.1987)

Honourable members of Shikarpur Bar and other distinguished Guests, assalaamalaikum.

It is privelege to be here with you today and take the opportunity of exchanging views on some of the important issues confronting.

Ever since the legal, elected constitutional and representative government of the people was overthrown illegally by coup d- etat, we have been facing a crisis of evergrowing manifestation. The anti-people forces which

have held sway through force and terror have neither the vision, the capability, the intelligence nor the perception to recognise a crisis leave alone deal with it. The result is a sharpening and worsening of the crisis at every level.

Recently we have had the announcement of the military budget. I shall shortly be presenting the peoples budget but until then I would like to make some remarks regarding the political consequences of this blackest of budget which has been presented. Each budget is worse than the year before Why ? Because each year the situation is aggravated by the bad leadership and wrong policies of the administration headed by the junta chief Mr.Zia ul Haq who calls himself General long after his term has expired.

The first point relates to the imposition of the Defence Tax or the Fauji Tax of 10 percent, This ten percent is to be charged on all income tax, wealth tax and super tax. The lesson is evident: the honest tax payers of our country are to be taxed higher, squeezed further and punished for being honest enough to pay their taxes. All the dishonest elements, the smugglers, the arms commission agents, the corrupt and all those who dishonestly evade tax are going to have big encouragement. The regime is making the point: Dishonesty pays, honesty does not. It is not only punishing the honest who are being crushed by the burden of unfair taxes but it is introducing and strengthening the culture spawned by Martial Law, namely observance of law is not beneficial, violation of law is beneficial. That is the reason that we are today faced with a society on the brink of total anarchy and chaos. Everyone is taking the law into his own hands, from the bandit to the kidnapper to the embezzler to the smuggler, to the cheat. Every one knows that it pays to be dishonest. Even the press has been corrupted.

Recently there was an item that a political party had set aside 1 crore rupees to give journalists, presumably for writing fabricated stories and malicious lies against its opponents. In Zia's culture, dishonesty pays. Look at the General himself. The Pakistan Peoples Party demands that he should reveal his income tax returns of June 1977 and now of 1987. In fact, all the family and cronies of the General should state to the public what their worth was before taking office and what their worth now is after taking office. We would also like General to explain his relationship with certain people associated with Canada, Japan and his brother in law in New York. We would also like him to explain how he acquired property in Texas, California and allegedly in Germany, England and other places. We would like to know whether he will be paying a ten percent tax on these properties in view of the security needs of Pakistan or whether the new Defence Tax is really not a defence tax but a commission tax so that Gen. Zia and his coterie can become richer still while Pakistan bleeds.

I can proudly state that not only the Prime Minister but his entire family had more agricultural land and other property before taking over and far less when we handed over power in 1977. I am proud to claim that my family gave agricultural lands in the land reforms of 1972 and of 1977 not to speak of the land reforms of 1958

For the Pakistan Peoples party, honesty and integrity are the key characteristics of good government, of a government which is dedicated to the progress and prosperity of its people rather than the personal advancement by a power hungry and avaricious clique. Honourable members, in a democratic society rulers are accountable to the people. If they do not serve the people, they will not

receive their respect, honour and affection. In the democracy, our politician is judged by his service to the people. In a dictatorship there is no accountability. People are treated with contempt. The only premium is aggrandisement of power and lust for money. We are totally against such elements. We are struggling against such elements and have paid a heavy price for opposing them. But we are determined to eradicate them from the body politic of Pakistan through the cleansing process of democracy.

The second point evident from the heavy defence tax is that the security of Pakistan has been gravely threatened under the leadership of this regime. This is their own admission. They are saying, "We have made a mess of things. Pakistan is in trouble. That is why we are imposing a ten percent defence tax. If they are not capable of adopting proper policies which can strengthen the integrity of our Nation, then they have no right to rule. Instead of making the Nation pay with a ten percent tax for their mistakes, they should resign. And, if they fail to resign, then you, ladies and gentlemen must prepare to throw them out rather than permit them to rob and ravage this sweet land of ours and the hopes and dreams of its people. Defence tax is not the answer to the security needs of Pakistan. A reappraisal, revaluation and a revitalisation of the bankrupt policies of this barren leadership is necessary to secure the Defence needs. On behalf of the Pakistan Peoples Party, I would like to declare that we are capable, competent, and confident of securing the security needs of Pakistan without this Defence Tax which we repudiate in the strongest terms.

Every year Zia has been spending more on defence. Yet it has not made us more secure. Every year he has been buying more sophisticated weaponry. Has it made us more secure? Most certainly not. Every year we have been spending millions on sophisticated air crafts like F-16s and every year we are receiving more bombs and the more we spend, the weaker we get. The more we spend, the less our defence is protected. The more we spend, the more we lose. We have lost Siachin Glacier, we have lost Trawlers in the international waters, we have come to the brink of war with India, we have had numerous border incidents at the Ceasefire line in Kashmir and numerous violations at the Afghan border.

So the more Zia spends on military hardware the weaker we will get. Strength comes from political will, strength comes from the vitality of the people, strength comes through internal cohesion. A country which is weak and divided internally is a country which is going to invite trouble no matter how much it spends on defence. In fact, the more it spends on defence, the less it has to spend on its people, the weaker it becomes. Today Pakistan faces a worsening situation on its borders and a worsening situation inside its borders. Society is being ripped apart. There are bomb blasts in major cities, kidnapping have made travel unsafe, Magsi force and other para military forces have been let loose to create a reign of terror, local officials are pressed by the insecure puppets to indulge in petty acts of vendetta. Witness no less than the SP of Jacobabad calling the PPP students and office bearers and telling them shortly before Eid " I will make your life miserable you will be forced to leave politics or become bandits ". I am sorry to say that this terrible creature who is bringing a bad name to the police was recruited during the PPP government. We would like to see the police as

guardians of the people, their protection and their security, not as their oppressors and victimisers and to that end we shall insist the police laws are followed to the letter. Anyone violating the rules he is supposed to implement will be suitably taken to task.

The security needs of Pakistan have aggravated during Zia's rule. They will keep on aggravating while he is there. No amount of Defence tax will shore up the Nation's Defence. What we need is a new approach, a new policy, a new confidence based on the strength of the people. And for that we need to throw out Zia and restore peoples rule. It is no accident of history that military rule always leads to devastation and that peoples rule leads to vitality, growth, progress and strength.

The increase in price of petroleum, oil and lubricants is a disastrous decision. It is going to lead to widespread inflation, from fertilisers to factory products. That the increase in POL has come at a time when their prices have fallen at an international level is cheating the people of the relief they so richly deserve, ladies and gentlemen, when the POL prices went up, it was the people who were forced to bear the burden by increased prices. Now that the POL prices have fallen, the PPP demands that the relief be passed on to the consumers. We believe that a substantial drop in POL prices will lead to a drop in overall prices plus make more capital available to the investor to invest in economic growth.

It is a cardinal belief of the PPP that benefits of any resource should be substantially distributed amongst those associated with the resource rather than the government parasitically eating it all up in non-productive expenditure. If the Badin oil fields make money, a substantial

portion should be reinvested in Badin. If the Television company makes profits of crores, it should be substantially reinvested in making a greater variety of programmes and giving better pay to the dramaists, if the telephone company makes profits, its money should be substantially reinvested in providing better telecommunication services and if the POL prices fall internationally, then the benefit should go substantially to the users of POL products. In that way our economy will become more self-reliant and self-sufficient rather than dependent on vagaries of prices.

One cannot understand the hypocrisy of this regime. Its double standards are everywhere. When international prices of POL fall then we are charged unfair higher prices. Yet we are told that subsidies on fertilisers must be withdrawn and we must pay international price for it. It is not a just and equitable principle which guides the actions of this regime but simply the profit motive. Squeeze and squeeze the people. Treat them like the enemy. Starve them, deny them, beat them, torture them, massacre them or imprison them. They treat the people like enemy because they are not from the people. We want democracy so that there is people rule and the peoples of our country are treated like the masters of this country, where they are respected, served and given security by the government rather than being treated like the enemy. The rulers should beware of their anti-people policies before the rage of the people sweeps them away in fury. History is replete with such examples.

The PPP believes strongly in freedom, equality and democracy. Our clarion call given by Shaheed Zulfikar Ali Bhutto awoke generations of Pakistanis motivating them to seek their rights and to redeem the lives from injustice and exploitation. Yes we believe in democracy.

Those who oppose democracy oppose the people. In so doing they sin against the land which gave them birth and which alone can give them respect.

Honourable members, when you want to poison rat, you do not say come here rat and eat this poison. You disguise the poison in something which is tempting, which will lure the rat into eating it. So too with those who oppose democracy. They do not say we support dictatorship they do not say we are the agents of the Generals. they do not say we have sold our people for ministries and for jobs. They try to wrap the betrayal in sweet words. They talk of nationalisms . They talk of Sindh and they praise those who have robbed and bled Sindh, who have caused death and destruction for Sindh. Their betrayal is the poison which they wrap in tempting forbidden fruits. But they deceive no one.

Honourable members, these same people opposed Shaheed Bhutto and now oppose his daughter. These same people praise the murderers of Shaheed Bhutto and the oppressors of our people. But they deceive no one.

We talk of democracy and proudly so. To talk of democracy is to talk of the redemption of the people of Sindh and indeed the people of Baluchistan, Sarhad and Punjab. If we cannot serve Sindh then how will the other provinces trust us to serve them with integrity and honesty. We serve all with equity and with justice. We do not believe in exploitation of one province, one area, one race at the expense of another. We are the ones who put an end to exploitation yesterday and we are the one who will put an end to exploitation tomorrow Our opponents are the one who supported the suppression of Sindh--and indeed of the other provinces during every military regime.

One who does not love his people, cannot love his land. One who eats with the killers and plunderers of his people, cannot weep for his land.

The biggest advances for Sindh came during the democratic era.. Before that there were hardly any Sindhis in schools, in police, in judiciary, in civil service, in foreign service, in autonomous bodies. People walked barefoot and shirtless. There were no roads, hospitals, factories. Sindh was colonized and exploited. It was democracy which gave Sindh its due place in the federation, its pride and sense of purpose. And when Sindh advanced, it was not at the expense of other provinces. The other provinces also blossomed and bloomed. There was bee-hive activity of growth everywhere. Who can deny that before the democratic order Karachi was like an alien town for Sindhis? the best educational institutes doors were closed for them. Lucrative jobs at Customs and Income Tax had invisible No Entrance Doors for them. Water logging and salinity ate up their lands and the lives of the people were miserable.

I can proudly say it was through democracy that Sindh advanced and I can proudly say that all the federating units of Pakistan advanced through democracy. Once again, when PPP heads a democratic government in this country with your support, prayers and blessing, you will see Sindh prospers, its youth prosper, its women have dignity, its intellectuals have stature. And not only Sindh, wherever the exploited and oppressed are, wherever the discriminated and the deprived are, the PPP will come to their aid. Our policies will be based for the benefits of our people and our society and not for ourselves or for the ruling classes.

Sindh today faces pressing problems. Some of these include unemployment of Doctors and Engineers not to speak of the others, Cantonments at Pano Aquil and Hyderabad (where even the dead are not being spared) and Kalabagh Dam, overdue promotion for Sindhi civil servants, steps to save over one hundred thousand acres of land threatened every year with water logging and salinity, factories and mills to provide employment to labour. All these problems can be tackled through democracy and through representative role. Democracy is the solution. To oppose democracy is to collaborate with those pursuing policies to the detriment of Sindh and through it of Federation.

We do not want to waste our time spouting meaningless slogans which only provide a pretext for further exploitation. We have raised the banner of democracy, we have given the rallying cry for representative rule, we have shed our blood and given of our liberty, we have sacrificed our happiness so that the day may dawn when you can say No to discrimination, No to oppression, No to Army operations, No to militarization, No to Kalabagh Dam. We want the day when Sindh can take its place with pride of purpose in the Federation of Pakistan through a democratic order, when all the exploited and discriminated of the four provinces can join together in ending the divide and rule policies and building a lasting relationship on the basis of equity and justice.

I have no words of condemnation strong enough for those who kill the youth in University campuses, who put an end to the brightest and the best, who not only snuff out a life but snuff out the candle of the hope of our future. You will remember that when Bangladesh fell, there was a plan to herd together the intellectuals and kill them so as

to maim the future of Bangladesh. This is a common practice throughout the history of conquering armies. To wipe out dissent, leadership, political activities, creative ideas, the talented and the intelligent are marked out for elimination. We have seen the same policies in the last ten years. The political wings of the General in the campuses have been armed with kalishnikove and protection from the state to eliminate the best and the brightest amongst our youth, to deny our land of their talents and their abilities. These henchmen of the junta chief who have carried out the heinous crimes will never be forgiven by our people. I condemn them in the strongest terms while saluting the valour and courage of the brave youth of our land who have dauntlessly opposed tyranny with bare hands, who have refused to succumb to threats and death, who have lived for their ideas their dreams and their hopes of a free society, of an egalitarian society, of a democratic society. The youth are the promise of the country. They are the strength of the party, they are the power of the people and they are my honour and my pride. I have lost many young brothers, the Federation has lost many young warriors, but there have always been other to boldly step forward to fill the vacuum, to turn grief into determination to continue the battle of Shaheed Bhutto against the Tyrants, the agents of Fauji rule itself. We believe countries need armies of commensuarate with their requirement but we don't believe that armies should conquer their own countries.

Finally I would like to say something about registration. No democratic country has such a despotic law. Here the nominee of the Chief Usurper who excuted the leader of the Nation's largest political party has the power to decide whom to register and whom not to register. How can the PPP have confidence in such a law? We know we

will be registered now. However, on the eve of the elections, we will be deregistered, disqualified for twelve years and imprisoned for seven. What a convenient way to eliminate the political rivals whom the General is too cowardly to face in the political field.

The regime is at great pains to stress that there are no ulterior motive to the despotic registration law, that the apprehensions of the MRD are unfounded. If this is so, we would like the Registration to apply equally to all the political parties, including Zia's party the Muslim League. A law should apply to all equally. Either the Registration should favour and punish all equally or it should be disbanded altogether. It was very strange to see that we who has complied with the Registration clausud by submitting our accounts were not favoured with a Presidential ordinance eliminating part of Registration which is in violation of both the Constitution of 1973 and fundamental human rights. But the Muslims League which violated by the Registration law by becoming members of Muslims League before it was registered were saved the benvolence of a Presidential Ordinance.

The Registration Law very cleary states that a party must be deregistered if it indulges in any act which would have justified refusal of registration. That means that if a party has failed merely to hold election of a tehsil office bearer, it should be deregistered. Honourable members, the Muslim League was registered in the grounds that it would hold its elections by March 1987 which was a year after its official formation. However, we are into June and they have still not held elections. They have violated the Registration law. We demand of the Election Commissioner not to pay ducks and darkes but to let the law take its course. After all it is a law authored by the Mus-

lims League and they should be first to submit to it. Forget tehsil level elections, they have failed to hold any elections. We demand action under the said Registration Law. According to the Registration Law, the Chief Election Commissioner is compelled to deregister them. Deregistration means they are not qualified to hold public office. Therefore, there should be bye-election to all the seats held by Muslims Leaguers. The deregistration law further says that the officebearers will have to spend several years doing rigorous imprisonment. Hence, according to their handmade registration law, the Chief Election Commissioner should send the Prime Minister, the four Chief Ministers and all office bearers of Muslim League where they belong under the Registration Law--in prison doing rigorous imprisonment.

The PPP does not believe in imprisonment of political workers, no matter what its ideological enmity, Nor does the PPP believe in the Registration Law. Either the Registration Law should be repealed or if it is not then its procedure should apply not only to PPP but also to the Muslim League. We demand of the Election Commissioner to de-register Muslim League, hold bye-elections and send their office holders to prison. This is the law.

This farce of a military democracy has gone far enough. General Zia pulled all the strings. His nominated Prime Minister does not even know when foreign ships dock in our ports as in the case of the US ship "Enterprise". Zia's nominated Prime Minister only learnt of it after it has been visited by Zia himself. He is not even consulted before Zia goes on major foreign trips as during the Jaipur Peace initiative. His advice is considered so poor as is that of the Parliament, that "intellectuals are invited to guide the General. When a speech is made at Glas-

gow, the PM is suitably rapped on his knuckles and has to make a contrite admission before Parliament.

People wonder why I do not attack the PM. Why should the PPP attack a man who has no constituency. We feel sorry for him. He is out of his depth. He is surrounded by people giving him contrary advice. Whatever he talks about is leaked, from his shopping list to his loneliness which has prompted him to plead with officials not to leave Islamabad for home provinces. He is caught in a difficult situation. He is caught in a nutcracker, with one side made of military and the other of spiritual. The Muslim League is not a political party, anyhow, it is for him to determine his own future. We have nothing personal against him. However, we are politically and ideologically opposed to all that Gen. Zia symbolises. We are determined to put an end to his tyrannical rule which has exploited our people and undermined our Federation.

The Pakistan Peoples Party is the voice of the oppressed and the discriminated. No matter what the price, this Voice cannot be silenced. There is no mountain high enough, no bridge narrow enough, no obstacle big enough which we do not have the courage to cross in the battle to redeem our people from poverty, exploitation, hunger, terror and indignity.

Our support, our strength, our determination comes from you and from all others who share with us our ideals, our hopes, our dreams and the truly Federal, Democratic and Egalitarian Pakistan we are determined to build.

Thank you.

MAGNITUDE OF CRISIS

(Address to Parliamentary Opposition Group on 11.6.1987)

Ladies, Gentlemen and Party Colleagues,

It is my privilege tonight to attend the dinner of the Parliamentary Opposition Group in honour of the PPP's democratic struggle. In extending the invitation, the P.O.G. rose above personal pride. In accepting it, the PPP reciprocated the sentiment. We have had fierce and better differences in the past. Perhaps we will have differences in future too. It is not the differences which count. What counts is that each of us tonight, in our own way and by our own processes is declaring that the

present set up is unacceptable to the people and detrimental to the Federation. Despite the differences in our programmes or background we are one in declaring that sovereignty belongs to the masses. Their decision is final. Let the voice of Repression be silenced. Let the voice of the People be heard. It is this voice which can give life to our Country, vitalise it, unite it and motivate it to great heights of National Pride, self respect and progress.

Although the Pakistan Peoples Party, with the other components of the MRD, does not recognise the present Parliament nonetheless PPP has always conceded that there was a role which could be played and that role was the role of a bridge or a stepping stone. Why the PPP does not recognise Parliament:

- a. Martial Law Umbrella
- b. Disqualification of candidates
- c. Arrest warrants 1985
- d. Loud Speakers
- e. Boycott an offence
- f. The 1979 election and its postponement same for 1985
- g. Malefides of Gen. Zia did not give us confidence to take part
- h. Suspicions confirmed with :
 - i. Hanging of Nasir Baloach

ii. Hanging of Ayaz Samoo

iii. Throwing the Constitution to Rubber Stamp

iv. Refusing to give a date for lifting of Martial Law until the murder of Shah Nawaz Bhutto

v. Validating all acts of Martial Law, even those which had not taken place.

vi. Removal of Sindh Speaker. Not Assistant Speaker.

vii. Passing of the Ordinance.

viii. Blatant violation of Registration by Muslim League

ix. Calling of Intellectuals

x. Childish war of who was responsible for "peace" with India while Siachin remains with them while trawlers are being seized.

I do not know what expectations you had of this Parliament. But the fact that tonight we are here together does imply that those expectations have not been met and the scope of consensus on the solution to the crisis we face has been enlarged.

I remember in 1981 when the PPP and components of the PNA came together in the MRD. It was a difficult decision. They had been Ministers in Zia's Cabinet while we had slept on prison floors and faced the hangman's noose. During the debate on the issue, we decided to rise

above the past so we could build the future. I remember the Senior Vice-Chairman of the PPP declaring that when Mao Tse Tung and Sun Yet Sen could work together despite their ideological differences on common points then we too must go ahead with cooperation too. Since 1981, we have done so. We have faced the onslaught of the military regime and its civilian facade together. And we have always explored cooperation within the ambit of our principles and our goals.

Despite that, there may be some, who will ask how the PPP has accepted the invitation of those who passed the Eighth Amendment despite your recent statement on its nullification. I would like to state that the PPP does not pass judgements. It is for the people of the Country and for history to pass judgement. Who are we to see into the motivation of others? We accept on face value and in good faith for we believe that Time and its passage is the best judge. Each one of us makes our own record and people will judge us on that. Who could have imagined we would have shared prison cells with former P.N.A. ministers of Zia's cabinet? But we did. This does not mean I am asking you to prepare for prison although the legislators from Sindh have already had a dose of police brutality and lock up. But I see the initiation rites have already begun with the non-availability of hotels, the opening of income tax cases and the cancelling of farm leases.

Democracy requires commitment; it requires courage; it requires clarity of thought, perseverance, patience, tolerance, faith, determination, dedication. These are not words. These are values. I remember the message of a simple song, money cannot buy you a satisfied mind." A sense of purpose, of rising beyond oneself towards the

highest ideals and public goals, does give that satisfaction and pride of existence. After all, death must come to all. It is not death which matters. It is life which matters and the way we have led it.

It is said that Martial Law has been lifted. And yet the Chief of Army Staff calls himself President. It is true that military courts have been disbanded to mitigate the discontent of the people. But the victims of military courts still languish behind prison walls. Special Tribunal have been formed to victimise political dissenters. Political activities are targeted as brutally today as yesterday.

Isqbal Hisbani was murdered in cold blood in a University Campus. He was a young and handsome boy, full of courage and determination. With him Jahangir Pathan was shot. He is paralysed today because of a police bullet. During the PPP government, an FIR could be filed against the Prime Minister of the country, even if it was a false claim. Today, an FIR cannot be filed against juniors even when it is a true claim. Having destroyed this young boy's life, the authorities have not made any contribution for his health, his livelihood or his dependants. No wonder the Quran repeatedly warns Muslims to beware of hypocrites.

In Lahore, young Ghulam Abbas went to celebrate Independence day. He was shot and is paralysed neck down. The authorities have not made any contribution for his recovery, physiotherapy or livelihood.

Amongst the guests tonight is the PPP President from Nawabshah, Sakrand incident:

**Bullets through Quran Shareef
Thrown amongst corpses.**

Also amongst us is a boy, Dawood :-

PSF incident Multan

From Jacobabad -- Lala Ejaz

22 cases

SP's threat -- dacoit

Rasheeda Panhwar -- Mehar -- Ladies procession

Qamar Abbas -- torture -- given up for dead -- abused

**President of Punjab -- jailed by Yahya Khan -- whipped
by Zia**

**I am proud of all my brothers and sisters. They have
faced trial and tribulations for the sake of freedom, dig-
nity, opportunity, equality, rule of law. They have won
badges of honour in the field.**

**There are more badges to be won by those who dare.
Dare to stand up and defy an oppressive and unjust sys-
tem, dare to stand up for the discriminated and the dispo-
sessed. Dare to stand up for their motherland.**

**Today we shed tears for the Muslims of Meerut, mus-
lims should always feel for muslims. we share a common
heritage. But have we no tears to shed when muslims kill
muslims? When the streets of Karachi flow with blood?**

When the fields of Thaheem, Birhamani, Maachi and Jam bear the blood stains of innocents? When the villages of Pakhtoons are mercilessly bombed. When the homes of Afridis are demolished. When bomb blasts rip apart young lives old and in Markets, trains, and other public places?

We pretend to be great believers. We pretend to be Momins. Yet we take ourselves our families and our friends to Haj at government expense. We make vows in Kaaba and think nothing of violating its sanctity by breaking them. We permit the Alam of Hazrat Abbass to be desecrated in Khisano Mori, we permit security forces, to raid Badshahi Mosque and Lyari while the faithful bend in submission before God. We mob the Masjid in Maachi, we shed blood in the mosque of Gopang, we wound villagers in Naseerabad on Eid Day, we violate the sanctity of the Quran Sharif in Goth Thaheem. Then we say we are great Muslims. They deceive no one but themselves.

I am glad to have the opportunity to give an appraisal of the PPP's views on the Martial Law of Zia and its Civilian offspring.

The PPP cannot accept the subversion of the Constitution, the fraudulent Referendum or a system where all the barbaric acts of persecution, victimization, injustice, murder and violation of human rights, including the right to liberty have been institutionalised. The PPP is a member of the most vigorous and popular movement for the Restoration of Democracy. The workers and leaders of the MRD have also struggled with us since 1981.

Let us examine the **MAGNITUDE OF THE CRISIS.**

From the subversion of the Constitution, to the rupture of the citizen's domestic peace; from the uninhibited dissemination of heroin, to the legalised robbing of the Pakistani banks called "written-off loans; " from the conversion of the police services of Pakistan into a mechanical monster, to the inconceivable depreciation of the rupee; from the ravaging of Pakistan's economy to the pulverisation of her polity; there is a total mess, total confusion and near anarchy.

The Constitution of 1973 which is, in fact, the Constitution of Pakistan, was the product of a unique and unprecedented national consensus. It obtained what had seemed un-attainable throughout the history of this country. Consensus continued to elude constitution-makers from Independence to the constitution of 1973. Constitutional frame-work of Pakistan were, in fact, among the important causes of the tragic break up of the country in 1971.

The Pakistan Peoples Party inherited a nation that was defeated and demoralised. The trauma of the break-up was in itself sufficient to create a wide-spread feeling of despair and utter despondency.

Yet within four months of the PPP take-over the Interim Constitution had unanimously been adopted. It paved the way, after exhaustive debate deliberation and reflection, for the unanimous adoption of the 1973 Constitution. This was a rare moment in the history of Pakistan. It was a new beginning. All national political parties represented in Parliament, and actually embodying the will of the people of all the four provinces of the Federation, without dissent, opted for a truly democratic, parliamentary and federal system of government.

On July 5, 1977 under the cover of a dark night, Zia took the first major step to subvert the Constitution. He went on to imprison, flog and torture its adherents. He murdered the elected Prime Minister of Pakistan. He smothered all nation-building institution including the judiciary and the political parties. He throttled the press by indiscriminate use of Martial Law Regulations. In 1985, Zia finally discarded all pretence and abrogated the Constitution of Pakistan. He replaced the Constitution of Pakistan with the Constitution of 1985.

The Constitution of Pakistan had provided for a sovereign and independent Parliament did not elect Zia. His "election" is alleged, as per Article 41(7), to have come about in the FRAUDULENT REFERENDUM of December 19, 1984. We all know the turn-out on that day. Of it even the prominent Jammāt-e-Islami leader Chaudhery Ghulam Jilani whose Party had taken part in the Referendum, was moved to say.

کوئی ویرانی سی ویرانی ہے
دشت کو دیکھ کے گھریا آیا

Habib Jalib's refrain became the popular jingle on the fraud:

ہر سو ہو کا عالم تھا
جن تھا یا ریفیڑم تھا

Like President, like Prime Minister, Mr. Junejo was also not elected by Parliament. He was appointed by General Zia.

Parliamentary sovereignty is inherent in Parliament's ability to choose the head of Government. Under the constitution of Pakistan, the National Assembly was empowered to ELECT the Prime Minister. Under the constitution of 1985 the President, "in his discretion," APPOINTS the Prime Minister. Under the Constitution of Pakistan the Prime Minister was to "continue to hold office until his successor entered upon the office of Prime Minister." Under Zia's Constitution the Prime Minister is to hold office "during the pleasure of the President."

The independence of Parliament has been further denuded by vesting in the President the discretionary power to dissolve the National Assembly without, or even contrary to, advice of the leader of the House.

Finally by merging offices of Chief of Army Staff and President of Pakistan, Parliament has been subordinated to the arbitrary will of the military commander. This is a clear violation of article 243 of Constitution of Pakistan which had provided that "the Federal Government shall have control and command of the Armed Forces," Now we have a Prime Minister appointed by his own Chief of Army Staff and a Parliament that can "constitutionally" be dissolved by that same army commander. Imagine the discomfiture of a Prime Minister appointed by his own "subordinate." Imagine, also, the impudence of the subordinate who is, in another capacity, the superior of his own superior! or is he the subordinate of his own subordinate? Only Hassan nisar truly understand the Zia system and its unbleieveable paradoxes when he says.

شہر آسب میں آنکھیں ہی نہیں ہیں کانی انا لکھو گے تو پھر سیدھا دکھانے لے گا

The Eighth Amendment Act was an endorsement, in substantial and meterial particulars, of Zia's Presidential Order No: 14 of 1985 deceptively called the "President's Revival of the Constitution of 1973, Order, 1985." In

actual fact it was Zia's Abrogation of the Constitution of Pakistan Order, 1985."

Zia has subverted the Constitution of Pakistan despite the fact that he had taken oath under it. Reflect, for a moment, upon the oath that Zia took within the terms of Article 244 of the Constitution of Pakistan (1973). The precise words were:

"I, Major General Mohammad Zia-ul-Haq, do solemnly swear that I will bear true faith and allegiance to Pakistan AND UPHOLD THE CONSTITUTION of the Islamic republic of Pakistan which embodies the will of the people, THAT I WILL NOT ENGAGE MY SELF IN ANY POLITICAL ACTIVITIES WHATSOEVER and that I will honestly and faithfully serve Pakistan in the Pakistan Army AS REQUIRED BY AND UNDER THE LAW.

The MRD does not concede to Zia's Parliament any authority to amend, less so to abrogate, the Constitution of Pakistan. The mere and mistake claim to a representative status is utterly misconceived. This claim can also be preferred by power to AMEND the Constitution? Obviously not. This power can be derived only from a specific mandate from the people. Zia's Parliament has obtained no such constitutional mandate.

The merger of the offices of President of Pakistan and Chief of Army Staff in one person is a grievous subversion of the Pakistan ARMY. It impedes other, more deserving and thoroughly professional officers from taking the ultimate fruit of their dedicated career: promotion to higher ranks. I am sure that the Pakistan Army is not so starved of men of calibre that there is none who

can relieve General Zia of the onerous task of chief of Army Staff. It is simply General Zia's maniacal obsession with power, and graving sense of insecurity born out of the awareness of his own unpopularity, that compels him to hang on to that office. Zia, in fact, continues to hold tight the office of COAS because it empowers him to use Army personnel for the application of his own narrow and self-centred policies. He has thus used the Armed Forces of Pakistan to inflict unimaginable suffering upon her citizens. The sound of the whip lash reverberate in the ears of Pakistani youth. Military Court verdicts have sent countless others to jail to be held in inhuman fetters. Men and women, have been tortured in interrogation centres. The scars of the brutal Army action in the province of Sindh remain. Thori Phattak, Tayyab Thaheem, Ahmed Brahamani, are not just names. They are the new symbols of death

In every grave national crisis the citizens of Pakistan have stood firmly by their brethren in the Armed Forces. They will do so again. But in time when separatist and centrifugal elements receive patronage and vigour from the regime itself, more than ever, it becomes difficult to defend the role of any institution drawn mostly from only one region or province. The task becomes well nigh impossible when that institution is employed by an unpopular regime merely citizens to regard the soldier with less respect than is his due.

The Pakistan People's Party in fact, take pride in having rebuilt the defence forces after the humiliation to which an Army junta had led them in 1971. We are, therefore, in a position to condemn the humiliation that General Zia' ill-advised policies invite upon them every passing

day. Does he not humiliate them when having himself contributed to remain friend with its leaders when he blithely withdrawn from the entire salient of the Siachen Glacier? He allowed it to go, he says, for "even grass does not grow on it." This grotesque reasoning had excompelled me to ask: does it grass grow on Pakistan's prestigious K-2? Or for that matter in Cholistan? Does even grow in the banquet hall of the Presidency in Islamabad? Did grass grow in the 5000 square miles of Shakargarh which had been trampled by Indian tanks in 1971? Did the government of the Pakistan Peoples party abandon its claim to that sacred soil? Ladies and gentlemen, it is impossible to accept the absurd and self-defeating expanse of General Zia's eccentric logic. It only demeans the forces of Pakistan.

The policies pursued by General Mohammad Zia-ul-Haq have already caused damage not merely to the Armed Forces of Pakistan, but to the FEDERATION itself. Pursued further they will undo the Federation.

Even those who look at this tragic process as outsiders will not find any comfort in their distance and detachment. May God make this country strong and prosperous, but a disintegrating Federation will bring in its wake diabolical instability. This instability is likely to envelope the entire region. Neither the Sub-Continent, nor the Gulf region will remain immune from its fall-out.

The state-sponsored profusion on the Kalashnikov has ruptured the peace of the domestic-hold. Like heroin, it is a peculiar exclusively of the Zia regime. Zia's era will be known as the DECADE OF DRUGS AND DACOITS. This will, of course, include the seemingly legalised dacoities and plunder of the elite.

The profusion of licensed and unlicensed arms has caused a complete break-down of law and order. Never has he been so criminally exposed to the extortion of the highwayman, or the gory under-takings of the "Hammer Group." The brutal elimination of Fazil Rahoo, and Al-lama Zaheer; the conspiracy to eliminate the Chair-person of Pakistan's largest political party; the Magsi attack on innocent residents of Gopang village; the bomb blasts in schools and cinemas of Peshawar and, in the bazaars and bus-stands of Rawalpindi are all testimonies to this brutalisation of civil society in Pakistan.

They also testify to one other important fact. The state apparatus has completely abdicated from its primary functions of maintaining law and order, and providing protection and justice to Pakistani citizen. To this extent the state apparatus has become defunct; it does not exist.

The apparatus does, of course, exist to protect the V.V.I.Ps from all except the television cameras. No less than Rs: 2 million were spent last year in the Punjab on the more security of a handful of top government functionaries. One report has claimed that 90% of Punjabi Policemen are engaged in ensuring the security of their "popular" Chief Minister and his colleagues. I may add that the 10% remaining are engaged in taking "law" into their own hands and inflicting upon the citizens a brutal and inhuman "order." So dependent has the State, in Zia's time, become upon the police that the latter has won for itself a praetorian immunity from accountability. Who has not seen the picture of the Kamoke youth striped naked by helmeted policemen on the main grand trunk road? Who has not read reports of torture, death and amputation of the limbs of prisoners like Wazir Khan Laghari, in the Police stations and jails of Pakistan? Who

can forget the anguish on the face of the bearded old man being throttled and dragged by a platoon of riot police? Who will not remember the images of youth, tied to stocks and being flogged? Or of dead bodies disfigured by bullets and allegedly killed in "police encounters"? And what the Nawabpur ladies, stripped and paraded by policemen in public? Has any of those responsible been brought to justice? Have these issues been taken up and resolved either by Zia or his Parliament? The truth, ladies and gentlemen, is that unrepresentative and emasculated political institutions can guarantee no accountability. As Sheikh Sadi once said:

سنگ بستہ و سگان آزاد

The police in the Punjab and the Army in Sindh have been given the licence to kill. The so-called "police encounters" have so completely eroded the credibility of this organisation that even when hardened criminals die at its hands, there is substantial suspicion that the whole "encounter" was fake. Yet this "law and order" concern will eat up Rs: 2.24 billion from the State's revenues in 1987-88, not to talk of the many more billions that it will squeeze out of the impoverished citizens.

The narrow self-serving interests of the regime also govern its handling of Pakistan's economy. The praetorian state permits its minions to plunder so long as they continue to unquestioningly support Caesar.

Never has this country's wealth been plundered in the manner it has been under Gen. Zia. Never before has the nation's wealth been squandered with such impunity and abandon. After-all which Prime Minister could spend a

sum of 2 million on one visit to the United Kingdom ? Whoever took a regiment of 101 companions on this pleasure trip to Xanadu ? who could keep a wide bodied PIA jet grounded at Heathrow for 11 full days ? Whose party could pay a 75,000 bill for the hire of 50 limousines alone ?

Foreign tours are only one among many expenditure extravaganzas. A mere five-hour Prime Ministerial trip to Jhang cost Rs: 3.5 million. The Gilgit escapada has cost many times more.

The federal budget announced last week establishes that over the past eight years alone the cost of the State's establishment has multiplied four folds, doubling every second year. The State apparatus, the bureaucratic elite, is obsessed with spending obscenely on its own retainers. No other poor country can have so many luxury limousines at the disposal of the barons of administration and the public sector. No other developing country can place at their disposal means of such luxurious living as is enjoyed by our senior civil servants and administrators. The princely life-style of top bosses impells their less fortunate and subordinate colleagues to take to CORRUPTION.

The budget speech betrays many cancers and inconsistencies. But the State Bank report that preceded the Budget by a few months is slightly more candid. So gigantic and palpable has this economic sector, (if we may call it that) become that Gen. Zia could set-up a new ministry to look after it. It could be named the "Ministry for Bribery and smuggling". I could also suggest some names from amongst his associates for the post, but that must remain his prerogative. Out of a GNP of Rs: 82 billion, or almost

one-sixth of the whole. Come to think of it, it might require two ministers, or even a Deputy Prime Minister !

Tied up smuggling are imports. Both indicate our fatal dependence upon foreign manufactures. The country has deliberately been hooded to imports. And it has been mortgaged in the process. Its balance of payments has been wrecked. Imports over Rs: 90 billion are more than twice our export at Rs: 40 billion. Spiralling foreign debt is the natural and inescapable outcome. It has been acquired with a wanton disregard for national interest. In the first thirty years (by 1977) Pakistan had acquired an external debt of US.\$ 6.3 billion. In the past decade alone it has been burdened with an additional \$ 10 billion. Mr. Wattoo's budget now admits an annual debt-servicing bill 30% of the total GNP. Debt service payments consume 41% of the earnings of our exports.

Importers, even at the risk of acquiring such an unbearable debt liability, have been designedly made to spiral in geometric progression. To a large extent these go directly into the consumption sector. Consumerism has been deliberately encouraged in a calculated effort to de-politicise the nation. The State's interest have been staked to secure the narrow interests of the regime. Pakistan is one of the few desperate countries where out of a Rs: 522 billion GNP, Rs: 491 billion were consumed in 1986. In the words of an Islamabad Editor.

The economy is barely kept afloat "by borrowing ourselves sick."

Can any body in his right mind call this a stable economy? Now even the Minister of Planning is on record having admitted that the strategy for mobilising

resources visualised under the ill- fated Sixth Five Year Plan has fallen flat on its face.

When saving have been consumed, and resources mobilisation is beyond the capacity of an unpopular elite, it is compelled to place all its reliance upon expropriation of the citizen's own meagre savings. With increases in the prices of motor gasoline, kerosine oil, high-speed diesel, furnace oil, natural gas, electric energy and telephone calls, the piratical hand of a brutal state apparatus reaches out to strip the citizen of hard-earned fruits of his labour and the security of his children. Then there is the imposition of the DEFENCE TAX. This will have another negative effect. It will raise a wall of bitterness and antagonism between the people and their own brothers in the Armed Forces of Pakistan. It has already sent a wave of discontent among the lower-income groups, they are very back-bone of the support of the Army. It is this back-bone which is directly, and exclusively affected by any indirect tax. Importers, manufacturers and traders conveniently pass the burden on to the consumer. Prices rise. Galloping inflation depletes the value of the currency at home and abroad.

The disastrous result are visible in the depleted value of the Pakistani rupee. In the last five years alone it has fallen by 80% against the U.S. dollar, by more than 100% against the Deutsche Mark and almost 170% against the Japanese yen.

Pakistan's grim economic outlook, ladies and gentlemen, is not the only manifestation of the ineptitude of the regime. The incompetent manner in which it has handled the Afghan situation has made Pakistan's northern border the most proud and insecure in the entire region. And

AWACS are no answer. They will not be able to prevent, or predict the bomb blasts that shake our cities today. They will not be able to stop the movement of Heroin and the Kalashnikov rifle under the patronage of the regime and its retainers. The Zia regime has the dubious distinction of introducing both to this country.

We all know the HEROIN was unknown to Pakistanis until 1981. This is testified by the U.S. Drug Enforcement Administration and the International Narcotics Control Board. Yet, by the end of 1982 there were 50,000 heroin addicts in Pakistan. Today the figure has spiralled to 2 million. There are said to be 20,000 addicts in Liyari alone. Pakistan has the rare honour of being the world's largest exporter of heroin The United States alone receives 3 metric tons of it with love from Zia's administration, A befitting return for the American largesse bestowed upon him.

The regime's involvement in the traffic is obvious. Only the blind can pretend not having seen the criminal hand. Why else would the relatives of a Finance Minister and a governor be discovered as participants in the trade ? Why else would Major Zahoor-ud-din and Flight Lt. Rehman be allowed to "escape" from the maximum security quarter-guard in Malir Cantonment in October and November last year, despite their having been caught with 420 kilos of pure heroin? Why else were no drug pedlars even tried by any military court during the eight brutal years of Martial Law ? Why has no mafia boss been brought to justice so far ?

This is only one of the many questions that can be asked. But the essential truth is that at a time when the fear of civil strife stalks our cities, at a time when adventurists

elements armed with extremist slogans and disintegration ; at a time when a military leader, a self proclaimed custodian of the interests of state, relinquishes claim to vast tracts of the country's sacred land; at a time when the coffers of this great country have been depleted by an avaricious and degenerate elite; and at a time when the state apparatus has itself become the primary vehicle of barbarism and obscurantism; at such a time, more than ever, it is the duty of every citizen to stand up and be counted as an uncompromising ally of truth, justice and the democratic way of life.

Members of the Pakistan Peoples Party have always stood up to be counted in this most urgent duty towards our country and its people. That is why for an entire decade Gen. Zia and his confederates have focussed all the brutality available to them upon us. We have continued to struggle resolutely for the restoration of democracy and of the Constitution of Pakistan. Neither bullets nor chains, neither the gallows or the torture chambers can deter us from this struggle. They have inflicted the injuries. We have had the capacity to sustain and overcome them. Ours is the sacred task. Ours is a historic destiny.

We will never allow our own personal grievances to tip the golden scales of justice. The value of the independent and unbiased judicial process is known to those who have repeatedly encountered a brutal denial of due process. Endless and unending terms in jail have taught us the value of liberty. From life in exile we have acquired a passionate and consuming love for our homeland.

Time in its fullness has shown the righteousness of our

cause. I remember those long and lonely days when we waged a solitary struggle for the people against the exploitation of their lives. Time with its ruthlessness time with its single-mindedness, slowly ripped apart the veneers to reveal the ugly and brutal reality. Time stands still for no one. Like a river it moves on sometimes silently, sometimes restlessly, sometimes in high flood.

No one can stop the tidal wave of the people.

And as the clarion sounds, let all Pakistan's sons and daughters, hear the call and respond to it. The future challenges us. Let us rise to meet that challenge and transform the destiny of ravaged land and its ravaged people.

FINGER ON THE TRIGGER

(Speech at a reception given by Qazi Abdul Ghani on 7.7.1987)

On July 5, 1977, the popularly elected government of the People of Pakistan was overthrown in the darkness of night in a coup d'état. The coup d'état not only meant that the General had broken his solemn oath to the Constitution but it also meant that power had been usurped by the Chief of Staff from the people.

Since 1977 the PPP and subsequently the MRD have been struggling to put an end to Army Rule and restore the sovereignty of the people.

When the patience of the people ran out and military dictatorship became unacceptable, Gen. Zia put up a civilian facade with the purpose of buying a few more years. It is quite obvious that the civilian regime has no option but to permit the Armed Forces of Pakistan to retain an autonomy that is neither sanctioned by the Constitution, nor it is in the larger interests of the State. Despite the fact that Article 243 of the Constitution provides that the Federal Government shall have the " control and command on the Armed Forces ", they remain an autonomous and independent corporate entity.

To use them solely as a vehicle for his own personal power Gen. Zia has effectively delinked the Armed Forces and insulated them from the body politic. Only the top generals continue to participate in, and to determine the nature of the political process. Having de-linked the soldiers from their civilian brethren, the High Command employs them as a mechanical device for its own power and privilege. De-linked from the people it takes on a colonial role.

This de-linking is, however neither in the interest of the country nor in that of the Armed Forces. Any Army which insulates itself from the representatives of the people, that is made immune from superior civilian command and is autonomous of popular will, can neither remain dedicated to the service of the country, nor it can continue to enjoy the love and respect of the people. The insulate and the distanced soldiers breeds alienation among the populace. After all it was not for nothing that the wisdom of the Constitution-makers dictated that the control and command of the Armed Forces of Pakistan shall remain not with the uniformed generals but with the civilian representative administration.

Recently a former General who was Corp Commander at the time of the Multan Massacre of Labour, wrote a syndicated article "General Bashing". It was interesting to note that he did not say stop the Army Bashing but restricted himself to General Bashing.

The fact of the matter is that an Army which becomes politicised comes in for political criticism. When an Army is compelled to take on the aspect of the terror machine, whipping, torturing, imprisoning, hanging and shooting innocents, it cannot gain the love or the respect of the people. And an Army which does have the support of the people is an Army whose defence capability is affected for the reasons already enumerated by Gen. Azeem.

We can see that in no advanced country of the World there is Army Rule. Because politicising an Army means making it an object of division, criticism and lack of respect. Countries which have had military rule have faced military set-back. I referred to this in my speech at the Minar-e-Pakistan on April 10, 1986 when I pointed out that Greece faced the Cyprus set-back, Argentine the Falklands debacle and Pakistan the loss of Bangladesh and Siachin when the military had seized power.

When he illegally seized power ten years back, not only the PPP but independent analysts pointed out the dangers. At the time of the assassination, a world-wide consensus emerged on the consequences it would de-stabilise the country, it would give rise to regionalism, create bitter polarisation and lead to a gulf between the people and the Army.

This is exactly what has happened.

Armies which are politicised come under extreme strain. Their professionalism is affected by the politicisation. When professionalism is affected capability is also shadowed.

The Far Eastern Economic Review of October 2, 1977 had written an article called Hawks and Doves. It had speculated that four Corp Commanders wanted the elections to be held fairly and impartially so that the Army could regain the reputation and honour which had been affected on the battle fields of Bangladesh.

Unfortunately, the doves were not listened to. They had the vision to foresee the consequences for the Army and the country. Had their advice been taken Gen. Azem would not have to write about Gen. Bashing. Nor would Pakistan have lost the statesman of the calibre of Shaheed Bhutto whose brilliance and understanding of the forces of history would have elevated Pakistan to greater heights of glory rather than weighted down into a bottomless abyss of burden-some loans, torn apart by communalism and sectarianism and still in search of a national identity.

Politicised Armies come under strain. The Praetorian guards were there to defend Caesar but then they decided to choose Caesar. Finally they began to choose from amongst themselves and destroyed Caesar and the Roman Empire.

But do our Rulers even know when the Roman Empire existed leave alone why it fell ? Obviously not or they would have learnt from the lesson of history.

Under Martial Law the Army has been under such strain that we have learnt of two attempted coups -- the Taj-

jamul Case and the Attock Case. The discipline on which the Pakistan Army prided itself has given way in these two cases. Other Army Officers, including Major Iftikhar, Brig. Usman and Col. Shamim have resigned. Outstanding officers such as Col. Cheema and Brig. Sharif have retired. Professional soldiers like General Kallu are retired while those written off as bad officers during the Bangladesh war and overage are given double promotions and made to sit on top of the entire Armed Forces.

I don't like speaking about these matters. But I am forced to in the national interest. And to make the point that in the past, one was not concerned so much about what is happening in the Army. By bringing the Army into politics, Zia has made it a focus of public interest, public criticism and, in the words of General Azeem. "General Bashing."

Here it is also pertinent to mention that amongst Gen. Zia's early acts was the release of those Army officers who had conspired against the PPP government and whom Gen. Zia the Presiding Officer of the trial had sentenced.

One should have consistent values. Consistent values impart an education, structure and guidance of their own. By inconsistent values one shakes a framework and makes whims, favouritism, likes and dislikes the over-riding criterion.

If the Attock Conspirators could be pardoned for acting against the oath they had sworn as officers, why have those involved in the Tajammul Case and the Attock Case not been pardoned.

Gen. Zia is extremely keen to get immunity for his wicked deeds from high treason to murder of elected Prime-Minister, of the country of the crimes against humanity to the corruption.

We can understand an argument made that certain aspects will facilitate a smoother transfer of power. But what we cannot understand is why Zia, the seeker of amnesty in the form of the Eighth Amendment for himself cannot grant amnesty to all the political victims of his illegal rule? They still languish behind bars, the families of martyrs remain without livelihood. Political exiles wander in far off lands. Property, of which the Peoples Foundation is one, remain "immunised" while property belonging to the people is allotted to wives, daughters sons damaads and now MNAs and MPAs.

Moreover, fresh Tribunals have set up, PPP workers are implicated in false civil and criminal cases. Those arrested in the August 1986 from Ghulam Hussain Chandio to Khisano Mori workers are still behind bars to fill the vindictive lust of a ruling regime repudiated by the people. Smugglers convicted by Military Courts are set free. But brave warriors of Freedom languish behind bars.

In the interest of the Country, to promote its defence and to mitigate the ill-feeling caused by long years of Military Rule, the PPP called for the Army to be delinked from politics. The PPP campaigned for a professional Army. Although we do not know the Vice-Chief of Staff, he has a reputation for being a professional soldier and, as such we are glad that our argument has had partial results.

Nonetheless, this is not a solution. Gen. Zia should leave

the office of the Chief of Staff not only because his constitutional term finished long ago, not only because his time of retirement has come not only to prevent further "General Bashing" but also to.

a. delink the Army from politics

b. to permit the Army to be run by professional man whose services are devoted whole time to their profession and the sacred duty of defending the frontiers.

The Pakistan Army is not so starved of men of calibre that it needs Zia as the Chief of Staff.

The same dedicated workers whose courage is higher than the mountains and whose dedication is deeper than the oceans are even now ready to come forward and to sacrifice in the manner of sacrifice inspired by Shaheed Bhutto and in the manner of sacrifice known only to the political descendants of Muslim Martyrs.

But we have as a deliberate policy, kept in check the throbbing emotions seeking release. The tragedy of our country has been not only the military seeking intervention but political self-seekers and opportunists who for self-gain have been willing to subvert the political process and thereby weaken the political forces.

WE do not see Junejo as an individual nor are our actions guided by power thirst. We are motivated by principles. We are seeking a political, democratic and free Pakistan where sovereignty belongs to the people where there is egalitarianism not only in terms of economic equality but

political equality and human equality.

So we see a system, a defective system. We can either subvert it for quick gains or we can try to strengthen the political process and thereby the political forces. We can mute the polarization and strengthen ourselves so it becomes difficult for a re-imposition of Emergency, Martial Law or whimsical commands. We are looking not only at today but also at tomorrow.

Gen. Zia once said all had to do was snap his fingers and all the politicians would come with tail wagging. If one can take his metaphor further, he doesn't just snap his fingers, he throws them bones. He tells three or four of them at a time that he will make them Prime-Minister. And unfortunately, they believe him. They play his game each thinking the bone will be his.

How can they be so blinded by ambition as not to see through his game. He has consistently played on the greed and ambition of political self-seekers.

By the grace of Allah. PPP has, from the time of Shaheed Bhutto to the present, refused to part with its principled stand for a political Pakistan in exchange for personal gain or profit. Those who have left the PPP tantalised by power prospects, have found themselves out on a limb.

Perhaps that is why the PPP has the love and respect of the people who sense in it an integrity of purpose and purity of mission apart from the selfish perspectives of others.

This is no way means to exclude other individuals or parties who in their own manner have believed in the

politics of integrity.

A country is not governed which repeatedly has to be conquered. Gen. Zia clung to power for ten years on the strength of brute force. The country has been caught in turmoil and has not had the respite to develop. The disastrous consequences of Gen. Zia's repressive rules are evident in the break down of law and order. He has inducted a culture of violence and theft. If the CMLA can rob power because he has armed might at his control, the daciot can rob the individual because he has the Kalishnikov in hand. Summing up the ten years of Gen. Zia rule, the London Times wrote: "the reality of power in Pakistan is that it resides with the gun. With his finger discreetly on the trigger Zia is still calling the shots."

How correct. Everyone has learnt to call the shots by putting their finger on the trigger. Violence and the threat to use violence is the value which Zia's decade has imposed. Morality and immorality, right and wrong, legal and illegal, constitutional, honesty and dishonesty--all yard sticks have vanished. He calls the shots who has his finger on the trigger. What a terrible legacy to impose on a generation which will have to bear the burden of the twenty-first century.

From the CMLA to the kidnapper, smuggler, daciot, all believe in the law of the gun. What is right, what is fair, what is just, what is legal have all been sacrificed at the altar of the gun. Even our universities have become ammunition centres--seats of learning and knowledge have been corrupted by the thug culture. Principals, lecturers all are targets of those with their "finger on the trigger"--

ordinary citizens are not safe in the streets and they are not safe in their homes. Fear of law has been turned into fear of the gun. Which Police Station should citizen turn to? Which court should the citizen turn to? The citizen in Pakistan is helpless. He is a victim of a decade of devastation.

The unity of the country has been undermined. Society has been fragmented. Drugs have been introduced. Illiteracy has risen. Tracks of lands lost without care for "grass does not grow there."

And what of the Economic Picture. For several years the regime lived off the investments of the Bhutto years in infra-structure and the remittances of the overseas workers who went abroad in the Bhutto years. Unborn children have been mortgaged as Gen. Zia has squandered the resources of the country, squandered the benefits of good crops, no rains, no floods and the relief provided by the drop in oil prices from \$ 36 per barrel to \$ 18 per barrel. He has squandered the money we have received in Economic Aid.

We have only to look at the figures we lose in corruption provided by Dr. Mahboobul Haq. Or consider the statement given by the Punjab Chief Minister that over 50% of the money allocated for development is wasted. High prices make modest living an on-going battle for survival. For setting up 100 Muslim League Units each Muslim Leaguer is to be given Rs. 20 lakhs from the Treasury. In any other country such rulers would be lynched by the people. In the United States the President had to resign for wrong doing. Here, he puts his "finger on the trigger"-- and Pakistan bleeds.

Otherwise the people are being cheated. Charged more for petrol and tea, to name two items, than they cost. We are told the regime has to raise prices of imported goods because of the fall in the value of the rupee externally. If the economy is strong why is the rupee so weak? Why is it faring so badly against not only the strong currencies but also others?

When it comes to education we were told we will be able to achieve a literacy rate of 50% when the sixth five-year plan ends by this financial year. But Dr, Mehboob-ul-Haq says the plan will end with a literacy rate of 32% only.

Now we are told the Prime Minister's five-point plan will achieve a literacy rate of 50% 1989. Will it? Because a large number of persons beginning with Mr. Mehboob-ul-Haq are doubting the efficacy of Nai Roshni Schools on which a great deal of money is being spend. They country needs more than the kind of nominal literacy which the Nai Roshni Schools seek.

Look at the state of public health. The PPP government increased the number of medical colleges radically to provide full health cover to the masses but now thousands of doctors are unemployed. Now an ineffective plan has been brought out to provide employment to them but without really utilizing them for the welfare of the ailing masses. Medicine is out of reach too. An item costing rupees 2/- in 1977 now cost rupees 20/-

If there is so much prosperity and so much economic expansion why is there so much unemployment, educated unemployment, and unemployment of the technically trained? Evidently the economic expansion is not as large as claimed.

What kind of economic system has been evolved that in the name of abolishing interest we have really increased the interest rates. We would like to see interest rates revised to facilitate investment. Land revenue has been abolished as the farmers pay Ushr. But where is the Ushr and Zakat money going. There is simply no accounting. The peoples money is being spent to buy political support. Bribery has become a craft of state. Forty percent of the salaries of Armed Forces personnel serving abroad is cut every month. This comes to Rs.5 crore a month from Saudi Arabia alone. In theory it is spent on the welfare of the Armed Forces. In practice we doubt very much that it is being so spent. Of course it remains unaccounted for. We hope it is not being spent adventurously on clandestine ventures in the Lebanon to fulfill the grandiose of delusions of those who would be the Shah of Iran.

The most outstanding features of the economy are waste and embezzlement. Dr. Mehboobul Haq says that Rs. 40 billion are embezzled by the controllers of the economy. The Chairman of the Public Accounts Committee says that 60% of the public expenditure is wasted and that if even 20% is well spent the face of the country would have been far different. The Punjab Chief Minister says that 50% of the development expenditure is wasted. These are all men from the government side. In reality the waste is far higher.

Is this is how the economy of a poor country of 100 million should be managed? Is this the kind of efficiency and integrity which 10 years of Martial law and quasi-martial law have brought us.

The country cannot pay for such wastes. And yet the

personal projects of the MNA and Senators for which Rs. 50 lakh has been provided by the Government and the projects of MPAs for which Rs. 30 lakh has been provided is now to be made an annual feature and not once in one term only. So the budget allocation for the current year has been doubled to Rs.250 crore from Rs. 125 crore last year, and within four years a minimum of Rs. 700 crore is to be spent. Much of this expenditure is waste and an act of outright political corruption. To make for this soaring waste and corruption more and more money is being printed. Last year alone Rs. 2.200 crore. No wonder the rupee has lost its value and real inflation is far higher than officially admitted.

If the economy situation is bleak, the security scenario is not comforting either.

Only July 2 on the floor of the National Assembly Sheikh Rasheed Ahmed, MNA from Rawalpindi, made a very disturbing statement. He claimed that the Indian Army has captured another important border post in the Siachin Glacier 2 days earlier a severe battle in which several Pakistani soldiers were killed and injured.

Sheikh Rasheed further added while tabling his adjournment motion seeking discussion on the matter, that his report about the Indian occupied of a Pakistan border post was authentic. Sheikh Rasheed claimed that he had personally visited the Military Hospital in Rawalpindi where the injured soldiers were under treatment.

Sheikh Rasheed pressed for immediate debate since, he said the security of the country was supreme to the members of the house. However, Mr. Wazir Ahmed Jogezai,

the Deputy Speaker ruled the motion out of order on technical grounds.

Later talking to newsmen Sheikh Rasheed claimed that the army post captured by the Indians was the same where the Prime Minister had addressed the jawans during his recent visit to the area in the North. Not only that Sheikh Rasheed added, Indian President Zail Singh visited the captured post from Pakistan and addressed Indian soldiers.

In the first Place, I would like to draw the attention to the apathy shown by the so-called elected representatives to an important issue which relates to defence and security of the country. It is normal that when action takes place on the borders, the houses of Parliament instead of closing their eyes and ears to it, go into emergency sessions. In our country the house ordained by General Zia-ul-Haq knocks down the crucial defence issue on technical ground. No words would be strong enough to condemn the apathy shown by the members of the Parliament just busy in spending the millions that they have received from Zia regime.

Now one would like to dilate a little on the Siachin issue. The nation has not been taken into confidence about it. While a newspaper report (Jang July 6) yesterday says the Defence Committee of the Cabinet met to review the situation emanating from the Indian attack on a military observatory post. The reaction on the news of Indian occupation given to the newsmen here on July 5 by the 63 years old Chief of the Staff of the Pakistan Army was disappointing and dismal. When his attention was drawn to the Indian occupation of another post in a Siachin told newsmen (Jang, July, 6, 1987) that he would be coming

down to Karachi after a week when he would be in a position to say something. Does the Chief of Staff not know what is going on or is ignorance always bliss?

Siachin issue is a matter which has not been given the strategic importance it deserves. Except for the news that somehow trickles into the newspaper columns announcing one capture after another, of Pakistani post by the Indians, the nation is being kept totally in the dark and under the impression that one should not bother about Siachin because Gen. Zia says cannot grow grass on.

One would recall that in October 1986 Junejo reiterated the administrations determination to get back Siachin Glacier from the Indians. Immediately after him in Quetta, Gen. Zia dismissed the matter lightly and tried to hoodwink the countrymen that it was incorrect to say that Indian had occupied Pakistan territory. According to the General, it was no man's land and that there were no Indian or Pakistani soldiers posted there. At that point, he disclosed, Indian sent their troops there and Pakistan obliged by sending its own. Referring to skirmishes he had said that he was trying peaceful means to settle the issue.

Instead of coming out with facts General Zia and his men, have been trying to hoodwink the nation through various excuses. His propagandists have been telling us that Siachen Glacier is the 18000 feet high mountainous area, is not worth all that fighting. Opposite has been the claim of the Indian General M.I.Chibber who after capturing the area, made claims that it was integral part of India and his troops have been repulsing effectively every attempt by Pakistani soldiers to recapture it. Indians, besides that, have been refusing to talk about since according to them Siachen "formed part of Jammu and Kashmir

state."

The fact of the matter, however, is that Siachen has been under Pakistan's effective control since the first cease fire on January 1st, 1949. After that, it was incorporated as the part of Pakistan's Northern Region. Geographically speaking, Siachen is the biggest glacier in Asia and second biggest in the world. India came to know of strategic importance in its debacle in the war with China in 1962. The vulnerability of its defence vis-a-vis Pakistan in the absence of Siachin was revealed to it in 1965 and 1971 wars. But it could not capture it until General Zia came on the scene and demonstrated he was too busy firing bullets on the people of Pakistan to concentrate on the defence of the country. He didn't even know that India had been landing its well-trained mountain troops in the Siachen Area. They captured two passes strategic for Pakistan's defence, namely Sia La and Bilaford La on the extreme western edge of the Glacier, enabling Indian soldiers to block the entry into the area from Pakistani-controlled positions. As far as general information is concerned, Indians completed their mission without a bullet fired from Pakistan. The fall of Siachen to India was kept a well guarded secret among the various skeletons in Zia's cupboards. Nobody had come to know how Pakistan lost about 1000 square kilometres of its strategic land.

May be we are lay people but look at the statement made by the Gen. Zia's erstwhile colleague, Gen. Chisti. In an interview published the other day he nailed Zia's lie by categorically declaring that Siachin is now under Indian occupation. Not only that Chisti advised Mohammad Khan Junejo to have his own advisers on defence so that he is not made to make wrong statements as he did the

other day when Junejo declared that not an inch of Siachin was under Indian occupation. The factual position, Chisti said, was contrary to Prime Minister's claim.

French Statesman Talleyrand had once declared that the defence of the country was much too serious an affair to be left entirely in the hands of the Generals. Surely Gen. Zia has proved how right he was.

WE are a poor country but we spend even more lavishly than Oliver North funding the Contras. After all which Prime Minister can afford to spend 2 million on a private visit to England? and considering he was received by a junior visitor at Heathrow, we cannot call it anything but a private visit. Will we be informed of how many thousands of British pounds were allocated to unsuccessfully get Mr. Junejo publicity? The taxi bill alone came to 75,000/- pounds because we ride limousines in England and Suzukis in Pakistan. The nation would like to know the bills of the Five Star Luxury hotel which housed 101 members of the Prime Minister's entourage for 11 days.

According to the revenue figures Pakistan has an income of Rs. 93 billion. The Army get Rs. 44 billion. The Banks takes Rs. 31 billion in rescheduling of loans. Law and Order gets Rs. 14 billion. The Bureaucracy takes its share and , to borrow a phrase, the people are left with peanuts. Sorry. Adulterated peanuts because we must not forget the deficit financing.

The regime claims that the rate of economic growth is 6 to 6.5%.

In fact not. A higher growth rate is being achieved by depressing the rate of inflation and price deflator for

political reasons.

If the rate of growth is good and we are really prospering. Why has even drinking water become a major problem in Karachi. And why are the people suffering from continuing load-shedding for very long periods even in a city like Karachi where we are said to have surplus power? The telephone department makes a profit of nearly Rs. 500 crore but most of the telephones do not work, and each one is a victim of too many wrong calls both ways.

This is the way Martial Law "improved the efficiency" of the administrative system inspite of the higher rates which the people are forced to pay all the time.

Oil prices in the world crashed nearly a year and a half ago. From nearly 40 dollars a barrel it went below even 10 dollars a barrel; but we in Pakistan have been forced to pay higher prices of POL 3 times higher even after that. The present budget too has increased petrol and other prices. Our petrol price includes a percentage added too Cyclone relief in 1971 for Bengal. Where does that money go to? What is use of talking of the rising prosperity of the people if they will be forced to pay higher prices when international prices rise, whether they be for POL, vegetable oil or tea. We want domestic prices to come down when international prices fall.

We have lost Siachin God knows what Zia has made up his mind to give up next on the platter. Before, God forbid, anything worse happens to the nation we demand that he should step down as a Chief of the Army Staff and as President. There is a charge that "Generals are being bashed". I would only say that it was time country bashing was stopped.

More one, we in the Pakistan Peoples Party alongwith other like minded parties, are working for the establishment of Pakistan based on law, Justice and Freedom. We want a Pakistan where honesty pays where greed and personal ambition is replaced with selfless hardwork and sacrifice. We want a Federal, Democratic and Egalitarian Pakistan with a bold and independent judiciary, with a Press where reasoned criticism and analysis keeps the government on its toes, where parliament voices and resolves the problem of the people and the provinces. We want decentralisation of institutions and power to provide both equity & efficiency. We want to free the talents of the people of our country, not suppress them. We want the public and the private sector to work hand in glove for rejuvenating the economy. We want an end to contract system of labour and we want the farmer not only to pay agriculture-tax but to get crop insurance. We want the farmer either to get international prices for his produce and pay international prices to his labour or will provide him with subsidise to feel free from persecution. If Europe and America can subsidise its farm products for economic reasons so can we subsidise fertiliser. We want our students to have the best of education. We want women and minorities flourish. We want government officers to be promoted on the basis of rules and not nepotism. We want our Army to securely defend our borders. We want to provide internal cohesion.

And we don't ever want to become the Shah of Iran, Ferdinand Marcos, Baby Doc Duvalier, Nimeri of Sudan or Zia-ul-Haq of Jullender.

We are of the people, belong to the people and will live and die for the people, and for our country.

Thank You.

SIND AND THE NATIONAL MAINSTREAM

(Speech at Seminar on National Problem in Sindh and its impact on the Federation of Pakistan under the auspicious of S. P. S. F. on 5.11.1987)

When we refer to the "National Problem" in Sindh what exactly do we mean? This problem has two major aspects, which are worth considering:

1. The problem of nationalist consciousness in Sindh and how sindhis are redefining their concept of community in the light of new social trends and the proliferation of new philosophies within Sindh.
2. The problem that Sindh, nationalism and to a certain extent Sindh secessionism pose for the Federation of

Pakistan. I will dwell on both these points briefly.

What is Sindhi Nationalism? How did it evolve? What is its role within the emerging society of Sindh today.

Sindhi Nationalism owes its genesis to the creation of One Unit - a system whereby the people of what was then West Pakistan were deprived of their distinct identities by the imposition of a single unified administration in the then province of West Pakistan. One Unit allowed the ruling classes of West Pakistan to claim parity and ultimate supremacy in making decisions, at both political and economic levels. Thus they governed both wings of Pakistan without reference to the wishes of its people. It was essentially an anti-democratic concept for two reasons:

- 1. It prevented administrative, economic and political decentralization, which would make national policy responsive to the demands of the varied social and ethnic groups that comprise Pakistan.**
- 2. It allowed the growth of a monolith philosophy based on one religion, one language, one political objective. It sought to ignore rather than absorb the diverse cultures, races, histories and units which made us the federation of Pakistan. It suffocated the units and gave a sense of colonization with its concomitant rebelliousness.**

This monolithic creed was personified in the image of an all powerful Army General who would rule over a unitary Pakistan as opposed to a Federal Pakistan.

This superimposed, artificial philosophy gave birth to such

deep resentments that the point of combustion was reached in 1971 with the civil war in East Pakistan. The disintegration of the country left the people with an identity crisis. Islam had not held the two muslim wings together. So what the *raison d'être* of our state and of ourselves. Had religion failed.

Of course religion had not failed. Politics had failed. But this is the dilemma we face when malafide and unrepresentative political action are garbed in religion by those ruthless enough to exploit the sacred message of God for selfish political motives. It is important for us to separate religion which is universal and infinite from politics which is specific and changing according to objective circumstances. This will enable us to examine the objective conditions we find ourselves in with due consideration to social and economic realities.

Sindhi nationalism grew out on various beliefs which were as follows:

1. That the original inhabitants of Sindh had lost control of towns and cities within Sindh, which had been occupied both by migrants from United India and people from other provinces.
2. That the new barrage lands in Sindh were being freely distributed to bureaucracy, people from other provinces who had been displaced by Mangla and Tarbela Dams and to personnel of the Armed Forces - all this at a time when the land hunger of landless Hari in Sindh was immense.
3. That the Sindhi language was not recognized, and its rapid

phasing away would lead to the loss of a sense of uniqueness of historic destiny that defined Sindhi culture.

4. The belief that the One Unit system combined with the predominance of non-Sindhi speaking people in the towns and cities of Sindh, would lead to under-representation - and hence deprivation - of the Sindhi speaking elements of the population in the national polity - in matters pertaining to education, jobs and governments posts.

The unequal development of various parts of the Federation and the unrepresentative nature of its political system led to the secession of East Pakistan. The simultaneous withdrawal of the One Unit had come too late. The subsequent ushering in of a democratic era, led to the hope that things would now change. Despite the overloaded agenda of the PPP Government and the brief period to fulfill it, a situation developed with the income generating and socio-culture projects for Sindh and other provinces which led to a grass root consensus and the emergence of a resonant national identity. An identity based on accommodating the diverse elements, traditions, histories, races and units into the rich mosaic of a united nation. A military coup fragmented the mosaic into unpatterned pieces and reopened the various problems of the Federation that had accumulated over the last thirty years. The execution of the democratically elected Prime Minister, who hailed from the province of Sindh despite the verdict of the three minority provinces honourably acquitting him the rapid allocation lands in Sindh to the Armed forces, the growth of joblessness for Sindhi graduates, all led to a powerful explosion in 1983 and in 1986 in Sindh. The problem of Sindhi nationalism

that has grown simultaneously with these trends thus became a matter of acute nation-wide concern.

All this is distinct from the secessionist phenomenon that has been a part of Sindhi politics since the early 1950's. The secessionist movement which barely accounts for a few thousand people in the province drew its sustenance from the same set of problems which led to the growth of Sindhi nationalism. But there was one distinct and important difference. The Nationalists wanted their rightful place for Sindh WITHIN Pakistan. The secessionists wanted a role for Sindh OUTSIDE the context of the Federation, and possibly for union with India.

Paradoxically enough, the secessionists had not only counted the Punjabis and Pakhtoons amongst their enemies, but also the migrants from undivided India who had settled in Sindh. In the 70's the secessionists Jeyye Sindh Movement introduced the slogan of an alliance between New and Old Sindhis. But they were essentially unable to chart out any role for the Urdu speaking Sindhis (who had originally migrated from undivided India) in the context of Sindh.

The growth of Sindhi Nationalism unfortunately triggered a powerful reaction in the cities, and gave birth to ethnic politics. The "Mohajir" political groups and groups representing the Punjabi and Pakhtoon settlers in Sindh began a tussle for their share of the economic pie, when they felt they had been denied.

Paradoxically enough, none of these so-called ethnic groups had any defined role for the Sindhi speaking inhabitants of Sindh outlined in their political manifestos. An opportunistic alliance between the secessionists and some ethnic political groups was a natural consequence of their shared

beliefs - each wished to exclude some section of Sindh's inhabitants from a role in the future development of Sindh.

Thus three distinct phenomena - Nationalism, secessionism and ethnic politics grew simultaneously. Although they all drew their sustenance from the same perceived state of socio-economic and cultural deprivation in Sindh, each had distinct political philosophies, and each one individualistically identified the wrong done by Federation to their groups or sub-group

You have all heard the saying from our colonial past "divide and rule". The strategy of the Martial Law Government was indeed to divide and rule - hence the growth of nationalism, secessionism and ethnic politics.,

At this juncture it is important that we understand that these political movements were a direct consequence of the inequitable, non-representative and un-democratic system that followed the assassination of an elected Prime Minister who hailed from Sindh. For Sindhis his unjust murder, the wanton acts of cruelty and barbarism deliberately meted out to him and his family symbolised the cruel and barbaric treatment meted out to them.

His defiance and the defiance of his family in the face of overwhelming odds spawned a militant defiance particularly amongst the Sindhis. This defiance, amongst the impassioned youth, became a determination not to succumb in silence to the brutality and barbarism meted out to them to the usurpation of their rights, but to fight for them against all odds. And the odds were great - whips, Hangmans noose, Helicopter gunships, Indiscriminate firing, Shelling by Rocket launchers. Whole villages destroyed. Crops burnt. Masjids marked with bullets and blood. Daughters

and mothers held captive young men chained with festering wounds. But in the martyrdom and the persecution of the martyrs family, Sindhis had crossed the mental barriers from submissiveness and subservience to defiance and determination. From the dusty towns and the poverty hounded villages the cry went up, "we will take what is ours. We will fight for Sindh. We will give all sacrifice. We will live in honour or we will die. We will not submit. We will not submit.

Sindh is today the angry province. The burning province. There are three distinct trends in it = nationalism in its sublime sense, secessionism with its chauvanism and ethnicity in its reactionism. The ruling clique is quite satisfied. Let Sindh bleed - its blood gives us the pretext to justify our unrepresentative and dictatorial rule.

Such movements continue to exist and grow today, because the powers that be, require them to remain political forces in our province. If discordant and negative politics are removed from the national scene and from Sindh, what justification can exist for the continuance of General Zia and the hollow facade of a so-called civilian government?

We do not want to see such destruction. Nor do we believe that such destruction is inevitable. Its solution is clear. Its solution lies in identifying and redressing the causes of alienation, anger, disenchantment, bitterness and fury.

Let us identify the genuine problems which must be sorted out.

1. The first problem is to clearly state that all those who live in the province of Sindh, and wish to continue to live here must be given rights and considered full

fledged Sindhis. Sindh will then emerge as a bilingual province in which both Sindhi and Urdu languages should be given due importance. Virtually all Sindhi speakers in the province speak Urdu and living side by side, from generation to generation Urdu speakers will learn and cherish the linguistic heritage of a province that is now their home, where they are born and where they bury their dead.

2. If, for economic reasons, people in search of jobs have come from other provinces to Sindh, thus over-burdening its resources, a national solution to the problem must be designed. Federal grants over and above Sindh's rightful allocations from Islamabad should be made as an immediate and short term measure to the Sindh Government to cover costs of providing basic amenities - health, shelter, education, public transportation - of these migrant populations. Secondly there should be a planned and balanced development of all provinces, which obviates the need for large migrant populations to move into different provinces and pose a threat to the stability of our delicate social structures.
3. A balanced distribution of resources must be allocated between large cities, small towns, semi-rural and rural areas within Sindh. Given the differing densities of population of ethnic groups between the cities and the countryside, a policy needs to be evolved of sharing the benefits of economic growth and the facilities of government between all segments of the population. Today the Sindhi speaking population with the rural areas, are governed by regressive social structure - by feudalism by Mirs and by Pirs, by dacoits and patharidars. The haris and scheduled castes are one of the most oppressed segments of Sindhi society. We

need to design special economic and social measures to bring them in line within the material standards of living enjoyed by the city dwellers in Sindh. This implies affirmative action - which means the continuance and judicious accommodations on a just and equitable basis in jobs and in education, to follow these communities to better themselves.

To bring Sindh into the national mainstream the following basic causes of resentment need attention and allivervation.

- 1 .Continuous flowing in into Sindh of the people from other areas, which started in 1947.
2. Cultural distance between the people of Sindh and the people who have been pouring in.
3. Continuous periods of dictatorship, wherein Sindh had no participation at all.
4. Right wing anti-Sindhi policy.
5. Allotment of lands in Sindh to Army personnel.
6. Attempts at governmental and non-governmental levels to lower the status of Sindhi Language.
7. Demolition of Sindhi culturral traits in the grab of creating a unitory culture.
8. Shelving cantonements at Pano Aqil and Hyderabad when redeployment of troops can easily be made should security needs so demand.
9. Settling the water rights of the lower riparians on a just equitable basis in accordance with the guidelines

provided by international law.

10. Scrapping the controversial and defective Kalabagh Dam project in place of a dam at a more suitable site.
11. Investing in the infrastructure of Sindh. These measures include lining of canals to prevent seepage, building proper drainage schemes and ensuring correct levels of water at the Barrages to permit flourishing of aquaculture.
12. Prevent the ecological erosion of Sindh. These include measures from the preservation of mangrove forests to the sustenance of the blind dolphins.
13. The decentralisation of PICIC, I.D.B.P. etc. through the establishment of provincial boards to accelerate even industrial growth.
14. The decentralisation of resources, employment of central Services such as wapda, Railways ect. by setting up of provincial boards.
15. The restructuring of grass root institutions. These include measures to have directly elected district health and education representative to efficiently administer district health and education centres.
16. Replacement of the motives for creation of Pakistan from the right wing sectarian politics of Zia and his Mullah to a grass roots consensus and national identity.

Some would say that I am speaking of a Utopia, and this cannot be done. I say this can be done, and will be done. But sovereignty of the people - If we restore the principle

of the democratic representation, If we restore the principle of democratic responsibility. this cannot be done with a Military regime in power, with a Parliament and Prime Minister who serves at the discretion of the Chief of Staff. Not with the omnipresent sociology of greed and violence that consumes our present illegal rulers. This can be done if Zia goes. This can be done if elections are held, and if the elected representatives of the people who represent various segments of the population decide upon rational and equitable solution in the interests of the Federation. The Federation cannot be better than the sum of its parts. Let us work together to heal the wounds, to make the Federation a living reality. This is what the martyred Prime Minister, Mr. Zulfikar Ali Bhutto would have wished. This is what enlightened segment of the population in Sindh like the SPSF must work towards.

The youth are the promise of a better tomorrow. The freshness, vigour, idealism and courage of the youth give us the confidence to build a better world, a better society. Conspiracies, intrigues, character assassination, corruption, cruelty are the dishonest values of a decayed and dead order. Honour, Honesty, Integrity, Commitments to ideals, Mutual Respect and Trust, Dignity are the values we enshrine on constructing a vibrant society and a humane person.

The future beckons us. The challenges are many. Iqbal, Quaid-e- Azam and Quaid-e-Awam had a dream. That dream beckons us. In resurgence of that dream lies the hope and the vitality, the peace and the sweetness which the land of the Indus and of Shah Abdul Latif deserves and which is its destiny.

Sindh has known many turns and twists. Cruel fates have

gripped it. It has known the pinnacle of culture and of triumph. Our fate today is linked with Pakistan, not Zia's Pakistan, not a militarized Pakistan, but a peoples Pakistan where Sindh takes its place with pride and with honour.

We have a dream. We will pursue it together. We will attain it together and when we do, we will say, "Ask not what your country can do for you: Ask what you can do for your country."

A FOREIGN POLICY WITHOUT DIMENSION

*(Speech on Foreign Policy at Pakistan Institute for International
Affairs Institute on 1.12.1987.)*

If the dictum is true that the foreign policy of a country is dictated by its geography, then it is specially true in the case of Pakistan. Quaid-e-Azam's vision was of Pakistan and India at peace with each other, devoting their energies to the progress and prosperity of their people. But this was not to be. Situated as it is on the geo-political map there was no escape for Pakistan from involvement with the great powers. India's relations with Pakistan have been characterized by an animosity as old as Pakistan's existence. Similarly relations with our neighbours to the west, Afghanistan were fitfull and uneasy from the beginning, be-

cause of irridentist claims put forward by the Afghan rulers. With long borders to defend and relatively limited strategic depth, Pakistan has been concerned more than most countries, with the problems of safeguarding its borders and protecting its independence and integrity. The search for security has been the principal objective of Pakistan's foreign policy throughout its 40 years of existence and remains our main preoccupation.

The theme of your conference "Security Environment in the region and Pakistan Foreign Policy", is timely and pertinent for the evolving situation poses new challenges for Pakistan's diplomacy, and new threats to the hountry's security. I have spoken out on these matters from time to time and expressed my party's deep concern at the way things are going but I welcome this occasion to put forward a brief and comprehensive expression of my party's view on the country's foreign policy.

No one can forget that it was the founder of the Pakistan Peoples party, Zulfikar Ali Bhutto, who broke the decades old mould of subservience, initiated an opening to the east by signing an oil exploration agreement with the Soviet Union, developed our relationship with the Peoples Republic of China, led the country into the non-aligned movement. It was he who gave the country's foreign policy a new orientation and the stamp of independence, to which lip service continues to be paid. From the defeat and disgrace of the 1971 war in the East Pakistan he took the country back to a position of honour in the world community, making our voice heard with respect in world forums.

Pakistan has come a long way from that position, a long way into the wilderness. The country's defence budget has

gone on rising from year to year and stands today at the staggering figure of billions of rupees. security has become synonymous with the acquisition of weapons and particular weapons system, regardless of whether the country can afford them or their relevance to Pakistan's special circumstances and situation, giving little consideration to their opportunity cost.

To get an idea of the sacrifices the people of Pakistan are called on to make on this score, let an estimate be made of the number of development projects - school rooms, hospital beds, village roads, irrigation pumps ect, that had to be given up to pay for just the three F 16 aircrafts which we have already managed to lose in accidents caused by negligence or incompetence. Let us bear in mind, moreover, that most of our costliest weapons are paid with borrowed money, and therefore, the burden is being carried not only by the present generation but will be passed to our children and grandchildren.

Yet the more the country spends on defence, the less security we seem to have. Villages along the frontiers are bombed with impunity and we are told that F-16s cannot stop these attacks unless they are supported by even more expensive advance warning aircraft. Our borders with Afghanistan and the cease fire line in Kashmir are routinely violated. We lost important posts in the Siachin Glacier only to hear the COAS belittle it as being a place of little use and consequence.

The two front conflict the nightmare built into our geopolitical situation is now a reality. Four decades of diplomacy, or arms acquisition, of alliances and arrangements have, as it were come to nothing. Indian's hegemony, which we denounce and claim to reject, is becoming a fact

of life.

In Sri Lanka, Indian troops are "keeping the peace" which India herself had contrived to disturb in the last few years. And while they are there under an agreement with the Sri-Lankan government, the truth is that the government was left with few other options by the skill of Indian diplomacy and the indifference of other governments, including ours. The little store that India sets by relations with Pakistan could not have been more clearly shown than by the Indian Prime Minister's public dismissal of his foreign Secretary for the sin of suggesting that the Prime Minister would pay a visit to Pakistan - a visit many times overdue after the numerous visits paid to India by General Zia-ul-haq for one reason or another. India's present disdain for Pakistan was even more ominously expressed in Rajiv Gandhi's exhortation to the Indian Press: "Don't pay so much attention to Pakistan. It is a small country of little consequence, with whom we will know how to deal when the time comes. Let us not make any mistake about the intention behind these words. We should not be surprised when and if such a time does come and if we offer the opportunity, that India will not hesitate to make good on this threat. Pakistan paid dearly in 1971 for underestimating and ignoring the threat then staring us on the face. Let us be warned.

And let us not forget how assiduously and methodically India had prepared the grounds for its action in East Pakistan, taking advantage of the follies and errors, complacency and political pre-occupations of our then military rulers. Even as we look on, in apparent detachment, at what is happening in and to Sri Lanka, let us ponder the implications of the situation for Pakistan. It is dangerous nonsense to say Pakistan is not Sri Lanka, that our debacle in East Pakistan occurred because it was separated from the rest of

the country by a 1000 miles of hostile territory.

What divided East Pakistan from West Pakistan was not hostile territory but estrangement between two wings provoked by the short sighted policies and aggravated by the selfish ambitions of the country's military rulers of the time.

A paper published at the time by the Indian institute of Strategic Studies laid a virtual blue print of how India should take advantage of the situation and proceed step by step to bring about the secession of East Pakistan. It all happened as forecast but our people seemed to be mesmerized by the impending danger and went unconcerned about their merry way and paid no heed. They took not much account of the signing of the Indo- Soviet treaty of peace and friendship. They were busy instead with manipulation behind the scenes to ensure that the military clique would continue somehow to retain effective power after the general elections. The same ostrich like attitude is very much in evidence today. Siachin is lost. The National Assembly does not even hold a full scale debate on the subject. There is no accounting for the lost territory, lost lives, lost honour, G.M.Syed is received in India and discussed at the highest level how to bring about secession of Sind.

While Military pressure and political tensions mount on our eastern and western frontiers, a veritable third front has come into existence within the country's borders. Kidnappings and dacoities take place routinely in Sind under the very noses of the army. Bombs go off in hotel lobbies and crowded bazars notwithstanding draconian laws against terrorism and the establishment of special courts. In Karachi, curfews have become the normal mode of existence for many areas in substantial numbers of the city's population.

The army is being regularly called in to assist the civil power for civil power has become a symbol of civilpowerlessness. The general lack of respect for law is such that soon the army too may be unable to control the situation, for after all whether it is the army or the police, they are in service of the same regime, firing the same sort of tear gas and the same calibre of bullet.

The lesson that history has repeatedly had to teach to tyrants, big or small, throughout the centuries and all over the globe, is that basic problems cannot be solved by repression and that the use of force will not cow down the people forever. In the long run in facing dangers to the nation's borders and integrity there is no force greater than the combined will of the people.

This is the all important ingredient which is missing in the formulation and conduct of Pakistan foreign policy today. When we went to Simla in 1972, we went against the background of defeat, unquestionably the worst defeat and humiliation suffered by muslims in the history of India. Important pieces of our territory were in Indian hands and our entire eastern army with 90,000 men and officers were prisoners in Indian camps. But Zulfikar Ali Bhutto went there with his head held high, because he went with the knowledge that the people of Pakistan stood behind him to a man. He was going to a country which held all the cards but he went on a mission of reconciliation not on a mission of ingratiating and obeisance and he returned with an agreement which provided for the return of lost territories, the repatriation of our POWs and which established means and procedures for settling dispute and developing relations in all fields.

The success of a nation's foreign policy is not a matter of

merely of the skill with which it is conducted. The true measure of a purposeful foreign policy is the extent to which it is rooted in national policy and the degree to which it promotes national aims. Our present foreign policy gives evidence on the one hand, of a lack of professional competence, and on the other, seems to be divorced with reality both on the national and international planes. The humiliation suffered by Pakistani candidature for UNESCO directorship is a demonstration of its shortcoming on both scores. It served one hope to show our military rulers what the world thinks of their regime.

A successful foreign policy cannot be conducted in the absence of a national vision, and when the country is kept in the dark about what is happening. A regime which has ruled the country for nearly decade without popular sanction and accountability of any kind is concerned primarily with keeping itself in power by any means. Such a regime is incapable of mobilizing the people behind a national endeavour whether at home or abroad.

At a time when the country is facing the most complex and dangerous problems and challenges in its foreign relations, the greatest need is to redefine and reaffirm the basic and fundamental aims of national policy and to strengthen national consensus. The three principles and permanent goals of national policy are;

- 1) to safeguard the territorial integrity and independence of the nation.
- 2) to strengthen national cohesion and institution and
- 3) to develop the country economic and social potential, raise the standard of living of the people and about so-

cial justice in accordance with the tenants of Islam among the people and reform the country's institutions in line with the need of the modern age.

The three objective are intricately and closely inter-linked. Our frontiers cannot be secure if internal dissensions and divisions undermine the foundations of national unity. National cohesion cannot be fostered if democratic institutions are subverted. A nation like Pakistan, created by an act of self determination, can only survive and flourish by continually renewed concensus.

Political independence will remain without substance so long as the country is mired in poverty, people steeped in ignorance the bulk of the population deprived of the ordinary amenities of life, proper health care and housing, clean water and electricity and so forth. Our independence is trammelled when our economy becomes yearly more indebted and our plans for development and progress depend on decisions of foreign legislatures and international banks.

Foreign policy has a vital role to play in the attainment of the national goals I have outlined. If it is out of touch with realities if it shows ineptitude or opportunism, the country may have to pay a heavy price. Skill, knowledge and professionalism are important elements in the successful conduct of diplomacy but overriding everything else is the need for our foreign policy makers to be imbued with awareness of national goals and vision.

As I said Pakistan's relations with the two countries which are closest to us not only in geography but in many ways, have been unhappy from the beginning. yet, stable and friendly relationship with these two countries is the key-stone to peace in the region and the progress and prosperity

of all three. At Simla a path was charted out that was to take Pakistan and India, through a just and peaceful settlement of their difference and disputes and by promoting friendly co-operation in various spheres, towards an honourable and lasting peace. It would have strengthened peace and stability in the entire region had that path been followed with more resolute steps, had more than lip service been paid to the aims and purposes set out in the Simla Agreement, there would remain no cause for the mistrust and tension which continue to bedevil relations between the two countries. Indeed many of the problems which are troubling the peace of region, including the conflict in Afghanistan, may not have arisen or taken the turn they have if Pakistan - India were at peace with each other as visualized by their leaders at Simla.

I was there with my father and although our countries were at war and India had attacked and invaded our country. I was impressed by the spirit of hope and goodwill shown by both leaders and their evident determination to make a new start. Nor shall I forget the warmth and friendliness shown to my father and to me personally by the ordinary people of India. The PPP is determined to do everything it can to revive the spirit of Simla. The people of Pakistan and India are not destined to be enemies. They are not condemned to wasting their resources and energies in meaningless conflict and rivalry. In the 40th year of their independence new generation have grown up in both countries free of the bitterness and bloody memories of partition. We both share many problems in common, have a similar attitude on world issues specially those concerning economic development and justice. Both can gain from cooperation to meet the challenges of the rapidly changing times. As the smaller of the two countries, Pakistan poses no threat to India. But while we are the smaller country we cannot ac-

cept a "big brother" role for our neighbour. We will not accept discriminatory treatment in any sphere. We consider it unwise and dangerous for either country to try to profit from internal discension in the other.

Nearly 20 years ago, Zulfikar Ali Bhutto had this to say about Afghanistan. "If all the states of Asia and Africa, are put together and we were asked to choose one out of all of them for its importance to Pakistan, Afghanistan would probably head the list". He cautioned in words which now sound like a premonition. Good relations with Afghanistan can bring infinite good to Pakistan. Strained relations between our two contries cancause irreparable damage to both in war and in peace. I spoke earlier of Afghan irridentism and Pakistans constant concern over the possibility of being confronted with a threat on both fronts. In actual fact, during none of our wars with India, did Afghnistan even give pakistan the least cause for concern about the western front. That fact says much about the deepest and abiding fraternity which binds our two people.

Yet today the Afghan people are no longer masters in their own country. Almost a third of the population has fled the country and of this number 3 million are in Pakistan. In the 8th year of civil strife and foreign occupation the brave and free people of the Afghanistan, true to their ancient tradition, remain firm in their refusal to accept foreign domination. Pakistan for which so much is at stake seems neither to help them bring the fighting to a successful conclusion nor to bring about a peaceful settlement of the turmoil. There was a point of time, at an early stage of the crisis, when we might have played such a role and by helping to end the war in Afghanistan, put our own relations with Afghanistan on a permanently stable basis. Instead our military rulers saw in the Afghan crisis an opportunity to gain

foreign aid and sympathy for their own ends and preferred to play politics with the mujahideen movement. So as a result Pakistan had become itself embodied in Afghan war and its cold war entanglements and ramifications in Pakistan.

Let me make it absolutely clear that the PPP stands firmly for a political settlement of the Afghan problem incorporating the withdrawal of Soviet troops and the return of Afghan refugees. We appreciate the need for social reforms and justice in Afghanistan and consider that is for the Afghan people themselves to deal with these matters and resolve their internal problems without any interference from any foreign quarter, we believe that non-aligned and independent Afghanistan maintaining friendly relations with all its neighbours, including the Soviet Union, would be a factor for peace and stability in the region and that a swift end to the Afghan war, on the basis of these principles, would do honour and bring advantage to all the protagonists in the tragic and unnecessary conflict. The removal of this focus of confrontation between the super powers cannot, fail to have a beneficial effect on their relations in other spheres and makes an important contribution to world peace and stability. A new opportunity for an Afghan settlement may be in General Secretary Gorbachev's plans to restructure and open up the Soviet system and his anxiety to be rid of the running sore of Afghanistan. The question for Pakistan, at this crucial junctures, is whether we have the imagination, the clarity of purpose and political will to seize the opportunity.

I turn now to our relations with the Super Powers with the both of whom they have rarely been more difficult and complex as at the present time. The Soviet Union, with whom many ups and downs in reciprocal relationships we

had in the past no direct quarrel, now consider Pakistan's Policy as a factor inimical to its position in the region and the government a too willing tool in the cold war on the side of the USA. At the same time our relations with the USA multifaceted and long standing and subject to even greater ups and downs over the years, are once again entering a stage of mutual suspicion and recrimination. Thus at a time when Pakistan is confronted with the difficulties and dangers on both fronts, it also faces the active hospitality of one Super Power and pressures and threats from the other.

Pakistan's need for nuclear energy is evident and indisputable. Pakistan is firmly opposed to nuclear proliferation both as a matter of principle and because nuclear proliferation constitute a direct and immediate threat to Pakistan's security. For Pakistan's safety lies not in developing nuclear weapons of its own but in seeking that nuclear weapons are not introduced in the region in any shape or form. But it is clear that non-proliferation in our region cannot be brought about through unilateral and unreciprocated steps by Pakistan. Various proposals to ensure nuclear non-proliferation on a regional basis were put forward by Pakistan as early as 1973. They are eminently reasonable but have failed to carry conviction, and the regime has been unable to mobilize international opinion or the diplomatic weight of the Great Powers behind any of these proposals. On a question so vital to the nation progress and survival our policy must be clear and unequivocal. No to nuclear weapons but a firm no also to any discrimination in the matter or to any restriction on our right to acquire the modern technologies necessary for the nations progress and security in this respect. Let us recall again the words of Zulfikhar Ali Bhutto : "It is no good trying to outwit or outsmart a Great Power".

In the long years of military rule Pakistan's role in the world forums has diminished and tended to become marginal. The simplistic logic of the military rulers has made the country's Foreign Policy undimensional and inflexible. Yet Pakistan belongs to many overlapping and concentric groupings of states SAARC and the Economic Cooperation Organization with Iran and Turkey, the OIC, the group of 77, NAM, and of course the United Nations and its family of agencies, organizations and programmes.

In today's interdependent world, foreign policy is not a matter only of pursuing the country's national interests but of reconciling them with the great movements which are changing and reshaping the world. As the end of the 20th Century approaches, important changes and realignment of forces are taking place in the world which will bring about a fundamental transformation in the pattern of international relations and the structure developed in the after World War II years. Arms control agreements between the U.S.A and the U.S.S.R. which are in the offing, continued at present to short and medium range missiles, cannot fail to have a profound effect on the relations between the Super Power and the future course on the nuclear arms race between them. A rapprochement between China and the U.S.S.R. which is gradually taking shape will be a development of no less significance, specially for neighbouring countries such as Pakistan. Of particular interest to Pakistan is the prospect of a settlement between China and India.

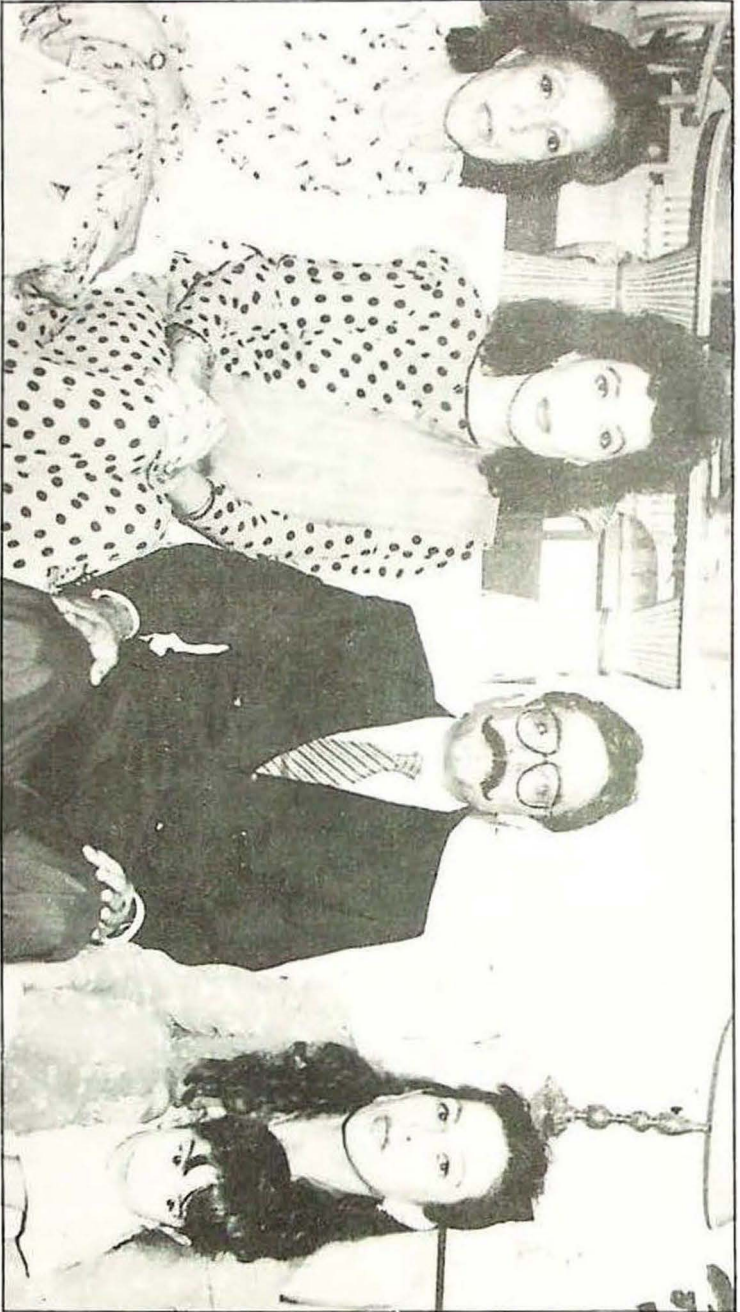
This is a development which we need not fear in itself and would welcome if it strengthens peace between Pakistan and India and leads to a wider understanding in the region. Far-reaching consequences for the countries concerned themselves and for the world at large may flow from the changing of the guard and the fundamental interval trans-

formations which are underway in China and Soviet Union. The future may also see greater political expression of Japan's enormous and still growing economic power. Japan's economic power combined with the emergence of China and economic take-off achieved by the countries of the Pacific ocean and South East Asia foreshadow the making of a new, perhaps predominant centre of the world in the 21st century. On the other hand, the power and potential of our brother countries of the Middle East paralyzed by inter-cine disputes, nullified by the Arab-Israel challenge. The war between Iran and Iraq has laid waste the lives of a whole generation and the resources of countries. It is a war of which the end is not in sight and when the end comes - as one day it must - no great purpose will have been served - for either side. Meanwhile the war has made the gulf a hot point of international tension and increased the military presence in the region of the two Super Powers.

Pakistan itself stands at the hub of the turmoil in Asia, but more as a spectator than an actor. Our voice carries little weight on issues the outcome of which will be of the utmost concern for Pakistan. Even in the case of Afghanistan, despite the presence on our soil of 3 million refugees and all the important Afghan parties and movements, Pakistan seems unable to play a decisive role in bringing the crises to an end. But the regime boasts that in the tumult and turmoil around us Pakistan stands as an island of order and stability. This is deception and self-delusion. Pakistan is not an island of peace but a ship adrift in a sea of troubles. A ship propelled forward thus far not by a sense of purpose and firm hands at the tiller but by winds of fortuitous events. Now the self-appointed captains seized our ship of state have brought it into dangerous waters full of reefs and shoals. With no clear idea of where to go, they could well

run at aground.

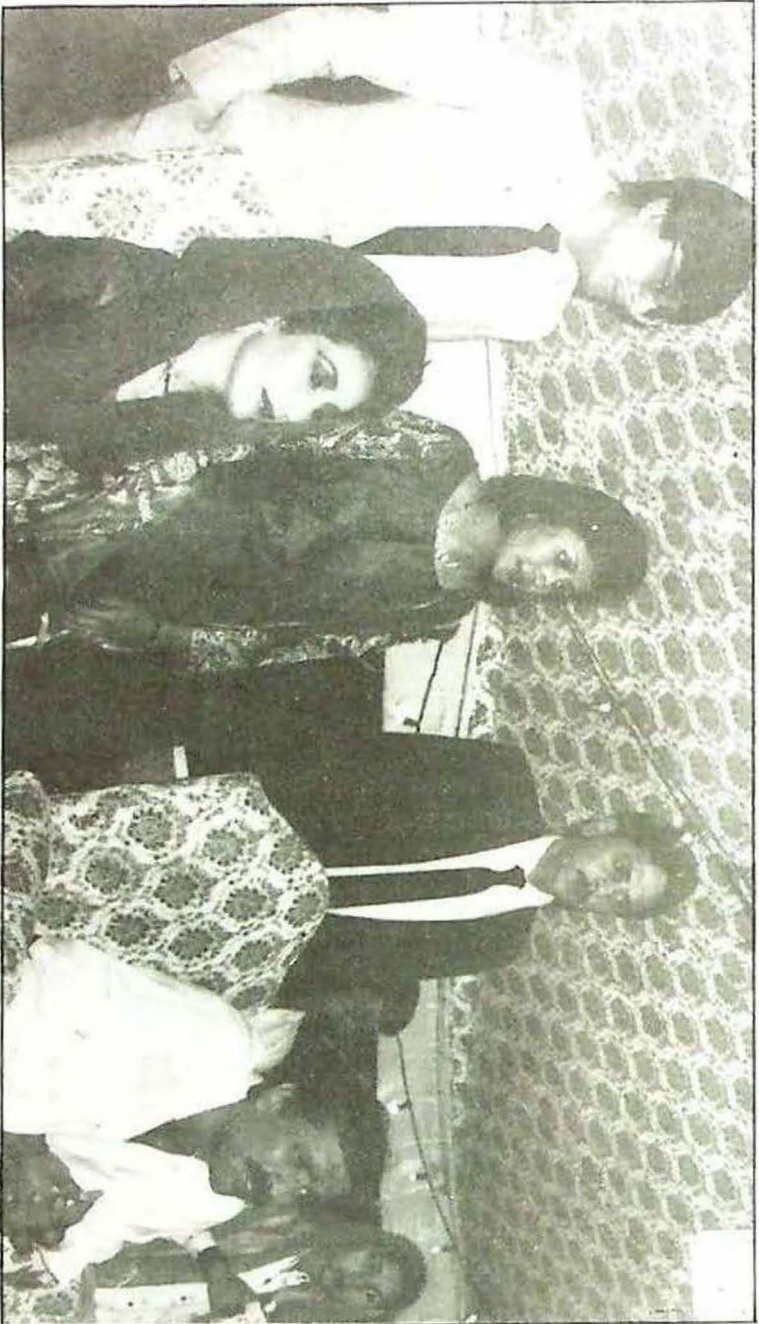
I would be misleading the country if I said that there was an easy way out of these difficulties and back into the open waters. Diplomatic jugglery and stratagems will not get us there. What we need is a government and a leadership that is honest with the people and honest with the world. Only a government whose strength lies in the united support of the people, a government which is accountable to the people, can muster the national will and harness the skills to face and overcome the present dangers and those that lie ahead.



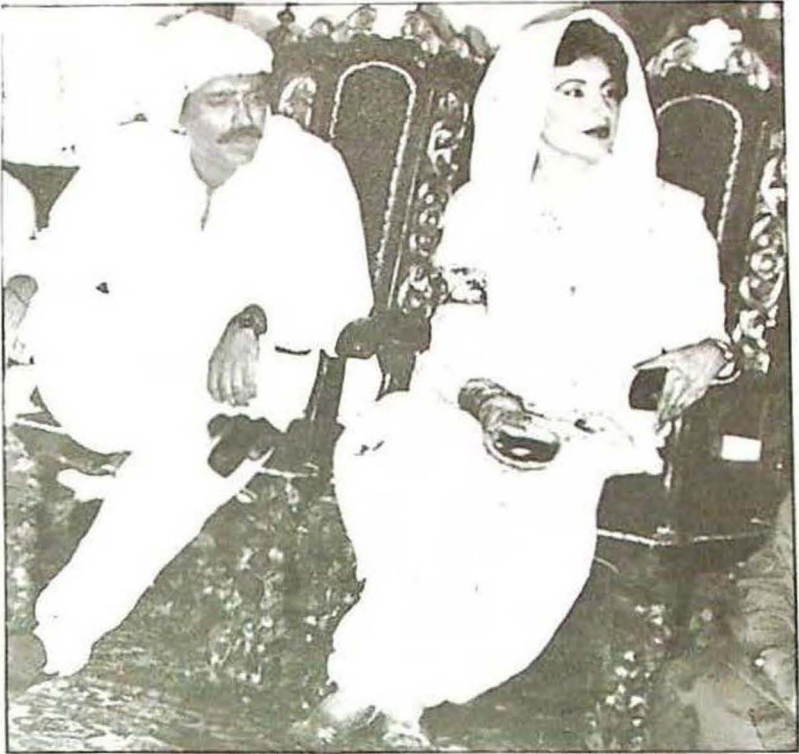
*THE ENGAGEMENT - with mother Begum Nusrat
Bhutto, Sarani Bhutto and Asif Zardari*



Being received on arrival at Karachi Airport after engagement



The bride and bridegroom at valima reception



*The bride and bridegroom watching awami
enthusiasm on the marriage evening*



SOVIET WITHDRAWAL AND THEREAFTER

*(Speech delivered at State Guest House in Prime Minister's
Conference on Afghan issue on 5.3.1988)*

The Pakistan People's Party appreciates and welcomes the initiative taken by Mr. Mohammad Khan Junejo for a dialogue on the Afghanistan issue with the leaders of the political parties who belong to the opposition. We firmly believe that in a democratic system the affairs of the state should be settled in consultation with each other. As the Quaid-e-Azam once told the leaders of the Indian National Congress: 'Let us talk to each other and not talk at each other,' So if we follow the Quaid's advice we shall be able to come to an understanding not only on the Afghanistan issue but also many other serious problems.

facing the country and we may also succeed in removing serious misgivings caused from time to time.

This meeting is a meeting of hope and promise. Each one of us today carries the burden and the responsibility of ensuring that the hopes are lived upto and the promises fulfilled. Afghanistan may be on the agenda but the eyes of the nation are on this momentous gathering. Momentous it is. This is the first dialogue between the administration and the opposition since the illegal coup d'etat of July 5, 1977, overthrew the representative government of the federation. Almost eleven years when the democratic hallmarks of dialogue were thrown aside for the most brutal dictatorship. We welcome this dialogue. We do not want anarchy and bloodshed. Matters of national importance, the destiny of the federation, the security concerns of our Nation should be resolved by a debate and discussion tolerating dissent and democratically arrived at. No opportunity should be afforded to adventurist to play golf with the fate of the impoverished exploited and downtrodden people of Pakistan. This invitation of yours, Mr. Prime Minister, carries both substantive and symbolic weight. Symbolically it carries the potential of signalling an end to era when power was usurped. An elected Prime Minister who restored honour to Pakistan was assassinated and when even shariat courts were made subordinate to summary military courts. Even women were not spared. The transition from military rule to full democracy is never an easy one. Today Pakistan is still at the crossroads. We take at face value your intent to hold election - although our views on early polls and the 1973 constitution are well known to you. But we cannot exclude the possibility of the process being subverted on any pretext -- such as the disputed polls of 1977 were siezed - for lust of power at the cost of the

highest national interests of the federation.

The irony is that in our country those who gave Pakistan a unanimous Islamic Democratic and representative constitution are elected as 'independents' to the Senate, those who declared themselves demi-gods beyond accountability, today boast of the 'accountability' and those who stripped an elected Prime Minister of his rights and ordered security forces to fire on the people of Pakistan today weep because the 'guard outside their homes' has been removed. These ironies of fate need not occur in our country if the civilians resolve their differences, evolve an acceptable framework under which the final arbitrators are the people of the country.

Against the tortured background of the last eleven years, against fragmentation and wells of bitterness and bloodshed, it could not have been easy for you to take this initiative.

Neither was it easy for us, given our own principled stands, to accept this invitation. Moreover, in the view of the concluded talks with U.S. representative, the completion of the Assembly debates and the resumption of talks at Geneva, some of us did feel that the meeting may not serve any meaningful result as Pakistan's position was already predetermined. But, without prejudice to our stand, we took the risk of accepting the invitation. We did so because we want to encourage the concept of dialogue, create good will for further discussion - such as the release of political prisoners and an election supervisory body amongst other - and finally because we want you, Mr. Prime Minister, to emerge as the voice of the administration on Afghanistan. It was painful for us to note that the Indian Prime Minister invited the Chief of Army

Staff to India for talks on Afghanistan. There should be no confusion in our country or outside. Those who did not derive the basis of their rule from the geo-strategic position of Pakistan following the Soviet presence in Afghanistan would be more willing to see the Afghan issue settled expeditiously.

While respecting your wish to discuss the Afghan issue we look forward to your hearing us on other vital issues confronting us. Some of these include the political prisoners of the Martial Law years and those arrested in the August 1986 Movement - such as the Khisano Mori case - who are on the nation's conscience. The overthrow of the 1973 Constitution has spawned regional and ethnic strife which the Kalabagh Dam threatens to accentuate. According to media reports some Muslim League members of the National Assembly joined us in complaining about the structural manipulations in the local bodies election. Given the last fall out of disputed national polls, we need an election scheme considered satisfactory and acceptable to all concerned. Perhaps something similar to that which was worked out between the PPP government and the PNA in 1977 before the imposition of Martial Law.

Coming to the Afghan issue: We have heard with great attention the statement made by the Prime Minister and Mr. Noorani's briefing on the current development at the Geneva talks. It is clear that the Afghan issue has entered a critical stage. The manner in which it is settled and the decisions to be taken by Pakistan now, will have far-reaching consequences in the region as a whole and the world at large, and for our own relations with Afghanistan and other neighbouring countries as well as the Great Power. An Afghan settlement cannot fail to have

the most profound repercussions also on many aspects of life in Pakistan for Pakistan became increasingly involved in the conflict and is host to 3 million refugees. It is vital therefore that the decisions we have to take should be taken after the most careful consideration of all their implications and consequences. the only interest that we have to protect is the security of Pakistan, now and in times to come. the purpose that we must bear in mind and promote is peace in our neighbourhood and the well-being of our people.

The PPP and other parties in opposition have been critical of the military regime for its motives and objectives in involving Pakistan in the Afghan crisis and for its handling of the issue. We are convinced that if a popular government had been in power in Pakistan in 1979, the country would have been able to play a positive role in the Afghan crisis and perhaps things would have gone differently in Afghanistan itself. But we are not here to seek party advantage or to criticize for the sake of criticizing.

Speaking in Karachi last December, I expressed the PPP's position on the Afghan issue in the following words:

"The PPP stands firmly for a political settlement of the Afghan problem incorporating the withdrawal of the Soviet troops and the return of Afghan refugees. We appreciate the need for social reform and social justice in Afghanistan and consider that it is for the Afghan people themselves to deal with these matters and resolve their internal problems without any interference from any foreign parties; we believe that a non-aligned and independent Afghanistan, maintaining friendly relations with all its neigh-

bours, including the Soviet union, would be a factor peace and stability in the region and that a swift end to the Afghan war on the basis of these principles, would do honour and bring advantage to all the protagonists in the tragic and unnecessary conflict. The removal of this focus of confrontation effect on relations in other spheres and make an important contribution to world peace and stability. a new opportunity for an Afghan settlement may lie in General-Secretary Gorbachev's plans to restructure and open up the Soviet system and his anxiety to get rid of the running sore of Afghanistan.

The question for Afghanistan is whether we have the imagination, the clarity of purpose and political will to seize the opportunity."

I should add that the PPP believes firmly in a policy of balanced and friendly relation, based on mutual benefit and mutual respect, with all the great powers. Our good relations with the United States have a long history and need not be tactical in nature. We do not share the nervousness of those who feel that when peace returns to Afghanistan, Pakistan will lose American friendship and support.

The Soviet action in Afghanistan made it difficult for Pakistan to maintain the friendly relations with the USSR which should exist between close neighbours. But with the settlement of the Afghan crisis, we should look forward to a great improvement and expansion in Pakistan-Soviet relations. Pakistan has nothing to gain from getting involved in the cold war.

In February 1987 during its Peshawar session, the PPP pointed out that while the Soviet Union and United States can live with acceptable time-table of withdrawal, for Pakistan the question is not simply of withdrawal but also of the return of more than 3 million refugees on our soil. Despite the aid we have been getting, the burden having of million refugees has been a heavy one for our country. With the settlement world attention will shift elsewhere. We should not be left holding the refugees. The people of Pakistan are united in seeking a solution which leads to the return of the refugees. Conducive conditions for their return are essential. We want a settlement where the refugees go back in safety.

Therefore, the questions which have become pressing are:

What is to happen in Afghanistan during the 10-12 months of Soviet withdrawal? What measure can be devised to prevent bloodshed, to guard against a breakdown of law and order, ensure that no further influx of refugees pour into Pakistan because the civil war continues.

In raising these questions, we do not wish suggest that the Afghans need outside tutorage to settle their problems. Every country, whether big or small and whatever the nature of its internal problems, must solve these problems in its own way and no country has the right, even for the most benign motives, to interfere in the affairs of another. It is not for outsiders to decide what should be nature or complexion a composition of the government to be set up in Afghanistan once the Soviet withdraw. The withdrawal is evidently the first priority. Nothing should therefore be allowed to hamper or delay their departure for the beginning and completion

of which the Soviet Union has already set a date and duration.

Even after they have gone, the consequences and after effects of their long presence will remain: those cannot be effaced overnight or disappear by themselves.

Our concern is that the transition that follows the Soviet withdrawal nothing should happen that would lead to continued instability and its concurrent consequences on Pakistan. It is vital that the transition is made as peacefully as circumstances permit and no new disorder and turmoil should add needlessly to the sufferings, the Afghan people have undergone in the last eight years. Such a peaceful transition is possible only if the order which follows the Soviet withdrawal enjoys the confidence of all the elements involved in the Afghan civil war.

The question of an internationally recognised international boundary is one which has plagued Afghan - Pakistan relations. We hope a settlement also incorporates the draft agreement of 1976 reached between President Daud and Shaheed Prime Minister Zulfikar Ali Bhutto on the recognition of the Durand as the recognized international boundary. With that I would like to conclude the PPP brief.

Thank you for the patient hearing.

DEPENDENCE— THE OTHER NAME OF WOMAN

(Statement on International Women's day on 8.3.1988)

It is the extremely backward condition of the Pakistani women that impels special scrutiny. Under normal circumstances the proper objective would be for the two sexes to advance together, however, when one group lags far behind, efforts must be made to bring it at par before the ideal of Partnership could be brought into operation.

If one is asked to describe the state of the Pakistani woman in one word it could be 'DEPENDENCE'. She is not in command of her own life. From birth to death decisions affecting her are taken by others. She lives out

her days in a culture where poverty, ignorance and ill-health are accepted norms. Pakistan is a patriarchal society to the point of caricature. It is men who define the terms of women's existence, re-inforce a self image of helplessness and subordination, whether they are treated as mere cattle or as precious wards. It is only a few women who break out of this restricting social framework to live life on their own terms. Otherwise women find self-respect only in relation to a man. This is the antithesis of the spirit of the IBR (International Bill of Rights which enjoins autonomy of the human individual Limited only by the right of autonomy of fellow beings). The present situation is country to the highest expression of an Islamic society which envisages men and women as complementary and mutually supporting.

It is all very well for Muslim countries to take umbrage at a UN report that cites Islam as a cause of female backwardness, but an honest appraisal of policy and practices in the muslims world reveals that the treatment of women leaves much to be desired. No wonder the outside observer begins to think that religion itself bestows a subservient role upon women even though believing Muslims know that this is not case. Unfortunately obscurantism and half backed notions in the garb of sacred edict have done great damage to the women of Pakistan and thereby to the nation.

In Pakistan, health, education and employment figures speak eloquently of the neglect of women. The 1981 census discloses the male-female ratio as 111 to 100 and the female population at 48 percent. Women are less than half of the total inhabitants the demographic picture is of a declining female population. A pronounced son preference results in less care and attention to the health

and nutrition of girls and a general indifference to their education. They are not encouraged to express themselves outside the family circle. the majority of girls are expected to perform on endless series of repetitive reward. Lives of unrelieved drudgery are not even compensated with some personal income. Any cash earned is pooled into the family kitty.

Throughout the educational structure in Pakistan the number of institutions catering to females is far below the number for males. The rollment ratio of girls and women is also much lower being approximately one female for three males at every rung of the educational ladder. The drop-out rate for girls is much higher and we have been left with the abysmal figure of 16 percent overall literacy for women, while the estimate in rural areas is disgraceful 7 percent. There is hardly any other country even in the least developed regions where such vast multitudes of women are not even alphabetized. Yet we claim to be heirs to a proud Islamic civilization, a civilization based on a faith that exhorts its followers with clear injunction to read, learn and think.

Similarly, in the economic and employment sector women of Pakistan do not have equal access to resources either within the household or outside it. The labour of women at home and on farm is unremunerated. When they do enter paid employment it is at lower wage levels. the labour force participation rate of women is again one of the lowest in the world at 5 percent. This is a poor record for a nation of 100 million, the tenth most populous country in the world. We are aware that Pakistan's economy is geared to the neo-colonial mode of organisation and within this system economic justice is impossible for either sex. the woman is therefore exploited

within a general framework of exploitation. However as countries struggle to attain self-reliance within a new World Economic Order, it is possible to avoid extreme injustice to women. In fact it is impossible to achieve a healthy, debt-free economy in a nation where women are steeped in ignorance, forming a perpetually vulnerable group.

The illegal seizure of power by the Chief of Army Staff in 1977 prevented the complete report of the Women's Rights Committee from seeing the light of day, and the hope of progressive measures that might have flowed from it. Under Martial Law, orthodoxy has been encouraged to unleash its venom against women. Mullahs of every hue and description have a license to issue edicts, to publicly slander educated women, to be involved in legislation although they enjoy no consent from the people. As a result of these exercises we have the Hudood Ordinance (1979) which among other aberrations, reduces a woman to half and renders her vulnerable to violence. The amended Law of Evidence (1982) again excluded women as witnesses in many situations. It is an insult to women and minorities. The infamous 8th Amendment gives sanctity to all Martial Law violations of Human Rights.

In the works though not promulgated, the Qisas and Diyat Bill also values a murdered as half, while the 9th Amendment seeks to snatch away from women their only inadequate legal protection - The Muslim Family Laws Ordinance (1961).

The status of Women Commission, a high level body, set up by the regime in 1982 with a comprehensive mandate a generous budget submitted its report in 1984. But in-

spite of the chorus of demands for its release, it has been suppressed by the reactionary military regime.

We pay tribute to all those women and men within and outside our Party who protested the imposition of legislation demeaning to women, who raised their voice or wrote and who were arrested and imprisoned . But for them, these issues would have faded away, while the military bulldozer crushed all rights unchallenged.

In its wisdom the regime has decided to raise the voting age from 18 to 21. this disenfranchises several million young men and women for the next general election whenever they are held. One can only marvel at the logic by which young men of eighteen are old enough to bear arms and even die in defence of their country, but they are considered too young to have a say in how they are governed. Le gally young men of eighteen and women of sixteen are old enough to marry and have a family but they are denied the right to an opinion regarding the setup in which they are to do so.

The ten years of Martial Law have seen an increase in aggression and violence against women perpetrated by the State itself, its ultimate expression being the public flogging of women. this unprecedented barbarism is justified in the name of Islamic Justice, when those in power initiate the trend, it is not surprising if criminal elements in society also seek out women as victims.

However, we harbour no intertion to deride the devout, the men and women of true faith. the ulema have a vital role i.e. to provide spiritual guiedance and solace to the people in town and country, to educate them in the eternal principles of the great ethical, moral system of Islam.

But the PPP firmly believes that law making is the prerogative of the elected representatives alone and not of a clergy outside parliament.

The PPP is committed to raising living standards and reducing income disparities amongst the citizens of Pakistan. It is specially pledged to work for the vulnerable groups, the women and children who are so frequently forgotten when policies and budgets are designed.

We plan to address primary education with the highest priority. Special allocations will be made to bring girls into schools and keep them there until they are at least functionally literate.

The convention on the Elimination of Discrimination against Women will be scrutinised with a view to its adoption, bringing our country in alignment with humanistic international thinking.

It is within the larger contest of social transformation that we place the question of women's status. It is not a matter of merely providing relief to historically disadvantaged community but a necessity to raise the debate to a far higher level to understand and bring about a qualitative change in the attitudes and actions of society towards its women.

With this objective, the Pakistan People's Party seeks to foster active encouragement to its women citizens to enter every level of public activity, to demand and receive the essential family and social support in newer and more dynamic roles.

Our Party, without any reservation, stands for the complete equality of women in every sphere of human exist-

ence. We do not envisage women as forever pleading and protesting against decisions already made for them, or as a perpetually disadvantage community seeking to wrench concessions from a reluctant male-dominated order. For us women are part of the process of social transformation and their public and family contribution is integral to the healthy growth of society.

As regards eligibility for office you can see before yourself the living example of a woman Chairperson and a woman Co-Chairperson of the country's largest political Party.

Pakistan was a signatory to the International Bill of Human Rights or the Universal Declaration of Human Rights proclaimed of December 10, 1948. This universal document of thirty articles enshrines all possible rights and freedoms for men, women and children, making no distinction of race, colour, sex, language, religion, political or other opinion, national or social origin, property, birth or other status.

Governments have not been true to their pledge and in Pakistan military corruption have made a mockery of the solemn commitment to recognition of the inherent dignity and equality of all citizens. It was during the PPP Government that the Constitution of 1973 was adopted by a popularly elected National Assembly. The democratic Constitution of 1973 embodies the Fundamental Rights of the UN International Bill of Rights and goes even further by including special safeguards for women, even though all articles of the Constitution apply equally to them. It was the PPP Government which rendered constitutional protection to the Family Laws Ordinance (1961), which has been the target from reactionary groups, who seek its

repeal.

The Convention on the Elimination of all forms of Discrimination Against Women (CEDAW) which came into force in 1981, also contains 30 Articles that specifically refer to women. It has been signed or ratified by over 90 countries but the present rulers of Pakistan are reluctant to sign it.

Most comprehensive to date is the Document adopted at the UN Women's Conference held at Nairobi for which Pakistan also voted. Called the Forward-looking Strategies to the Year 2000, it spells out in great detail policies and means for implementation that will accelerate the equality and progress of women in every possible area of human life.

The PPP honours all the UN Plans, Declaration and Strategies devised by the world body that are aimed to make governments responsible towards their women citizens. 2000 as a target year leaves little time, but with the political will and people's support many of the strategies could be adopted and the right directions set.

The Women's Rights Committee set up by Prime Minister Zulfikar Ali Bhutto in 1976 was a step towards investigating the conditions of women with a view to undertake remedial steps to improve their status. It will be recalled that the PPP government opened the Foreign Service to women for the first time. As an outcome we have over 20 women Foreign Service Officers today. The Bridal Gifts Restriction Act (1974) was also intended to curb wasteful marriage expenditure.

A Permanent Federal Status of Women Commission must

be instituted with similar bodies replicated in the provinces and districts. These will act as vigilance and referral centres, providing a countrywide network to monitor the requirements and rights of women.

The Pakistan Peoples Party is setting an example, but we realise the need to recruit and appoint more workers and office-bearers at all levels of the Party structure. Work at the local level is the best training experience for eventual active involvement in mainstream public life. A time will come when there will be no status of women problem, where discussions such as today's will seem redundant. Let us all resolve to strive towards that day.

CHILDREN – VICTIM OF AGGRESSION

(Statement on International day of Innocent Children, Victims of Aggression on 4.6.1988)

Today the world commemorates International Day of Innocent Children, Victims of Aggression. As a result of the socio - economic situation, aggression on children begins at home or some would say, it starts in his mother's womb. (Because of malnutrition of the mother, most children are born weak.) Sometimes they are born disabled and diseases and many do not survive for long. its rare that poor children can afford to be educated and only slightly better off parents manage to admit their children in schools. As a result of bad economics teachers too come from a tension-ridden environment. They are

not very qualified either. They too subject children to maltreatment and take their frustrations out on them.

The miserable plight of the common man forces him to seek employment for his minors. The exploiters in turn strike an easy bargain and extract maximum labour out of children, for a meagre salary.

Pakistan is basically an agrarian society. Children are made to work in open fields, in the worst heat and cold, for nominal returns. Influential land owners lobby even manages to get schools closed down during harvest seasons in order to extract free or cheap labour from children. It is estimated that more than 75% of labour employed in hand-knotted carpet industries comprises of children, between the ages of 5 and 12. For this industry, beside the advantage of low wage, children can tie finer knots with small fingers. Similarly the shoe industry and many cottage/packaging industries etc. are notable places of children labour. Quite a sizeable number of children are also employed as domestic servants. Conditions of work are horrible. They are bullied and beaten. They develop diseases like Asthema, Tuberculosis, etc. It is an acknowledged reality that love, care, protection, free environment and the like are essential for the grooming of children, At this age, children need the care and affection of their parents and family members. When in school they need guidance and encouragement rather than hate. They need to be brought up in a free environment, where there is democracy, justice and fairplay, rather than dictatorship, suppression and exploitation. The environment in which our children are born and raised, adversely affect their physical and mental growth. They are not afforded conducive opportunities to nourish themselves. Aggression shatters their confidence. Their bodies

and minds become prone to diseases. When a child remains uneducated, he is dissatisfied with his future. His reciprocity and understanding suffer. The existence of 'Begar camps' is the worst of stigmas on our society. Children are shackled, tortured, and hard labour got out of them.

Such a state of affairs cannot exist without the knowledge of the administration. Children are future guardians of our country. What will happen to our mother land, if such conditions are allowed to persist? It is indeed the responsibility of the government to do away with such excesses. Child labour should be declared a heinous crime and the hardest of punishments invoked for its violation.

But the crux of the matter is the socio-economic system of the country. The Peoples Party wishes to create a truly democratic and egalitarian set-up: where people are afforded genuine opportunities to work, develop and prosper ; where children are afforded free and compulsory education; where the government is bound to look after the education, health, upbringing and overall welfare of a child and where children are born and raised in free and democratic environment, the problem of INNOCENT CHILDREN, VICTIMS OF AGGRESSION can be drastically tackled..

BROKEN PROMISES

(Resolution of Central Executive Committee of P.P.P. General Ziaul Haq's Dissolution of Assemblies on 29.05.1988)

The Pakistan Peoples Party notes that General Zia has dismissed Assemblies and Prime Minister he created through the 1985 elections. It notes that General Zia has promised to hold elections within three months according to the 1985 Constitution. The PPP notes that a caretaker administration is being formed to supervise the elections.

We in the Pakistan Peoples Party repeatedly called for mid-term elections as a means to strengthen the limited political process in the country which had been initiated with the holding of controlled elections of 1985.

We had predicted in 1986 that the present structure cannot last until 1990 and mid-term elections will be held. It would have been better if these elections had been held as a consequence of the civilian administration and opposition reaching a settlement. Nonetheless, we welcome the principles of fair, free and impartial party based elections. Our Party is anxious to go to the people of the country who are the true masters of the Nation's destiny.

Pakistan today is facing a grave crisis striking at the roots of our unity and integrity. The long years of military dictatorship have fanned provincial hatred and eroded national consensus. Corruption is rampant and the back of the ordinary man is broken by unemployment, retrenchment and high prices. The Army has been deployed in Sindh for three years but has failed to curb what is termed as 'Lawlessness'.

We believe political problems cannot be solved, only heightened by repression and suppression. Only a political ideology and programme which cuts across narrow sectarian and ethnic lines can give the nation respite from bitter clashes and help create brotherhood and harmony.

The Pakistan Peoples Party believes that Pakistan faces the danger of disintegration. The inception of this process of disintegration began with the coup of 1977. It is the duty of all patriots to put an end to this process of disintegration. This can only be done if the strength of the people is galvanised.

We call upon the caretaker administration to recognise the gravity of the situation. Given the track record of broken promises and postponed elections, the people of

Pakistan await anxiously for firm assurance that elections will be held which are fair, free and impartial, that are party-bassed and in accordance with the Constitution of 1973. Even under the Constitution of 1985 elections must be held within 90 days of the dissolution of the Assembly by the President and there is no constitutional escape from this.

The 1985 experiment in which political parties were debarred and in which the premier party of the country was kept out are before us all. Any such tactics now can only further deepen the crisis, create greater disillu-sinment and discontent, and give the enemies of Pakistan an opportunity to play havoc with the very integrity and sovereignty of Pakisan.

ZIA'S END

*(Resolution of Central Executive Committee of P.P.P. on C 130
Crash on 18.8.1988)*

Genral Zia's era ended as it began, in violence. As muslims do not rejoice in death. Our battle with Zia was a political battle.

Internationally Zia may be remembered as the man who stood up to the Soviets after they entered in Afghanistan. Inside Pakistan he will be remembered as the man who illegally seized power and after 11 and a half years of repressive rule, left behind nothing but debts and mortgages, hunger and unemployment, exploitation and discrimination, drugs and corruption. However the Zia era is in the past and we must dwell on the future.

The challenge of the future is to overcome the legacy of the Zia years through the reconstruction of Pakistan on the basis of Federalism, democracy and Egalitarianism Now constitutional and institutional means must be followed to ensure stability and security of Pakistan.

The Acting President has been placed by fate at a critical position and critical time. Every patriotic Pakistani will want him to succeed in ensuring a stable transfer of power in Pakistan.

We in the Pakistan People's Party are prepared to cooperate for constitutional response to the vacuum in office created by the death of General Zia. We are hopeful that as a seasoned and experienced person, the Acting President will not only remain neutral but respond to the national aspirations of the people by:

- a) Holding party based elections on November 16, 1988.
- b) Ensure conducive political atmosphere by even-handed treatment of all political parties.
- c) A caretaker cabinet composed of Senators or other individuals who would not be fighting elections and thereby not have a vested interest in its results.
- d) Appointment of non controversial judicial officers as caretaker Chief Ministers.

The CEC noted the loss of Armed Forces personnel traveling on the same plane. It grieved with the nation and their families on the loss of the defenders of the nation.

The CEC also noted that the Ambassador of the United States, Arnold Raphel, was on the plane and lost his life. Raphel was a distinguished diplomat associated with the transition to democracy. We join his wife and family in grieving his loss.

