

President of Pakistan

ZULFIKAR ALI BHUTTO

SPEECHES AND STATEMENTS

December 20, 1971 - March 31, 1972



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Address to the nation on December 20, 1971

My dear countrymen, my dear friends, my dear students, labourers, peasants, the younger generation, those who fought for Pakistan, the working classes, the labouring classes, those who work with their hands,

I want to tell you that I have come in at a very late hour, at a decisive moment in the history of Pakistan. We are facing the worst crisis in our country's life, a deadly crisis. We have to pick up the pieces, very small pieces, but we will make a new Pakistan, a prosperous and progressive Pakistan, a Pakistan free of exploitation, a Pakistan envisaged by the Quaid-i-Azam, a Pakistan for which the Muslims of the subcontinent sacrificed their lives and their honour in order to build this new land. That Pakistan will come, it is bound to come. This is my faith, and I am confident that with your co-operation, understanding and patience we will emerge as a stronger and a greater state. I have no doubt about it.

Now, tonight, I could have spoken from a text. I could have said what was written, but I want to speak from my heart. I need your co-operation. I am no magician. I am a fallible individual and without your co-operation, I simply cannot succeed. But with your co-operation and with your support, I am taller than the Himalayas. I must have that co-operation, your co-operation and understanding. You must give me time, my dear countrymen, and I will do my best. Ever since my return, I have been working round the clock and that is why I have not been able to prepare a text for this important statement.

Nevertheless, I think I must reach you straightaway and, therefore, I will speak on various matters and I might go from one matter to another and come back to it. But I have some points, some important points, and

more will follow. I will not trouble you unnecessarily. I will not like to come on the air or before the television every now and then. I do not want to make frequent appearances but important appearances suddenly. They might interrupt permanent programmes, but I will trouble you only when I want your approval for an important decision because I want to take no decision without your consent. Under no circumstances will I by-pass the people. Under no circumstances will I move one step in any direction without your approval. I am not going to waste any time. Every minute is important and time has so far moved against us.

I would have preferred to speak to you in Urdu but I hope an Urdu translation of my speech will follow immediately after my speech. I do make speeches in Urdu in my public meetings and now also I might interject in the middle with something in Urdu, if necessary. But since this is my first speech and the world is listening, I would like to speak in English for the moment. English is not our language but we have taken no real step to see that it is replaced properly. But these are matters which can follow later. So I speak to you in English, a foreign language, and I am sorry I am speaking in a foreign language.

In the first instance, let me tell you, I wish I were not alive today. Believe me, I mean it when I say that; I mean it. Not because the task is difficult but because of certain developments and certain results. I never knew that I will live to see the day when Mr. Jagjivan Ram, the Defence Minister of India, would be saying what he is saying. But Mr. Jagjivan Ram should know that this is not the end of the world. This is the beginning, and he should not gloat over temporary military victory.

In the whole history of the subcontinent, from the beginning of the time when Muslims set foot on the subcontinent, from the beginning of the time of Mohammad Bin Qasim, Muslims have not faced such a difficult situation as we are facing today. But Muslims have a proud heritage in the subcontinent and this is only the beginning. It is not the end. We might have received reverses, we have received certain reverses, certain important reverses, but this will make us learn, this will make us understand and we will begin anew, with confidence, with the co-operation of the people. I would speak to you frankly, my dear brothers, my dear friends and sisters, I am going to speak to you from my heart and I am speaking without any rancour, without any ill-will, without any bitterness. The past belongs to God, the future belongs to God, but let me tell you I am speaking in a broad spirit as a Pakistani, believing in a great ideal, in a great concept and I am not going to indulge in cliches.

I have been summoned by the nation at this critical hour, when we are at the edge of the precipice, to lead the nation as President and Chief Martial Law Administrator. But there is a difference in the arrangement in the sense that I have been elected by the people. I have not been capriciously thrust upon them. I am speaking to you today as the authentic voice of the people of Pakistan, not by virtue of the office that I hold, but by virtue of the verdict that you gave in the national elections. So there is a difference. My opponents have said that I have been power hungry. I am not power hungry. If I was power hungry, I would have compromised at Tashkent. I have been five and a half years in a struggle for Democracy and it has not been an ordinary struggle. I have been sent to jail. I still have on my back the marks of lathi charges. I was tear-gassed. Five assassination attempts were made on my life. I stood by the people. I was isolated from the ruling junta, from the bureaucracy, from those who matter in the land. The press gave all sorts of wrong impressions, they distorted my statements. They went on a great rampage against me and my party, only because we were struggling for Democracy and social justice. The vested interests pointed all their guns and bayonets at me. They called us Kafirs, the biggest insult that can ever be levelled against a Muslim. I speak as a Muslim and as a Pakistani. Merely because we wanted to destroy the unmaintainable abominable *status quo*. A coterie of individuals tried to prevent the people of Pakistan from achieving their ends. See the situation today and look at the results. But we have to fight and face this calumny for the truth which was bound to come in any case, if not today, then tomorrow.

So my dear friends, my dear countrymen, I speak to you today as the people's representative and I can assure solemnly, this is my pledge to you, that I will restore democracy. I would not like to see Martial Law remain one day longer than necessary, one minute more than necessary, one second more than necessary. I want the flowering of our society, I want initiative in the hands of our people. To breathe, I want suffocation to end. I know what it means under dictatorship that decides fundamental matters in their own manner. This is not the way civilized countries are run. Civilization means Civil Rule. Civilization means institutions, civilization means democracy. Every institution of Pakistan has either been destroyed or threatened and that is why we face this state today. We have to rebuild democratic institutions, we have to rebuild confidence. We have to rebuild hope in the future. We have to rebuild a situation in which the common man, the poor man in the street, can tell me to go to hell, "I do not believe you" and "I do not like you." We have to make

our Government accountable. Why we face this situation is because there has been no accountability. Without accountability, you can achieve no results. So, believe me, I have every intention to restore democracy, to give a constitution to the people of Pakistan, to give the rule of law to the people. I intend to do it. I will not like to see the nation under the capricious will of any individual. We have suffered too much for it and we cannot suffer any longer for it. But because we are in such a terrible situation, you will have to give some time to me in order to move towards that direction. I have made certain promises. These promises will be fulfilled. And one of these promises is the restoration of Democracy. So Democracy will be restored and a Constitution will be given to the people. I am not giving the schemes. I am not going to address you every four months, to give you one scheme after another. I will address you whenever necessary and whenever we move forward in the direction of Democracy, which is going to be soon.

Now my heart and the hearts of my friends are with our brethren in East Pakistan and our people in East Pakistan. East Pakistan is an inseparable and indissoluble part of Pakistan. The heroic people of East Pakistan had a great role to play in the creation of Pakistan. Without their contribution, there would have been no Pakistan. They are the majority of our land and I am fully convinced that they want to remain with us. I appeal to them not to forget us but forgive us if they are angry with us.

I want to tell our gallant armed forces who have fought in East Pakistan that our hearts are with you. Please remain brave as you have remained brave in the past. Please endure the momentary difficulties. We will have sleepless nights. We will not rest for a moment till we have redeemed your honour. You have relations here. You are closer to us. Be courageous. Our hearts and souls are with you and these are not empty words. You are brave people. You are valiant people. We stand by you. Please do not think that we have abandoned you. We will stand by you, we are with you. If you go down, we all will go down together. There is no question of your going without us. Please hold on. Please remember my words and have this message, carry this message, in your hearts, that we are doing everything in our power. I have just taken over, but I will see that there is an honourable return to normal conditions, and that you are not humiliated. Your humiliation is our humiliation and we will bend backwards to see to it that not a moment is wasted for the correct results.

I do not want to spell them out because that may give indication to other people.

To those who have stood by the Pakistan ideology, I say, stand by it, fight heroically because Pakistan ideology is bound to prevail with the passage of each day. Indian presence is being felt every moment. You will see that Pakistan ideology is truthful and a faithful reflection of the Muslim Bengal. Muslim Bengal will always be a part of Pakistan. Muslim Bengal of the subcontinent suffered, more than any other part, from Hindu domination. Muslim Bengal's character will always remain and we will see to it that Muslim Bengal will remain a part of Pakistan.

Coming to the question of our relations between East and West Pakistan I will say, mistakes have been made. We have made those mistakes. Where and when they were made, I cannot go into that matter at this moment. But if mistakes have been made, that does not mean that the country should be dismembered, that the country should be destroyed by another country by physical force and physical power. This is unprecedented in the annals of the world. To rectify and make amends for our mistakes, I seek an opportunity to meet the leaders of Bengal and the people of Bengal to arrive at a settlement between East and West Pakistan without foreign interference and certainly without foreign occupation. We must be given that opportunity so that we may arrive at a settlement between two brothers who have always lived together for the last twenty-four years and under certain conditions will continue to live together for all times. But we must be given an opportunity to negotiate a settlement between ourselves within the concept of one united Pakistan. But having said that, I say we are prepared to discuss the modalities for future arrangements without conditions. The only condition is, this should be within the framework of one Pakistan. It can be a very loose arrangement but it must be within the concept of Pakistan and we must be given an opportunity so that settlement between East and West Pakistan must come about between the leaders and people of East Pakistan and the leaders and people of West Pakistan, without any foreign interference and certainly without Indian occupation. As long as Indian forces occupy my motherland, I cannot go forward. India must vacate my motherland. Indian forces must vacate East Pakistan before we can pick up the threads. This is a condition. India claims that she has not occupied but is a liberator. So the Indian occupation of East Pakistan must end before we can pick up the pieces.

One hundred and four countries of the world supported Pakistan's

position. My dear countrymen, do not think that we have lost. We have won, because a political victory is much greater than a military victory. Military victories come and go. Germans were outside the gates of Moscow, the Japanese had taken Manchuria. I can go on and on to talk about foreign occupation. Foreign occupation is not a lasting phenomenon. A political decision based on justice is a lasting decision. One hundred and four countries of the world supported Pakistan and this is an international plebiscite. This is an international election. India talks about elections of December, 1970, in the country. I am not ashamed of the elections of December, 1970, because my party emerged as a victorious party of this wing of the country. So we have a stake in the elections of December, 1970. But if India wants to invade Pakistan to interpret the will of the people of East Pakistan as a result of the elections of December, 1970, why does not India pay heed to an international election?

India has used the election of East Pakistan as a pretext. She talked about the refugee problem and as a result of it she invaded my country. We had never said that we do not want to take back refugees. We had said that whatever the number we want our own citizens back in our country. But India has brought them on their guns, on their bayonets and on their tanks; and let me tell you, my brethren of East Pakistan, India will bring many more and you will see the developments with the passage of each day. India did not want to talk to a military regime. India did not want a military solution of the settlement. What India has imposed today on East Pakistan, is it a political solution? India said that there can only be political solution but she has a military conclusion. If we have failed to impose a military solution internally, India will equally fail to impose a military solution externally. India's days in East Pakistan are doomed to fail; India simply cannot succeed. India knows the spirit of the people of Pakistan. The spirit of the Musalmans of the subcontinent cannot in any way be compromised or in any way be dejected by temporary military victory. India should not get intoxicated by the fact that she has taken over by a preponderance of military force the eastern part of Pakistan. We will fight and we will continue to fight for our honour and for our self-respect, for the integrity of Pakistan. This is not the first fight that we have had. India has a choice. The choice before India is to either accept the norms of justice and equity or face an implacable enemy for all times, because the people of Pakistan, their spirit, their determination, their courage, can never be compromised, no matter what happens in temporary affairs or over the exigencies of time.

We fought for one Pakistan. We are prepared to work for a *modus vivendi*, an honourable arrangement, a just arrangement, based on the aspirations and the wishes of both wings of the country—provided we are allowed and we come to our arrangement by ourselves.

We will move on to the constitution. We have to give the country the rule of law. And this constitution will not be my constitution because I am an elected representative of the people. I am a servant of the people of Pakistan. I know the people of Pakistan. I lived with them in villages, in towns, in cities. I know all their feelings. I know what is in their hearts. I know what they want. So I am not making an empty promise. My dear brothers, friends and sisters, I will give you a constitution according to your needs and according to your requirements and actually what you want. This will happen soon, very soon, but please give me time in order to settle some of the preliminary internal problems also to deal with the external situation. The lack of accountability has left us in a very bad plight. We have not lost a war. We have not failed. We have been failed. Our soldiers have nothing to be ashamed of, our people have nothing to be ashamed of. Our soldiers fought valiantly. We are the victims of our system. We have not been the victims of any lack of valour or any lack of courage. Dunkirk was nothing compared to what our people and our soldiers had to face in East Pakistan.

The Western press has been against us. The press is writing against us. But we have nothing to fear. The truth will prevail. The truth is that Pakistanis are one of the best fighters in the world. And when I say that, these are not the words of Zulfikar Ali Bhutto. These are the words of a distinguished foreign General, a great British General, who said that the world has not seen a better infantry soldier than the Pakistani. So please do not lose heart. I appeal to my young friends in the armed forces. I appeal to the jawans that we will redeem this day. We will take revenge and we will see to it that this temporary humiliation is put right, if, of course, India wants to go on the path of revenge, if India does not want co-operation and understanding based on justice and equity, based on the rights of Pakistan and the rights of the subcontinent, because we live in the same subcontinent.

I am afraid the nation has been fed on lies. Deception has been the order of the day. We have been misled. I am not going into that matter. Now I do not want to touch upon this question. I would like to avoid them if necessary. But I assure you, I promise you, that I will speak the truth to you. Whatever the realities, I will present them before you either

through this media here or through public contact. I will never lose my public contact. I will bring all these issues to you for your consent and for your approval. Some of the decisions you might not like but I will try to explain them to you. I will want you to understand them. So I intend to embark on this mission very shortly, because there has been a political void in the land, and we have suffered as a result of this political void. That is why a major part of our country today is under foreign occupation and we had to face ignominious surrender in East Pakistan. Now if the internal situation in East Pakistan were directed on the right lines, I do not think that we would have seen this day. And in this connection I can assure that, as long as I hold these responsibilities, I will move very fast.

For economic and social justice, I will move as fast as is necessary, to see the burden of the common man lifted. I will move as fast as necessary to see that the disparities are removed. I will move as fast as necessary to see to it that corruption and nepotism and maladministration are handled, and when I say that I mean it. I know we have been using these words loosely in the past. But I will come down with a very heavy hand on corruption.

I warn the bureaucracy to do its job, to do its duty, like I work, night and day. I expect the bureaucracy to work night and day. I am a man who works 24 hours a day. For me there is no question of sleep or rest and I expect the bureaucracy to do the same. The tea parties must come to an end. The bluff and bravado must stop. The bureaucracy must be reorientated and it must be at the service of the people. I am not an opponent of the bureaucracy. We need the bureaucracy but we need a liberal, dynamic bureaucracy at the service of the people. We do not need a bureaucracy which is working in the traditions and concepts of the British. The British were foreigners. The bureaucracy of Pakistan is not composed of foreigners. And when I talk of the bureaucracy I do not mean only the Secretariat at Islamabad, I mean each and every bureaucrat wherever he is. And I will travel unexpectedly, without announcing my schedules of travel. Suddenly I might land at Rahimyar Khan, suddenly I might land in Chitral, suddenly I might land in Mirpurkhas, suddenly I might land at Lyallpur. So they must expect me at any time. And I will see to it that bureaucracy is at the service of the people.

I will see to it that corruption and maladministration are finished, as long as I am holding the office on behalf of the people of Pakistan, and this is said generally, not out of any vindictiveness. Any bureaucrat who has misbehaved with me in the past or has done things which are contrary to law, I forget that. We are opening a new page, a new chapter. I expect

the bureaucracy to behave and to co-operate, only in so far as it is in the interest of the country.

In this connection I want to say something about the police. The police have been abused. The police has a bad name. Partly it is justified, partly it is not justified. When it is not justified we will do everything to see that the facilities for the police, their children's education, housing and other matters are put right, because you cannot have an honest policeman with vast powers at a salary of Rs. 100 or so. We will take care of that in due course. We will take care of bureaucracy. We will respect and honour intelligent, honest bureaucrats motivated with an ideal to serve Pakistan. They will be honoured citizens of Pakistan. But we do not want opportunists and we do not want persons destroying the very fabric of this nation. So to the police I say, the part which has corrupted you, we will try to put that right, but you must put an end to your "Zulm." You must put an end to your tyranny. You must see to it that the security of every individual, no matter how poor he is, is respected.

First thing is that I want to ensure the security of the common man, the respect of the common man. The common man, the poor man, the peasant and the labourer have been subjected to too much humiliation. The whole nation has been humiliated today because the common man has been humiliated for 24 years. If the common man had not been humiliated for 24 years, Pakistan as a nation would not have been humiliated today. I want an end to this humiliation. I want each and every individual to be regarded as important. I do not want him to get his justice through "sifarish". I am not going to accept any "sifarish" at all. I am not going to permit my relations to say that we are related to Mr. Bhutto. I have no relations, I have no family. My family is the people of Pakistan. My children are the people of Pakistan. Nobody will do "sifarish" through my relations or through people known to me or through my party. I will never brook that, because the people of Pakistan are my family. Of course I have a talented cousin who is outstanding in his own right. He will have a right to serve the people because he has gone to jail. He is intelligent. He has gone to Oxford. But that is a different matter. You can rest assured that I have got children and I have got wife. They will not come into the picture. They will be nowhere in the picture and if my children and my family or my wife think that they can exploit my position, they are sadly mistaken, because I will make them accountable like any one else. So it must be known clearly to everyone that no "sifarish" from anyone, no nepotism, no corruption and no maladministration. It has been said these

things are impossible. They are not impossible. Nothing is impossible. I expect the people and the party to co-operate with me to see that we come down heavily on these matters.

But fundamentally it is the economic system, the social and economic system that requires change and adjustment. We intend to put the social and economic system right. It will take some time. Rome was not built in a day, but nobody should be unnecessarily frightened either, because we want to serve the people. Those who are enterprising, they must continue to render the contribution to the nation and we want only production to go on. I will ensure that there are no lock-outs. I will ensure that the labourers are not maltreated. I will ensure that unemployment does not unnecessarily take place. I would now appeal to the industrialist class. I will tell the industrialist class, "Do not have lock-outs, do not throw out labourers because labourers are our masters." I will tell the labour community, "Please be a little patient. We will do everything in our power to put resources of the nation at your disposal, because you are producers of wealth and have nothing to fear." To all those who work with their hands, all those who toil, "Please do not fear because your Pakistan has come into being today. Those who sweat, those who toil, have nothing to fear." That applies to every segment of society. Also I tell the farmers, you are the backbone of the nation. You will not be ejected by *Waderas*, you will not be ejected by *zamindars*. You will have your rights.

I intend to have land reforms. I intend to have land reforms in the first instance and I intend to have land reforms in the second instance. The second instance is when Democracy is restored, because the people's representatives must determine the extent of land reforms. But in the first instance I would have the land reforms which are absolutely necessary for which we need no debate. And these land reforms will also be significant. Anyone who tries to circumvent these land reforms will be punished severely. I want no circumvention of land reforms in the first instance.

I want labour reforms in the first instance. These labour reforms and land reforms will come. They will come very soon. Give me a little time. But at the same time I tell the *zamindars* and the industrialists that they should not think that the heavens have come down. The heavens never come down. There should be no slackening in production, either in the agricultural sector or in the industrial sector.

If there is any slackening of industrial production or agricultural production to frustrate my reforms, then I will nationalise and I will acquire the property in the name of the people straightaway. I expect co-operation

straightaway from those who might try to frustrate my reforms. These reforms cannot be frustrated. These reforms if they are frustrated then those who try to frustrate them have to pay a very heavy price.

Secondly, I want no flight of capital out of Pakistan. Pakistan's money that has gone out of the country is the blood and the sweat of the people of Pakistan and must be brought back into Pakistan. Within a few days I am going to issue certain orders in relation to the flight of capital. But if the flight of the capital is not brought back by voluntary means then you should not blame me for the action that I take. I appeal to all those people who have taken Pakistan's blood out of this poor country to bring back that blood because that blood is needed by my people. It is needed by the armed forces of Pakistan. Return their money to Pakistan. You must bring it back, otherwise I know the means. I will seal the frontiers of Pakistan. I shall not allow any individual to leave Pakistan. I shall take measures against the families of those people who have taken money out of this country. If people have taken money out of Pakistan that money must come back to Pakistan. But I give you time to do it voluntarily and I am not going to set up committees and commissions for six months and three months. I know the people who have money abroad. I know them and I know they can bring it back. Bring it back honourably, bring it back in the interest of the people, bring it back for the armed forces. My armed forces need weapons, my armed forces need tanks, my armed forces have to be rehabilitated, my armed forces have given their lives for Pakistan's sovereignty and integrity and, therefore, this money must come back.

To my students, to the students who brought me back into a position of responsibility. The people of Pakistan have brought me back into a position of responsibility but in the first instance it has been the students. There is no leader of Asia and Africa, if I can recall, brought back into a position of responsibility, who has not been a victim of a conspiracy of a great power. I was a victim of conspiracy of two great powers but I have been brought back into office by the people of Pakistan and I am grateful to you. I am thankful to you. My students are my children. I told the student community that we will not interfere in your internal politics. I have no party in the student community. Whichever party wins elections, whichever party gains in the student community that is their look out. We will not inject politics into the student community. We will allow the student community to flourish, to come to its own decision. They are the elite. They are the masters of tomorrow. I am going to every university

in Pakistan. But please give me some time. I have a lot of misunderstandings to remove because the press and the other forces have tried to create misunderstandings. To the students I say, "I am going to bring about many reforms in educational fields, and I will make you the masters of your destiny, but that destiny is the destiny of Pakistan. So that I know you will reciprocate with the same sense of responsibility."

Please do not misunderstand as far as the provinces are concerned. In this temporary phase I will not allow a void to remain in the provinces. This I will say, but again give me some time. In the meantime I will form a cabinet. I will take people who I think are best suited to discharge their responsibilities. This would be a temporary cabinet. Everything is temporary for the moment. Nothing is permanent. Permanency will come after the constitution is approved by the people. Permanent arrangements will come through the voice of the people and I am a part of that voice. Till then everything is temporary. My own position is temporary.

Whatever arrangements I make are temporary, and secondly, nobody should misunderstand if a certain person is given a certain job to do. This will be done in the administration, in the bureaucracy and other places. But this is the national crisis. This is a crisis of our survival. There should be no question of injured feelings if a man is transferred from one position to another. There should be no question of feeling hurt if someone comes to replace someone else, because we have all been replaced. Have I not been replaced? And did we not all go out? We all have to go out. Everything is temporary. Only God and the universe of God are permanent. Please do not misunderstand. I will never take a single action out of vindictiveness. I will take every action based on the objective of the necessities of Pakistan. So adjustments and necessities are made. They have to be made for the time being and I am sure they will be accepted in a spirit of responsibility. But if a responsibility is offered to an individual, he should take it. He should not argue, because I am now in search of people who may not even like me, who have spoken against me, or who have said things against me. I am going by national considerations, considerations of talent.

I want the talent of Pakistan internally. I want the talent of Pakistan that is outside Pakistan. I want to draw in the talent of Pakistan to responsible positions. Not on the basis of "sifarish" or favouritism but on the basis of talent. I appeal to the talent of Pakistan to come and help me. I am an individual. I cannot do this all by myself. I want you all to come and

help me. If the talent responds we can move mountains and we can face the aggressor. We can overwhelm all odds.

I would like to say something now about the armed forces. The armed forces should know that I have always admired them. I have always stood by them as Foreign Minister and a Minister in the past. I always contributed towards the strengthening of the armed forces. The armed forces of Pakistan have always heroically defended their motherland. Please, my dear jawans and my dear officers and my dear brothers, you have fought bravely. You have nothing to worry about, you have nothing to be ashamed of. You have been victims of a system. We will put this right. I will establish direct contact with you. I cannot look after everything. Because of the present sensitive situation, I intend as President and Chief Martial Law Administrator to at least retain the portfolios of Defence and Foreign Affairs. I will distribute other portfolios whenever they are necessary so that others can help me. We will get together and whatever your grievances are we will redress them. You have today, you feel today, a sense of being hurt. Today our minds are agitated. Today you are seeking vengeance. Please wait a little, we will work out together a scheme that will vindicate national honour. The scheme that will vindicate your honour, our honour; there is no difference between us. People and the armed forces are one. The trouble has arisen because efforts were made to divide the people and the armed forces. The armed forces come from the people. It is the people who create the armed forces. So we will bring back harmony and integration between the people and the armed forces of Pakistan. But I need your co-operation. I need your sympathy. I need your understanding.

But in this connection, since certain measures are necessary, I do not say light-heartedly, I say with a heavy heart, I have already taken certain measures which will come into force immediately. And that is, that immediately, at once, the following Generals would have retired. The former President has already retired. He told me today that he has retired. So the former President, General Agha Mohammad Yahya Khan, is no longer in the armed forces. He has retired. And so are General Abdul Hamid Khan, General S.G.M. Pirzada, General Omer, General Khudadad Khan, General Kayani and General Mitha. These are the Generals who have been retired on the wishes of the people, on the wishes of the armed forces of Pakistan. This is not my personal decision. I do not know most of them. I have not seen most of them. But I have held discussions, consultations and this appears to be the will of the armed forces and of

the people of Pakistan. And I am the servant of the people of Pakistan and I must salute their decision and the sentiment of the armed forces. These generals stand retired and they cannot perform any further duties. They will retire honourably, gracefully, and arrangements have already been made for their replacement.

This is my first decision, and I think it is in accord with the sentiment of the armed forces, the younger officers, and the general thinking. In the meantime, as I said, everything is temporary. My own position is temporary. All arrangements are temporary. I have asked General Gul Hassan to be the Acting Commander-in-Chief of the Pakistan Army and he will take this position immediately. Straightaway, he will go to work and he will have to work night and day. He is a soldier, a professional soldier. I do not think he has dabbled in politics and I think he has respect and support of the armed forces. So I have taken this decision. Nobody should misunderstand it. I know the general sentiment. Nobody should misunderstand it. These are temporary arrangements, and permanent arrangements will be made later on when I have an opportunity to discuss and contemplate over these matters in greater depth. But these decisions are nevertheless necessary, so I have to take them. But he will retain the rank of Lt. General. We are not going to make any unnecessary promotions. We are a poor country. We are not going to unnecessarily fatten people. One of the reasons why we have had to see this day is because luxury has overtaken us. So I am afraid General Gul Hassan will have to retain the rank of Lt. General. He should not expect that he will be promoted to the rank of a General merely because of this temporary arrangement. I expect Lt. General Gul Hassan new Commander-in-Chief of the Pakistan Army will get the confidence and the service of the people of Pakistan and the Government of Pakistan and I repose confidence in him. But we must also expect that he will achieve great things; he will remodel, re-set and reorientate the army on new lines, dynamic lines, on the lines of a free people's army.

I will also like to say that I am withdrawing the ban on the National Awami Party. Now, I know that there are misgivings, many controversies but I have done it in good faith. I am doing it in good faith. I will start with a clean slate. I am assuming that we all are patriots and that we all want to serve Pakistan. So I am withdrawing the ban on the NAP and I am going to summon, I am sorry to use the word summon, to request the leaders of the NAP to meet me very soon. In this connection I am also going to ask the other leaders of other political parties to meet me.

I have nothing against them, believe me. On the national level I will never take partisan decisions. That is all behind us. That was a part of politics when we did not have this responsibility. No political leader and political party should fear that we are going to take a partisan decision. I would consult all of them and I hope that these consultations will be helpful. But if unnecessary mischief is caused then I am afraid that they know me too well and we will have to react sharply. But before that I would have a meeting with them and have discussion.

Foreign policy has to be recast and redone. It will be naturally an independent foreign policy motivated towards the higher interest of Pakistan. We want good relations with all the great powers. We want to have a foreign policy which is positive and which is constructive. I do not want to say much more on this sensitive subject. But this much I like to say that we want a constructive and a positive foreign policy.

The by-elections that have been held in East Pakistan, they were impracticable and were an insult to the people. I liquidate the results of the by-elections held in East Pakistan. I would have talked to the two elected leaders of East Pakistan, Mr. Nurul Amin as well as the Chakma Chief, who is out of country. I want him to come back immediately to Pakistan so that we can hold consultations. These are the two elected leaders of East Pakistan returned on a free vote in the December, 1970, elections.

Finally, I make a pledge, I make a solemn pledge, that I will serve you with all my heart and will. I will serve even if it kills me. I know what the people of Pakistan want. I have lived with them. I have been with them, through thick and thin. Please have faith in me because I have infinite faith in you. I know that with your co-operation, we can look over the Himalayas, but without your co-operation I am simply nobody. I cannot be carried on a gun or a bayonet. I can only be carried in your heart. I will never deceive you. I will never betray you. I will stay by the people. We will march to a great and more glorious Pakistan. This we will do because we have faith in Islam which is the last message of God. Islam that gave brotherhood, equality and fraternity to the world. Islam with social progress, based on what we consider to be Islamic Socialism, based on brotherhood, equality, and a feeling of tolerance and association. *Insha Allah Ta'ala*, we will triumph. I have no doubt in my mind.

My brothers and sisters, in this moment of anguish and sorrow, please do not have any doubt in your mind. Please stand up and face the world. It is a bitter world but we have to face the bitter truth. I can assure your

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that we will succeed. There can be no doubt that we will succeed. Pakistan was made for a great cause, for a great ideal. That ideal is imperishable, that ideal is living. So let us pledge together. Not only my pledge but your pledge. We shall see to it that this stigma is wiped out, even if it has to be done by our children's children.

Pakistan Paindabad.

*Statement announcing Presidential Cabinet
on December 24, 1971*

No single individual can run the administration of a modern nation-state on his own. I have, therefore, appointed a broad-based Cabinet. Our people have suffered in the past because the work of Government had been arrogated to one man. I am the representative of the people and I am, therefore, taking as many people's representatives as possible into my Cabinet. In the days ahead, we will need integrated and harmonious thinking.

I am taking as our starting point the elections of 1970. At the moment, from the Province of East Pakistan, only three elected representatives of the people are present in Rawalpindi. Of these, one has joined my Government as Vice-President. Another has joined my Cabinet as a Minister and I am holding discussions with the third. I need tried and trusted people, those who can help me clear away the debris.

Very shortly I will enlarge the Cabinet by taking another Minister each from the N.W.F.P. and Baluchistan, and possibly one more from East Pakistan. This may involve a possible reassignment of some portfolios. I will also soon be announcing appointment of some advisers.

Time is running out, and in the midst of the present national crisis I am convinced that all these steps are urgently required and I am confident that my fellow countrymen will approve all the measures I have taken. It is my endeavour to build a team which incorporates unity of thinking and purpose. My Ministers will work with the utmost devotion and dedication. It will be their constant concern urgently to alleviate the sufferings and miseries of the common man.

The Ministers of my Cabinet will constantly be expected to travel and learn, in order to remain in close and intimate touch with the people, their problems, hopes and aspirations. I do not want my Ministers or any other member of my Government to get bogged down in bureaucratic red tape. A breath of fresh air must now run through our pure homeland. Not only I, but the people of Pakistan also will closely observe the manner in which my Ministers discharge their responsibilities. The people of Pakistan are those to whom my Ministers are in the first instance accountable. The people are the masters.

I only wish to add that all these arrangements are temporary. One of the major aims of my Government is to concede to all the Provinces of Pakistan full autonomy within the overall concept of a united and integrated Pakistan.

THE CABINET

President and Chief Martial Law Administrator is the Head of the Cabinet and will hold portfolios of the Ministries of Foreign Affairs, Defence, Interior and Provincial Co-ordination. Vice-President will be Minister Incharge of Cabinet Secretariat.

Mr. J. A. Rahim, Minister for Presidential Affairs, Culture, Town Planning and Agrovillees.

Mian Mahmood Ali Kasuri, Minister for Law and Parliamentary Affairs.

Mr. Justice (Retd.) Faizullah Kundi, Minister for Establishment.

Dr. Mubashir Hasan, Minister for Finance, Economic Affairs and Development.

Sheikh Mohammad Rashid, Minister for Social Welfare, Health and Family Planning.

Minister from Baluchistan to be appointed.

Raja Tridev Roy, Minister for Minority Affairs.

Mr. Ghulam Mustafa Jatoi, Minister for Political Affairs, Communications and Natural Resources.

Minister from N.W.F.P. to be appointed.

Malik Meraj Khalid, Minister for Food, Agriculture and Underdeveloped Areas.

Mr. Abdul Hafiz Pirzada, Minister for Education, Information and Broadcasting.

Mr. Mohammad Hanif, Minister for Labour, Works and Local Bodies.

Appointment of Ministers for the portfolios of Commerce, Industries, Tribal Affairs and Kashmir will be made shortly.

Ministers were sworn in at 3 a.m.

*Message on the Quaid-i-Azam's birthday anniversary
on December 25, 1971*

My dear countrymen,

For the second time in a quarter of a century, since Quaid-i-Azam Mahomed Ali Jinnah gave the Musalmans of the subcontinent a homeland of their own, the people of Pakistan stand at the cross-roads of history. Now, as in 1947, we are engaged in a concerted struggle for the preservation of our national identity. Now, as then, we find ourselves pitted against powerful forces which seek to destroy us as a nation; now, as then, the momentum of the national struggle emanates from the people themselves, and each one of you is exercising his individual prerogative as a citizen to help determine the destiny of his nation. And now, as then, I sense that the people of Pakistan, you, my brothers and sisters, are inspired and propelled by the words and deeds of the man whose birth anniversary we celebrate today, and who himself presided over the birth of the state of Pakistan.

But there is one essential difference between now and then; this difference is in the experience we have today acquired of how best to, and how not to, manage the affairs of a modern nation-state. In this experience lies our hope and indeed our assurance. Notwithstanding the tragic consequences which have unfailingly been the end product of the policies of a succession of rulers in this land, the future belongs to the people of Pakistan. It is a future worth striving for, and it can be—indeed, it shall be—transformed into an early reality.

And there is a second great difference between today and the years we have lived through. Since the Quaid was taken from us, a succession of

rulers have constantly, remorselessly betrayed the people. But today, the people of Pakistan are themselves the rulers of their nation, themselves the arbiters and architects of their destiny. At last, hope gives place to assurance.

Today, on the anniversary of the Quaid's birth, one is touched with a degree of sadness that it should have taken us this long to begin to shape our deeds to the Quaid's words and example. Yet, the sadness is only momentary, indeed cleansing. It steels us in our determination that we shall not fail him, that we shall not erase his vision of Pakistan from our minds and hearts, that we shall not betray our own future generations.

But if our determination and our assurance are thus fortified, we must not permit the assurance to turn into complacency. There is hard work for us all in the years ahead. We will all be called upon to display high levels of selflessness and sacrifice. Today you have your own Government responsible for the conduct of the affairs of your state. It is you yourselves, my fellow countrymen, who have placed this Government in its position of responsibility. For my part, I reiterate to you my unshakable determination that I, and all my colleagues, will serve your interests, and your interests alone, and will day by day and hour by hour give utterance to your own problems, your own hopes and aspirations. For your part you also must not fail yourselves, your country, your children, or the Father of this Nation.

So, let us resolve today that each year, when the anniversary of the Quaid's birth comes around once again, we shall be able to address our consciences and declare: "We have travelled only forward, our faith has not been sullied, our unity is more sacred than before, and discipline and hard work have made our fields more green, our people more prosperous, our lives more exalted."

Thus, each year, let us approach closer to the consummation of the Quaid-i-Azam's ideal. *Ameen.*

Pakistan Paindabad.

*Address to the diplomats, officials and journalists
at Rawalpindi on December 27, 1971*

I have been given the responsibility of looking after the affairs of the largest Islamic Republic at a time when our country is facing a perilous crisis. On taking over as President of Pakistan, I assured the people of Pakistan that with their co-operation and goodwill we would overcome the difficulties that face my country. I told them that on their shoulders we would be taller than the Himalayas and without their co-operation we would be mere pygmies. I believe that the firm measures that we have taken in the interest of the country and for the welfare of the people have been welcomed by the people of Pakistan particularly by the common man who has been denied his rights for so many years, and as a result of that denial we face today a very serious situation in the country.

When I returned to Pakistan, I informed the people that I would be guided by them, that theirs was the final word. Without their consent I would not take any steps. I stand by this commitment and today I like to inform you that I met Sheikh Mujibur Rahman, an elected leader of Pakistan, who represents the people of East Pakistan. I am a little late because I came straight from that meeting.

It has not been an easy step to take but it has been necessary to take this step. I wish it had been taken a long time ago. I cannot say anything about the meeting. All I would say is that he did not kick me in the teeth. Nor I found it necessary to pull out a gun. We sat, we talked, and we would continue to talk. So I thought as this was important, I would inform you all that I kept my commitment. But I am going according to the wishes and the aspirations of the people. I believe it is also a generally

accepted view outside Pakistan.

Before I returned to Pakistan, in New York and in other places I was asked specifically whether I would meet Sheikh Mujibur Rahman. I evaded the question. I evaded the question not because I did not want to do the right things but because I wanted to take every step with the consent of the people. I believe that the people of Pakistan wanted me to enter into this dialogue. I say this because I sensed the feeling of the people as their elected leader and know their thinking and also their feelings. Also, I took the opportunity of assessing the public opinion on my return. I know the people of Pakistan will wish us well in trying to come to a satisfactory conclusion in the interest of unity and integrity of Pakistan.

One thing more I would like to mention before we can disperse and that is that there has been some misunderstanding in a section of the foreign press about what has been termed as Hallstein Doctrine, whether it would be applied here in our country or not. Now, in this connection I have said that I do not believe in doctrines. And in any case, we are too small a country to talk in terms of doctrines. Doctrines belong to the great Powers.

An under-developed country cannot be presumptuous and talk in terms of doctrines. So, on principle of it I do not accept the analogy of the Hallstein Doctrine, but nevertheless, certainly if any premature measure is taken in connection with a part of my country which has been forcibly occupied by a foreign power and especially when we have entered into negotiations between the leaders of East and West Pakistan, certainly we shall regard it to be a hostile act, and certainly we will take counter measures, wherever counter measures can be taken, if any precipitate and unwarranted step is taken in that direction. So, I hope I have made my position abundantly clear. I tell my brethren from East Pakistan: do not worry, we stand by you. Pakistan is indivisible. Pakistan shall remain one and no power on earth can dismember Pakistan by force. The difficult days have passed and *Insha Allah* with the consent and will of the people we shall build a new Pakistan, a greater Pakistan and a more prosperous Pakistan.

Finally, to the fourth estate I will make an appeal. I cannot order anyone. I would like to make an appeal to my countrymen that please let us now look inwards. Let us look up our own mistakes. Let us do some soul-searching. Let us get together and find out what is wrong with the state of affairs and forget criticising the great Powers and the foreign countries. There has been some references in the Press about what the American and British Press has been saying. I beg of you to forget it. There are many other

things you can write about. You can write about internal matters, internal reforms. What we should do. Please guide us on this matter. We have great respect for the fourth estate. We want you to tell us what we should do. Leave the world alone. Look inside, look into your own frontiers. If some people write against us, forget it. Let them write against us. They would write for us if we do the right things. Please forget the world outside and look at your own country. Let us look at ourselves. Let them write what they want to write. I do not think they are writing about us in bad faith. We have made mistakes, so let us not be sensitive about these things. Let us make that new Pakistan which everyone will praise. We shall prefer to see no references critical of any of the great power or any other country and that includes India. Let us make our own country and I think we will make it a great country—one of the greatest countries in Asia. This is my belief and it has always been my belief that Pakistan has a great role to play in Asia for stabilizing the world peace. We have a great role to play elsewhere but first of all let us build Pakistan of the Quaid-i-Azam and we will find that we have a great contribution to make, but for Heaven's sake leave the world outside.

When I was being sworn in, many thoughts crossed my mind. The primary one among them was the welfare of our people, welfare of our peasants and welfare of the labouring classes, the poor section of the community. We have to address ourselves to them. We have to open a dialogue with them and we have to return to them. We left them, that is why we are in such a mess. We have to clear this mess. We have to clear the debris. So, let us leave the outside world to itself. I saw a terrible picture of Dorian Gray. Let us put this picture aside. Let us make a new picture, a new Pakistan and a Pakistan of the Quaid-i-Azam—one glorious state based on principles of justice, equality and fraternity. I thank you all.

Pakistan Painsdabad.

*Address to judges, lawyers and magistrates at Lahore
on December 29, 1971*

Pakistan has been badly betrayed. The people of Pakistan have been humiliated and fed on lies over the years. It is about time that we speak the truth to one another. It is about time that we do a little bit of soul-searching. Unless we can put our own house in order we cannot face the formidable challenge that faces the nation.

I do not intend to present a gloomy picture. Undoubtedly, it is a depressing situation but I have confidence, and something tells me in my heart that if all of us put our shoulders to the wheel, if all of us rededicate ourselves to the path of righteousness and truth, this great nation will surmount the present crisis.

As I have said repeatedly, we will build a new Pakistan, a stronger Pakistan, and a more powerful Pakistan—the Pakistan that was dreamt by the poet-philosopher and which was achieved after a great struggle under the leadership of the Quaid-i-Azam.

We have inherited a terrible legacy. We have to clear a very big mess. I want to tell the judiciary and the lawyers that I stand by my pledge that democracy will be restored as soon as possible. I am making this declaration in Lahore which is an extremely important centre of the legal profession. I am making this commitment as a representative of the people to whom I am accountable. Military dictators make commitments and then wriggle out of them because they are not accountable to the people. But a person whose roots are in the people and who owes everything to the people can neither by-pass nor betray them. We have all seen the fate of my two predecessors. I do not want to have the same fate. I want

to go back home and live among my people. And I want to know that I tried to do something for my country so that they could tell my children that their father did try to serve Pakistan and that he did not try to use power and become a dictator.

I can convene the National Assembly tomorrow. There is no difficulty, whatsoever, for me to do that. My party has an overwhelming majority in the National Assembly. As such, I can convene it tomorrow or the day after. But the crisis is so grave and so fundamental that I am trying my best to take a non-partisan approach to the problems of Pakistan. Sometime it might be better to operate behind the cover of the Assembly. But I am sure all of you realise the implications of convening the National Assembly of Pakistan at this moment. If we convene the Assembly, East Pakistan representation will not be there. This has its own implications which will apply not only to the convening of the Assembly but also to the Constitution. It is a condition precedent—a *sine qua non*—that we know the whole national picture—at least we know in what direction we are moving.

I was sworn in on December 20. On December 27 I had my first meeting with Sheikh Mujibur Rahman. You can judge my good faith from that. I do not want to say anything about that meeting. In the first place, I do not think that it would be conducive to the outcome of our efforts. Also, I believe, it is his (Sheikh Mujibur Rahman's) wish that for the moment we keep our discussions strictly confidential. I think this is a correct approach.

So, we must move rapidly in that direction. We like to convene a genuine National Assembly and the starting point will be the results of the elections of December 1970. That is why we have annulled the subsequent bogus by-elections which were held two months ago.

As far as the Constitution is concerned, we intend to move fast in that direction. I am going to have further discussions with the Chief Justice of the Supreme Court as well as with others. Believe me when I say that I am determined to move as fast as possible for the restoration of democracy. I do not want to give a date today. I hope that in the near future I will be able to give you a specific date depending on the development of events. In the past three years we have had so many dates and so many schemes. I want to keep my date with the people of Pakistan. You will hear soon and you will be able to judge our *bona fides* as time passes. You will soon be able to smell and sense whether we are being genuine or we are just trying to drag our feet. We have no intention of dragging

our feet. We cannot deceive the people. It is impossible to deceive the people.

In the meantime, taking limited advantage, if there is any in this limited period of time, we hope that we can progress on the road to reform. I think it is about time that the people of Pakistan were given elementary justice. They have suffered far too long. Our people are amongst the poorest in the world. We have an unequitable system—a system that has badly exploited the poor people of this country. While saying this I am not speaking again in political terms or in terms of my party's philosophy. These are fundamental matters. The kind of reforms that we intend having are those that any society would like to have in the East or West. That is why I have said that we will have certain reforms which are basic, on which there can be no doubt, at which no one can raise a finger and say that we took advantage of the present situation. So, I think, as time passes you will see that these reforms will be announced. We have to move fast. Some people are already complaining that we are moving too fast. I do not think so in view of the mess which is so great and so heavy.

The sphere of reform has to move from one end of the spectrum to the other. We don't want anything arbitrary. We are not blood-thirsty. I have told the Chief Justice of the Supreme Court that we do not want to be arbitrary. We will go by the guidance and advice of the judiciary on matters of reforms within the judiciary. I think you will all agree with me that there is need for reforms in the legal profession and in the judiciary, as there is in any other institution. As a matter of fact, talking in terms of institutions, the judiciary was the only one which relatively had kept itself intact. But when there is a decomposition all around you it is not possible for one institution to escape its effects. So also, as a result of the system—as a result of what has happened in the last ten years, especially in the last two and a half years—it has become necessary to do a little bit of pruning everywhere and I think the tree of state will look much better after that pruning has been completed.

You must have read in the papers that we have appointed a high-powered commission. The Chief Justice of Pakistan is heading it. It will go into the question of the military debacle in East Pakistan and the cease-fire on the Western borders of our country. There are many mystifying aspects of this problem. That is why I decided on an independent judicial inquiry so that we could have an objective answer to this mystifying development. It really mystifies me. There are certain things which

I simply cannot put together.

I know that people are demanding many things. We have taken action in trying to clean the Armed Forces. The Armed Forces, like the people of Pakistan, have been betrayed. They have also been let down. Our Jawans, our young officers, some of our senior officers are heroic. They are valiant. They fought bravely against overwhelming odds. But, like the people, they too have been the victims of the system. Having learnt a bitter lesson, please feel completely assured, have no doubt, my brothers, in your minds that we will never try to perpetuate this evil of dictatorship. The dictatorship really destroys. Look, what it has done to our country. Look, what it has done to our people. It was not so much the supremacy of India's man-power or her resources. It was the freedom of speech. There were assemblies. There was accountability. In our country there was no accountability. Without accountability it is not possible to maintain the required standards needed by contemporary times. It is, therefore, essential that we must make everyone and every institution accountable. I understand the need for pointing an accusing finger. But where are we going to point an accusing finger? If we do so in one direction, from there it goes to the other direction. In the end, the finger must turn to every individual and to the society as a whole.

I would like to see again that the morale of the Armed Forces and the morale of the people is lifted. It is essential to lift the national morale. The Armed Forces and the people were separated. We must bring them together again. The Armed Forces arise from the people. If the people are good, the Armed Forces cannot be bad. This segregation and lack of accountability is chiefly responsible for this state of affairs. We would like to see a return of the people and the Armed Forces to a harmonious relationship commanded by a parliament and adjudicated by an independent judiciary.

I would not take much of your time. I shall conclude by saying that I will do everything within my power to see that democracy is restored as soon as possible. This is not an empty promise. This is my promise to the people of Pakistan to whom I am accountable. Secondly, some essential reforms and pruning is absolutely necessary. In the limited time that we have at our disposal, we intend to carry out these reforms in the supreme interest of the people of our country. Thirdly, my approach, as far as possible, I cannot say entirely, will be non-partisan. I will try to approach national problems in a non-partisan manner. I want to give an assurance to other parties that there will be no victimisation. We will not, in any

way, indulge in power politics or in petty politics when there is a national crisis. In order to attain this, we must have reciprocity, we must have co-operation. If co-operation is lacking, if there is no reciprocity, and if in the same spirit we do not find co-operation from the other parties, then, I am afraid, it will not be possible to extend this kind of co-operation because we have to move ahead. We have to move forward.

Fourthly, as far as the judiciary is concerned, I want to give them the assurance that we want this institution to be resuscitated. We want an independent judiciary. We want all citizens of the country, from President to the humblest citizen, to come under the rule of law.

I assure you finally that as a Musalman and as a Pakistani, I am determined to vindicate national honour. All I need is your co-operation and your prayers. If I have your co-operation and your prayers, the enemy will know how we can deal with him.

Address to intellectuals at Lahore on December 30, 1971

Addressing a large gathering of intellectuals in Lahore on December 30, 1971, President Zulfikar Ali Bhutto declared once again that his Government will not rest until national honour has been vindicated. He said "we want to live in peace in this subcontinent. We want to live at peace with all our neighbours, particularly with India, but not in the manner in which India wants us to live. We want to enter into a dialogue with India. Even prior to this we had desired a dialogue with India but on the basis of justice and certain principles—the same principles on which this subcontinent was partitioned. We can initiate the dialogue tomorrow. But we will not have a dialogue of the type of Tashkent. We have the backing of the people. I am a representative of the people. I, therefore, cannot betray my people. I am prepared to open a dialogue with India tomorrow."

Continuing, President Bhutto said that if India agreed to enter into a dialogue with us she would have to give up the attitude she adopted recently in Dacca. That mentality had to be dropped by India. The dialogue would be political and based on honour. President Bhutto declared, "I would rather die than surrender."

Recalling the conditions and the circumstances in which Pakistan had come into being, President Bhutto said, "we in Pakistan accepted the fact of Partition without any mental reservation, but India never reconciled to the creation of Pakistan. The proof of this is that in the last 24 years India attacked us three times."

President Bhutto gave the assurance once again that democracy will be restored as soon as possible and that there would be no political victimisa-

tion. He said, "only yesterday I made a solemn pledge in the presence of the judges and lawyers and I repeat this pledge in your presence that democracy will soon replace dictatorship. We will soon give you a constitution—a popular constitution—a democratic constitution. This is my promise to you."

Recalling his appeal of December 20 about the quick return of the country's wealth that lay abroad, President Bhutto warned that time was fast running out and no more appeals would be issued. This was not an empty threat. He meant business. If they did not heed this last warning, their factories and their families would not be spared. He warned, "if I can go to jail—if Sheikh Mujibur Rahman can go to jail—if other leaders can go to jail, why can't they? And then the matter will not end with the prison bars. It might go further."

The President said that he knew that secret confabulations were going on among the members of the 22 families. But they must know that they would not be allowed to play the game of hide and seek with his Government.

Demanding immediate return of the foreign exchange, President Bhutto said, "my plans are ready. There is still time for you to surrender to the country honourably what belongs to the country. That wealth belongs to the working classes of this country—the peasants, farmers and labourers. We need foreign exchange desperately for the defence of the country, for its economic build-up and for the total eradication of poverty. It is against our national honour that we should be going out every now and then begging for foreign loans."

Continuing, President Bhutto warned the 22 families that he would never allow them to digest their ill-gotten gains. They could retain their mills and factories but they must part with what belonged to the poor masses of this country.

President Bhutto assured the 22 families that if they brought their foreign exchange back to Pakistan, they would be entitled to bonus. Beyond that, nobody would bother them. Instead, they would be praised for their patriotism and for coming to the rescue of the nation at this critical juncture.

Turning to the demands of the students, President Bhutto said that he had already had consultation with the Vice-Chancellors and that certain reforms were on the anvil. They must give him some time. If they had waited for thirteen years under dictatorial regimes, they could also wait just for a few days more under a popular Government. He told the students that they were the leaders of tomorrow and the future of the country

lay in their hands.

Emphasising the need for discipline, President Bhutto said that the tragic predicament in which the nation found itself today was due also to indiscipline, disorderliness, and utter lack of sense of responsibility.

Referring to the slogans against the bureaucracy, President Bhutto said that its day was up. He had already told the bureaucrats that they must revolutionise their thinking on and approach to the problems and requirements of the common man. They must realise now that they were the servants of the people and not their masters.

Talking about the corrupt practices prevalent in the services, President Bhutto declared, "*Insha Allah* we will finish the evil of bribery pretty soon. If our hands are clean and if we hold our whip firmly, you will see that all the corrupt practices in the services will evaporate in no time."

Continuing, President Bhutto said that although the British had left the subcontinent, their legacy was very much there. "We hate the English language but we still love the British system of administration," he pointed out. The President said that the need of the hour was to disown the system, which the Englishmen had left behind, and not their language, which, by an historical accident, was now an international language. English was the language of science. If they ignored it they would suffer in the field of scientific and technological knowledge. Their standards in this field must not fall. He said, "intolerance must be eschewed. I do not say that English should hold a distinctive place in our day-to-day life. We must promote our own language and our own culture. But this does not mean that we should turn our back completely on the English language. We need it also for our advancement."

Address to the nation, announcing nationalisation of 10 categories of industries on January 2, 1972

I had made a pledge to the people of Pakistan to implement important industrial reforms in the country. I am now beginning to redeem this pledge. As from today, the control and command of the people over the following categories of industries have been asserted:—

1. Iron and Steel Industries.
2. Basic Metal Industries.
3. Heavy Engineering Industries.
4. Heavy Electrical Industries.
5. Assembly and Manufacture of Motor Vehicles.
6. Tractor Plants, Assembly and Manufacture.
7. Heavy and Basic Chemicals.
8. Petro-chemical Industries.
9. Cement Industry.
10. Public Utilities, that is to say:
 - (a) Electricity, Generation, Transmission and Distribution;
 - (b) Gas; and
 - (c) Oil Refineries.

I am determined to see that the common man enjoys the true benefits of industrialisation. The system of permits and licences has so far benefited only a few families. Not even the small investor has been spared the exploitation of the ruling tycoons. The wealth of the nation must be for the benefit of all the people and cannot continue to be concentrated in the hands of a few individuals.

The industries that have been taken over bear upon the life of every

citizen and form the base without which no industrial development in the real sense can take place. The control of these industries now rests with the State of Pakistan for the benefit of the people of Pakistan. The people are now in charge of the course of their own industrial development. Now that these undertakings are to be utilized for the sole benefit of the State and the common man, the workers must make every effort to ensure increased production and the success of these enterprises. We must dedicate all our energies to ensure maximum production and highest quality. The workers will now have a real stake in the success of these undertakings. In their own interest they must now work harder than ever before. There is no substitute for hard work; no nation can hope to succeed without hard work. All the workers in these undertakings must pledge themselves to achieve this national aim.

There is now a people's Government, and the people are the ultimate masters of the country's destiny. They must be ever vigilant against all those who attempt by force or fraud to misguide the workers who produce the wealth of Pakistan. Such attempts must not succeed—we will not permit them to succeed.

As I have earlier declared, only limited reforms in the industrial field are possible in the present circumstances. It is not the intention of the Government to extend control over other categories of industries. It is also necessary to make it clear that the new arrangements will not affect the foreign investment and foreign credit. We expect that after these clear assurances, industries in other categories will maintain the norms of production and performance that Government will prescribe.

It is our firm intention to have a happy blend of the public and private sectors. In this, I am confident, the private sector will co-operate fully. It must also produce to maximum capacity and improve quality. It must treat their workers with dignity. It must not only increase the wealth of the nation at home but bring back from abroad the hidden wealth of the nation. It must realise that everything in the country must be harnessed for the welfare and well-being of all the people of Pakistan. If it fails to co-operate of its own free volition, it will be compelled to do so.

In the end, I repeat my exhortation to the working people of Pakistan to work hard and make our new enterprise of state-controlled industry a grand success.

*Translation of the speech delivered at a public meeting
in Karachi on January 3, 1972*

My dear comrades, friends, elders, workers, my dear brethren,

Everyone of you kindly settle down and let me commence my speech, because until you settle down and listen to me with patience it would be difficult for me to speak. I am a man of the people whose party and whom you have so kindly elected and it is through your help that we have received our present responsibilities. You must never forget that I am one of you, one from amongst you, and that between me and the people there would never be a wall. I am the product of this soil, this land, and I am fully conscious of the feelings of the people and their sentiments. You must never allow yourself any misunderstanding about my position, because whatever position of honour I have received, it has all been through you and so there would never be a distance between you and me. There never can be. I am a man of the people and would live and stay with people. It is for this reason that I am really not liking this wall that they have raised between you and me here at this place where I am addressing you today. After all, I have been addressing you before too. Haven't I addressed public meetings in this place before? Even then while I used to speak, you used to listen to me with interest and there was never any need of a wall like this. Even on those occasions there used to be police but it was there to disrupt our public meetings and charge us with batons, because during those days police was not the people's police. It was not the fault of the police. In those days police used to belong to a handful of people serving one dictator or the other, but now the police belongs to the people and so it must serve the people. Now, therefore, I request you to kindly listen to me with patience.

(Noor Mohammad, take the rostrum away! I do not want this wall between myself and my people.) In those days there used to be only one or two microphones and now there are so many of them that I am wondering as to how and from where all these microphones have come.

So, my friends, I had announced that, as far as possible, I would keep in close touch with the people. This, I had declared, would remain my endeavour and I would keep meeting them. That is why I am now appearing before you in my first public meeting after you have so kindly given me my present responsibilities. I propose to address similar public meetings not in Karachi alone but in all other cities because it is necessary that we should remain in close touch with the people and speak to them.

Dictatorship is a bad thing because of so many reasons, but one of the worst things about dictatorship is that dictators do not have any contact with the people and they take their decisions without consulting the people. These decisions are announced on the radio and the public fails to understand as to why such a decision was taken, what were the factors that motivated it, or what was its background and what exactly were the facts which led to a decision like that. Thus, it is vital that the decisions of the Government, the performance of the Government, views of the Government and the logic of all that the Government does must be understood and comprehended by the people.

There has been such a big change in our country. The very fundamentals have been altered. When I was summoned from New York and was asked to reach Pakistan at once, the country was very close to a civil war. I knew that Pakistan was faced with a complex situation. Cease-fire had been announced. People were dejected, sad and pensive and were waiting for me to return. I, therefore, thought that I was needed by my countrymen and was wanted in my homeland. But I did not know that things were so bad, because as truth was never told to you and as you were fed on nothing but lies, I was also being supplied with incorrect news while I was away in New York. On the one hand I was being told that the military situation was not bad and that we were fighting and would fight to the last man, that we would lay every sacrifice and that in East Pakistan India would not win so easily. I was being told that we could fight for at least three to six months, that in West Pakistan, too, we were militarily fully prepared and that we were soon going to take some important military initiative. So, we were also being misled and misinformed exactly the same way as you were being misinformed and misled. But the whole situation was untenable and irreconcilable. On the one hand there was

Radio Pakistan news and on the other there was the international news which was quite contrary to our home news. The world news was that the situation in Pakistan was fast deteriorating and that it was becoming very very critical. At the same time, our radio was asserting that we were winning, that we were advancing in such and such area. All kinds of messages were being sent to Secretary-General U Thant by General Rao Farman Ali and General Niazi, and on the other hand former President Yahya delivered a speech saying that if we were defeated on one front we should not mind it because we would be fighting on the other front. That we would be fighting to the last man. That we would render the supreme sacrifice.

Now, when I reached home I found that they had sent a special PIA Boeing plane to fetch me, and when I arrived in Pakistan I held discussions with my friends and colleagues. I said to them that we were completely misled. I told them that while messages were being received from Farman Ali and Niazi that they were prepared to lay their arms and surrender immediately and did not want to fight any more, we heard, at the same time, the speech of Yahya Khan that they would be fighting to their last breath. I asked my friends as to what was to be done in a situation like that. My friends told me that all that I was reading in the world press was more or less the correct situation and whatever was being given out in Pakistan was nothing but lies. Now, therefore, when the country had reached a civil war situation (more or less) and the biggest crisis of its history, precisely at that moment Yahya Khan had asked us (our Party) to accept power, saying that he was transferring power to the people. He said to me that I must accept the Government which belonged to the people and that I was the representative of the people. I told him that the ship of the nation is afire. I told him, "when the ship of the nation is sinking, you are running away and asking me to accept to steer it." I told him that if the conditions would have been normal or even near normal, I would have been happier and more readily accepted this situation.

Citizens of Karachi, you would bear me out that I and my Party had declared in April and appealed in the name of God that power should be transferred immediately to the people and their representatives otherwise things would go completely out of control. You would recall that in this very city, at the mausoleum of the Quaid-i-Azam, on 11th September, I addressed a public meeting and in my speech I said: "Oh! you amateurs and novices; Oh! you tyrants, give up the power because you

are not capable of governing the country. There were political problems for which political solutions were to be sought. Elect the people, transfer power to the people." To that Yahya Khan and his colleagues replied that they were not ready to do so because they were to hold by-elections in East Pakistan and were supposed to give a new constitution to the country. They said that they would transfer power in January or sometimes during the new year. They also said that whoever talked of the transfer of power was a traitor. You would recall that they were talking exactly like that and their henchmen were also saying that those who talked of transfer of power to the people were traitors. Now it is for you, the people of Karachi, to give your verdict as to who proved a traitor. Were they the traitors or were we the traitors? What did these people do? They had beaten the workers. What did they do? They lashed the peasants. They lashed and beat the people who were poor and in rags. They beat the poor and kept the rich happy. They ruined the country so much that we have now reached our present tragic plight. No sir, it is not defeat. This certainly is not the defeat of the people of Pakistan. The youth, the proud and the brave people of Pakistan are not defeated. It is the defeat of those cowards and corrupt people who tried to establish an incorrect system and who tried to maladminister this country. So now, my friends, my brothers, my sisters, I am not at all a happy man today. You should not think that I have come here a happy man. How can I be happy? I am a Pakistani patriot. I have been fighting for the nation ever since I was a student. I fought for Pakistan and for my nation. When we were students we used to dream that one day this would be the greatest and the largest Muslim state in the world. So, do you think I am addressing you today as a happy man. No, I am the most unhappy and sad person today.

You would recall that in my first speech in Rawalpindi I wished that I should not have been alive to see this day, but one has to live because the nation is alive. The living nation, my friends, would need living decisions. You must remember the situation we are in today. A part of Pakistan, the biggest part of Pakistan, the biggest province of Pakistan, the province we called Muslim Bengal, the biggest province of the country, yes, the same province, its brave people, Muslims, Pakistanis, all of that is now in the hands of the enemy. Comrades, my friends from Karachi who used to hear that they were Sindhi refugees, they were Punjabi refugees, Pathan refugees in this city—well, today we all have become refugees. We are all refugees because today our biggest province is in the hands of the enemy. Do you think I can be happy over this or over the fact

that I am addressing you as the President of Pakistan. Oh! no. I will never be addressing you as the President of Pakistan. I would always address you as Zulfikar Ali Bhutto, and it does not matter whether I am addressing you from the platform of the Pakistan People's Party or from somewhere else.

Now, our prisoners of war, those who belong to the Armed Forces as well as the ones who are from the Civil Services and who are in the custody of the Indian Army, they must know that we are doing for them everything possible. Whatever we can do we would do and whatever we are able to do we are doing. But some patience and forbearance will have to be shown in the present situation. I would be talking to you in plain language. You should have no illusions about the Indian Government which is a very cunning Government. It is not a generous Government. They think that our citizens, our brave soldiers and other Pakistanis are like hostages in their hands. But they cannot keep them for long. We are doing everything for their safety. I want to tell my sisters and my brothers, particularly those coming from the recruiting areas of this country, that I have instructed the Governor of Punjab to tour those areas and districts from where our brethren who are in Indian captivity originate—Campbellpur, Sargodha and Mianwali and other areas from where the bulk of our Army is recruited. I have instructed the Governor of Punjab to go and tell our brothers and sisters in those areas that we are making every effort. We are making every endeavour in this regard, but our efforts and endeavours are with dignity. I am meeting great international powers every day. I am meeting the Secretary-General of the Red Cross and the representatives of Switzerland who are now responsible for diplomatic liaison between India and Pakistan. I am meeting them and my Government is making every effort in this regard.

Now, if all these things are not published in the newspapers there is a reason for that. It should not be thought that we are not concerned or that we are not worried on this account. We have lost our sleep because these prisoners of war are not merely your brothers and sisters but they are also my brothers and children. I am, therefore, making every effort and would continue making every possible effort to redeem the situation. So long as this is the situation, we have to, God willing, find a solution. And why would we not get the solution? If we would follow the rules of fairness and justice and struggle for it, God willing, we would find the solution. But if I claim that now, here and immediately I have a solution of this problem, I will be only telling you something

which is not correct and I do not want to tell you incorrect things and lies because at least for the last 3 years or, shall we say, almost for the last 13 years, you are hearing nothing but lies and now for God's sake start hearing some truth even if it is unpalatable. Let me tell you that we are making every effort but it would take some time. At the moment they (prisoners of war) are not being treated in a manner that you feel extra unhappy. We would see that they are not maltreated. After all, the outside world has a voice which is by no means an ordinary voice and has got to be heard by everybody. So, friends and comrades, don't you worry on this account. We are making every effort and would continue making it.

Now, in the days of dictatorship such public speeches were not being delivered. Perhaps the last speech which was ever delivered was by the East Pakistani Prime Minister, Mr. Suhrawardy, and in my view he was the last Prime Minister of Pakistan who represented the people and he belonged to East Pakistan. Now that a people's representative has reached this status, I would be addressing you and would consult you and would talk to you and negotiate with you. I have no intention to establish the dictatorship where the public is asked to accept this or accept that. God willing, I would bring democracy in Pakistan. Democracy would come and you should not worry about it at all.

As I told you, I can get the assembly convened tomorrow, the next moment. I don't have to fear the Assembly because after all my party enjoys a majority in the Assembly; but if I convene the Assembly tomorrow, it would have its own repercussions. It is not possible to summon the Assembly so soon. After all, how old is our Government? Hardly 20 days. And what all has not been done in these 20 days or what all would not be done in future? All that I have promised to you. Yes, I had made promises with you at the time of elections when our opponents used to say that this man tells lies and he dances and he does this and he does that. But even at that time I had said that this was my manifesto which we should implement because we wanted that in Pakistan the poor man's lot should be improved, because we wanted that in Pakistan the people's lot should be improved. Pakistan should prosper and progress which of course was not possible until the lot of the poor workers, the peasants is not improved and until we fight against want and poverty and until we bring an end to poverty. These were my promises which were not false and you know that they are not false promises.

We have to fight against time because this is in reality an interim Govern-

ment. In the interim period I have divided the reforms into two categories. There is a category of reforms which are pressing and which must at once be brought about and for which there cannot be any discussion, argument or controversy. I do not want to hear in this respect anyone's objections that he was not consulted or that I am taking any undue advantage by bringing these reforms, because I am not doing anything high-handed in bringing these reforms which are absolutely essential and which are basic. For instance, yesterday I had taken over some basic industries and given them into the control of the people. Besides these, there are going to be many other reforms. These 10 basic industries are not the subject of any discussion or controversy.

You cannot have all the reforms in one day. Rome was not built in a day. Even the most sacred reforms were not introduced in one day. Yes, it took 23 years for the most sacred reforms to be given to humanity and they were brought by our Holy Prophet. I am not even worth the dust of his feet. How can I bring reforms in one day? I can only give a start to the process. I can only start the engine. I can only fill the tank with the fuel. At this time and in this short period when time is passing every day, I have to introduce such basic reforms which are absolutely essential. These are reforms which cannot be objected to by anybody in the Assembly. What reforms I have brought to the industry, what are these industries? Well, they are our basic heavy industries where there is no competition. Some people say that they are ill-gotten industries where there is no competition. Yes, there was no competition in these heavy industries. There are others who are asking me to proceed further. They are asking me to take away textile mills. Well, I would be willing to do so but everything is not going to be done today because, after all, you first want democracy. On the one hand you are asking for democracy and on the other hand you want reforms. On the one hand you say that enough is already done, on the other hand you say that nothing has so far been done. Where should we go from here? Some people are saying as to why they have done this? Why have we taken over these big industries, these basic industries? Confusion is being created in the minds of the people. No compensation has been given (they complain). This is sheer high-handedness (they say). Now on the one hand people are saying that it is hardly anything which I have done and that it is not enough. They say that if they would have been there they would have done this, and this and that. Now what am I saying? I am only requesting them to come and join us and work with us because the sun is not going to set today and for good. Tomorrow will

be another day. So, now let us begin from the beginning in the industry, in the field of education, towards agricultural reforms. Yes, agricultural reforms are also on their way. They are accusing me of being a landlord, a feudal lord. How does it matter? My life is for the nation. Lands are of no consequence to me. At one time I owned three lac acres of land. Do you know how much did I lose in the Land Reforms? Now, again, if I have to sacrifice land how does it matter? If workers and peasants are happy it would be my biggest wealth.

As for the educational reforms, my dear young men, remember that in the first instalment, in the very first phase, we would bring reforms in education, in the field of culture. We would bring social reforms and economic reforms immediately. But this is only the first phase of our reforms. Later on when the Assembly would be convened, the rest would be done by the Assembly. Every day they are taunting me about my manifesto and are reminding me of various provisions of the manifesto. Well, I do not deny all that is written in my manifesto. But who can digest in one day all that the manifesto contains? Who can eat everything in one day? Is it an ordinary thing to take over 100 crore rupees worth of industrial units in one day? I ask you, was it at all easy to do this? Why didn't Ayub do it or Ghulam Mohammad or Iskander Mirza or Yahya Khan? Why didn't they do it? We had to do it because only we could do it and none of them had the guts to do it. It is not an ordinary thing to face the industrialists, the landlords, the world powers, India. After all, we are also human beings. We are fallible. We can commit mistakes. But we have taken a start and God is my witness that we would go ahead and proceed and advance.

My dear comrades, who is going to be benefited by the industrial units which we have taken over? We have taken them over for the nation. Now these industrial units have to be run properly. They have now to be run properly by you, by the workers. You will have to do hard work. Without work Pakistan will not be reconstructed. My dear peasants, workers, and the children of workers, these are your factories, your industries. Their interest would be your interest. In these units no one would exploit you. This is a Government of the peasants. In 24 years, yes, ever since the death of the Quaid-i-Azam and the Quaid-i-Millat, no Government of this kind had ever come to power. Don't you make the blunder of allowing yourself to act as a tool in the hands of the enemy. There are all kinds of enemies. They would encourage you to stop work and do all sorts of wrong things. I have banned lock-outs. Very soon I would bring labour

reforms. Give me some time and you would yourself see all that we are going to do. We would do everything which is possible. Those people, those thieves who have gone have left an empty treasury. an exchequer with no money at all. Now tell me where should I get the money from? I can't get money from heaven. For that you will have to work and I will have to work. Now if I don't work you can demand an explanation from me for that, but if you do not work I would also demand an explanation from you.

Lot of latitude has already been given. We do not want people to be put in jails because ours is a People's Government. I have passed an order to release every one from the prisons, which proves our intentions and our genuineness because we want freedom. We want democracy. I have lifted every control from the press. But if here and there we have lapsed, it does not mean that you should have pulled such long faces and suddenly become sad and morbid. I have lifted all press restrictions in principle. Why should I be unhappy and object if a retired military officer, yes, a retired person, who does not understand politics and who has led us to this unfortunate situation, keeps raving and rambling. Let him say what he wants. I have put no restrictions on that. You may write whatever you want to write and say whatever you want to say. I want that there should be freedom and now if there has been a minor lapse in this, you have come out with as many as four editorials on that. In *Jang*, in *Javedan*, in *Nawa-i-Waqt*, that an act of high-handedness has been committed, that restrictions on three papers have been imposed. Well, my dear fellows, pardon me.

Now in this context I notice these days all that is being said and shown on radio and television, President Zulfikar Ali Bhutto, President Zulfikar Ali Bhutto, President Zulfikar Ali Bhutto and President Zulfikar Ali Bhutto. I do not want this at all and for God's sake, Hafeez Pirzada, stop it. Every day President Zulfikar Ali Bhutto, President Zulfikar Ali Bhutto. Exactly as we used to hear in the days of Ayub and got tired of it. Exactly as we used to hear in the days of Yahya. Now for 3 days do not mention my name on television and radio, and I do not want that unnecessarily my name should be mentioned on radio and television, because I stand for the name of the people and the name of the poor—your name, your honour. There was a time when we used to tune the radio or television in the hope that perhaps our name would be mentioned and then during those days we used to have very big public meetings but

never was our name mentioned on radio and television. Now nothing but our name is being mentioned.

Let me assure you that we would not take revenge from any political party because political reckoning would take place in the Assembly when we will have democracy and a Parliament. This is a national crisis. At this time we have to save our country and build a new Pakistan and when I say new Pakistan there can be a misunderstanding on this. Because new Pakistan would be that which the Quaid-i-Azam had visualised, which he wanted to build, where there was to be no exploitation, loot, violence, corruption or hypocrisy, a Pakistan which would not be ruled by tyrants. That is the meaning of a new Pakistan. New Pakistan does not mean that we want a change in the physiognomy of Pakistan. New Pakistan is the same Pakistan which was the Quaid's dream and for which we struggled and where there should be no exploitation and where there should be a Government based on justice. A Pakistan where right, truth and fairness should be respected. It would be a Pakistan which would be claimed by the people as theirs. We are to build that Pakistan which is the biggest Muslim state of which we are proud. This was the kind of Pakistan which was the dream of the youth of Pakistan—your Pakistan. The meaning of new Pakistan is not revenge. Whatever is going to happen would happen in the Assembly.

As far as the Provincial Assemblies are concerned, I would soon make an announcement in this regard. I am trying to make such an announcement very soon. But before that we have to do two basic things. First, we have to come out with the important reforms and then do the development work. We have to rescue the ship of the country which is sinking in deep waters. We have to pull it out and bring it on the surface. Besides, on the question of East and West Pakistan we have to come forward and understand the situation. Understand what is happening and what relationship are we going to have with India. All these things do not need many years. Because if we work day and night, I would continue making announcements of progress towards democracy. It is my wish and endeavour that the Provincial Assemblies should be convened soon and I should be able to make an early announcement but I am not making any promises although I would try to make some announcement within this month.

After that we would proceed further, and continue advancing. We would not give you a false programme. We would not tell you lies like the previous Governments used to do. After every four months they

used to blow their trumpet. On every 28th of the month, after every four months, a trumpet used to be sounded and some bluff was heard. Well, I am not going to do all that. Whatever I am going to announce, whatever I am going to promise, whatever sacrifices I am required to offer, I would abide by that, abide by my promise or else I would not continue occupying this chair. What am I? I have not come riding on a machine gun, or a cannon. I am a people's representative. Who has built Zulfikar Ali Bhutto? The poor have built him. You have built him. I am under your obligation. I am grateful to you and would not forget all that you have done to me. The promise of democracy is a true promise, a genuine promise, but those who are shouting every day for democracy to be ushered immediately, right now and on this day, they are in reality the henchmen of the capitalists. Beware of them. They do not want that we should introduce any reforms, any basic reforms. We are introducing basic reforms. Now if you have waited for 13 years you can certainly wait for a little more time. When they were being hit by such a big baton every day they used to be happy and used to say, thank you, thank you. But now when something is being done for the prosperity of the people and when the people's affairs are being looked after and when the rose garden is being tended, they are asking every day for democracy.

They are saying that they did not want a non-Pakistani system or a system not based on the ideology of Pakistan. Now, my dear Pakistanis, we also do not want a non-Pakistani system. We do not want the Chinese system or the American system or the Russian system. We want a Pakistani system and we shall have a Pakistani system. They used to say that our Party would come and introduce a foreign-oriented system. For God's sake, why? What is a foreign-oriented system and what is a local system? Is parliamentary system our local system? Parliamentary system is a British system. Now (for them) the Parliamentary system is all right. But if we have an economic system which improves the lot of the poor man and ends exploitation, it is held as a non-Pakistani system and is an un-Islamic system. Well, we are Muslims and I have always said that we are Muslims. Our first sacrifice would be for Islam. But what does Islam want? It wants to protect the poor, to improve the lot of the poor, to give respect and dignity to the poor. Islam does not want that only industrialists and the capitalists should thrive. So, all these steps which we have taken, are they un-Islamic? Who can say they are un-Islamic? Did those people who are criticising us today introduce any department exclusively looking after Haj and religious trusts? Mine is the first Government which has set up a department

for Haj and religious trusts. Why did they not set up a department like that in 24 years? Was it my government which refused permission to 7,000 pilgrims to go to Haj? No, I said go and perform Haj. I have stopped capitalists from going abroad. I have sealed the borders and I will not allow these capitalists to go out of this country until the country's foreign exchange is brought back from abroad and I will see how it does not return. God willing, it shall, because it belongs to the people of Pakistan. It is the wealth of the poor people of Pakistan.

Yesterday, I announced that the basic heavy industries, such as steel etc., would be taken over but I also said that no more industries would be taken over and this is my promise for the time being. Yes, nothing would happen until the Assembly is in session and whatever is to be done will be done in the Assembly. So, now get down to your jobs without any further worry and let us proceed onwards and work, but I have also said that we must get back our foreign exchange and if anybody tries to be clever with me it would not be a good thing and you have seen that. I am a revolutionary, and just as I ask for one file I could do exactly the same with others. I have told them that if within a specified time they did not bring back the foreign exchange which belonged to this country, which was the blood of the poor people of this country, yes, if they did not bring it back to Pakistan, I would take away everything, their industries, and as long as they live I will not leave them to get away with it. So, bring the foreign exchange back like good people. We want that they should also prosper and that people should have respect for them, too. We want that this torture, this discomfort, this inconvenience should come to an end. I am doing everything to end prejudice.

Amongst the industrial units which we have taken over was one which belonged to a friend of mine who had helped us a great deal during the elections. I am grateful to him. But my greatest friend is my country. My best friends are my people. I had said on the 20th that I have no family, no children. My children are the people of Pakistan and my family is Pakistan. So, there should be no misgivings about it. I had to do this and whatever is necessary has got to be done. In that I would have no consideration for my friends or my family or anything else. I am only going to do justice and I am sure God will give me the strength to keep my hands clean. I would serve the nation properly.

I want to tell the workers that this is your Government. Stop this *gherao* and lock-out. Why do the workers want to fight? They are not foolish to be wanting to fight the Government. Don't they know their

interests? Of course, whatever is within our means we would certainly do that. But from where we should get the old wages, (their arrears of wages). The treasury is empty and until you work how are we going to increase production. If you don't work I will have to bring another Government, perhaps the same Government, the same type of people who used to rule over you previously.

Now listen to me, do you want to destroy Pakistan? Has Pakistan not been sufficiently damaged? Are you such ignorant children who cannot understand that in two days or even 10 days we cannot do everything? Don't you know that your country is a backward country? Don't you know that in one day I cannot nationalise everything? If you want that I should nationalise such and such and such industry how this is possible? Assembly would also be there and you have to wait for it. Why are you doing all this to me? I can fight the enemies of the people. I can fight the capitalists. I can fight the imperialists. I can fight every anti-people element. But I do not want that I should be pitched against workers and peasants for whom I want to bring the reforms and whose lives and the lives of whose children I want to improve. I want to do everything for their education, so why don't you stop the *gherao* for which there is no need? Those who are inducing you to resort to *gherao* are not your leaders. They are your enemies. They want to weaken this Government. They want to give trouble to the Government both from the left and the right. They are the agents of the capitalists. They receive money from the capitalists. I appeal to you, my dear workers, to stop, for God's sake, this labour unrest and all such things. Start working. Get down to your jobs. Wherever and whenever there is any injustice, go to the Governor or the Vice-President.

We would do everything for you and I swear by God and his Prophet that we will all be on your side. We are your friends, sympathisers. For God's sake, Pakistan has to be rebuilt in which (task) you must co-operate and support us. This is imperative. Like gentlemen you must treat us with gentleness and co-operate with us. We are your friends, we are not your enemies. Come and talk to us. Whatever we can do we would present it to you. We would hide nothing from you. But don't press us. We are already being pressed by India and by other countries. You, who are our brothers, if you also decide to press us where do you think we would go? How do you think we are going to work? We are also human beings. We also have our breaking point. If you don't want to co-operate, then go ahead, you may run Karachi like the small little principalities in

old Greece. Now, if that is the way Pakistan has to be destroyed and if that is the way enemy's interest is to be served, well go ahead. There are two ways of destroying Pakistan. One is by aggression from outside and the other is by aggression from within. I can assure you that I am not going to fight with you. I would fight with my enemies and super-powers. I would fight with India, but I would not fight the workers. You are my friends, my comrades. Why should you want to fight with me? For God's sake, give me some time. Increase production. Increase business and work. Nothing can be done without work. They work in Russia, in China, in America, in France. No society has ever been built without work—hard work.

Now what do I say? I simply say that if the people were not working previously it was because justice was not being done to them. There was loot and plunder and violence. Now we are gradually putting an end to all that; but for that you must give us some time. You must have some vision, some concept of the future. Already, 24 years have elapsed just like that. You can wait for a little more time. Are you going to remain unsuccessful for ever? Twenty-four years and there have been nothing but failures. India is laughing at us. We were the people who had been ruling over this subcontinent. But when were we ruling over this subcontinent? Well, it was when we were industrious and hard-working and God-fearing. But when we gave up these qualities and discarded our principles and gave up the style and behaviour for which we were distinguished, we arrived at this pass. The history of the subcontinent had never witnessed a condition as bad as the one we are in today. There is no need to think in terms of revenge. In any case, I cannot single-handedly avenge the situation. No, not without your co-operation and support. You must remember that this is a question of our pride, the question of the pride of the Muslims. Oh! my Muslim brothers, don't you have pride enough to remain patient and with patience to engage yourself in the national development so that we are able to say, "let us go ahead" or "look, we are going ahead and would continue going ahead." Be patient. Calm down and everything would be done as it should be done.

In this context there are only two more things which I must tell you. The first is about Mujibur Rahman. The question is who was responsible for this present tragic situation and who committed blunders? Well, let history give its verdict. Some would say that Yahya should be blamed. Some would blame me and some would accuse Mujibur Rahman. Someone would blame all three of us. No, no, it is all wrong! Let history give its verdict. I would cut it short. In a similar public meeting on 14th Feb-

ruary I had addressed you which I would touch only briefly today. The rest would depend on your decision and on the verdict of history. The question is, where did I say that the Assembly should have been postponed for good? When I made a public speech in Lahore on 28th February and in Karachi on 14th March, I had said that Assembly should be postponed for a few weeks only. Failing that, the 120 days' limit, which was imposed for the making of the constitution, should have been abolished. The idea was that since we were the majority party of West Pakistan, we had a point of view of our own. Other parties could say or do whatever suited them because their sole objective was that Bhutto's party should not get into power because he was a friend of the poor and because he would bring reforms and because he would change the face of the country and because his was a revolutionary party. It was their sole objective to stop us from going forward. But they were not the majority parties. What was their role in the Assembly? It was to be our party which was supposed to go to the Assembly and work because we were the majority party, the majority party of West Pakistan. So, if any decision was taken in the Assembly and if it was not to your liking, to the liking of West Pakistan whom would you have held responsible for that. Certainly not those parties who were in the minority. You would have said, "well that is very interesting. We voted for you. We helped you win the elections, and in return that is what you have brought for us. After all, we also had rights. Is this the way you were supposed to represent us?" Now because we were particularly supposed to represent you, it was incumbent upon us to look after your rights. We were, therefore, not wanting anything more than the necessary time. That was why we asked them to give us some time to enable us to have negotiations outside the Assembly, to arrive at some settlement outside the Assembly and get that settlement adopted in the Assembly subsequently.

The position was that the demands of this wing were entirely different from what was being done. Thus, this calamity did not fall on Pakistan like the shooting of the stars, suddenly and unexpectedly. Were we the people who dismissed Nazimuddin, who was the Prime Minister of Pakistan? Were we the people who called Suhrawardy, who was a member of the first Constituent Assembly, a traitor? Were we the people who created One Unit? Well, the day One Unit was created, a year before that day, I had returned home after completing my studies abroad. I wrote a book at that time in which I had predicted that this country would be divided into two countries, and it is now 14

years that I had said this. I said that we should have a Federal Government first, and if in that system there was any kind of parochialism it was all based on provincialism, pure and simple. It was either Bengalis vs. Punjabis or Bengalis vs. Baluchis or Bengalis vs. Sindhis. But now it was West Pakistan vs. East Pakistan. As if these were two countries. Subsequently, it turned out to be so and people used to say that West Pakistan could do this and East Pakistan could do that. Like the North Korean Republic and the South Korea. Like West Germany and East Germany. So, now you tell me who created One Unit? Who divided railways? Who bifurcated services? Who resorted to exploitation? Who said that East Pakistani investors should not be allowed to build factories? Who said that public sector should not be reorganised? Who said that poverty in East Pakistan should not be ended?

The 24 years' history of this country fell on us in this manner. And so, we only wished that at least 20 days' time should be given to us to face the calamity of these 24 years. We wanted this time to seek an arrangement outside the Assembly and if that settlement was not possible we only wanted the removal of the (Democles) sword of 120 days to be removed from above our heads. If we had asked only for 20 or 25 days' time, (without any other alternative) heaven would not have fallen as a result. If the Parliament of the British was postponed for 20 days and if the Congress or Senate was postponed for 20 days, heaven did not fall as a result. But we did not say that. We only said that, my dear brothers kindly listen to us and find out if whatever we were saying was justified, kindly accept it and accommodate us. After all, we were also representatives of the people. We were not representatives of animals, dumb and mute. We were also elected here like you were elected. We would also be accused by the people like you would be accused. If we conceded in Dacca to certain things which were not proper, we would be hacked to pieces by our people and would be called traitors like you would be if you went against the wishes of the people. It would be said of us that we had bartered them (our people) in such a big way. We had blocked their development and progress. They would not have their schools and they would not have their education continued. They would not have their hospitals. "What a terrible thing you have done? What a cruel thing you have done?", they would say. At the same time a demand would have come to create One Unit again and people from Sind, Frontier and Baluchistan would have agitated and would have accused us that the One Unit was again created.

Clearly, we were in a real fix. Ours was an extremely awkward situation. To redeem this situation we needed 20 or 25 days' time. Was it a crime? We said, "please give us some time. Let us have confrontation. Let us face each other. For three years we have not talked to each other." For 13 years there had not been a people's Government. On the 17th of December the Assembly was going to be adjourned. On the 27th of December I was to meet Mujibur Rahman for the first time and was supposed to say that on the 3rd of March there would be a meeting of the Assembly. Where would we have arrived within two weeks only? So we asked Yahya Khan to give us some time, a little time, only 20 days to enable us to go to our people and address them and convince them of the various factors involved. He said that he would think about it. But on the third of the month he made an announcement and on the 28th of June Yahya Khan said that Mujibur Rahman had promised him that after the Assembly there would be a settlement.

I ask you, "Why did not Yahya Khan tell this before?" He never told this to Mujibur Rahman nor to me nor to the people. He never said that this was Mujibur Rahman's promise. Why did he hide this thing from everybody? And this was not the only thing which Yahya Khan kept from the people. He did not tell many things because he intended to do everything which could lead the politicians to their doom. He was arranging that they should debase themselves completely. He was expecting that in the Assembly splinter groups of 8 or 10 political parties should assemble to help him play one against the other and rule from behind. He did not have any intention to transfer power to the people. That LFO was a fraud. It was a treachery against the people. Did you see how big a conspiracy it was? In fact, I suspect that it was a much bigger conspiracy than we could ever comprehend. But we did see through this conspiracy to some extent. You would recall that when the elections for the Assemblies were being held, scores of our people were put into jails. Where is Kausar Niazi? Isn't it true that they put you in jail? Yes, he was put in jail. Sindhis were put in jails. Muhajirs were put in jails. In Dera Ismail Khan my polling agent was put in jail. My opponent in Larkana was promised support and was given money. One politician was given 20 lacs of rupees. Another politician was told that power would in no case be transferred to Bhutto and that even if they were to die they would not let power be transferred to Bhutto. "Over my dead body I will transfer power to Bhutto," Yahya Khan said. Listen, listen my comrades, listen carefully. The question is that all these things are now over. We have to build this country once

again and make every effort to do that. How far can we go? How well are we able to build? It all depends on you. All of you will have to make efforts.

As far as Mujibur Rahman is concerned, I have today come to you, and would you listen to me? Now if you would not listen to me there is no need for these public meetings. I have come here to seek your permission. Don't take everything in a light-hearted manner. It is a basic and fundamental issue. And when I am about to put before you the basic and fundamental issue you start fighting. You have to give very serious thought to it. Are we going to live a respectable life after 24 years or not? Can't we walk as free people? Such things don't happen in other countries. So, listen and sit down and listen carefully. A very important thing.

The question is that as far as Mujibur Rahman is concerned, we have given a great deal of thought to it. The first time I met Mujibur Rahman it was on the 27th and the first question Mujibur Rahman asked me was if he was a free man. He asked me to tell him frankly if he was a free man. I said, "Yes, you are now free and go wherever you want to go." But I said that he should give me a little time. I would like to seek the permission of my people because I did not want to take any step without their permission. Now, my friends, there are two things. One is that people are saying that this is a trump card in our hands and we should not lose it without bargaining. It is also being advised that there is no need for bargaining. Leave him to his conscience, to his sense of patriotism. It is quite possible that whatever he does may be dangerous for us or whatever he does may not be dangerous at all. If it is dangerous we cannot help it and for that there is no need to indulge in any kind of bargaining. I agree with this contention that we should not indulge in any bargaining with him. Now tell me how you feel about it? Raise your hands properly. Do you agree? Do you agree? Thank you, thank you, thank you. I am most grateful to you. You have taken a great load off my mind. This is a public meeting and Karachi is an international city. Whatever Karachi thinks the entire nation thinks. Lahore thinks the same way. Gujrat, Hyderabad, Rawalpindi, everywhere they think the same way. Their views cannot be different from those of Karachi, because the nation is one. So, now I am going to Larkana where I was born, to pay tribute to the soil of Larkana where I was born and where I would be buried after I die. So, now I am going to my village, to my home although my home and my village is the entire Pakistan. And if you don't want me to go to my birthplace, well, I wouldn't go there.

Now listen to the last thing. My friends, this is about India. Don't let the world laugh, sit down and listen to what I am going to say about India. Yes, as far as India is concerned she must remember and should understand it clearly that we did not enter this subcontinent the other day. We know each other very well. They also know us very well. We have not met or known each other only recently. We started knowing them ever since Islam, the religion of Allah, the last message to humanity, entered this subcontinent. Victory and defeat are only incidental. For the last 1,000 years victories and defeats have been taking place. Wars were being waged. For the last 1,000 years we have been facing each other. Now and then they also have won, but mostly it has been we who have been winning. I am not boasting. I am only telling you the truth and facts of history. But today India has won a great victory. In the entire history of the subcontinent, India has not won such a big victory—not against the Muslims. There is no parallel of this in the Indian history. That is the reason why India is now becoming haughty and boastful and every day threatening us. Their radio and their rulers are sending messages to frighten our nation and they are giving new year's messages to their people and telling their armed forces to keep ready because they may have to fight very soon in Kashmir and that if there was going to be peace they would like to have some adjustments on our borders and are saying that they have some other claims too.

So I want to tell the Indian people and particularly the Indian Government that I accept that you have inflicted on us a military defeat. Not only this, I accept more than that. Yes, you have defeated us in a big way. But in reality this defeat is a minor defeat. Because military failures and military successes are only transitory, and things which are permanent are only those which are based on considerations of peace. Thus, it is Pakistan which has really won because the entire world, as many as 105 countries, have given a verdict that India was an aggressor against Pakistan and that she had illegally occupied Pakistan's territory and that this occupation should be removed and Indian forces should withdraw to their borders, while our forces should withdraw to our frontiers. I want to tell India that we do not want to enter your territory because your territories are yours and our territories are ours. So, if you are gentle and far-sighted people and if you want peace and tranquillity and if you want mutual friendship and if you want that our poor nations should progress and fight poverty and want and eradicate them for good, it is necessary that whatever settlement takes place should be based on

justice and fair-play. As an immediate step to that end, I have taken two decisions. In the first phase I have decided to bring for my nation the necessary reforms and help Pakistan develop itself strongly. I have also started negotiations and talks with Mujibur Rahman which the whole world wants and which all the three super powers and big countries want. I had talks with all the three ambassadors, the Chinese Ambassador, the American Ambassador and the Russian Ambassador. I have told all three of them that today, after I have sought the permission of my people, my brothers and sisters, after I have visited Larkana, I would have some negotiations with Mujibur Rahman and would then leave him free to go wherever he wished to without any pre-conditions. I am also telling this to India today. They were demanding the release of Mujibur Rahman who is a Pakistani citizen. I say to India, "How are you concerned with him? But since this is the voice of the world and we cannot ignore the voice of the world like you also cannot ignore the voice of the world which says that Mujibur Rahman should be released, we are submitting ourselves to the wishes of the world." Now India must also hear the voice of the world which is saying that she must remove her troops from Pakistan's territory. She must also submit to the wishes of the world like we are doing. India also lives in this world where we live.

If Indians want that the people of India and the Government of India should live with dignity and respect in this subcontinent then I want to tell the Prime Minister of India that we also want the same. We also want that we should live as a nation within our territories. We have no aggressive designs against their nation and if they do not have any aggressive designs against our nation they are welcome to build their country and allow their people to progress and prosper and allow us to prosper and progress in our country and live with respect and dignity in this subcontinent. This is my invitation to her as the representative of Pakistan and its people. I am not saying this like a General or a dictator because India must know that my voice is the voice of Pakistan, the voice of the brave and proud people of Pakistan, and if she accepts this invitation we are ready for negotiations and discussions. I have said it earlier. I am saying it again that we are ready for discussions and negotiations and I and my colleagues are prepared to leave for Delhi today or the very next day. I am prepared to address a public meeting there if the Indian Prime Minister allows me to do so, because I want to go to the Indian people and I want to tell them that their Government has wronged them and made them enemies of Pakistan.

India, where people are suffering from poverty, where people are dying of hunger—exactly the same way I also have hungry people in my country. This is a conspiracy of the capitalists and the imperialists—a conspiracy against the people of India and the people of Pakistan.

It is, therefore, wrong for India to think that because they have occupied half of our country, our majority province, I am talking from a position of weakness. No, I am not talking from a position of weakness. Mine is the voice of the people and I want to tell the Indian Government that if they did not want peace and tranquillity and if the Indian Government wanted to destroy Pakistan and if they wanted to resort to the same aggression against West Pakistan which they committed against East Pakistan, they must know that in West Pakistan we have a people's Government today. They are welcome to do so. It would be confrontation of corpses, confrontation of the dead; life would fight against life. Indian Government must understand this and listen to me that we are a proud and self-respecting nation. She should know that her armed forces cannot frighten us. This is a question of our pride and dignity. This is the question of our valour. Death is better than this life. Our nation will fight. Its children will fight. This nation will fight in every house. in every field, but whatever may happen we are not going to be the aggressors.

*Message of thanks sent to President Muammar Kadhafi
on January 5, 1972*

In a message to the Libyan President, Mr. Muammar Kadhafi, released on January 5, 1972, President Bhutto expressed Pakistan's gratitude for Libya's moral and material support extended to Pakistan in its struggle to preserve its national independence and territorial integrity. He was replying to the Libyan President's message of greetings on assumption of office as the President of Pakistan. Following is the full text of President Bhutto's message.

"Excellency brother President Muammar Kadhafi, no messages are needed between brothers, but at this early opportunity I want to express to you and to the great people of Libya the sincere gratitude of the people of Pakistan and myself for moral and material support extended to us in our struggle to preserve our national independence and territorial integrity. Your Excellency's repeated and definite condemnation of military aggression, aimed at dismembering our motherland, has been a source of inspiration and strength to us.

"I would very much have liked to convey our thanks to you personally but situation in Pakistan does not permit my leaving the country at this critical juncture, but I am confident that we will soon meet. I need hardly convey to Your Excellency that Pakistan is also your home and you are welcome to your home at any time convenient to you.

"As the great leader of brother Muslim Libya you are fully acquainted with the situation in our region. India uses the same arguments as Israel for justifying her aggression. Their techniques are similar. Both treat with contempt world opinion as expressed through UN. Each claims right to impose her will upon her neighbours by armed force. This similarity in

the behaviour of India and Israel represents a concerted attempt to weaken Islamic countries and to suppress our resurgence as a cohesive force following the end of the colonial era. This was not realised by some countries in the case of Israeli expansionism. It has now become obvious. It is imperative for Islamic countries who believe in progress to co-ordinate our policies and to co-operate with each other in order to defeat aims of our adversaries to divide and sow dissension among us.

“Our Arab brothers have a stake in ensuring the vacation of Indian aggression from East Pakistan. If India succeeds in retaining fruits of military aggression, Israel can hardly be forced to vacate Arab lands. As the leader of a great Arab country, Your Excellency has rightly taken a correct and historic position against Indian aggression. In this grave hour of trial the people of Pakistan are confident of Libya’s fullest support and co-operation for an undisputed principle of state relations.

“Please accept, Excellency, my best wishes for your health and happiness and for progress and prosperity of fraternal people of Libya which, under your dynamic and energetic leadership, will reach great heights of glory in the interest of Arab world, the Third World and, above all, Islam.”

*Letter addressed to Ministers and Governors
on January 6, 1972*

In a letter to all the Ministers and Governors, President Bhutto asked them to keep to the maximum extent in touch with the people, their sentiments and aspirations, and also directed that the colonial mentality of expecting large receiving lines and receptions involving Deputy Commissioners, Commissioners and other Government officers in attendance must come to an end. Following is the full text of the letter.

"For the first time a representative Government, reflecting the will of the people as expressed in the 1970 General Elections, has taken charge of the destiny of the country. You as Minister/Governor are the representatives of the people and of a revolutionary party. You must act accordingly and in the highest service of the people and the nation.

"One basic and preliminary point must be kept uppermost in mind—that you should to the maximum extent remain in touch with the people, with their sentiments and aspirations. This can best be achieved by traveling among the people as much as possible, visiting villages, paying surprise visits. The colonial mentality of expecting large receiving lines and receptions involving Deputy Commissioners, Commissioners and other Government officers in attendance must come to an end. Government officers must work and not be distracted from their work to arrange reception paraphernalia. This does not mean that these officers should not show due respect. Pomp, show and ceremony do not represent respect. Respect must be earned, and earned the hard way by hard, honest work.

"This standard of service I am not only setting down for you but fully intend to maintain myself as an example. I am confident that no occasion will arise in the future for me to send you a reminder."

*Statement on convening of Provincial Assemblies
made on January 22, 1972*

The strength of Pakistan lies in the people of Pakistan. Without the participation of the people no nation can hope to succeed. Pakistan has been made weak because the people have been denied their rights. Their voice has been stifled, their aspirations ignored. The wishes of the people can be properly manifested only through institutions. For this reason previous regimes made it their aim to systematically destroy all institutions. If the country is to be rebuilt, democratic institutions must be restored. The people must be allowed their rightful share in the nation-building process. This must be at all levels.

As a first step towards the fulfilment of this aim, we propose to convene the Provincial Assemblies on the 23rd March. This is the historic day on which the Muslims of the subcontinent resolved to establish a democratic country of their own. Elections will be held between 15th and 20th February to fill women's seat in the Provincial Assemblies. Once these Assemblies have been convened, Provincial Ministries will be formed on the basis of Parliamentary norms. These Ministries will reflect legislative majority.

I may add that Governors have expressed the need for immediate assistance to run the administration and for the implementation of reforms. I understand their need. I myself have found it necessary to have such assistance at the Centre. The Governors cannot single-handedly run the entire political machinery of the Provinces. The people's needs are urgent and urgent heed must be paid to them. For this purpose, Advisers to the Governors will be appointed for the brief period pending the convening of the Provincial Assemblies. We will make every effort to see that these

Advisers reflect the full range of public opinion. In the North-West Frontier Province and Baluchistan, where my Party does not have a majority in the Provincial Assemblies, we will consult and seek the co-operation of other parties. It should be made clear that extension of such co-operation to the Governors would be without prejudice to respective party position in the Provincial Assemblies.

We propose to take a further step to bring about direct participation of the people in Government. I am abolishing the system of Basic Democracies—a system that has bred nothing but nepotism and corruption, a system that reduced democracy to a farce. We are bringing in a system of purely representative local government on the basis of adult franchise and direct elections. These elections will be held on 15th of March. In the rural areas, the system will consist of District Councils, in small towns, People's Committees and in the cities, People's Municipalities.

Thus, democracy will be brought to everyone's door step and within everyone's reach. These elected bodies will live in intimate proximity with the daily needs and day-to-day problems of the people, helping the helpless, curing the sick, mobilising the strong, educating the young and generating a new dynamism from one end of the country to the other. These representative bodies will be accountable to the masses. They will promote co-operative effort in agriculture, foster small-scale industry, build houses, roads, schools and hospitals. Everyone will contribute his share.

It is being asked why I continue to act under the cover of Martial Law. I hold the office of President and Chief Martial Law Administrator. I am President as an elected representative of the people. I have a mandate from the people, a mandate without parallel in our history. My Party controls an overwhelming majority in the legislature. The title of Chief Martial Law Administrator I have inherited. This is not our only inheritance. We have inherited a country which has suffered an ignominious defeat, with a demoralised people, a shattered economy, a bankrupt exchequer, and a future of despair. Will the new self-professed mentors of democracy, who readily call for the immediate lifting of Martial Law, show us how simultaneously to lift the masses from their morass of miseries and injustice? Can any one cite a single example where the coercive provisions of Martial Law have been used against the common man, the poor and the millions without voice in the past? We have fought against two ruthless Martial Laws. Our victory is the victory of the people. We intend to complete and consolidate this victory.

The powers of Martial Law have been used collectively and for the sole purpose of bringing some basic reforms, essential and immediate. These reforms have been and are being introduced. Once this first phase of reforms is over—and this will not take long—the ground would be laid for the full flowering of democracy. We want a lasting democracy in which the voice of the people can never again be silenced. This cannot be brought about by precipitate measures. When we renounce Martial Law it will be for all time to come. In my next statement I will deal with this and the question of the National Assembly. Meantime, Martial Law is being pushed rapidly into the background.

On the 29th September last year, I cried out: "This long night of terror must come to an end. O! my people I want your voice to prevail." Walk through the streets today and enquire from the common man and he will tell you. The night of terror has ended, a new day of hope has dawned. The voice of the people has prevailed. We will together rebuild our democratic institutions and a great and new Pakistan.

*Message of greetings to Mr. Chi Peng Fei, Foreign Minister
of the People's Republic of China on January 24, 1972*

On behalf of the Government and the people of Pakistan, and on my own behalf, I have great pleasure in extending to you our sincere congratulations on your assumption of the office of Foreign Minister of the People's Republic of China. We can never forget the repeated expressions of categorical support given by upholding our just stand in the recent crisis. I am confident that the close relations, so happily existing between our two countries, will continue to grow in strength in the years ahead. In looking forward to continued co-operation between Pakistan and the People's Republic of China, I would like to take this occasion to wish you every success, health and happiness, and continued prosperity to the great people of the People's Republic of China.

*Address to businessmen and industrialists at Karachi
on January 24, 1972*

Gentlemen,

I have called you this morning and am giving you the trouble to see me at the airport because I have to leave in an hour and a half for a number of countries in the Middle East and North Africa. This visit is necessary, as you know, because our problems have become so complicated that foreign affairs and internal affairs have, unfortunately, become inter-twined and it will take some time to untwine them.

For a long time I used to warn the former Government, of which I was the Foreign Minister, about the intensive foreign interference in our internal affairs. In the world of today there is always foreign interest in under-developed countries. There is foreign interference, but countries try to limit that interference. In our country, unfortunately, we never tried to limit foreign interference. On occasions we encouraged it with the result that today we find ourselves in such a position that even on some of the elementary matters, on which otherwise we could have acted on our own, consultation and co-operation has become more than what ought to have been necessary. We have a number of important problems. Our East-West relations, our relations with India, and all these problems cannot be really approached in isolation, nor can we find a permanent solution to them in isolation. Although it is imperative for me to be at home, I am going abroad with a purpose of problems—problems that concern us at home. We have to mobilise public opinion. We have to mobilise world opinion. We have to get international support and understanding. We have the question of our prisoners of war who are away from us. They would not be in Pakistan on Eid. So if my countrymen who have suffered

and sacrificed so much for Pakistan's integrity are in a foreign land, behind barbed wires, I do not see why I should also not be working. Of course, I will observe Eid but I cannot celebrate it. I feel too pained, humiliated and insulted and I shall not celebrate it until the national honour is vindicated.

So, the point is that I have to take into account my country's honour, my country's prestige, our country's prestige, your country's prestige. I won't be able to do it alone, I can't do it alone. One man can destroy a country, but one man cannot build a country. I need the co-operation of everyone. So, the purpose of my visit is a national purpose, a national objective. I am sorry I have to go at this time.

I invited some of the diplomats to Larkana and talked to them candidly. I told them: "please give us some time to resolve our problems. These problems go right to our heart. These are great issues for us. It is a question of our national unity. It is a question of the dismemberment of our country. It is a great pang for us. The wounds are very deep. I am pleading for time and for a reasonable period of time so that we can try and focus the picture into some shape, and for that I thought the world would understand and give us a reasonable time. We are not imposing any conditions. But we have to have a little bit of time to try and come to some settlement, whatever that settlement is. We must be given some opportunity to have a dialogue, even an initial dialogue, even a preliminary dialogue. But this dialogue cannot take place while foreign forces are on the soil of Pakistan." I went a little further and said in Larkana that I would even perhaps be flexible if the leaders of East Pakistan want Indian troops to remain on East Pakistan soil for some reason. We can consider what further steps we can take in the light of that. You know a very unusual situation occurs today. The world must take a note of the fact that in the first place India invaded East Pakistan by military force on the pretext that she was going there because the majority of people wanted her to take that step. Now, her Prime Minister has said that the Indian forces must remain there to protect the minorities. These are very ominous signs. Is the international community to close its eyes to these developments?

I know the subject pretty well and I need not be tutored on it. But I would welcome anyone's suggestions, as we are treading a very delicate ground. I made an appeal some time ago to our great experts on politics and foreign affairs and requested them to avoid a discussion on foreign policy for some time. This request was made in good faith because it is a crisis of the greatest magnitude in which all factors and forces are at play.

There are so many other issues to be talked about. There are so many other matters. The press is free but even in the freest of free press there is discipline exercised. Briefings take place and are adhered to even in U.S.A., Britain and France and many other countries. So, freedom of press also means that national interests must be taken into account. They can abuse me, they can abuse other people, but why go into this rant today, and why not stop it for a brief period of time. This does not mean that I am silencing them. I do not want to silence them. They could write to me. We would welcome their suggestions. They could seek an interview and come and have a discussion. Some of the statements that have been made by our so-called experts and leaders have only given a pretext to other countries to take certain steps. But why give a pretext. This is again an appeal. If they want to damage the country's cause, well, I cannot stop it. As I said, I cannot be the custodian. I don't want to be the custodian. I don't want to be the prefect. But while it is impossible for one man to make a country, it is possible for one man to destroy it. They are unnecessarily complicating an already very complicated problem. In the light of this background we ask for a little time.

We have accepted certain principles. We must proceed on the basis of those principles. Principles are inviolable and principles we have to adhere to. In spite of our appeals, India has tergiversated, dangerously tergiversated, from her position. Initially, India said that they were in East Pakistan at the request of the majority there. Now they say that they are going to remain there because they have to protect a minority. In this manner no country in the world can be free. The gates of armed intervention can be opened all over the world, because a minority anywhere can get up and say, we need support from a neighbouring country or some other country. The world should take cognizance of it. What we want is a reasonable period of time and we mean what we say. I have great respect for the country that yesterday recognised the East Pakistan situation according to its own light. I respect the country. I respect their leadership. But principles are inviolable. So, I am sorry that I have to announce that we have severed diplomatic relations with Yugoslavia for her having recognised the situation in East Pakistan according to its own light. I repeat, we do not like it but we are pleading for a short period and a reasonable period of time. But with Indian occupation of East Pakistan and the interpretation that India is putting on that occupation, there are still certain countries who want to rush to it. I wonder what is the rush for. If it is to become a permanent reality, a wait for a few weeks or so would

not make it any different. So why this haste. Why do they want this temporary reality, or whatever it is, to become permanent by pre-empting it in this fashion? We have suffered enough. We have suffered from military force. Now a diplomatic coercion is being applied to us. Today, I have not come here to threaten you. I have not come here to browbeat you. I have come here to appeal to you. And you take my word for what I say. I have already said that during this period of Martial Law no more categories of industries will be taken over by Government. The categories end. Only some industries that were left out from those categories have been taken and we are not going back on our word. I cannot, however, speak for the National Assembly because in a Parliament the majority prevails. How can I speak for the National Assembly when I am only a member of it. In the present situation what I can say is that we do not intend to take over the management of industries beyond what we have already done. If there are one or two left out of the specified categories, they will have to fall within the category. I want you to play a positive role in the development of Pakistan. I am not an illiterate person. I know your importance; I know your needs.

Don't think I am your enemy. I am not your enemy. In the previous regimes industrialisation went on without any rational framework. Industries took form or shape without any social context, without any economic context, without any egalitarian context. It simply cannot happen in the 20th century. Pakistan cannot be an exception in this century. We have to go in accordance with the requirements of modern times.

If the previous regimes had imposed some rational method of development I do not think we would have come to such a pass today. There are foreign loans. It is a colossal debt. It is a frightening debt. The object was that industrial production would go up and we will be able to pay foreign debts but that objective has not been fulfilled.

A country that has been free for 24 years is getting foreign loans for commodity aid, for perishable items and for all that we have to pay in foreign exchange. The loans are about 90 million dollars. This is the position today. So, do not blame me for it. The process was too unnatural. Even in countries like Japan, a great industrial power, industrial enterprise is restricted. One cannot go into everything. Here the same person, the same group, went for banking, for insurance, for industry-- in fact, for all manner of industry. Then, there was the investment involved. There was PICIC, IDB and other institutions. Tomorrow, if a zamindar thinks that he can go about and acquire 70 thousand acres of land, well, he just cannot do it.

As you sow so shall you reap and as we sow so shall we reap. So, do not think that this wrath generated against you is without any cause. The idea is: let us get together and bring about a reconciliation. Without reconciliation we will live a hazardous and tense life. You do not want that. I do not want that.

You say respectable people have been thrown into jail. You call yourself respectable. I call myself respectable. But what does the common man call us. He calls us parasites and blood-suckers. So, let us act in a way that we are not called parasites and blood-suckers. There are industries in other countries. There are labouring classes in other countries. There is not this tension there. I want to reduce this tension, I want to remove this tension. Believe me, after this period is over you will find a real certainty re-established in the country. Production will go up. There will be harmonization because we would have reasonable, good, humane labour laws. We want production norms. So, set all this into motion. There is some trouble. I know you are facing difficulties. We all are facing difficulties. But be a little patient and we will resolve these problems. I want, therefore, to tell you that we are prepared to give you another chance, the second chance. I thought it was better that I would come and talk to you. I could have done that on the first day. Some of you said why does he not speak to us. I give you the reason. I could have done that. I know you. Some of you are my friends. The reason why I did not speak to you directly earlier was that my immediate predecessors threatened industrialists as a class. They got a bad name. I did not want to get a bad name. I know some of you for so many years. We could have talks but immediately the same pattern would have followed and people would say, he is doing exactly the same thing as others did. That is why I did not do it. Secondly, there is the question as to why have I taken some restrictive measures; why I have arrested certain persons. This was because some of you were, unfortunately, talking too loosely. I had to take some action.

I know we have an agricultural base. I will fall back on agriculture. Do not say that industry will collapse. Industry has collapsed; the country has collapsed. If I can deal with the country, I can deal with the industry that has collapsed and it is an industry for the few by the few. Pakistan is basically an agricultural country. So, we will fall back on agriculture.

I have ordered the release of Mr. Ahmad Dawood, Mr. Fakhruddin Valika and retired Lt. Gen. Habibullah. The other two, Messrs. U.A. Saeed and Durrani, are not in business. They are service people and they are subject to service rules as well as laws applicable to a citizen. They violated

both. Investigations are going on and much is expected to come to light. Nothing was done in a capricious or arbitrary manner. No capricious or arbitrary action will be taken. No action will be taken on whims or on likes and dislikes. So, now, the question is: please respond, please co-operate. I give you my pledge of co-operation and this pledge is not the pledge of a dictator but of a representative of the people. Do not be nervous or frightened for not having made a declaration before. Nothing will be revealed. No names will be disclosed. We will begin anew. I want genuine co-operation because after all the question is, if Pakistan dies then where will we all go. Canada is very cold and South France is boring. Ours is a lovely country. It has winter and summer throughout the year. People are fine. Stay here. There is no better place than Pakistan. We will make it a first-class place. I have not stopped education of your children. Our educational standards are already low. I want to bring about improvement. I will permit you to go abroad, to do your business, to go on holidays. But please bring back the wealth. We need it for our Armed Forces, we need it for the development of our country, we need it for repayment of loans. I hope when I come back there will be better response and I am extending the deadline upto the 15th of February for declaration of foreign exchange and assets. Do not have hurt feelings because nothing is done for invidious purpose. Please go back reassured. Sleep well and give my love to your children.

Eid message from Tripoli on January 26, 1972

As I address these words to you, I feel weighed down by the tragedy which struck us with such merciless force only recently. There can be no joy in my heart on this traditional occasion of festivity and peace. We have lost our honour and we have suffered national humiliation. I will observe Eid but I will not celebrate it. I will celebrate only when I have vindicated Pakistan's honour and reclaimed the dignity of my people. I will not rest until I have lifted the cloak of shame from the fair face of my country.

How can there be a celebration when thousands of my brothers, separated from their families, await return to their homeland from behind the barbed fences of prisoners of war camps in India. Like them I, too, am away from my children and people on this auspicious day. I send you this message from thousands of miles. I will be working on Eid day so that sunshine and security may once again return to Pakistan, so that we may once again live a life of honour.

I pray for your welfare and happiness and I beseech you to pray for me because today, more than ever, I need your prayers and your blessings. Together, we will rebuild Pakistan. Our faith will carry us forward. Our strength will lie not in our numbers, but in our unity based on justice for all our provinces and people. Let us all work towards the fulfilment of the promise that was Pakistan. And may the blessings of Allah be upon you.

*Speech at the Chinese banquet held in President Bhutto's honour
at the People's Great Hall, Peking on February 1, 1972*

Mr. Prime Minister, distinguished friends,

On behalf of the Pakistan Delegation and on behalf of the people of Pakistan I would like to thank you, Mr. Prime Minister, your government and your people for the warm and generous hospitality given to the delegation of Pakistan. It is an honour done to my people and to my country and we shall always remember your kindness and your feelings.

This is not my first visit to your great country. I remember that almost ten years ago I came here to conclude the boundary agreement between our two countries—an agreement that was for peace, confidence and stability between Pakistan and the People's Republic of China. Since these early days the relations between my country and your country have developed step by step in confidence, in trust and in mutual benefit directed towards peace and stability between our two countries, in Asia and generally in the world. We have tried to positively co-operate to promote the friendliest of relations based on five principles of peaceful co-existence. We have tried to adhere to the norms of United Nations Charter and to the generally accepted and recognised principles of statecraft.

You have raised your powerful voice for the oppressed people, for the cause of Third World, for the aspirations of the Afro-Asian peoples. With you we have also raised our voice. Though not powerful but it was in consonance with the principles of United Nations. That voice has been raised along with yours in the interest of Third World. Relations between the People's Republic of China and Pakistan have stood the test of time. They have withstood the rigours of the political weather. This is so be-

cause our relations are rooted in principles, in geography and in a common political understanding based on permanent human values.

Ever since our independence 25 years ago, Pakistan has been subjected to armed aggression on three separate occasions by our neighbouring country India. This happened in 1947. It happened in 1965, and now again in November, 1971.

On the previous two occasions, our people and our brave armed forces were able, with the co-operation and sympathy of the world at large and the People's Republic of China, in 1965 to withstand the armed aggression against the territorial integrity and unity of Pakistan.

But I regret to say that on this occasion the conspiracy against the integrity and territorial unity of my country was a deeper and broader one. And as such we have suffered from a terrible military reversal.

A part of my country is under Indian military occupation. We have been subjected to the use of brutal and naked force. And whilst this has not yet been over, we are now being subjected to diplomatic coercion from certain countries.

I want to inform our friends that the people of Pakistan are determined to arrive at a settlement between the two parts of Pakistan but that settlement must be left to the people and the leaders of the two parts of Pakistan without foreign interference and without foreign occupation.

All we seek for is the implementation of the United Nations resolutions both in the General Assembly and in the Security Council. India might have won a temporary military victory which is a passing phenomenon. But Pakistan has won a great political victory which is a permanent factor and that great political victory is that the whole world, that is, 105 countries of the world in the United Nations supported Pakistan's cause as being just and right.

I also want to assure my friends that the people of Pakistan want to improve their country, look inwards, try to rectify our mistakes and build a strong, vigorous, prosperous and enlightened Pakistan which is a democratic Pakistan, a Pakistan at the service of its people, a Pakistan at the service of the people of Asia and of world peace generally.

We want good relations with all countries, even countries which we do not have good relations with, even countries which have wronged us, even countries which have done great injustice against us. We want good relations with our neighbours, we want good relations with the great powers, we want to live in peace, we want to develop our country, but this must be done on the principles of justice and equity. If an effort is made

to impose a settlement on Pakistan that will be a grave mistake and that will not lead to permanent peace but will lead to permanent disaster.

As Chairman Mao Tse-Tung has said, "sometimes there is the east wind and sometimes there is the west wind." Today a hard wind is blowing against my country. But the day will come, with the unity of my people, with the resolution of my people, with the history and spirit of my people, I know for certain, that they will cross this vicissitude and bring sunshine and glory to the people of Pakistan.

I know that all friends here who are interested in the promotion of peace and goodwill will be happy to learn that our stay in China has been productive, useful, constructive and successful and we leave China tomorrow with greater confidence in our struggle assured by the fact that unqualifiedly we have the support of 800 million people of this great country who have stood by us and will continue to stand by us. The identity of views that we have reached here in our discussions has gratified us and I would like to repeat that we return to Pakistan completely satisfied with the discussions we have had here and with the results that we have achieved in this great capital.

Before concluding, I would like to assure the Chinese leaders and the Chinese people that Pakistan has no intention of being a liability and burden on the People's Republic of China. We would like to be a source of strength for our mutual relations directed towards the cause of world peace. If today you have to impose certain burdens on our behalf we shall remember them and we shall repay them because we want a relationship based on honour, dignity and self-respect.

Thank you, ladies and gentlemen, for your endurance. Now I would, with your permission, like to propose a toast:—

- to the health of Chairman Mao Tse-Tung, long life for him;
- to the health of Premier Chou En-lai and other distinguished Chinese friends present here;
- to the progress and prosperity of the great Chinese people;
- to the further development of friendship and co-operation between Pakistan and China;
- to Afro-Asian solidarity, world peace;
- to the health of all the distinguished guests who are here; and
- to the health and happiness of all the diplomats who are present here and their wives.

Speech at the banquet given by President Bhutto at the People's Great Hall, Peking on February 2, 1972

Mr. Prime Minister, Prince Sihanouk and Madame Sihanouk and distinguished friends,

Today, we leave after 2 days of productive and useful discussions with our Chinese friends. This is luncheon banquet but nevertheless I think there are all friends present here and I would like to tell you, friends and comrades, that our visit here has really been constructive and we leave Peking inspired by the talks. The great people of China led by Chairman Mao Tse-Tung, associated by other great leaders of China, stand by Pakistan in full support and without qualification for our just cause and for our just struggle.

China has a very old history; Pakistan has also a very old history. Our civilisations go back to 5,000 years. Few bad years are quite negligible. We would resolutely defend the interest, dignity and self-respect of Pakistan. If we have conviction there is no problem in allowing these bad years to pass. Chairman Mao has advised us to wait for 10 years. We are prepared to wait for 20 years but we will not rest, we will not tarry, we will not lay down our efforts, we will not lay down our arms till our people are free and till justice returns to our land.

In the meantime, we propose to try to come to just and equitable equilibrium in the comity of nations. We will build the strength of our people, we will try to bring social justice, economic justice and try to get them an atmosphere in which they can develop into a true Pakistani.

I again thank Premier Chou En-lai and other distinguished Chinese friends and leaders who have had long discussions with us. We have taken

a great deal of your time. We have had imposed, as I said, a burden on you but with the passage of each day we propose that this burden will become less and less. Our mutual co-operation is for the mutual benefit and for the cause of peace in Asia and the Third World would keep increasing and enhancing.

May I now propose a toast:—

- to the ever-lasting and ever-increasing friendship between the people of China and Pakistan;
- to the progress and prosperity of the great Chinese people;
- to the health of His Excellency Chairman Mao Tse-Tung—may he live a long life;
- to the health of His Excellency Premier Chou En-lai;
- to the health of His Royal Highness Prince Sihanouk and Madame Sihanouk;
- to the health of distinguished Chinese and other friends present here; and
- to the Afro-Asian solidarity and world peace.

*Address to the nation announcing the New Labour Policy
on February 10, 1972*

I am happy to announce today, within 7 weeks of assuming office, a New Labour Policy which will guarantee to workers their fundamental rights consistent with the requirements of industrial development of the State. I want to emphasise that this is only a first step towards the fulfilment of our pledge to the workers.

We are not so naive as to think that a mere new set of laws will transform overnight the national economic life of our society. We have tried to introduce certain basic reforms—reforms, I may add, which were long overdue but which no previous government dared to introduce. The iniquitous economic system that has prevailed for so long cannot be changed in a day. But we are making a determined beginning in the highest interests of the workers.

I will outline briefly some of the main features of the legislation we are introducing; the Labour Minister will elucidate the salient features of this Policy tomorrow in a Press Conference.

Workers will be given participation in the management of industry. This will be progressively increased. As soon as the legislation and connected formalities are completed, workers' representatives will be associated with management to the extent of 20 per cent at factory level. This will be done soon. At a prescribed level of industrial unit and under certain spelt-out stipulations, they will also have the authority to appoint an auditor with powers to inspect any accounts, records, premises or stores of a factory. This auditor will be paid by the management of the concerned prescribed unit.

Further, we have decided to raise to 4 per cent, from 2 per cent, the

share of the workers in the annual profits under the existing Companies Profits (Workers Participation) Act, 1968. If the workers increase productivity, they may receive an additional 10 per cent of the increased profits.

In order to make the Trade Union movement truly effective, we have decided to introduce a system of Shop Stewards at the lowest production level of prescribed industrial unit. Each shop or department in such a factory will have a shop steward who will be elected by secret ballot by the workers of the shop from among themselves. He will represent their interest and point of view in the management of that shop, and will act as a link between the workers and management of prescribed units.

To ensure that workers' grievances receive full and efficacious justice, we have decided to introduce a new streamlined procedure, which provides for a worker, himself or through his shop steward to bring his grievance to the notice of management; and, if no redress is given within the period prescribed, the matter may be taken to the Labour Union or the Labour Court. In such cases the Labour Court will give its decision within 20 days and not 60 days as is done at present.

The law relating to settlement of collective disputes has also been reformed to provide expeditious settlement. Works Councils will be strengthened and the scope of their functions widened to include all matters which can go before Labour Courts. Formerly, collective disputes had first to be referred only to management but now workers will have the option to refer, for a bilateral settlement, collective disputes to the Works Councils in which both they and management will be represented. A further revision in the law will provide that, instead of waiting for 21 days for serving a strike notice, a notice may be served within 3 days if the management does not respond favourably or there is failure of bilateral negotiations in the Works Council.

Under the new law, a matter may be taken to Labour Court by either party. Formerly, this could be done only if both workers and management agreed jointly. Thus the workers, while retaining their right to strike, will have the option to get immediate adjudication by Court. This provision is designed to save the workers from being forced to go on strike, which they had to do in the past, merely because management did not agree to move the Court. The Court's award will now be given within 30 days and not 60 days as previously.

I would add that the right of clerical staff of banks to collective bargaining is now being restored, and, in this connection, lower supervisory levels will be included in the definition of workmen.

In order to ensure that strikes do not take place without the consent or against the interest of the general body of workers, it has been made obligatory for unions to hold a secret ballot before resorting to strikes.

We intend to give full protection to workers against arbitrary retrenchment and termination of services by making it necessary for every order of retrenchment and termination of service to state reasons explicitly in writing. This will not only reduce substantially injustice to the workers but will also facilitate scrutiny by courts of the merits of each case.

We have decided to make compulsory the payment of bonus to employees either in cash or NIT shares, at the option of workers. The amount of bonus will be linked with profits so that increase in production and the prosperity of workers go hand in hand.

We have also decided to extend the application of Payment of Wages Act, 1936, and Industrial Employment (Standing Orders) Ordinance, 1968, to labour under contractors. This will ensure regular payments, overtime pay and proper rates of payments.

We naturally attach great importance to housing and will do everything possible to have it provided to the maximum extent possible. The Workers' Welfare Fund for housing and other major facilities was created sometimes back. This has remained a paper Fund only. We have, therefore, decided that representative committees will be set up, comprising nominees of workers and management and including representatives of the Provincial Governments, to go into the financial and other circumstances of each undertaking in the area and decide what further contribution, over and above the minimum one laid down by law, should be made by employers for these facilities.

Even more important is education, and we have decided that employers shall provide free education upto matric to one child of each worker, the others will be progressively looked after by the State. This will naturally not apply to industrial units already providing better facilities to the children of workers.

We have carefully reviewed the Social Security Scheme and introduced major reforms in it. First, the levy of 2 per cent of a worker's wages for providing him medical facilities has been abolished, and the existing 4 per cent contribution made by the employer will be raised to 6 per cent. In due course additional steps will be taken for the provision of further medical facilities to workers.

Secondly, provision for old age pension will be made for all workers at a certain age. Compulsory group insurance for workers against death

and injury, when off duty, will also be introduced.

Thirdly, the Social Security Scheme will be appropriately extended to cover domestic servants.

The existing laws regarding safety measures and workmen's compensation in the event of death or injury are being revised. Increased rates of compensation will be provided.

Group benefit schemes will be introduced as incentive to workers to compete in increasing efficiency and production in each plant. Measures will, at the same time, be taken to see, as far as possible, equitable distribution of employers' contribution between workers in capital intensive and labour intensive undertakings.

One major shortcoming has existed all along in labour legislation. Infringement of certain provisions such as payment of compensation in case of death or injury, payment of overtime wages, provisions of canteens on premises and other such facilities have not been treated as cognizable offences. Violations of all such provisions are being made cognizable, though bailable.

We have also decided upon a large number of measures to promote the growth of workers' movement along progressive lines. I will mention only the more important of these measures here. To strengthen the growth of the trade union movement, we have decided to set up a quasi-judicial authority with three main aims:

- (a) To promote genuine trade unionism at the trade level and ensure representative character of unions.
- (b) To help in the setting up of federations of unions, industry-wise.
- (c) To help in the formation of federations at the national level.

It will also deal with cases of victimization of office-bearers of trade unions, and unfair labour practices on the part of employers as well as trade unions.

We have given serious consideration to the question of the minimum wage. We do not think it advisable to take any hurried measures. Only two years ago the minimum wage was increased but a corresponding benefit has not accrued to the wage earner nor has it increased his purchasing power. It only resulted in a serious price spiral which is not yet checked. Before increasing minimum wages, it is essential to stabilise the prices so that the benefit of the increased wage becomes substantial in its practical sense instead of getting eaten away by galloping inflation.

After careful consideration it has been decided that at this initial stage when we are about to begin the task of salvaging the national economy, an increase in money wages will further aggravate the inflationary situation.

We have instead, at this moment introduced measures relating to participation in profit, housing, education and the abolition of 2 per cent levy under the Social Security Scheme which are designed to increase the workers' real income. At the same time we are making every effort to stabilise the prices of essential items of daily use such as *atta*, sugar, vegetable *ghee*, kerosene oil and cloth. We believe that the measures we are taking will result in true and meaningful benefits to the workers. It is our intention to peg wages to prices as is the practice in the Scandinavian and some other advanced countries. This will be done when the economic situation normalises and when production increases. To bear this and other reforms including increase in minimum wages, there must be a rapid increase in production. We are facing crisis in production. This crisis must be surmounted to increase national wealth and national welfare of the labouring classes and of our society as a whole. I would like to emphasise that our economic salvation lies in making a determined effort to increase production.

Since the 20th of December, Martial Law notwithstanding *gheraos* and *julaos* seem to have become the order of the day. This unruly and rowdy practice, negative in its purpose, anarchistic in its approach, nihilist in its results has been endured regrettably by the Government and the people for over seven weeks. The object of this exercise in patience was to show the people, and indeed even the participants, that this simply is not the proper form of protests or of ventilation of grievances. It is a self-destructive procedure. The majority of the people, have shown their disgust over these demonstrations of hooliganism. They want an end to it. They want a return to sensible and civilised methods of protest. Even the participants excepting the ring leaders are getting disillusioned with this practice. National leaders have spoken against it. Public opinion is clear on the matter.

Taking all these factors into account, now I want to make it clear that strength of the street will be met by the strength of the State. For long the people have tolerated this intolerable form of threat and thunder. It must stop. I say this as a friend and associate of those who have been innocently misled to indulge in one *gherao* after another. It is in their interest and in the interest of the rest of the people to put an end to this lawlessness. Scores have been settled. Pent up energies have been released. So let every one return to the path of normality. Let nobody take these remarks lightly. In future the full weight of law will be visited on such forms of illegal demonstration.

The Government is not only aware of the workers' problems, but is fully

receptive and sympathetic. We have provided the workers every legal means for redress of grievances. Let them now try these methods which are in their true interest.

I am speaking to you candidly to prepare you for the strenuous times lying ahead. But I am confident that if all of us try hard, and work hard, we will all benefit. Of necessity, it will have to be a collective effort. This is the only way to serve Pakistan, to ensure that the children of our toiling masses, who have seen nothing but misery and hardship for centuries, will live in a better Pakistan, a more secure and happy Pakistan. Our sacrifices will not go in vain. We are making basic adjustments, not without a purpose. All our yesterdays have seen failure. Let us strive for a better tomorrow, a morrow at the service of the common man.

Address to sailors at Karachi on February 11, 1972

Addressing officers and sailors of the Pakistan Navy at the Naval Dockyard in Karachi on February 11, 1972, President Bhutto said that the Pakistan Navy had an important role to play in the rebuilding of Pakistan. The Navy was an important segment of our Armed Forces and the country was proud of the Navy's heroic performance during the Indo-Pakistan wars of 1965 and 1971.

The President said that he was conscious of the fact that the Navy was neglected in the past and it was not given due importance. "The past should be forgotten. We appreciate your discipline and valour and the nation is proud of you," he said.

President Bhutto assured the officers and sailors that their problems were engaging his "constant attention and everything possible was being done to mitigate their difficulties."

The President was convinced that fundamental changes in economic and social structure were imperative because they were conducive to rapid, overall development of the country. "We cannot have strong Armed Forces if we have an economically weak Pakistan," he maintained.

He stressed the need for relying more and more on "our own resources. As a matter of principle, we should not depend on any country perpetually as it was not in the larger national interests. We can have assistance from others but we must gear up our own resources. We must meet our essential requirements and rebuild Pakistan and the Navy should render a powerful shoulder to the wheels of progress in this country," he added.

After the address, the President, accompanied by Rear-Admiral H.H. Ahmed, Commander-in-Chief, Pakistan Navy, spent some time on board PNS Babur followed by inspection of a submarine of the Pakistan Navy.

*Address to architects and town planners at Karachi
on February 11, 1972*

In an address to architects and town planners in Karachi on February 11, 1972, President Bhutto called upon them to co-operate with the Government in the task of rebuilding the society on sound lines. He was summing up a discussion in which a number of architects and town planners took part and freely expressed their views on subjects relating to town planning, proper use of architectural talent, low-cost housing and problems of urbanisation.

The President assured the architects that Government would make every endeavour to make use of their talent and expertise purposefully and in the best interest of the country and would provide them with every encouragement so that there is no frustration in their ranks.

In this context, the President disclosed that he proposed to hold similar discussions with experts in other fields, *e.g.*, engineers and doctors. He said that he would continue to be in touch with the talent in every field.

The President pointed out that first attention should be given to improvement and development of old cities like Hyderabad, Multan and Lahore. Lahore, the President said, offered the best scope for architectural development. He said that the population of Karachi has increased immensely and the city has not been developed on proper lines. Much can, therefore, be done to improve this city. He suggested that Karachi should be divided into various zones and improvement started in every zone.

The President said that no attention has been paid to creative architecture in Pakistan and that there has not been genuinely new styles in this field. He said that plagiarism has been as much evident in the sphere of

architecture as in other fields like literature, music and culture. He underlined the necessity of creative harmony in architecture.

The President called upon architects not to feel frustrated as the Government would give them utmost encouragement so as to enable them to play their proper role in building the society on harmonious lines. He pointed out that those who received higher education abroad owed a debt of deep gratitude to the toiling masses of the country.

*Address to the engineers at Lahore
on February 13, 1972*

I am happy to be here this morning to meet you. I would like to tell you that I intend to maintain a dialogue with you, if not directly, through the Governors, Ministers and Advisers who are in close touch with me. You can rest assured that your problems will be known to us. Your problems are already known to us. We have lived with the people. We know the people. We know the conditions of the country and some of us come from the rural areas. We know the problems of irrigation and of shortage of water, salinity and waterlogging. We have lived with all those problems, and we still continue to live with them. So, we are not unmindful of the problems that we are called upon to tackle.

I think in the future we can develop a harmonious understanding between ourselves. I want to achieve an understanding not only with the engineers but with all talented persons with a view to strengthening Pakistan—to creating a new and great Pakistan, which our people have yearned for and for which our people made sacrifices before Partition and after Partition. Whoever wants to contribute to achieving this objective is welcome as a friend and collaborator in the common task. Here, I repeat that engineers, doctors, architects and scientists shall be in the vanguard of the struggle for creating a Pakistan for which our people have laid down their lives right up to the present, and I believe that they can continue to make sacrifices in the future because the days ahead of us are not going to be easy.

As educated, sensible, respectable and responsible citizens of the country, you are aware of these problems which have only just begun.

I do not have any particular attachment for bureaucracy. Throughout my election campaign, before that and after that, I have openly criticised the bureaucracy. I have criticised the mentality of the bureaucracy. On taking over this office, among the first directives I issued was one that called upon the bureaucracy to change its outlook, to go to the people, to get integrated with the people and not to sit tight in the offices or get buried in files, nor to get glued to the secretariat because from the secretariat windows they could not hear the heart-beat of the people. The pity is that we still have the colonial legacy. Unfortunately, we have forgotten the good things of the past and only retained the bad ones. The British bureaucracy attained a very high standard. In the old days, the pioneer days, the bureaucrats travelled to remote and far-flung areas to the desert of Tharparker, and to the mountains, where they did research work and produced gazetteers which are very valuable even to this day. But that standard we have lost. In the condemnation of the British colonial system, we have thrown away its virtues and retained its defects.

So, the question is not merely of the deterioration in the standards of bureaucracy but also of accretion in its privileges and powers, with the result that there has been a terrible mess. Also, like other institutions, the bureaucracy has not been accountable.

I admit that the bureaucrats played politics, and unfortunately they played bad politics. They were not good politicians. If they had indulged in politics, they should have been at least good politicians. But how can a bureaucrat be a good politician? This is a contradiction in terms.

I cannot answer here, in a minute, the discussion that has gone on for years about the respective roles of the generalists and the specialists. I am quite prepared for a full-scale, constructive debate on this matter. Also, I am quite prepared to set up a committee to go into the question of WAPDA's problems.

WAPDA has many problems. When I was Minister for Natural Resources I was intimately connected with the problems of WAPDA, problems of natural resources and water. And these questions are not new to me. So, the problem is that we cannot do anything immediately. All problems cannot be resolved within a day. The future of WAPDA is not in my hands because, I tell you frankly, that this problem is associated with the sensitive question of provincial autonomy and I am not touching on such issues at all. I am touching the issues of bread and butter, agriculture—in short, welfare of the masses which are not repugnant to provincial autonomy. The sensitive question of provincial autonomy is

not affected if, for instance, a child is educated, a person gets employment, the wages of workers are increased and prices of commodities stabilized. But, WAPDA certainly affects the sensitive question of provincial autonomy which will be determined by the National Assembly whether WAPDA should stay or what shape should it take in the future. WAPDA's fate is in the balance and the National Assembly will determine it.

Those who think that Assembly is not coming into being, have already seen signs that we are moving in that direction. We would like to see the Assembly in session. We would also like to see the participation in it of the representatives of the people. I will be happier on the floor of the Assembly than anywhere else. We have to settle some preliminaries, some basic prerequisites before that is done.

When I say, as I stated yesterday, that the Assembly will meet this year, it does not mean that it would meet on the 31st of December or the 1st of December or the 15th of November. Do not ask me any more questions because I cannot give you dates. In any case, it will meet before the year is out, much before the year is out. Be patient and have confidence. I want settlement of this question for all time to come. I do not want any more *ad hoc* arrangements. I want Pakistan to be on firm and secure foundations. I am aware of the importance of the institution. I am aware of the importance of public participation. I said yesterday that I would be the happiest man in Pakistan when democracy is restored, because I have struggled more for democracy in Pakistan than any other individual.

Coming back to WAPDA, have no fear on that score. All we want to do is to do justice to every one. After all, the question of generalists and specialists affects all fields. If we set a principle in WAPDA we might have to follow it in other fields. Now, we have seen how disastrous it was for a general to be in charge of the last war. As Supreme Commander, and Commander-in-Chief, he could not give clear orders as to what should be done. Clemenceau said, "war is too serious a business for Generals." So, the question is one of a happy blending and conciliation of two opposing view points according to our own requirements and environment. On that question I have an open mind because I am holding no brief for one party or the other. My plea to you is that for engineers and for other educated people, there is a method of ventilation of grievances. If, as educated and responsible people, devoted to creative work, you also start resorting to *gheraos* and *jalaos*, where would it lead to? I understand, to some extent, the labour doing that because it has been threatened badly. So, as a matter of deliberate policy, I wanted the labour community to

ventilate its grievances. But, there comes a time when one has to be sensible. Two days ago a person was brutally killed. We cannot allow this kind of murder. This is not according to our traditions. This is not according to our methods. For six to eight weeks, I deliberately allowed people to ventilate their grievances to let off steam because they all had reasons to let off steam, especially the working class which is the most exploited class. It is understandable in their case because their vision is limited and they have had no education. However, there comes a time when people themselves get fed up with it because it is counter productive and because it is negative. Time has now come when we cannot allow this kind of thing to continue. This does not mean that the Government will be tyrannical or that we will resort to whip-lashing, like the previous regimes. In all such cases, a minimum effective control is necessary. Now, if the engineers also indulge in this kind of thing, then let us all wind up shop.

I have never advocated *gherao* and *jalao*. Even when I was in opposition, I stood against it. Only once, in Karachi, did I say that Yahya's President House will be *gheraoed*. You can *gherao* me, and not the people. No sensible person can believe in that method. It was deprecated even in China during the great cultural revolution. When the British legation in Peking was burnt, the Chinese leaders were furious. Chairman Mao and Premier Chou En-lai told me that some people had got out of control and that they simply could not permit this. When a great country like China, with all its resources and infrastructure, could not permit *gherao* and *jalao* how could Pakistan, with foreign debts, with a crisis in every sphere of life, allow this kind of activity? I am not threatening. I am only pleading. But, I also know how to run an administration. I am not new to this art. I understand it perfectly well. Do not think that we cannot control these matters. The methods of *gherao* and *jalao* will not work.

The other day some people came to Rawalpindi saying that there was a crisis in WAPDA and that I must immediately hear them. There are ministers and other functionaries. If you want to see me, do not threaten me that there is crisis in WAPDA. Say, we want to discuss some WAPDA problems. We will discuss WAPDA problems. These problems are not discussed merely because you threaten me with the word crisis, because I am a man of crisis, and crisis is a normality to me. Do not unnecessarily think that because of this fact they will put our back to the wall. Our back is not to the wall, because the people are with us. We would resolve these problems. Give us some time. We do not want 13 years of Ayub Khan

or three years of Yahya Khan. Give us a very limited period of time and after that you will see that all we can do is to set things in the right direction. Let us take the first big step and the others will come through the process of evolution, revolution and explosion, whatever the future has in store for the subcontinent and Asia.

I have the greatest respect for you. I know you have to build this country. You have to do the creative work. In the Second Five-Year Plan 61 per cent and in the Third Five-Year Plan 63 per cent of the work was supposed to be done by the engineers. As the work connected with the plan keeps increasing progressively, you will have to play a greater role.

I am ashamed of the fact that 2,000 engineers are without jobs. I am soon going to launch a massive public works programme in the country and in this way, *Insha Allah*, we will bring engineers into full play and into full operation and, thus, give you a sense of full participation. Let us resolve these problems in sobriety because I expect sobriety and sense from people like you. Until the problems are resolved, have a little patience. If there are some interim changes, do not think that they are by way of acceptance of or commitment to a principle. That might be only because there is need for some interim changes and not that we are accepting or following certain principles. I want you to feel satisfied and content. For, if you are satisfied and contented, you can build a real Pakistan—an aesthetic Pakistan.

Interview with BBC broadcast on February 18, 1972

In an interview given to Mr. Ian MacIntyre, broadcast by BBC on February 18, 1972, President Bhutto answered a number of questions. The text of questions and answers is reproduced below.

First, Mr. MacIntyre reminded the President of his book *The Myth of Independence* in which he had said that relations between India and Pakistan had never been normal, nor were they capable of feeling normal without the settlement of fundamental disputes which had smouldered since Independence.

Question:

What are these disputes?

President:

Basically, it was Kashmir, and Kashmir still remains a basic dispute. But since this last war, the relationship between India and Pakistan has acquired wider dimensions to include the majority part of our country which is under Indian occupation. These are the two fundamental disputes now facing the two countries.

Question:

You also said in the book, I think, that Indian leaders have come to tolerate Pakistan because they don't have the power to destroy her and if they could forge this power they would end Partition and reabsorb Pakistan. Even today India has that dream. Do you think that is still so?

President:

I am afraid the events have proved it evidently. At that time there was some sort of balance of power. It was not a genuine balance of power,

but, nevertheless, some kind of a balance of power between India and Pakistan. But since the Sino-Indian conflict of 1962 slowly and then after the 1965 conflict between India and Pakistan, the military preponderance of India has weighed heavily against Pakistan's military forces.

Question:

If this was, however, still a fundamental aim of Indian policy, couldn't they have finished the job last time?

President:

Yes, they might have and I think they intended to, but the world situation was there and the world powers took an active attitude towards the conflict finally and the United States put a foot down and so India declared a unilateral ceasefire. I don't think it was a voluntary declaration.

Question:

There has been a little controversy about the nature of this evidence. You would have seen President Nixon's statement of foreign policy and there is a paragraph in it about the situation we are talking about. "During the week of December the 6th," he writes, "we received convincing evidence that India was seriously contemplating the seizure of Pakistan-held portions of Kashmir and the destruction of Pakistan's military forces in the West." When questioned about this subsequently, both Mr. Nixon and Dr. Kissinger had said that they don't wish to disclose the nature of that evidence. Do you think that evidence was good?

President:

I can understand their reluctance to disclose the nature of that evidence because at present it is extremely sensitive and it might also affect the United States' relations with the Soviet Union. And I don't think, United States would now, in the circumstances as you see because there is a ceasefire. So that can unnecessarily aggravate their relations with the Soviet Union specially when President Nixon is going both to China and to Moscow. So, I think there is good reason for him not to disclose the information at this given point of time. But we also have some evidence of this and this was also told to me by Premier Chou En-lai when I visited Peking this month.

Question:

When you were in China, last November, you were the guest of honour at a banquet and in the course of his speech the acting Foreign Minister had this to say: "Should Pakistan be subjected to foreign aggression, the Chinese Government and people will, as always, resolutely support the Pakistan Government in their just struggle to defend their state soverei-

gnty and national independence." Would you agree that Chinese support in the recent conflict with India fell some way short of that?

President:

I would say that within the limitations, China did what she could. Some people think China could have done more, but I think that you have to take a number of factors into account in assessing Chinese role in the last conflict and a series of successive blunders were committed by the Yahya regime. Events moved so fast that other countries did not have time to fully assess them. You have to take all these factors into account and as I said let us not look to the past events, we have to look to the future. But, whatever, has been China's participation we have not lost confidence in China's friendship or in China's words.

Question:

When the idea of separation was first seriously mooted at the end of 1970, after Mujib's election victory, you said you were too passionately committed to the concept of Pakistan to think of such an idea. Well, the idea has now, of course, been rather forcibly brought to your attention and even it has become a political reality. Do you intend to spend any time to undo it?

President:

Well, I still maintain that Pakistan and its concept are not clearly passing phenomena and that the present reality will not be a permanent reality and so we are trying to make a search—a genuine search to maintain some form of *modus vivendi* between the two wings. Sooner or later the sentiments for Pakistan will grow again. At the moment we still are making a search. For this reason in the field of external affairs we had to painfully and regrettably leave the Commonwealth on this account and also break relations with certain countries. But even if there is parting of the ways I think it will not be a permanent parting of the ways. The two of us will come together again in some form or shape. I cannot say what form or shape it will be, but you would see yourself that sentiments for Pakistan will again grow in that part of our country.

Question:

Given that something like one in three of the entire United Nations Membership has now recognised Bangla Desh, isn't there something to be said for the view that until you do too, you aren't going to be able to give your full attention to the heavy task of reconstruction facing you here?

President:

I think you may have noted that while I have shown my anxiety and

my willingness to hold negotiations with Sheikh Mujibur Rahman on the one hand and with the Government of India on the other and until we hold these discussions I don't think that it would be fair to us to ask for our final position.

Question:

During the final months of your predecessor's rule one of your most insistant demands was for the restoration of democratic processes. What will the main features of such a restoration be and what sort of time scale do you envisage?

President:

When I made this demand the war had not taken place and half of our country had not come under the occupation of India. So, now also, I believe in my demand and I will see to it that people of Pakistan return to democracy soon and I would like to see that they return to democracy for all time. So that we establish institutions with roots and that no military or civilian adventurer will ever dare to inject one Martial Law after another into our country again. I want to build institutions, strengthen existing institutions, including the judiciary. To strengthen the remaining ones we have to build again. We want a constitution and we want to have the rule of law restored in the country. We want to have freedom of press, freedom of association, fundamental rights and a viable constitution suited to our conditions.

Question:

You have been asked many times since you became President, how long you intend to retain the Martial Law? You said, very shortly after you became President, "not a day longer, not a minute longer, not a second longer than necessary." How much longer do you think in fact you are going to need it?

President:

I stand by that commitment and I believe in it, I want to withdraw Martial Law. I am not happy with Martial Law. I would like to see it gone by yesterday, but the point is that not only we have certain basic reforms to be implemented, but I must have at least one meeting with the Indian leaders and one with Sheikh Mujibur Rahman to get a general idea of the situation—to get a firm idea about the general picture. Now I know that by dialogue alone I won't get any exact idea, but a politician makes an assessment not only on the words spoken, but on the general feel and I want to have that general feel. And I think that the world should be fair to me to get that general feel before I can give a time table, be-

cause I think very few countries have gone through a crisis that my country has gone through. I don't feel Poland which was dismembered rather badly went through a crisis as deep as Pakistan is going through. So I am not trying to procrastinate. I know the danger of procrastination. I am not so foolish as to try and hang on to power by the thread of Martial Law. I would like to be in a position of respectable responsibility and that can only come through the constitution and I have earned that right in an election. So I am anxious and eager to withdraw it, but I must have to be fair to my people, to be fair to what remains of my country at the moment, to have some idea of the general situation before I can announce the date.

Question:

You have always taken a very hard line against India. In 1965 when relations were particularly bad over Kashmir, you called her a "feeble, flippant, decadent society", and when you were electioneering before the last elections here, you promised to your men two things—redistribution of wealth and a thousand year war against India. How important is it to you to be able to work out some sort of *modus vivendi* with India?

President:

This is important. Even when my posture was different, when I was preaching confrontation, there was a theme in that confrontation. That confrontation would be inevitable until the fundamental disputes are settled. Now after this war the fundamental disputes are still to be settled, if not by confrontation, by consultations and by negotiations. An imposed peace will simply not work. The situation has changed radically. In those days we had certain opportunities and our Government missed that. Now India, of course, had an opportunity and she didn't miss it.

For instance, in 1962 during the Sino-Indian conflict, when India had vacated most of her forces from Kashmir, our army could have walked into Kashmir. But then Ayub thought, as he was told by others that all the world will say to this "a stab in the back." Now what has India done to Pakistan. Whether it is a stab in the back or even a stab in the front, but nevertheless it has been a mighty stab. But the world tends to, with the passing time, forget the issue. So, in 1962 this was an opportunity. In 1965, I think, if the war had continued there would have been a better settlement, and Pakistan missed all opportunities. India did not miss any opportunity. So I can't be held responsible if the other Governments have missed that opportunity. I was only able to tell them, "this is an

opportunity either you take it or if you don't take it then you will finally suffer," and we have come to that position where we finally suffer. It depends how you go to the peace table.

Question:

When you do go to the conference table will you talk only about the recent conflict or would you hope to cover all outstanding issues?

President:

I would like to leave that for the moment, because I would like to see their mood. I would like to see their trend of mind there. That is what I said earlier. It is not exactly what we say but the general impression one gathers and first I would like to get that general impression and after that I will be in a better position to know.

*Message of greetings to the Ruler of Kuwait
on February 24, 1972*

On behalf of the Government and the people of Pakistan and on my own behalf, it gives me great pleasure to extend to Your Highness, the Government and the brotherly people of the State of Kuwait, our warmest greetings and heartiest congratulations on the auspicious occasion of the National Day of Kuwait.

The most cordial relations which so happily exist between Pakistan and Kuwait are a source of great strength to us in Pakistan and I am confident that these fraternal ties will continue to be strengthened in the future. While looking forward to continued co-operation between Pakistan and Kuwait in all fields, I avail myself of this opportunity to wish best of health and happiness to Your Highness and all prosperity to our brethren in Kuwait.

*Message of welcome to the wounded prisoners of war
on February 26, 1972*

With pride and satisfaction I welcome back to our land the first batch of our prisoners of war whose repatriation has been arranged through the good offices of IRC. Their return marks the first step towards, what my Government hopes will be, the complete and unconditional repatriation of our prisoners of war held in India. Let the near relations of our prisoners of war know again that I intend not to relent for a single moment until the last one of our boys is back home. That will be a day of joy to me and our people.

*Message to Sheikh Mujibur Rahman offering 122,000
tons of rice on February 29, 1972*

In view of the problem created by the reported acute shortage of food, I have decided, in spite of our own economic difficulties, to place at your disposal 100,000 tons of rice from our own resources, in addition to the 22,000 tons of rice of U.S. origin. Both quantities amounting to 122,000 tons of rice can be shipped quickly. I should be grateful if your response could be communicated to me as soon as possible.

*Address to the nation announcing Land Reforms in Pakistan
on March 1, 1972*

Citizens, mazaraeen and haris,

Tonight is your night, as I am speaking to you on land reforms, to inform you of the vital decisions we have taken to change the oppressive and iniquitous agrarian system under which our people have suffered in silence for centuries. From its inception, and throughout its struggle against injustice, the Pakistan People's Party has been committed to the eradication of the curse of feudalism and man's unjust overlordship of the good earth.

The reforms I am introducing are basic—affecting the life and fortunes of the common man more than any other measure that we may introduce in the future. They will bring dignity and salvation to our rural masses who from today will be able to lift their heads from the dust and regain their pride and manhood, their self-respect and honour.

The ramifications of the system we have changed are massive, but there are no perfect solutions. Every society has to evolve its own remedial measures within the framework of its heritage, conditions and limitations. There is a wide and shameful dichotomy in our socio-economic structure, and nowhere else are its manifestations more glaring than in the countryside. The overwhelming majority of our peasantry have since time immemorial been suspended in the vicious web of abject poverty and servitude. Perhaps nowhere else has the innate dignity of the working man been abused so blatantly as here. We shall not allow this abominable *status quo* to continue.

The problems of the land are complex. Land reforms no doubt involve distribution of land-holding—a task that is both difficult and intricate.

But the problems are much deeper and we have to strike at their roots. Superficial remedies will be injurious as they do not touch the heart of the problem and it is to the heart that we must get. Unless land reforms bring about profound improvements in the economic and social status of the farmer, it will have been no more than a sanctimonious exercise.

The Land Reform plan envisaged by your Government covers a wide spectrum. It will effectively break up the iniquitous concentrations of landed wealth, reduce income disparities, increase production, reduce unemployment, streamline the administration of land revenue and agricultural taxation, and truly lay down the foundations of a relationship of honour and mutual benefit between the land-owner and the tenant.

To begin with, we are drastically reducing the ceiling on individual holdings. Nobody can deny that concentrations of landed wealth have stunted the growth of a just and harmonious social order. We will not allow a few individuals to hold sway over enormous tracts of land while, side by side, millions of those who produce the wealth of the nation struggle helplessly at a miserable level of existence.

Several objective factors have been considered while fixing the new ceiling. The prime one being that agriculture should continue to be an attractive and profitable vocation. The size of the holding should permit maximum benefit of investment to enable productivity to increase. Enterprising and enlightened farmers should continue to live on the land and give agriculture the sense of purpose it deserves. For these compelling reasons, we are following exactly the same principle for the enlightened entrepreneur. We are as much against the ignorant and tyrannical landlord as we are against the robber barons of industry. We are as much for the creative and humane land-owner as we are for a productive and conscientious owner of industry.

After deep and careful thought, I am reducing the present ceiling of land held by an individual owner from 500 irrigated acres to 150 irrigated acres, and of unirrigated acres from 1,000 to 300, or an area equivalent to 15,000 produce index units, whichever is greater. In specific terms, the present ceiling is being slashed in one stroke by 70 per cent, without even taking into account the major concessions and exemptions granted by the 1959 Reforms.

The question of fixing the limit of holdings on the basis of the family instead of the individual was minutely examined. As it involves Islamic Jurisprudence, we sought the advice and guidance of renowned Muslim scholars and jurists. The universal conclusion drawn was that Islam

sanctifies the rights of the individual and does not recognise the system of family holdings. As Muslims we simply cannot conceive of a scheme repugnant to the tenets of Islam and so in keeping with the injunctions of Islam, the holdings are fixed on the basis of the individual and not family.

In a large country like ours the productivity and income from land differs from area to area on account of natural variations in soil quality, climate, availability of water and a host of connected factors. It will be unrealistic and a folly to put alluvial soils on par with barren land, and fix the same ceiling for both. It will create an indefensible and discriminatory situation and do gross injustice to those regions less blessed by nature. Even in Europe, where contrasts are less striking, agricultural productivity varies from region to region—a factor which has been recognised by the European Economic Community. It would, therefore, meet the ends of justice to follow a system which takes cognizance of these natural and inescapable factors and to fix the upper limit on the basis of produce index units which represent diversified and varying land productivity. Indeed, that is why produce index units were evolved in the first place and made the yardstick of allotment and distribution of land since 1947. That is why our manifesto also recognises this self-evident reality.

The Land Reforms of 1959 were a subterfuge. They were reforms in name only, to fool the people in the name of reform. Apart from providing a high upper limit of 36,000 units, all manners of concession were made available to buttress and pamper the landed aristocracy and fatten the favoured few. In fact, the units thus made available ranged from 72,000 to as much as 80,000 units. Let me explain how. Over and above the upper limit of 36,000 units, individual owners were allowed to retain an additional 150 acres of orchards. Furthermore, an existing owner was entitled to gift to his heirs an area equivalent to 18,000 units. Even more than that, each of his family's female dependents were allowed, without restriction, 6,000 units. The runaway scheme did not stop here. "Shikargahs" and stud and livestock farms, irrespective of their size, were kept entirely outside the pale of land reforms. To give an example, one of the exempted "Shikargahs" stretched over more than 100,000 acres. Similarly, there were stud and livestock farms each of thousands and thousands of acres. So also were many trusts indiscriminately exempted. As a result of these fraudulent exemptions, peasants were deprived of valuable lands running into over one million acres.

We are not permitting such exemptions or concessions. First, the concerned owners will not be permitted to transfer any of the affected areas

by way of gift to their heirs or female dependents as was permitted by the 1959 Reforms.

All "Shikargahs" will be resumed and the land distributed to the peasants, except for those historical "Shikargahs" which will be run by the state. Orchards, stud and livestock farms, and defined trusts, in excess of the prescribed ceiling, will not be exempt. The Provincial Governments will determine the manner in which these resumed lands are to be utilized. If possible, they will be state-run; but if public interest so requires, they will be leased out, in which case the former owner will have the first right of refusal.

In fairness, however, we cannot ignore investments made by existing owners in installing tubewells, purchasing tractors, breaking new lands and adopting costly modern techniques of agricultural production. For this reason, we are compelled in equity to allow an existing owner to have an additional area equivalent to 3,000 units, if he either owned a tractor or had installed a tubewell on or before the 20th December, 1971.

The only exemption we are permitting relates to recognized educational institutions, like universities, which will be allowed to hold areas beyond the prescribed ceiling. Unlike the 1959 Reforms, this exemption has not been extended to any other institutions.

It is common knowledge that lands belonging to Government in Pat Feeder area in Baluchistan have been encroached upon by several influential persons and there has been a protracted controversy over entitlement to these lands. This has caused poor peasants and landless cultivators endless hardships. In order to end confusion and provide lands to the tillers, Government has decided to resume all lands in the Pat Feeder area, free from any encumbrance or charge and without any compensation. The resumed lands will be granted to poor farmers of the region.

Now, I must say something about one of the most sordid and shameful chapters in the story of land-grabbing in Pakistan. The official class has indulged in the most disgraceful abuse of power by acquiring vast lands in various barrages, both in Sind and in the Punjab. This has created a new class of absentee-landlords. Apart from the exploitation that this entails, it has created a further burden on the local bureaucracy who are required to arrange a fixed income to these absentee-landlords, who in, many cases, also happen to be their superior officers. Government has, therefore, decided that any Government servant having acquired more than 100 acres of land during the tenure of his office or in the course of retirement, such land in excess of 100 acres shall stand confiscated to the state. This will not

apply to Armed Forces as in their case land was given to the defenders of the soil.

Certain high-ranking military officers had, however, also acquired lands in the border areas. The lands allotted in the border areas were with the specific object of creating a defence reserve line of retired military personnel. In many cases, however, these lands were subsequently exchanged by these allottees for better lands in the interior, thus defeating the very purpose of the original allotments in the border areas. We have, therefore, decided to cancel the title to all such lands acquired by exchange from the border area of the defence belt to the safe interior.

All state lands will be reserved exclusively for landless tenants or owners of below-subsistence holding, preferably in the same *deh* or village in which the land is located. Substantial areas will, however, have to be reserved for the Defence Forces.

Auction of state agricultural lands shall be banned. The price of state land will be realized in easy instalments. The policy of giving these lands on yearly leases stands abandoned.

The relations between land-owners and tenants have caused grave anxiety to the country and our people. There has been strife and bitterness causing serious problems affecting agricultural production and social harmony. Let me state clearly the measures I am taking to correct this situation.

Arbitrary and capricious ejections shall stop forthwith. In future, ejections will only be possible if tenants fail to pay the *batai* share or rent or meet the requirements of cultivation.

The liability for payment of water rate shall be shifted from the tenant to the land-owner throughout the country. Moreover, all agricultural taxes shall hereafter be paid exclusively by the land-owner.

Similarly, the present practice of the tenant meeting the cost of seed shall cease, and in future the land-owners will be responsible for providing and paying for seed. The cost of remaining inputs shall be shared equally between the land-owners and tenants.

Levy of cess and service without remuneration extracted by landlords from tenants shall be unlawful throughout the country.

And, finally, in the event of sale of land, the tenant of the land shall have the right of pre-emption.

These revolutionary concessions given to the tillers of the soil will open new vistas of economic betterment for them. I am positive that security of tenure, elimination of the burden of taxation on tenants and

the grant of the right of pre-emption will satisfy the yearnings and long-standing desires of tenants.

My friends and compatriots, now please mark the contrast, please be a fair judge between Land Reforms of 1959 and the Reforms I am now putting forward. Not only have I drastically reduced the ceiling to break the back of feudalism, but I have gone a step further to start a new order and life for the peasants. I am not only doing away with frivolous exemptions and high ceilings, but I am taking over all the lands under the new law without compensation. And most important, I am transferring all the resumed land to the tiller of the soil. The tiller of the soil will not be required to pay a paisa for the lands given to him under these Reforms. They will be the new owners free of cost. They will be the new owners without any encumbrances or liabilities. Only they are to be compensated under these Reforms by free transfer for their sweat and toil through the past centuries. Furthermore, any balance of instalments due from farmers under the 1959 Land Reforms will not be recovered.

Land-owners have been feverishly transferring land on extensive scale and in a manner designed to defeat Land Reforms. Let me say, we will never permit such conspiracies to succeed. Let me reiterate with all the emphasis at my command that such parasites and enemies of the people will not be spared.

In order to defeat these fraudulent transactions, any transfer of land or creation of a right or interest in land from December 20, 1971, made by a person owning or possessing more than an area equivalent to 15,000 units on December 20, 1971, shall be void without question. These areas will be deemed to be owned by the transferor when determining his holding. Also any transfers which have brought land back to a family, even through a third person, shall be void, and revert to the owner. All transfers made during the last five years by a person owning or possessing more than an equivalent area of 15,000 units on March 1, 1967, shall have to be declared by him and be scrutinised in order to determine the genuineness of the transaction. If the transfers are in favour of heirs, *prima facie* they will be considered valid. Transfers made in favour of other persons will not be valid until the transferor is able to establish beyond all shadow of doubt that the transaction was *bona fide*. And, finally, let me warn you that any false declarations shall entail immediate confiscation of all property, landed or otherwise, of the declarant and his dependents.

Consistent with the urgent need to encourage mechanisation and consolidation, and to prevent fragmentation, the Government will allow liberal

consolidation of holdings to a family as long as these holdings are inside Provincial limits and do not conflict with the prescribed ceiling of 15,000 units. Thus, existing owners will have the right of choice of the area they desire to retain within the ceilings and to interchange their holdings with other affected landholders or unaffected land-owners of the same family.

To demonstrate further our intention to prevent the evils of fragmentation, the existing restrictions on actual partitioning of joint holdings and on alienation of holdings shall continue. This will eliminate fragmentation of holdings and parcelling of economic units into uneconomic holdings.

Our system of revenue administration and agricultural taxation is outmoded. Every thing in the world is changing rapidly but our revenue system has remained wedded to the past. The mystery of revenue records, the difficulties in obtaining simple copies of title documents, the enormous powers of good and evil exercised by small revenue officials, the fluctuating rates of agricultural taxes, and the protracted nature of revenue proceedings and, above all, the unwholesome manner in which local functionaries perform, or rather fail to perform their duties, can no longer be tolerated. This decadent system has only provided opportunities for corruption, mischief and vendettas. It must go. It must be subjected to critical appraisal, if not a surgical operation.

It is my view that land revenue and water rate should be assessed on a flat-rate basis to prevent overtaxation, leakage of revenue, corruption and harassment. It should be made a clear obligation of the revenue officers and subordinate staff to help rather than harm and hamper the peasantry. Simple, common-sense revenue procedures should be established, procedures which everyone can fully understand and whose interpretation is not within the exclusive wisdom of a coterie of officials.

These problems, however, require to be resolved through detailed examination by a committee of experts and public representatives. I am, therefore, ordering the immediate setting up of such a commission.

The main task for us is how to increase the productivity of small farms. An integrated programme must be initiated to increase the knowledge of small farmers through an effective education and training programme and every effort should be made to ensure the supply of agricultural inputs. Incentives in the shape of price support, input subsidies, credit and marketing facilities will be provided to these small farmers.

In fact, we will have to develop rural co-operatives by giving every facility for co-operative farming. It is my conviction that this will establish true rural democracy, prevent exploitation, raise farm productivity through

pooling of resources, promote mutual understanding through representative co-operative unions and eliminate unnecessary profits by middlemen.

Agriculture has become an overcrowded profession and the prevalent traditional cropping patterns are not equipped to fully absorb our large labour force. Several measures will be adopted to fight the menace of unemployment and underemployment. We are, therefore, pushing through a gigantic rural works programme involving location of agro-based industries in rural areas and the setting up of agrovilles and cottage industries.

Lack of funds has always been used as an excuse to block the growth of agriculture and rural development. The working and living conditions in rural areas are shocking and subhuman. I have, therefore, directed that an allocation of rupees 1,000 crore should be made for the remaining period of the Fourth Five-Year Plan for agricultural development and the supporting programmes I have outlined earlier. Implementation will proceed with full speed and vigour.

These land reform measures will come into force at once. They will apply to both surveyed and unsurveyed areas except the tribal areas of the NWFP.

I will be issuing a Martial Law Regulation which will ensure the full and speedy implementation of my plan. In each Province, a Land Commission will be set up to put into effect the reforms and to remove any anomalies and contradictions that may arise.

A strict time-table will be put into force. Declarations of land holdings will be submitted by 30th April, 1972; decisions on the declarations will be made by 15th June, 1972; and these decisions will be implemented by 1st July, 1972.

And lastly, a word about the crop under cultivation. The present *Rabi* crop will belong to the existing owners since it represents their investment and labour. No pilferage will be permitted. The next *Kharif* crop will fall within the ambit of the new legislation.

In a country with a long-entrenched feudal system and where the agricultural land falls under a vast and complicated irrigation system, what we have done is monumental. We have undertaken much more than most countries with similar conditions. For example, Iraq has fixed the ceiling at 625 irrigated acres and 1,250 acres of rain-fed land; Turkey, at 1,250 acres; Iran, at 1,000 irrigated acres and 2,000 acres of unirrigated land; Syria, at 200 irrigated and 750 rain-fed acres; Philippines, at 750 acres; and Cuba, at 167 acres. For that matter, after the Russian Revolution,

the Kulaks were permitted by Lenin to hold an area of land similar to what we are allowing on the basis of produce index units.

I know the power of the landed aristocracy, the overriding authority of the Tribal *Sardars*, the *Waderas* and *Maliks*. They will stop at nothing to frustrate and circumvent these Land Reforms. Let me declare that this will not be permitted. The full weight of Martial Law will visit all enemies of the people. The writ of your Government in defence of the peasant and in pursuit of the justice of these Reforms will run as much in the rolling plains of Punjab and Sind as in the rugged mountains and hills of Baluchistan and NWFP.

Citizens, I have unfolded to you the salient features of your Government's Land Reforms plan. The task is colossal but it is a task which we can neither avoid nor delay. On this will depend the stability of our economy and the welfare of our people. It requires enormous resources, total dedication and full support of the people. I am determined to guarantee social and economic justice and wipe out the primitive and oppressive system of feudalism and overlordship that has all these long years denied our people their place in the sun.

But to succeed, I need your help. I need your support. I need your strength. I need your courage and resolution. It is a momentous day because with one stroke we have exorcised the evil that had blighted this fair and beautiful land of ours for ages past. We have opened a brave new world for our children and their children. We have secured the future of generations to come.

I have kept my pledge with God and man. This day marks the beginning of a new saga in the annals of Pakistan. This is no prank with history. It adds a golden chapter to its volume on liberty. The hour has struck and we must rejoice on hearing the shackles break. Not tomorrow because it is too late, but Friday the third of March shall be a public holiday to commemorate the infinite blessings of this day, the beauty and splendour of its promise.

*Message to King Hassan of Morocco
on March 2, 1972*

The Government and the people of Pakistan join me in sending to Your Majesty, the Government and the brotherly people of Morocco our greetings and heartiest felicitations on the happy occasion of the National Day of Morocco. The strong and indestructible ties of history, culture and religion which bind our two countries and peoples together, are a source of strength to us in Pakistan and we are confident that these ties would be further cemented in the future to our mutual benefit. We take pride in the fact that Your Majesty, the Government and the people of Morocco stood by us in our most difficult times which is a testimony to your fraternal feelings towards us.

I take this opportunity to wish best of health and happiness to Your Majesty and ever-increasing prosperity to the brotherly people of Morocco.

Address to the nation on March 3, 1972

My Dear brothers and sisters, my dear friends, compatriots, labourers, peasants and students—*Assalaam-o-Alaikum*

On the 20th December, when I assumed the office of President after a shattering war with India, when half of our country came under the occupation of the Indian forces, I addressed you that night in all sincerity. I told you that you have given me a colossal responsibility. I told you that it would not be easy to overcome the total crisis that the nation was facing. Believe me, it was a total crisis and it is a total crisis in all spheres from one end of the spectrum to the other—political, military, economic, social and international crisis. Actually, we were in a cesspool and the nation had to be picked up.

It is a great nation. Our people are hardworking, dedicated, sincere, and our strength lies in their vitality, in their simplicity, in their greatness. And since the people of West Pakistan have given me and my party a massive mandate in the elections of December 1970, in the midst of all the gloom and the harrowing future, I was confident and I remain confident that we will overcome the present difficulties and that soon, *Insha Allah ta'la*, the nightmare will end.

Since the 20th of December we have moved fast in all directions. And this is necessary. We have no time to lose. Time is our biggest factor. I told you then that I will undertake the task of reconstruction and reconciliation. But when there is dislocation of this magnitude, it takes some time for things to settle down.

I know there have been scarcities of essential commodities. The prices of *atta* have risen and in some places they are still high. Price of sugar

is increasing. I am aware of all these developments. They hurt me very much and we are taking measures to rectify the position. What could I do if the granary was not to be found; if the food stocks were not available; if the wheat crop had been completely depleted by its faulty distribution? What could I do if crores and crores of rupees from East Pakistan were being smuggled into West Pakistan as a result of which there were inflationary tendencies and the prices of commodities were rising? We could do nothing immediately. It was not like putting on an electric switch. We had to print new notes to replace the notes that were coming in from East Pakistan *via* other countries. And now we are replacing these notes. As a result of it some of the economic measures that we have taken are having their effects. But it takes a little time. Even when a person takes an aspirin, his headache does not disappear with the taking of the pill. Even in that case it takes a little time. But here in Pakistan we have had to undergo a major surgical operation and put fundamental pieces together.

So, it cannot be done in a day. It cannot be done in the span of a month or so. It would take time and I beg of you to give us a little time because we want to retain your confidence. We do not want to do things which are opposed to your interest, because if we do that we would be doing things which are opposed to all of us. For too long the people and the Government have been estranged and in conflict. I want to see the end of that day. I want to see the Government and the people harmoniously speaking with the same voice and feeling the same way.

So, all these matters are being attended to. We have had industrial reforms. We have had labour reforms and on the 1st of March I had the honour of introducing fundamental land reforms in Pakistan. No critic of the country can say that these are not genuine reforms going to the heart of the problems. We have broken the back of feudalism and *Insha Allah ta'ala* you will see that the effects of these reforms will bring dignity and honour to the people of Pakistan. As I have repeatedly said, the strength of Pakistan lies in the strength of its people and we are determined to make our people strong; to make our people happy; to make our people content; to make them feel that this is their Pakistan, the Pakistan of their dreams; to make them feel that their children will have a secure and a happy future and that they really were born in their promised land.

My dear friends and citizens, the interests of the country are supreme and it is in the interest of the country and in the interest of the Armed Forces of Pakistan that today we have taken the decision to replace the

Commander-in-Chief of the Pakistan Army and the Commander-in-Chief of the Pakistan Air Force. Both of them have been replaced by officers who are familiar with the Armed Forces and who have worked with them with devotion and with splendid record. The replacements have been made on merit and in the highest consideration of the country and the Armed Forces.

By now you must have heard that Lt.-General Gul Hassan, who resigned this afternoon, has been replaced by Lt.-General Tikka Khan and that Air-Marshal Rahim Khan has been replaced by Air-Marshal Zafar Chaudhury. From today we will no longer have the anachronistic and obsolete posts of Commanders-in-Chief. Every wing of the Armed Forces, that is Army, Navy and the Air Force, will be headed by a Chief of Staff. This is the practice in many countries and this practice has worked successfully in those countries. And I believe that it will work with success in our Armed Forces as well. So we have changed the colonial structure of the Armed Forces of Pakistan and injected a truly independent pattern into this vital service.

We are determined to have a new vigorous institution of the Armed Forces. We are absolutely determined to have it. We are determined to have invincible Armed Forces. I know that Pakistan possesses the material to have a strong and a valiant army. We have had in the past a strong and valiant army and we are determined to restore that position. It must again become the finest fighting machine in Asia. This we must do. This is a sacred task. It is a sacred undertaking and you will see that with the passage of time this will be done. And so it is in this spirit of supreme national interest that these reforms, these changes, were necessary. As I have said the structure has been changed and the heads of the three services are dedicated individuals, who will now direct all their energies to the promotion of their services, of bringing them to the highest contemporary standards. This task shall become their ceaseless endeavour and night and day they will have to direct their talent and energies to build this great machine. And you must remember, my friends and compatriots, that the people of Pakistan and the Armed Forces themselves are equally determined to wipe out Bonapartic influences from the Armed Forces. This is essential for the promotion of the high standards of the Armed Forces. It is essential so that these tendencies never again pollute the political life of this country. Bonapartism is an expression which means that professional soldiers turn into professional politicians. So I do not use the word Bonapartism I use the word Bonapartic because what has happened in Pakistan since 1954 and more openly since 1958 is that some professional

Generals turned to politics not as a profession but as a plunder and as such, the influences that crept into Pakistan's socio-political life destroyed its fabric as the influences of Bonapartism had affected Europe in the 18th and 19th centuries. But come what may, these Bonapartic influences must be rooted out, in the interest of the country, in the interest of Pakistan of tomorrow, in the interest of the Armed Forces and the people of Pakistan. So that is why these hard decisions had to be taken and I am certain that the whole nation will rally round it and everyone in the Armed Forces from the ordinary jawan to the senior officer and right down the rank will understand it and take it in the spirit in which this decision has been taken.

I have recently had a long session with General Tikka Khan. I have given him my ideas and my thoughts on the subject of improving the morale and the standard of the Pakistan Army. Likewise, I am going to have a similar meeting this evening with the new Chief of Air Staff, Air-Marshal Zafar Choudhury and I hope that we can have an equally constructive meeting. I had a similar meeting with the Chief of Staff of the Navy.

You must also know these structural changes. We have decided that the tenure of the Chief of Staff will be a fixed tenure and under no circumstances will there be extensions of that tenure. It will remain a fixed tenure and at the conclusion of that there will have to be a new person replacing the present incumbent. Only in this way can new blood and fresh ideas and talents begin to flow and not be bottled up because it is necessary for new ideas and for new men to take charge over a period of time. This is also both in the interest of the Armed Forces and the nation.

As far as Air Force is concerned we have to have a few more changes because on taking over on the 20th December I announced changes in the Armed Forces. A number of Army Generals were retired on the 20th of December and thereafter some others were retired. In the Navy also we had retired the dead wood. And it is necessary to do the same for the Air Force. So not only the Commander-in-Chief of the Air Force is being relieved of his duties, but in addition to that I have retired today Air-Vice-Marshal Yousuf, Air-Vice-Marshal Khyber Khan, Air-Commodore Abdul Kader, Air-Commodore Salahuddin, Air-Commodore T.S. Jan and Group-Captain Syed Mansur Ahmed Shah. These officers also stand retired from the Air Force.

Recently we have had a number of problems. Very important developments have taken place. We have faced one difficult position after another. We are still in a state of war. It is still a tenuous ceasefire. Augmentation

of forces continues. Nevertheless, in spite of the fact that the nation is still in a state of war, there have been certain unpleasant internal developments.

The most unpleasant of them all was the recent police strike, the first of its kind in our country and if I am not wrong first of its kind in the sub-continent, as far as I can remember. It is being called a strike but in plain and simple language, it was a mutiny and mutiny at a time when the Armed Forces are facing an enemy, a mutiny at a time when Pakistan is facing genuinely its gravest crisis. So it has been an unpleasant and a painful spectacle to witness. But we faced it and how did we face it. We did not run away but we faced it with the power of the people, with your power my friends. We faced them with the strength of the people and I congratulate and salute the gallant and brave people of Lahore for having responded to the call of the Governor of the Punjab, and the way in which they faced this problem was simply magnificent. So the strike is off and as far as we are concerned, we want to close this chapter for all time. We do not want to remember it or recall it. It is finished. I want to assure the police that whatever their motives—and I know the inspirations that were behind this mutiny—there were certain elements working for it for over a month. It did not happen suddenly. These things do not happen in a flash of a minute on such a large scale. However, that is gone. We are prepared to turn a new leaf. We are prepared to forget it. The police is indispensable, it is essential. They have certain genuine grievances. I admitted this on the first day of taking over the office and we have been working on Police Reforms. You will hear these reforms soon. They will be in the interest of the police. Certain reforms we have already announced and others will follow very soon. And I appeal also to the public that now let us build a new relationship between the administration, the police, the civil servants and the public.

I believe that there is a mental change now and this mental change will be reflected in the dealing that the administration has with the public. So I request the public as well to embark on this new spirit of co-operation and that with this co-operation security will return to the land and both the administration and people will work for a common weal and a common objective and that is the welfare and progress of Pakistan.

This brings to me to the question of law and order, and when I speak of law and order, I can never speak only of colonial concept of law and order. Law and order is to be respected and people respect law and order only when the law is in the interest of the people. Not when the law is

oppressive. We have no intention of having oppressive laws for the community, for the common man or for any one else for that matter. We want laws which are the instruments of progress for the people. And law is an essential framework for all societies. It becomes necessary for individuals to discipline themselves within the concept of this framework provided the law is not oppressive and is directed for their welfare.

We are gradually implementing such legislations step by step. But now in the context of law, an order has to be maintained. I am sure all of you will agree with me that the time has come when we should exercise discipline. We should not swing from one end of the pendulum to the other. We should neither become mute and silent spectators nor in a changed situation go to the other end of the pendulum and revolt against everything and take every matter to the streets. So, I think in this matter people at large will agree with me that a balance has to be struck. While the Government is ever ready and receptive to the people's grievances—it will always remain sympathetic to their legitimate demands—it cannot on the other hand allow itself to be coerced and permit individuals to take the law into their own hands and to indulge in violence and incite people to commit murders. This kind of planned anarchy cannot be tolerated and the common man is truly getting fed up with it, truly getting disgusted with it. So, now let me assure you that the changes that we have made, we have the machinery, an efficacious machinery, to deal with the law and order problems if people try to take things out of hand and to destroy the national fabric specially at a time like this. I am not threatening anyone. I am the last person to threaten our people. I am one of you. I have repeatedly appealed to you. I have repeatedly said for heavens sake prevent these demonstrations. Put an end to them; come to the Government and air your grievances to us. We will do what we can, what is in our power. But, instead of that, still in some places, *gherao* and the concept of *jalao* is unnecessarily continuing. Please give us a little time for matters to settle down. Now, I tell you in all earnestness to please put an end to it because the State cannot stand by and see the ordinary norms, the ordinary standards of decent living being brought to naught.

I know that you will heed my advice because I am making it in your interest and making it in the supreme interest of the state. I do not want to say anything more on it. I think you have got my message. You understand what I mean. I hope soon we will be able to embark upon negotiations with India and in due course also with Sheikh Mujibur Rahman. I am looking forward to these negotiations and I can assure you that we

will be animated by the sincerest desire to live in peace, to bring an end to hostility, to turn from the path of conflict and conflagration to the path of co-operation with honour, of course, a kind of co-operation which can, for both the countries and for all of us in the subcontinent, bring about tranquillity and a measure of contentment and satisfaction. On our part we will make every effort to arrive at such a *modus vivendi* and in this connection the plight of our prisoners of war in India is a matter of supreme interest to all of us.

I have not publicly spoken on this matter for certain self-evident reasons and I have explained these reasons to the affected families whenever they have met me. But we have made relentless diplomatic efforts. The Indians also know because of the demonstrations here and various connected factors that this is an important issue, an extremely important issue. Now, the Indians can look at this matter in two ways; that this is the issue that really hurts Pakistan, so let us use it as a lever to extract the last drop of blood out of Pakistan. On the other hand if they have vision and if they also look to the subcontinent of peace and tranquillity then I think it will be in the fitness of things if the Government of India were to show this vision by detaching this problem and by taking an initiative of goodwill like we took a number of initiatives of goodwill without bargaining and without conditions. India is the bigger country and India today is in a happier position. So, I think they can take more initiatives than we can. But we have taken important initiatives. I do not want to mention them, you know them. So, we hope that animated by the same consideration, India too seeks co-operation and prepares the climate conducive for negotiations by releasing our POWs and detaching them from the main burden of negotiations. Perhaps this is asking for too much, but perhaps it is not. Times have changed, situation has changed and I think that this submission or this thesis of mine will not fall on deaf ears. I am confident that it will be considered with all its implications.

And at home also, we have to have serious and earnest negotiations among ourselves. Tomorrow *Insha Allah ta'la* I hope to have negotiations with the leaders of NAP and JUI. We meet tomorrow at 10:30 and I am prepared to have protracted negotiations. We can listen to them. We have an open mind. We are prepared to consider their point of view. It is a legitimate point of view, but we hope that in the same spirit they will consider our difficulties also with an open mind and in the spirit of give and take which is the essence of democracy. I hope that we can come to a settlement. I do not see why we cannot come to a settlement. They want a constitu-

tion, we want a constitution. They want genuine autonomy for the provinces, we want genuine autonomy for the provinces. They want economic salvation of the people, we are striving to have economic salvation. There is only one beastly problem that unfortunately comes in the way, and that is the curse of the Martial Law. We want to lift it. Believe me, my dear friends, we want to lift it as soon as possible. We want to lift this stigma, this curse of Martial Law. But I want to tell the people, I want to tell our friends who meet us tomorrow that there are certain cogent reasons that for a short period of time, for a brief period of time it is needed in the country's interest, not in our interest. And we hope that we can convince them that they should give us this brief period of time so that we can lift it with the satisfaction of knowing that we will never have to return to it and that Pakistan will not face a greater crisis if it is not lifted or if it is lifted. It is only a question of timing and it is not a question of timing for a millennium.

It is a question of a short period of time needed in the country's interest, not in my interest. I do not need Martial Law. My party does not need Martial Law. We have majority in the Assembly. I know all that. But at the same time I do not want to take such a decision that afterwards history will say that I took a wrong decision under pressure and it brought about the end of the national edifice. I don't want that stigma on my name. So, I want to talk to them and I will talk to you also. I will talk on the 19th of March in Lahore to the citizens of Lahore and I will speak on these matters. But there is nothing that really divides us.

I am wedded to democracy, I have fought for democracy. I know the value of democracy. Democracy brings about the flowering of the people. I admit all these things. I have never broken my pledge with the people of Pakistan. I am determined to keep this promise as well because this is a fundamental promise. There is no quarrel between us. I remember that I struggled for it and wanted the lifting of Martial Law. But at that time half the country was not in the hands of India and the other half was not in the mess in which we find it today. And as I have said, it will be lifted soon. It is only a question of time, a time factor is involved. Should Pakistan face a grave crisis, should we have threats of movements only on a procedural question of the time factor? I think you should judge this matter. I am sure you will not think that I am lying to you. Why should I lie to you? I have never lied to you. I don't want to lie to you. I am telling you the truth. For a brief period of time, I hope my friends will accommodate us on this small matter. President Yahya Khan was

going to give a Constitution to the country in which Martial Law was going to be a feature, in which there were going to be some other oppressive articles giving him veto power over everything else. He was going to retain the powers of President, Martial Law Administrator and Commander-in-Chief in the Constitution. And at that time nobody threatened a movement. They all called him a mujahid. Nobody was on the warpath. Only we, our Party, was on the warpath. So, please be fair. You have to be fair. We must be fair and objective. I have the greatest respect for the leaders who are demanding the withdrawal of Martial Law. This is my demand too. They say Martial Law *murdabad*, I say Martial Law *murdabad*. When have I said Martial Law *zindabad*? But the question is that you listen to me as well. I am your leader, you have reposed confidence and trust in me. Therefore, trust my judgement for this brief period of time. That is all. When have I said that I want to frame the Constitution of Pakistan. Under no circumstances I want to frame the Constitution of Pakistan. That is the responsibility of the National Assembly of Pakistan. The National Assembly of Pakistan will frame the Constitution of Pakistan. Who says that I want a one-party rule in Pakistan? If I wanted a one-party rule would have I lifted the ban on the National Awami Party on the 20th of December. A person who wants a one-party rule would not have unilaterally lifted the ban on the NAP on the 20th of December. These are calumnies.

Let us be fair to one another. Let us be fair to Pakistan. The whole world is watching us. So many nations are saying: "has this country not learnt a lesson yet?" So, let us learn our lesson. We are going to work together. Under no circumstances I want a confrontation with the political forces of this country. Under no circumstances I want to do injustice to the two provinces where we are not in a majority. We have an absolute majority in the other two provinces. The other parties do not have an absolute majority in those provinces, but even then we do not want to do any injustice to these provinces. These provinces are part of Pakistan. The majority will form the Governments there. I have said that umpteen times. There should be some trust, some belief, and that is why this afternoon, in spite of all the other work I had, I went in and called on the leader of the National Awami Party in the Intercontinental Hotel and I assured him that tomorrow we will meet. We will meet with an open mind. This is my promise to you. This is my promise to them. With an open mind we can arrive at an agreement. It takes two parties to come to a settlement. And *Insha Allah ta'la* I am determined to come to a settlement because I do not want

to rock this boat. This boat is sufficiently rocked already, it is so sufficiently rocked that many people who are now threatening to do all sorts of things never in the past threatened any one. I am not referring to the national leaders when I say this. Because everyone knows that the situation in Pakistan is too delicate, so everyone has become a *Teesmarkhan*. But when situations are normal it is at that time when one should become a gallant *Teesmarkhan*. But today, I tell you that we can come to a settlement in the interest of Pakistan, to save Pakistan, to save the people of Pakistan. That is my only mission. That is my only devotion. I have no other mission. I have no other devotion, and I know that the people of Pakistan will trust me in this undertaking.

*Address to industrialists and businessmen at Rawalpindi
on March 5, 1972*

Pakistan is confronted with an acute crisis. The enemy stares us in the face on our soil. Internal dissensions and rivalries continue to sap our energies. A sense of defeat and demoralization has gained ground. We need to regain our national pride and a new focus of patriotic objectives. We have to restore a basic sense of harmony through the equitable distribution of income and wealth, and effect a general reconciliation by consensus and consultation instead of provocation and confrontation.

These tasks have to be pursued at various levels and in diverse ways. But the foundation of this national effort would have to be renewed dedication to build a strong and viable economy which lends strength to and has the support of the masses. We need a strong economy as the fountain-head of national strength which alone can win for us a respectable role in world affairs. We also need this strong economic base for building the new economic order which the People's Party promised in its election manifesto.

It is imperative, therefore, that while we are still occupied with questions of immediate import in the political field and while we are carrying out urgent reforms, we must simultaneously harness our large resources in men and material towards building our economic strength. The emphasis on economic development is not to divert our attention from other tasks but to strengthen our efforts to find an honourable solution of our problems.

While East Pakistan remains under enemy occupation, our efforts would have to be confined to West Pakistan.

An immediately difficult situation exists because the economy has yet to absorb the shock of break in the traditional economic links with East Pakistan. Imports that used to come from East Pakistan have to be replaced. New markets have to be found for goods that used to be shipped to East Pakistan. This makes it more difficult to cover the gap in our balance of payments. An all-out effort must be made to increase our exports by rupees 150 crore to rupees 200 crore over the next two or three years in order to lay the foundation of a self-reliant economy.

Over the last couple of years the level of investment has been stagnant in Pakistan. Public investment had to be curtailed as more was needed for East Pakistan. Private investment was discouraged by a climate of prolonged economic and political uncertainties. We have got to move the economy out of this rut and restore its growth and buoyancy. Both the public and private sectors have a role to play in this challenge for survival.

We visualize a mixed economy for Pakistan. Private initiative and enterprise has a distinct part to play in this national rebuilding. The Government would lay down conditions for the specific role which private sector can play. This role and this objective has been spelt out earlier. We would never again tolerate cartels and monopolies. We expect, and demand, come what may, a co-operative attitude towards implementing the labour policy of the Government. We would never allow in the future the wealth of this country to leave its shores.

Those patriots who are willing to abide by these national conditions are welcome to invest in the broad categories of industries which have been left to private enterprise. Such persons would be liberally assisted by the Government. Government-managed sector of Industry is relatively small. It embraces mainly heavy and basic industries and public utilities. These are areas which must be controlled and managed by the Government in the larger interest of Pakistan. The remaining field of industrial enterprise has been left wide open for the private entrepreneur. This includes Textiles, Sugar, Newsprint, Matches, Pharmaceuticals, Vegetable Ghee and a host of other lucrative industries. In particular, Government would welcome private effort in respect of export-oriented industries based on local raw materials. A devoted and determined endeavour will be made to offer facilities and incentives to foster a rapid export-led growth of the economy. This is the indisputable infrastructure.

I hope this clear declaration of policy puts to rest all uncertainties and misgivings. We are resolutely dedicated to the sacred objective of achiev-

ing a great and expanding economy. This is a national mission and it must succeed. In this context it is essential to move into the less developed ramparts and break new ground to bring to our land new bounties of our times. Do not over-crowd big cities. This is the warning of tomorrow, of air pollution and of congestion injurious to the mind and the body. If as pioneers and patriots you open up to build on new ground the industrial power of the country, the people will admire your initiative and zeal and surely lend you their own strength in the achievement of this common endeavour.

The supreme objectives of the Government during the coming years would be to do its utmost for less developed regions. Our progress of the past was distributed wrongly not only in terms of social classes but also geographically. Provinces of NWFP and Baluchistan have remained considerably neglected. There are also large tracts in Sind and Punjab that have not benefited from the economic policies of the past governments.

We simply cannot afford this lop-sided development. We have paid a dear price for our past mistakes in regional development. We have to develop a bold and visionary approach for a more balanced growth of society.

Baluchistan is our least developed province. In the past, development budget for the province was made with a view to giving the province a slightly higher percentage of the share in total development than would be justified on the population basis. This is hardly an adequate approach. We should not let the progress of this province suffer because of financial constraint. I have ordered that next year's development programme should be formulated for Baluchistan taking into account all the available schemes which are found feasible and which are ready for implementation. To make this possible, the provincial planning authorities should work on the assumption that their allocation for development would be double as compared to what was available this year.

I hope this would bring about an immediate change in the development outlook of Baluchistan. But, more important, I have asked experts to formulate a grand blue-print of longer term development of Baluchistan.

First priority for the large tracts of Baluchistan is to open these up. For this purpose it is vital that a comprehensive scheme for development of an integrated transport system is formulated. The rail and road system should cover the remotest parts of Baluchistan linking them with other provinces. This transport network should also have an independent outlet to the sea. In this connection, I have given directions that steps may be

initiated immediately to prepare the project for the construction of a new port at a suitable site on the Baluchistan coast.

Though Baluchistan is known to be rich in minerals of all kind, there has been little exploitation of the mineral resources of the Province. The geological survey of this province must be accelerated. The Geological Survey of Pakistan should also investigate the location of underground water resources which are specially valuable for this arid zone. Immediate action is necessary for the exploitation of known mineral deposits in the Province including the iron ore at Chil Ghazi. This will provide much needed employment opportunities for the people of this great Province.

Baluchistan is the home of Sui gas. The most important source of power in Pakistan comes from Sui. It is shameful to admit that despite this factor, Baluchistan is woefully deficient in power generation. There is a moral and an economic need for making Sui gas available to the people of Baluchistan. The power house at Quetta will have to be expanded without delay. A number of small power houses will have to be established in far-flung areas to meet local needs and to promote both agriculture and industry.

I have already initiated action on the formulation of a detailed plan for deep-sea fishing along Mekran coast. Exploitation of this important resource has considerable potential for augmenting our export earnings. It is intended to develop fishing terminals along the coast and acquire a large fleet of fishing trawlers. Coastal processing installations would be developed for canning and freezing of fish.

These long-term projects would take some time in getting on the ground. In the meantime, the larger allocation being made for the next year should be used for meeting urgent social and economic needs, particularly for quickly completing work on water supply and irrigation schemes.

The Government has decided to provide special assistance to Baluchistan for education. The implementation of the proposal to set up a university at Quetta would be taken in hand next year.

In NWFP, though the economic progress has been better than that in Baluchistan, there is need to accelerate the process. It has been decided that the NWFP Government would be provided 50 per cent larger amount for its development programme compared to this year.

A major new thrust of development effort has to be made in the tribal area. The tribal people have long been denied many of the benefits which are easily available to settled districts. This Government cannot tolerate such invidious distinctions. Both the Tribal Development Corporation and

the NWFP Government have been instructed to intensify the programme for tribal development. A comprehensive plan is being undertaken to open up the tribal areas by a large road construction programme with the willing co-operation of the people of the tribal area. As these areas open up, services like school education, medical facilities, water supply and electricity would be extended to the tribal belt. Sui gas would have reached Peshawar by next year.

NWFP has been comparatively backward in industrial development. The province has a reasonably developed infrastructure of power and communications and has a sturdy and hardworking labour force. There are no strong reasons why it should not attract industrial investment. This province will be given priority in location of public sector industrial units. Every incentive will be provided to private entrepreneurs to make industrial investment in this province.

The water availability in the province of NWFP for agriculture and other uses poses a serious problem. The Government will seek to provide increased irrigation facilities through pump irrigation and tubewells with suitable support in the form of subsidy from the Government.

Dera Ismail Khan is a less-developed part of the Frontier Province. The Gomal Zam project which is designed to benefit the people of this region has been delayed too long. The Government is endeavouring to expedite the completion of this project and generally improve the conditions of the people, but it will take a little time. Whereas twenty-four years have rolled by in friction and in fear, when so much precious time has been lost to see another generation pass by in rags and discomfort, a sufficient period of time should be allowed to this Government for the poor to inherit the bounties and benefits of egalitarian planning.

There are vast tracts in the provinces of Sind and Punjab which have not received benefit of development in the past. This is generally true of the right bank of the Indus. The Government's new development priorities will be reflected in road construction programme, provision of electricity and a comprehensive programme to fight the menace of waterlogging and salinity in these and other affected regions of Punjab and Sind.

These are by no means exhaustive lists of development ideas on which work would be carried out. I merely wish to convey to you the sense of urgency with which the problem of less developed regions is to be pursued by my Government. We would give the development process a mighty new push. The people will judge us not by these words but by the results. We are determined to give the nation tangible results. We are determined

to wipe out every tear from every eye. We are determined to see a clean new breed of young children studying studiously in schools, and with a modern mind in the universities with a sense of national purpose. We are determined to see the common man come out of degradation. It is his world and it has been denied to him for too long. In these miserable conditions, can we leave our motherland in pain and anguish? We are answerable to God. What answers will be given on the Day of Judgement, if our children weep in hunger, if our manhood is denied employment, when the mothers and sisters of the poor have never envisioned the ray of hope, when they have no idea of what it means to have shelter and when they have not broken bread either in the morning or at night, when the penniless have no idea of what a warm blanket can mean in the winter, or what it means to sleep on a bed with a pillow. How can we tolerate such a state of affairs? Now you should know that I am not against you, I am against the system. Let us join hands, your powerful ones and my weak ones, to enter the battle against the system. The picture is now clear to you. The inevitable uncertainty has ended. Take a great leap forward, you pioneers of industry. Give shape to our future development in such a way that every province and every people will prosper in such a way that the nameless ones will tell you, God bless you. Is there any wealth greater than this blessing?

*Address to the nation announcing the Tripartite Accord
on March 6, 1972*

Although I am against frequent appearances by Head of State on radio and television networks, nevertheless, it falls within my responsibility to inform the nation about important developments. It so happens that a number of such developments have taken place in the past few days, necessitating my troubling you again tonight. I hope you will bear with me.

In order to overcome the political tensions generated by the misdeeds of the past decade or more, you know that among other initiatives, on the fourth of this month we opened negotiations with the National Awami Party and the Jamiat-ul-Ulma-e-Islam, the majority parties in the North West Frontier Province and in the Province of Baluchistan, with a view to reaching a settlement. These negotiations have been watched with concern by the nation. It is for this reason that I must inform you of the settlement that has been reached today.

The terms of the settlement are clear, without ambiguity, and do not require any interpretation or elaboration. The terms, spelling out the positions of both sides and the final accord, are:

1. (a) The Pakistan People's Party (PPP) proposed that a short session of the National Assembly should be convened on April 21, 1972, for a period not exceeding three days.

(b) The NAP/JUI proposed that the National Assembly session be convened on March 23, 1972.

(c) It was settled that the summons to the members should be issued on March 23, 1972, and the National Assembly session should be convened on April 14, 1972, for a period not exceeding three days during

which time the matters specified at paras 2, 3 and 4 below will be voted upon.

2. (a) The PPP proposed that the National Assembly should meet for the purpose of endorsing an interim Constitution on the basis of the Government of India Act, 1935, read with the Independence Act, 1947, with consequential amendments, or on the basis of the 1962 Constitution with consequential amendments.

(b) The NAP/JUI proposed that the interim Constitution should be passed on the basis of the Government of India Act, 1935, read with the Independence Act, 1947, with consequential amendments.

(c) It was settled that an interim Constitution would be prepared on the basis of the 1935 Act, read with Independence Act, 1947, with consequential amendments, and that there should be a debate not exceeding three days at which only party leaders or their nominees would speak. The parties for this purpose would be: Pakistan People's Party, Pakistan Muslim League (Qayyum Group), Jamiat-ul-Ulma-e-Islam, National Awami Party, Jamiat-ul-Ulma-e-Pakistan, Pakistan Muslim League (Council), Jamaat-e-Islami, Pakistan Muslim League (Convention), one representative from the independent MNAs of Tribal areas, and one representative of the remaining independent MNAs.

3. (a) The PPP secondly proposed that the National Assembly on being convened on April 21, 1972, pass a vote of confidence in the Government and approve and confirm the continuation of Martial Law till August 14, 1972.

(b) The NAP/JUI proposed that Martial Law should be continued till June 7, 1972.

(c) It was settled that there would be a vote of confidence in the Government and approval of continuation of Martial Law till August 14, 1972.

4. (a) The PPP thirdly proposed that the National Assembly on being convened for the short session should appoint a Committee of the House to draft a Constitution to be presented on August 1, 1972.

(b) The NAP/JUI proposed that the draft Constitution should be presented by July 1, 1972, and that the National Assembly should be reconvened on July 7, 1972.

(c) It was settled that the report of the Committee on the Constitution should be submitted by August 1, 1972, and that the National Assembly be reconvened on August 14, 1972.

5. (a) The PPP proposed that when the National Assembly was reconvened on August 14, 1972, it should act only as a constitution-making

body to ensure the early framing of the Constitution.

(b) The NAP/JUI proposed that when the National Assembly meets on August 14, 1972, it should also act as a legislative body after August 14, 1972.

(c) It was settled that after August 14, 1972, the National Assembly should act both as a constitution-making body and as a legislative body till the permanent Constitution comes into force. It was reiterated that the powers of the President in pursuance of the Declaration of Emergency will continue till the Emergency is lifted.

6. (a) The PPP proposed that the Provincial Assemblies should be convened after the passing of the interim Constitution, *i.e.*, on May 1, 1972.

(b) The NAP/JUI proposed that the Provincial Assemblies should be convened on April 10, 1972.

(c) It was settled that the Provincial Assemblies would be convened on April 21, 1972.

7. It was accepted that the Government, both at the Centre and in the Provinces, would be formed on the basis of parliamentary majority.

8. It was accepted that till the new Constitution comes into force, a person elected as a Member of more than one Assembly would be permitted to retain his seat in both the Houses till the Constitution is finally passed. Similarly, the President, the Vice-President, Governors, Ministers and Advisers, both at the Centre and in the Provinces, will retain their seats in respective Assemblies.

9. (a) The PPP proposed that the present Governors should continue till the new Constitution is passed, but after the interim Constitution is passed they would cease to be Martial Law Administrators.

(b) The NAP/JUI proposed that after the Provincial Assemblies are convened, the Governors may be appointed in consultation with the Chief Minister. Meantime from today till the convening of the Provincial Assemblies, the Governments in NWFP and Baluchistan should be given to the NAP/JUI.

(c) It was settled that until the permanent Constitution is framed by the National Assembly, the Central Government should continue to have the right, as in the past, to appoint Governors in the provinces but by way of compromise the Central Government would, during the interim period, also appoint the Governors in consultation with the majority in the two aforesaid provinces.

10. It was accepted that in the North-West Frontier Province and the

Province of Baluchistan, the majority parties are NAP and JUI and they will be entitled to form the Governments in these two provinces.

11. The PPP proposed that the date for Local Bodies elections should be fixed as early as possible after the Provincial Assemblies are convened and that the elections in all the provinces should be on the same date. This was agreed to and the elections would be held on an agreed date soon after the convening of the Provincial Assemblies.

12. The President would announce today (March 6, 1972) that Martial Law would be lifted on August 14, 1972.

I am happy to state that in our discussions, when I explained to these leaders some of the imperatives for the retention of Martial Law, they appreciated our genuine difficulties and agreed that Martial Law should continue till August 14, 1972. I want categorically to inform the nation that the curse of Martial Law which has haunted us for so long will be buried for ever, *Insha Allah*, on August 14, 1972.

As a political being, I have always subscribed to the fundamental principle that political problems need political solutions. I have strained to the ultimate to ensure the success of these negotiations. We have acted in a spirit of adjustment which is the essence of democracy.

As the leader of the majority party, both in the National Assembly and in the two Provinces of Punjab and Sind, I have considered it my duty to keep in touch with other political leaders as well.

We will continue to maintain a positive dialogue with all relevant political forces, giving to each the importance and respect due to them. The settlement reached today demonstrates that we are not dogmatic either in attitude or in approach.

Since the word "alliance" has been used before, not without causing unnecessary misunderstandings, I would like to make it clear that today the majority parties of the four provinces have arrived at a political settlement of the crucial issues concerning the nation. The accord achieved at this critical hour does not by itself forge an alliance. One good step taken in the mood to reach agreement might, however, lead to other steps and with added momentum possibly to greater strides in the future. This will depend on the spirit of co-operation shown by all sides in the framing of the Constitution of Pakistan and other related matters of national purport.

In this moment of satisfaction, looking back nostalgically, let me recall to you, citizens and friends, that in October 1967, in Larkana, I wrote on the subject "WHY A NEW PARTY?", which document later became one of our Foundation Papers on December 1, 1967. This is what I wrote

nearly four years ago:

"It may be asked why in the circumstances is it necessary to form a new party when the main objective is to unite the existing opposition parties. A slightly deeper analysis would reveal that precisely for this reason, a new party is necessary to cement the unity of all the existing opposition parties. It will form a bridge between the existing conflicting interests and give a lead in reconciling the historical dichotomies."

I envisaged that we would be the Golden Bridge. With this purpose, a vigorous force was released in the form of a new revolutionary party born with the destiny to serve the people of Pakistan. Today we have passed through the dark tunnel, and I see the Golden Bridge.

*Address to the nation, announcing the New Education Policy
on March 15, 1972*

Citizens.

Tonight, it is my privilege to address you on a subject which is the quintessence of all civilized existence. This is the subject of education.

This is indeed a subject which concerns every individual in our country. As parents, students and teachers, as professionals and workers, we all have a deep and direct interest in it. A good deal of man's outlook on education is autobiographical. The role and the responsibility of the State in this field of education is colossal. The State has to provide the structural framework, the philosophy and the motivation. The State inspires its spirit and content to national needs and international standards.

By its very nature, an educational policy cannot be final or static. Constant reflection, experimentation and reform in the thought and practice of education is an important requirement.

In the past, whenever educational reforms were conceived, they were treated as highly sacrosanct and were imposed with so much rigidity as if they were the last writ of human wisdom. The result was not unexpected. The fate of all previous educational reforms was sealed by their unwarranted inflexibility. I have no intention of pursuing such a counter-productive course of action. On the contrary, I would like to assure you that the policy which I am presenting to you tonight will remain under continuous review and evaluation and shall go on developing further and further in the light of experience gained in its implementation. What I am giving you today is the barest minimum which, in our judgement, is long overdue in the sector of education. Matters which can be of a debatable nature, such

as the language policy, have been left for determination by the people's representatives in the Assemblies.

Ever since we gained independence, education has remained the most neglected pursuit in the body-politic of our country. For a long time, the obsolete idea of producing an educated class from amongst the privileged few to constitute the elite in the country remained the corner-stone of our educational system. This was a heritage of colonialism. It was further nursed and nurtured by the dark forces of exploitation even after independence. Even when the inevitable pressure of demands created by the growth of population and economic development necessitated a broadening of our educational system, the resources allocated to it were extremely meagre. Throughout the Sixties, a disproportionately high percentage of expenditure on education was incurred on bricks and mortar as compared to that on teachers, equipment and books. It is for this reason that in several cases we find ourselves landed with buildings without students, laboratories without equipment, and class-rooms without teachers. The cause for this ludicrous misplanning was the total apathy with which the subject of Education was treated in the dispensation of power and patronage.

In the aftermath of some unsalutary traditions we have been called upon to reshape the educational policy. We have to clear the jungles. We have to weed out the complexes sown by the past order. We have to pull ourselves out of the sloth without losing the spirit of our religion and the finer traditions of our culture. We have to look at the future in the face by building national cohesion and social harmony. We have got to change education from an elite privilege to an equal expectation. This opportunity belongs to every citizen regardless of race, religion or sex, regardless of origin or birth. On the one hand, we have to democratize education and usher in an era of universal literacy as soon as possible; on the other, we have to compete in the race of higher science and technology in a world which is moving very fast towards material perfection. We have to ensure that there is a massive shift from aimless general education to a more meaningful agro-technical education. It is essential that a boy who drops out after Class VIII should carry with him enough skill to return to his locale or ancestral vocation as a better farmer or craftsman; that a boy who leaves the school after Matric is ready to get absorbed in our socio-economic framework as a good middle-class technician or worker; and on this basis we should cater for all those who leave school to enter social responsibility. While expanding education, we must relate

it, in its form and content, to the nature and scope of our economic development. Education should not be an abstract endeavour. On the contrary, it must be closely related to employment opportunities. More students mean more teachers. More teachers mean more amenities to attract them to this profession. A multiple of requirements are essential to induct a process of education which may mobilize the entire nation to lead Pakistan to a pristine place.

The new Education Policy is designed to meet this challenge. Given the necessary understanding and co-operation, I am confident that this policy will, *Insha Allah*, fulfil the promise it holds.

Here are the salient features of the new Education Policy:

1. Education will be made universal and free upto Class X throughout the country. However, due to limited resources, this will be achieved in two phases. The first phase will begin from the 1st of October, 1972, when education will be made free upto Class VIII. In the second phase, starting from 1st October, 1974, education will become free in Classes IX and X. This will apply to all schools irrespective of whether they are run by Government or private managements.

Depending on the response and reciprocity, it is anticipated that education upto Class V will become universal for boys by 1979 and for girls by 1984. Another three years will make education universal upto Class VIII. Under the existing resources and conditions, we have stretched out to the limit.

Whether education should be made compulsory and, if so, upto what stage and in what manner, are questions of a serious nature. Compulsion places a direct responsibility on parents to send their children to school on pain of punishment. Simultaneously, it entails an immediate obligation on the part of the Government to provide facilities for their schooling. On account of the far-reaching implications in the socio-economic structure, as constituted today, these issues need to be debated and decided by the Assemblies.

2. Privately-managed schools will be nationalized in a phased manner within a period of two years commencing from 1st October, 1972.

The scales of salary and service conditions of teachers in all privately-managed schools will, however, be brought at par with those of Government schools from the same date.

3. Privately-managed colleges will be nationalised from the 1st of September, 1972.

4. Compensation will not be paid for privately-managed schools and colleges which are nationalized. Any alienation of the property of these institutions or any attempt to close them down after this announcement will be an offence under Martial Law.

No appointments will be made in these institutions without Government's approval after this announcement and the appointments made after December 20, 1971, will be reviewed.

5. Government may exempt from nationalization any privately-managed school or college which, to its satisfaction, is run on a genuinely benevolent, philanthropic and non-commercial basis.

6. In addition to privately-managed schools and colleges, there is also another special class of exclusive institutions in our country. They are generally called Public Schools and include such institutions as the Aitchison College, Lahore. Most of them are wholly or substantially financed by Government. They offer a superior standard of education but are inaccessible to the poorer section of students, however intelligent. No doubt these institutions have played their part well in the social order which had created them. But now their days are over. Today, it is unthinkable to permit an institution where access to knowledge and culture should depend on any consideration other than merit. We have, therefore, decided to nationalize all Public Schools falling within this category from a date to be worked out individually with each one of them.

In future, these schools will be open to gifted children from all over the country, without any reference to their financial status or social background. Students selected on merit alone will be provided entirely free education in such renowned institutions. Each school will admit gifted students from all regions of the country, and, thus, these institutions which in the past divided society on the basis of wealth will now unite the nation on the basis of the mind.

7. The existing number of Boards of Intermediate and Secondary Education is too small for the number of candidates for which they have to conduct examinations. In order to improve their working and also to provide more convenience to candidates coming from far-flung areas, five new Boards will be established at Saidu, Rawalpindi, Gujranwala, Bahawalpur and Khairpur.

8. New universities will be opened at Saidu, Multan and Sukkur. The Agricultural College at Tandojam, the N.E.D. Engineering College, Karachi, and the Sind University Engineering College, Jamshoro, will be raised to the university status. A faculty of architecture will be added

to the N.E.D. Engineering College on its conversion into an Engineering University. The Provincial Government of NWFP may, if it deems necessary, raise the status of the Peshawar University Engineering College to that of an Engineering University. Jamia Islamia, Bahawalpur, will be broadened by the addition of new faculties of science and arts and converted into a university. A constituent Medical College will be added to the University of Baluchistan and faculties of Science and Rural Home Economics will be added to the Agricultural University, Lyallpur. The number of universities would, thus, be doubled by 1980.

Undergraduate faculties will be added to the University of Islamabad. A collaborative programme will be developed between the PINSTECH and the University of Islamabad so as to fully utilize the physical facilities of PINSTECH for students of Islamabad University. It will also provide an opportunity to the scientists working at the PINSTECH to give some time for teaching and guidance of post-graduate students.

9. The ill-famed University Ordinance which has caused so much avoidable unrest amongst the students and teachers will be replaced by an enlightened and progressive legislation which will democratize the working of the universities and ensure full participation of the representatives of teachers, students and parents in their affairs.

10. A Universities Grants Commission will be established to co-ordinate the programmes of the existing as well as the new universities so as to avoid unnecessary duplication and waste. The Commission will also determine the disciplines for which each university will develop centres of specialization and excellence. Such centres will include disciplines like (i) soil science, fertilizers, salinity, waterlogging, irrigation and drainage, (ii) physical chemistry, analytical chemistry and macromolecular chemistry, (iii) theoretical physics and solid state physics, (iv) pure and applied mathematics, (v) fisheries and marine biology, (vi) tropical architecture and construction materials, (vii) chemical engineering, petro-chemicals, synthetic fibres, oil and gas development and other disciplines.

11. Education does not end with the passing of a school or university examination. Facilities will be created for this life-long process through a network of training, retraining and adult literacy centres all over the country. These centres will be established in schools, factories, farms, union councils and other community places and centres. In view of the fact that there are over 40 million illiterate adults in the country, the number of such centres to be established upto 1980 will be about ten thousand.

The gigantic magnitude of the problem of adult literacy and continuing life-long education process will, in fact, necessitate the launching of an equally gigantic public motivational campaign.

A People's Open University will also be established to supplement these efforts by providing educational facilities through correspondence courses, tutorials, television, films, radio broadcasts and other media of mass communication.

12. A National Foundation for Book Production will be established to promote the writing, translating, printing and publishing of textbooks and other reading materials for students and the general public.

13. Fifty thousand People's Public Libraries will be established in villages and city wards.

14. A National Sports Trust will be created for the promotion of sports.

15. A National Service Corps will be established in which all youth between the age of 17 and 23 will be encouraged to serve for a total period of one year after passing the Intermediate Examination. This will also constitute the base for the formation of an Adult Literacy Corps and suitable incentives will be provided to encourage participation in it.

16. In addition, a number of other measures are also being taken to promote the welfare of the student community. They include a four-fold increase in the allocation for scholarships, the establishment of banking facilities for the grant of interest-free loans to deserving students, establishment of Book Banks, substantial enhancement of transport facilities at low cost, and arrangements for special education for the handicapped.

17. Similarly, a number of steps are being taken to improve the status and amenities of teachers. One of the most exploited classes in our society has been the teachers serving in privately-managed schools and colleges. As I have stated, they will soon get out of their misery and will be able to enjoy the same status in terms of salaries and service conditions as those of their counterparts in Government institutions. One of the genuine and long-standing complaints of the teaching community has been the non-availability of residential accommodation to them on reasonable rent. We are planning to undertake the construction of rent-free houses for teachers on quite a large scale in the future. This should go a long way in mitigating their present sufferings.

18. These are a few of the highlights of the comprehensive educational plan we are launching. It will be explained to you in greater detail by the Minister for Education tomorrow. An operation of this gigantic magnitude can hardly be conducted through normal administrative

machinery. In order to help the Central and Provincial Governments in the implementation and evaluation of their educational policies, we have decided to constitute broad-based education councils at the national, provincial, district and institution levels. They will comprise of a cross-section of people representing various walks of life including students, teachers and parents. Let us hope they will gradually develop into a positive brains-trust in our nation-building endeavours.

19. Of course, a new educational programme of this dimension cannot be executed without additional finance. In the very first year of this programme, the expenditure on education will almost be doubled. In future years, overall increase will be about 15 per cent per annum. Besides normal budgetary provision, this enormous expenditure will be met by a scheme under which payment may be made in kind wherever feasible. I am sure nobody would grudge education receiving its long overdue share of national resources at this critical stage of our socio-economic development. We, on our part, will make every possible effort to mobilize the resources required. On the part of students, teachers and parents, I ask for no return except an assurance that the large investment which a nation as poor as ours is making in their future must be treated as a debt of honour to the nation. Let tomorrow be enabled to enjoy the fruits of the labour, sufferings and sacrifices of today.

From the students, the nation expects discipline and hard work. From the teachers, the nation expects devotion and dedication to their honoured profession. From the parents, the nation expects their co-operation and a full share of responsibility to join hands with the Government and the people to make our educational plans a common endeavour and a common success. Education is by no means confined to the four walls of schools and universities alone. A large and, indeed, effective part of it begins and ends at home. It is here, at home, that the parents can play a decisive part in the advancement of the cause of education. We are taking important steps to ensure that religious education, which is compulsory upto Class X, does not merely remain an isolated subject in our schools. We want to go much further and weave the values and the spirit of our Faith into the entire warp and woof of our educational fabric. It is in this respect that the parents and home environments can play an effective part. We have the visions of an educated Pakistan. We are inspired by the thought of an enlightened manhood in the defence of the Motherland. Education holds the key to their door of

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progress. Education will make the desert bloom. Let us all join hands in the battle for knowledge, in the quest for success of Pakistan.

Pakistan Paindabad.

*Translation of the speech delivered at a public meeting at
Lahore on March 19, 1972*

I have a special purpose in speaking to you today. I am addressing the people of Lahore after a long time. I made a speech at Mochi Gate on March 8, 1970. I spoke for three hours and you heard me patiently. I must take important decisions. I want your consent. Never have I acted or made decisions without consulting you. I have come to seek your advice. We must progress and advance. We have passed through a critical period. We have to overcome our problems. The world is keenly watching us. The Ambassadors of other countries are here. Let them witness that we are an orderly and disciplined people. Recently the Prime Minister of a foreign country spoke and was listened to in silence by the citizens of Dacca. You must also listen to your President quietly. If a few of you cannot hear me for some reason, please restrain yourselves and allow me to proceed with the speech. Please sit quietly and hear me, and prove to the world that you are a disciplined nation. Lahore is my city. Lahore has given me honour. Lahore has supported me. I am proud of you. When I make an important announcement, I come to you. I cannot forget you. With your support I have triumphed.

I have come here to seek your consent. I promised to maintain my contact with you. My bond with you must remain. It cannot be broken. I belong to the people and love them. They have created me. As fish cannot live out of water, I cannot do without my people. None can break my bond with the people.

Brave citizens of Lahore, I have deep affection for you as you have love for me. I cannot forget what the people of Lahore have done for me and the sacrifices they have made for my sake. In my struggle for democracy, in my fight against tyranny and oppression, they have stood by me.

Whether I remain President or not, I shall always be close to you. We shall remain together as allies and friends.

I have spoken to you at Mochi Gate. This time I wished to address you there, but my friends advised me that Mochi Darwaza would not be able to accommodate all of you. This afternoon we have important guests with us. There are members of Assembly. There are Ambassadors among us.

One year ago, I spoke to you at Minto Park, at the Pakistan Memorial. I had said that Pakistan would remain one. I had predicted that there would be a great upheaval in Pakistan if the talks and negotiations were not allowed to go on. We had asked for time to sort out our matters and to think over the six points. We wished to negotiate and come to some understanding. You will recall that I had two proposals. The first was that we should be given time to talk things and negotiate a political settlement. The second point I made was that the period for framing the Constitution should be extended. One hundred and twenty days did not give us enough time. We asked for a little more time. It was not given. We were not consulted. The Assembly was postponed.

We have been accused and held responsible for boycotting the Assembly. This charge is baseless. If a constitution could not be made in 25 years, it was not possible to frame it in 120 days. Later, when the ship of state began to sink, power was handed over to people's representatives. Why was not democracy ushered in after the elections in December? Why was power not entrusted to the people's representatives then? But, then I was accused of being power-hungry. I did not seek power. It is God's truth that I did not seek power. But I could foresee disaster ahead of us. Yahya's coterie had no vision. They were politically blind. I knew they could not face the situation. They did not represent the people. They were bound to fail. As for power, all political parties aspire for it. I wanted power from the people and for the people, power for the worker and the peasant and the students and intellectuals. The people of Pakistan are not weaklings. They are a brave people. Pakistan has a brave army. India must know that Pakistan has not been defeated. Army has not been defeated. It is only a system that has been defeated. A selfish, corrupt and dishonest coterie has been defeated. That coterie clung to power. The world saw what they were doing. They witnessed their cruelty. And when all seemed lost they turned to me. I had hardly arrived in New York when they started flashing distress signals saying: "come back, come back, and take over. Accept responsibility."

On September 11, 1971, at the Quaid's mazar, I had asked "when shall the eternal night disappear. When will the sun rise?" If transfer of power was delayed, the country would be destroyed. It would not be the state of the Quaid's conception.

On October 14, 1971, I said, "we do not want war." Yahya Khan wanted to know why I had said so. I said that war could only be fought when people were ready for it. We were ready for war in 1962, we were ready again in 1965. But now the army was weakened, because democracy had been weakened. The people were flogged. Political institutions were destroyed. I had warned Yahya against war. I said Pakistan was not prepared. Then Yahya said that no one could run Pakistan. Pakistan was destroyed. It was finished. Foreign exchange was exhausted. There was no money. The Indian army was on our borders. We had no supplies. Our soldiers were badly equipped and badly clad. Then I declared, "we will run Pakistan, we will save it."

I said the ship of state must be saved. No personal consideration or price was too heavy if Pakistan was to live. So, we jumped into the burning ship to save it.

In three months we have managed to salvage it. By the grace of *Allah* the ship of state has now touched the shore. It is with the people's strength that we have saved it. It is with your assistance that we have saved it. We did not lose heart. What we have done in three months is unparalleled. In the last three months, we have introduced radical and significant reforms. We aim to do still more. This is not the end. Give me some time. Nothing can happen overnight. It will take time. It is not like switching on a light or taking an aspro for a quick cure. This cure will take some time. "*Gheraos*" and "*Jalaos*" are not the answers. I appeal to the peasants to wait and watch and see. Five thousand years of exploitation cannot be remedied in a day. No possession is dearer to me than Pakistan. I have given up lands but this is a small sacrifice for the state and the people. For us Muslims the final reward will be on the Day of Judgement. We have adopted the right course and now we must proceed on the straight path. And this I pledge before the people of Lahore. I assure you, more will be done. You must toil and work hard. This is the people's era. This is the age of the workers and the students. This is the era of justice. The imperialist and capitalist chapter is closed. I ask you, who waged the people's struggle? We wish to put an end to Martial Law. I always opposed Martial Law. I have often explained why it could not be abolished as quickly as I had wished. I discussed this with my friends for three days and in the end

the people won and we came to an agreement. It has been good and beneficial for the country. I will always fight to defend the rights of the people. For this, I am prepared to sacrifice my flesh and blood. I will change the face of the country. In a year's time, *Insha Allah*, I shall be able to feed and clothe my people.

People say that 2,000 Government servants have been retired. But they were sucking the people's blood. They were parasites. There was a clamour for a purge. But when it took place, there have been complaints. We are in the midst of a revolution. There have been radical reforms. We want to finish corrupt and dishonest officials. We shall deal sternly with corrupt officials. We must root out corruption. There have been reforms in the field of education, law, labour and agriculture. The pay and working conditions of police have improved.

The prices of certain commodities have gone up. There has been smuggling of sugar and *atta*. We will put an end to all this. Poor people will get justice. We shall succeed with your help and support. We shall build a new Pakistan. We shall build Pakistan as Quaid-i-Azam had conceived it.

India has always regarded Pakistan as her enemy. They have denied freedom to the people of Kashmir. Why does not Mrs. Indira Gandhi release our POWs. Mrs. Indira Gandhi professes to be our friend. Why does she not prove her friendship? Why does she not release our soldiers and civilians?

Mrs. Indira Gandhi should free our POWs. Sheikh Mujibur Rahman has asked Indira Gandhi to intervene on his behalf for the release of Bengalis in West Pakistan. Why should not Sheikh Mujibur Rahman ask us direct? Mujibur Rahman is our brother. Mujib should talk to us. We are Muslims. We have lived in the same subcontinent. Not one Bengali in West Pakistan has lost his life. The Biharis in Sheikh Mujibur Rahman's Bengal are being massacred. Sheikh Mujib claims to have full control in East Pakistan. The world acknowledges Mujibur Rahman as the leader of East Pakistan. If Sheikh Mujibur Rahman is the true leader of East Pakistan, why are the non-Bengalis being murdered? Are Biharis worse than the Marwaris of West Bengal who are exploiting East Pakistan? Sheikh Mujib must not avenge himself against the Biharis. If the massacre of Biharis is not stopped, I will not guarantee the lives of Bengalis in Pakistan. I say to Mrs. Indira Gandhi that we want peace. We have fought three wars on Kashmir. We cannot forget the Kashmir dispute. Even if we forget the Kashmir dispute, the people of Kashmir will not forget it. Mrs. Indira

Gandhi should talk to us. We wish to have peace in the subcontinent. Mrs. Indira Gandhi boasts that one province of India is larger than Pakistan. Let Pakistan live in peace. Let us both build up our countries. We want to live in peace and in honour.

We seek a life of peace and justice. We wish good relations with Russia. Russia is our neighbour. It is a big country. We shall co-operate if they do not interfere in our internal affairs.

China is our friend. China has stood by us. Our relations with China are not based on hypocrisy.

America was suspicious of our friendship with China. It does not mean we are not friendly to the United States. Now there is friendship between China and the United States. Our friendship and bond with China will stay and grow stronger. Our friendship with China is not directed against Russia. If India wishes to improve her relations with us, we are willing too. I want to assure China that there will be no conspiracy against her.

We shall never give up our friendship with China. We wish good relations with Russia and good relations with America. We wish good relations with all other countries, but I want your approval.

As for great Britain, their Foreign Minister will be here this evening. He will be well received and welcomed. Let Britain not feel that we are not true friends because we have quit the Commonwealth. We shall be friendly with them but we will not go back to the Commonwealth.

We respect France and Germany. But they recognised "Bangla Desh" in a hurry. "Bangla Desh" was created by Indian guns, by Indian aggression.

Mujib and Bhashani used to say "Assalam-o-Alaikum" to our people. But the time may come when we may also say "Walaikum Assalam." The time has not come as yet to say "Walaikum Assalam." We shall have talks with East Pakistan. Many powers of the Middle East have supported us. Egypt and Jordan have supported us. Algeria has supported us. I salute Egypt, Syria, Algeria, Somalia, Saudi Arabia, Sudan, Iraq, Jordan, Abu Dhabi and Morocco. Our greatest tribute is to Libya. Our biggest Salams are for Libya. I name this stadium after Col. Kadhafi. Henceforth, it will be known as the Kadhafi stadium.

Mao Tse-Tung said that sometimes the wind comes from the West, sometimes from the East. In Pakistan the wind blows from all sides. This is the wind of freedom. It comes from all directions. This wind of freedom will destroy the enemies of Pakistan. A strong Pakistan will emerge. A new Pakistan will come into existence. I may have to face death. I shall not forget the words of Tipu Sultan *i.e.*, one day of a lion's existence is worth

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a hundred years of a jackal's. Our nation has not been defeated. This nation will prosper. This nation will progress. This will be a great nation. We shall prove our mettle. Will you work hard? Will you fight? Will you die? Do I have your vow on it?

Press conference at Rawalpindi on March 25, 1972

I cannot tell you how much we would try, how hard we tried, to mend our fences with India. We have been active on the diplomatic field; our diplomatic communications have been working at full speed.

I have toured a number of countries. Recently, I have been to the Soviet Union and we have held long discussions on our relations with India and about the general situation in the subcontinent. I have not thought it appropriate to bring some of these matters out in the public, to hold a public meeting on the various issues because I don't want to further complicate the problems. Emotions are high, extremely high, and on occasions some of our people have misunderstood as to why we were not taking the public into confidence. Of course, we would take the public into confidence. At every step we will take the people into confidence, but we have been working for the people's interest and for that reason at this given point of time we thought it better to approach the matter at diplomatic level and not take things out to the streets and bazars and then say something and after that the Indians say something else and then Mr. Mujibur Rahman might say something. This complicates the issues.

Sometimes when I travelled to Lahore and other places, the delegations of prisoners of war's wives have met me. They feel impatient. They think that we have not been doing enough and they show their concern. Naturally, they are concerned. We have also the question of minorities in East Pakistan. We have their relations in our country; we have ethnic affinities like the Biharis from East Pakistan here in West Pakistan. And the day before I left Karachi for the Soviet Union, they came and demonstrated. I understand their feelings. The demonstrations were not arranged by us. Some time Government arranges such demonstrations. We did

not arrange such demonstrations. We would not like such demonstrations, specially on the eve of my visit to the Soviet Union. It does not strengthen our hands to have such demonstrations and does not make sense. But then spontaneously people do feel affected. They get news. Views come home. They get news from the foreign press. They get news here from the Radio. And they were tense, they were excited, they were agitated and understandably so. I did not have the answer and told them quite bluntly that Biharis in East Pakistan are not in my control. They are not in my jurisdiction. They are in the jurisdiction of Mr. Mujibur Rahman.

Mr. Mujibur Rahman wants a secular, democratic state. He wants a secular, democratic state to the extent that the people who left 25 years ago are going back to East Pakistan and also businessmen and traders. If you want a secular, democratic state, certainly it is a duty to protect the lives and properties of people who have lived in East Pakistan, who have made East Pakistan their home. Twenty-five years have passed. People have grown up there. They are 25 years old now. Some of them who were born at the time of Partition, they know no other country, they know no other place but East Pakistan. For people who have come up in this generation, that is their home, that is their motherland. They do not know any other place. They do not know even West Pakistan. Some of them have never left their villages and they have grown up there and they have contributed to the development of East Pakistan, to the economy of East Pakistan. Now they have been singled out and they are being told that they collaborated with the Pakistan Army as if it were a crime to collaborate with the Pakistan Army. How is it a crime to collaborate with the Pakistan Army. As citizens of Pakistan, they had to assist one another. The point is that not only have they been accused of collaborating with the Pakistan Army but now Mr. Mujibur Rahman has made a demand to try 1,500 personnel of the Pakistan Army as war criminals.

In the first place, as prisoners of war, they are now in the custody of the Indian Government. They are in India, they have been taken to India and it is the responsibility of the Government of India to maintain them and to look after them according to the Geneva Conventions. It is the responsibility of the Government of India and I am afraid that Pakistan cannot accept the position that the prisoners of war are under the joint custody of Mr. Mujibur Rahman and the Indian Government. Neither the Pakistan Government can accept this position nor can the world subscribe to such a fiction that the Eastern Command of the Pakistan Army surrendered to the joint command of Mukti Bahini and the Indian

Army. That is an eye wash; that simply would not sell; that is a proposition which is so elementary that I think it cannot be accepted; simply not acceptable to us; it is untenable. And East Pakistan was dismembered from Pakistan not by the activities of these people but by the invasion of India. And the prisoners of war are a responsibility of the Government of India.

Now the Government of India takes up the stand that the Prisoners of War are the joint responsibility of Mr. Mujibur Rahman's administration and the Government of India. I am afraid we cannot take that position; we cannot accept that position. That is exclusively the responsibility of the Government of India. They have laid down their arms to the Indian forces. Dacca fell to the Indian invasion and not to the Mukti Bahini. So, we did not accept this position. We cannot accept the position. So, if the Indian Government accedes to Mr. Mujibur Rahman's request to have the prisoners of war, whatever their number, it is a matter of principle and not a question of numbers, and sends them to East Pakistan for a so-called war criminal trial, I am afraid we would be reaching the point of no return. As such the trial is not going to assist the promotion of peace in the subcontinent. Positively, it is going to vitiate the climate and make our difficult tasks all the more difficult, if not impossible. And in this situation please ponder a while; there is no parallel between the Nuremberg trial, so to speak, and this situation.

The Pakistan Army was discharging its primary responsibility, that is to say, to defend the unity of Pakistan. Some excesses might have been committed. We don't condone those excesses. I think on the 9th January, if I am not mistaken, in Peshawar, I said that if Mr. Mujibur Rahman feels that certain people and certain individuals have committed excesses, he could give us their names. We would make the necessary investigation and we are quite prepared to take them to task, quite prepared to court martial them, quite prepared to punish them under our jurisdiction. But to say that the Pakistan Army, the Armed Forces of Pakistan are war criminals is a calumny. It violates all the norms of international law and municipal law. Pakistan Armed Forces were defending the unity and integrity of the State of Pakistan which came into being as a result of the struggle of both the people of East and West Pakistan and it was Mr. Mujibur Rahman who was being tried for secession. I cannot simply accept the position. The Government of Pakistan cannot simply accept it that anyone in the Pakistan Army was a war criminal.

When you were defending your own homeland, you cannot by any

stretch of imagination draw a parallel between the Nazi invasion of Europe and the defence of Pakistan by the soldiers of Pakistan. It was their territory, it was their homeland, and they were defending their motherland. So, the question, the analogy, simply does not hold good, and we all know a little bit of international law and jurisprudence and we know that there is no parallel. But apart from the fact that there is no parallel, even the Nuremberg trials have not been exonerated by the whole world, by the jurists. There are two points of view and that was a clear case of war and aggression by the Nazi Germany against France, Holland, Belgium, Norway and these are sovereign states, separate altogether. And so, there was a question of trial. I am afraid that the line has to be drawn somewhere. I have gone to the edge of the precipice for the sake of a settlement.

I have unconditionally released Sheikh Mujibur Rahman. I do not keep on harping on that but it is an important consideration in the matter. There was a vacuum, a complete vacuum in East Pakistan. There was a vacuum of leadership. East Pakistan is already in chaos which we do not like; it has been in such total chaos that the definition of chaos had been defied by the situation in East Pakistan if Mr. Mujibur Rahman had not been released. And after that we have made so many gestures and tried to promote so many gestures of goodwill. We have said we are prepared to consider the cases of people who have committed excesses. We have offered to send back Bengalis to East Pakistan; we have offered to send back the members of the Armed Forces; we have offered to send back civilian administrators. We are taking every measure to protect the lives and properties of our Bengali brethren in West Pakistan. We were prepared to send 22,000 tons of American rice to East Pakistan which was here. We were prepared to send 100,000 tons of our own indigenous rice to East Pakistan as a gift and a grant.

We are the last in the world at this stage who can make gifts or grants—gifts and grants of 11 million dollars. It is not easy to have made this gesture and then on top of that to have no response from the other side, no reciprocity. Now we feel that it is not the responsibility of Pakistan alone to promote peace; it is not a one-sided affair. India must also respond. Mr. Mujibur Rahman must also respond. Mrs. Gandhi said that she wanted to have direct negotiations. We welcomed it. We want to have direct negotiations; we want to bring peace to the subcontinent. I have said that repeatedly. I said that in my speech in Lahore the other day that we want to close the chapter of the past and begin a new chapter in our relations and we would like to start negotiations on these problems created by the

aftermath of war, created before the war, step by step come to a settlement, bring peace to our subcontinent. We have fought three wars but the real war we have yet to fight, that is, we are to banish poverty, we are to fight misery and exploitation after centuries to bring progress and happiness to our people. And in this respect we were prepared to proceed forward in a spirit of accommodation, reconciliation and open up new vistas for our people. And we have told that to many friends and we have told that to our friends in Asia. We have told that to our neighbours and told that to the great powers.

And now again the Indian Prime Minister says that there should be a meeting at the official level, although at one stage she said that the meeting should be held at the level of the Heads of the Governments. I will not be presumptuous to use the word 'summit conference' because India is a great power, Pakistan is not a great power. So, I cannot use the word 'summit conference'. So, I say the meeting of the Heads of the Governments level and we wanted to move fast, and our progress, our bold experiments internally are also connected with the external situation. So, we wanted to move very fast, bring about external tranquillity and peace, concentrate on our economic development, on our reforms to make a real go of things. But not only there is a change of attitude on the part of the Government of India, but also other things have happened. Foreign Secretary has mentioned to you the incident at Ranchi, that Pakistan Armed Forces, Pakistani prisoners of war were killed, injured. Apart from Ranchi, only yesterday one person was shot dead. We don't know who it is. Everyone would think it is their own kith and kin and so many homes are involved. People would not know who it is, there will be wailing and there will be mourning in every home. And then the reports which have not come in the Press about the maltreatment of prisoners of war in Ambala. The Red Cross officials have not been permitted to go to these places. India promised to return our wounded and sick. We have sent their wounded and sick on the dot according to the commitment. We sent one batch but after that they refused to send the others. They say now they have to consult the "Bangla Desh" Government. They never told that before and various other things have happened.

So, I don't feel encouraged by these developments and I feel that time has come when I have to tell my people as to what is to be the future. I told you long ago that if the prisoners of war problem is to be used as a lever to extract the last drop of Pakistan's blood, I am afraid, I cannot be a party to that, because my whole struggle and my whole career is for

the vindication of Pakistan's position, to have its right place, place of dignity and self-respect. I have great faith in Pakistan and I believe that whatever is left of us, if that is going to be our final position, still we have a positive role to play in the affairs of Asia. And I said the other day not in the belicose mood that I want to make the Pakistan Armed Forces one of the finest fighting machine in the world and I believe we can do it. I know some foreign journalists and some foreign papers who have laughed at it—"It cannot be done," "Pakistan has been reduced in Asia." But I believe we can do it not for any aggressive purpose but for our defence, for the need and requirement of our State.

Now the question of the 90,000 prisoners of war. India says if these prisoners of war were sent back to Pakistan, it means accretion to the strength of Pakistan Army. We are not short of manpower. We can have four more divisions, ten divisions and twenty more divisions depending upon our resources. This is not the reason either. Now there comes a time; and I have inherited a terrible legacy, almost an impossible legacy; I will try my best as much as a human being can try in the circumstances, but there comes a point when one cannot go beyond it. As such, with all the hopes and expectations, I had tried for a peaceful settlement.

The recent developments have not encouraged that hope and expectation. And there comes a time when you have to make a choice and I have made my choice. Either we now proceed forward in an atmosphere of cordiality, try to make adjustments, try to show the new generation that the present generation can succeed where all the previous generations failed, try to show to the world that Pakistan and India are not going to be a problem child for the international community and without any fundamental surrender or compromise because that is not acceptable. That cannot happen. We can make adjustments within their point of view and our point of view to come to a settlement to bring peace. And this has been my effort on the day I took over on December 20, and I have tried day and night to pursue that effort. So, the question is either we have an opportunity to proceed on that basis or else, I am afraid, the situation will have to be re-examined with all its implications. But two things I am not going to accept. One, the humiliation of the Pakistan Armed Forces any more. I am simply not going to accept the Armed Forces of Pakistan being made into guinea pigs and this is my decision and not the decision of General Tikka Khan or General Umrao Khan or General Khudadad Khan, and God knows how many Generals. This is my decision as the President of Pakistan. Do not think that I am under any pressure

from any side because this man does not come under pressure. It is repugnant to my sense of national self-respect and I cannot any more tolerate the humiliation and insult of Pakistan's Armed Forces. I simply would not take it any more. I told that to Mujibur Rahman and I told that to the Indian Government that there is a limit to my patience. I would not have the Armed Forces of Pakistan humiliated and browbeaten in this manner. I will not allow that war trial to take place on the soil of Dacca. It is simply inconceivable. I will not allow the Pakistan Army to be humiliated in this way. It will be my humiliation and the humiliation of the people of Pakistan. And I tell you also quite frankly and plainly that I am not going to allow the prisoners of war issue to be made an issue for blackmail.

If India thinks that she can keep these prisoners of war indefinitely, she is sadly mistaken. I know that they have been indoctrinated. I know that they have been put in different categories—Pathans in one camp, Punjabis in another camp, other ethnic communities in other camps, but India cannot convert them into Hindus even if she tries for hundred years more. They will return to Pakistan whenever they return as the sons of this country and I want to make it clear to the people of Pakistan that they either stand by me or I quit. I am not going to remain in office in disgrace and now they will have to accept this position with discipline. I want no more demonstrations, no more women with tears because I am full of tears myself but these demonstrations and these tears have only given a wrong impression to India and she is drawing the wrong conclusion.

If India was to keep them for twenty years and blackmail us, she can keep them for twenty years. And if I am not acceptable I will step aside. Nobody is indispensable in this country. I will step aside but I will not accept such a position. So, let us come down to realities. Accept peace with honour and stop the humiliation of my Armed Forces and my people and stop the brutal killing of my people and our prisoners of war. If our people in Pakistan can stomach that I tell them good-bye. Let them find someone else to take up the responsibility. I am not going to be the President of Pakistan in disgrace. I am not going to be the President of this country and the leader of this country to be blackmailed and browbeaten like this. The choice is quite clear. I have left office before also, which was a lesser office, but this time it is an ultimate office. I can leave this office as well. Office is not important at all. What is important is what goes down in history and that is more important. If India wants to take that attitude, she will have to either deal with another civilian President or

with the military regime. And I am not going to be a party to the ignominy of Pakistan. It is not possible. Absolutely impossible.

So, let us now re-evaluate the situation that India wants this to happen and chaos will come in the wake. There will be many explosions. There will be many thunders. So, this position must proceed ahead and Mr. Mujibur Rahman also must take a very sensible attitude. And it is necessary for him to take a very sensible attitude because Mr. Mujibur Rahman knows that I have not spoken at all on what discussions we had. I don't want to talk at all. And I do not want to talk on that at all because I do not want to complicate his problems. I do not want to embarrass his position. I wish him well. I want him to succeed. But at one stage in Calcutta he said that if any one thinks of East and West Pakistan ever reasserting the unity, they must be sent to the lunatic asylum. I do not answer that but I could have said quite a few things on that matter. I won't say that. I won't take that attitude at all with Mr. Mujibur Rahman and he knows it. I won't embarrass him with all our differences. He is dealing with 77 million people of our country and we want him to succeed. But Mr. Mujibur Rahman should also know that if he persists in that matter, I will be duty-bound also to say a few things and I do not think that will contribute to the solution of the problems and also I am not talking in terms of threat. I am the last person to threaten him. I have no weapons to threaten him with. But at the same time, the record will have to be put right if it comes to that. How can we permit the so-called war criminals' war trials; simply not possible. I have suggested a way out, that is, they can be taken to account by us and if there is to be war trials and war crimes, which is absolutely unjustified, then I am afraid we cannot move forward either with Mr. Mujibur Rahman or with the Government of India. And I think you all understand our position because how much can you be banded around; there is a limit to being banded around. Unfortunately, India has never grasped the real opportunity to come to peace. If Indian leadership had grasped the real opportunity to come to peace, there would have been peace in the sub-continent long ago, much earlier. But they always missed the opportunity to come to peace. perhaps they are going to miss this final one which might have brought peace to the subcontinent. That is all. I do not have anything more.

*Address to members of medical profession at Rawalpindi
on March 26, 1972*

Ladies and gentlemen of the medical profession.

I have announced some important reforms which we have carried out in the recent past in our country. Today I am addressing you on the all-important subject of health. We are enforcing a "People's Health Scheme," the focus being on health and health facilities for the common man. I would like to emphasise that today's subject is a matter of paramount importance to us all—physical fitness of the nation, of everybody, of the peasants and the workers, of students and other citizens, of the poor, resourceless men, women and children, whether in cities or in villages, particularly those in the rural areas who have suffered chronic neglect so far. I would like to say that the phenomenon of poor or bad health is not merely a question of bodily infirmity which has social and humanitarian implications. It also affects in a vital manner production and productivity by either knocking a man out of work or enfeebling him due to which both quality and quantity of production suffer. I would say that all our plans of economic growth and all measures for achieving the objectives of such plans will remain doomed to failure unless the man behind the plough and machine in the factory is in a reasonable state of physical fitness. A satisfactory health plan for the nation is, therefore, of the utmost importance not only for promoting general health but as a part of the strategy for economic development. I firmly believe that the expenditure involved shall be a big and true "investment in man" in this country. We hope that the People's Health Scheme will bring medical treatment within easy reach of every single man, both in terms of distance and cost.

What is more, the philosophy of health facilities has been radically chang-

ed. We have evolved the concept of integrated approach to the problem of health of a community. There will be no waiting for a disease to develop and break out, affecting an individual or an area. The new pattern of provision of health facilities shall begin where disease itself begins. It will tackle not only bacteria and viruses but all those factors which end up with disease, lack of health education, lack of environmental sanitation, impure water supply, inadequate and unhygienic system, to be more frank, in many places, total lack of any system whatsoever, for disposal of sewage and wastes, lack of attention to nutrition and balanced diet, want of well-conceived school health programmes and other related matters. In one word, all the preventive and curative services shall radiate from the same health units or centres, with the same staff and officers having responsibility for the total health situation in the areas of their jurisdiction. This is the comprehensive, integrated approach. In future, all services connected with the health of a community, including programmes for family planning, malaria eradication, smallpox and tuberculosis control and the like, shall be provided by the same health units in an integrated manner. This is in consonance with current world thinking on the best manner of providing these various services and has been repeatedly emphasised for adoption by World Health Organisation.

Under this approach, a network of health units shall be established all over the country at the rate of one each for every Union Council area in villages and Union Committee area in towns, not a single one of which shall be without a health unit after the first four years of the Scheme, which incidentally has been spread over a total period of seven years for complete implementation. This will cover a population of about 10,000. These units, to be called Basic Health Units, will not be of the type we have known so far. Each one shall be headed by a graduate doctor, a lady health visitor and other health technicians. In Baluchistan where population is very sparse, a more liberal scale is being adopted. There will be a Basic Health Unit for every 5,000 of population. All manners of people in all areas including remotest rural areas will, therefore, be covered in future by reasonably adequate arrangements for ensuring to the common man health services, both preventive and curative.

Out of every five such units, the fifth one in rural areas will not only provide basic health facilities like other Basic Health Units but shall be much larger, with more and better staff and ten beds. It will actually be a small rural hospital. The smaller towns also shall have such centres which shall be called Town Health Centres.

These two types of health units will serve as tiers in the chain of the various facilities. There will be two further tiers, namely, hospitals located at tehsil/taluka headquarters and district headquarters. All the four tiers shall form an interlinked system of hospitals, the higher ones acting as the referral institutions. In the case of tehsil/taluka and district headquarters hospitals, the existing ones shall be treated as nucleus for expanding and improving them according to the high standards prescribed under the people's health scheme. The change in these tiers which I have described as "improvement" will virtually mean creating new types of institutions. The tehsil level hospitals, for example, shall provide coverage in all major specialities and the district headquarter hospitals shall provide cover in all specialities of every type, including such fields as mental and psychiatric diseases and occupational therapy. which hitherto have never been provided at district level.

Our plan in the health sector shall encompass all types of dispensaries and hospitals whether belonging to Central or Provincial Governments or to local bodies. Except for defence establishments and those inside jails, all other medical institutions shall come under the purview of the plan for overhaul and improvement. However, private hospitals and nursing homes, etc., shall be allowed to continue but standards shall be prescribed for them. Provision will be made in law to require them to bring their work upto these standards within specified time, failing which they may be either wound up or taken over by Government.

It shall be left to provincial Governments to provincialise local body hospitals if they find it necessary. It has, however, been provided that services of doctors serving in local bodies shall be provincialised so that they are transferable and made eligible for higher training and promotions as part of provincial cadres.

One direct result of the plan is going to be that every qualified doctor, pharmacist and para-medical staff shall be absorbed. In fact, to implement the scheme, the requirement is for a much larger number than available in the country. The other difficulty is common to all walks of our national life, namely, resources to finance projects. To overcome shortage of doctors and other staff, we are providing for expansion of the facilities in medical institutions. A new medical college for Baluchistan has also been provided. The expansion will comfortably cover total requirements. In this connection, some important measures are being taken to increase numbers and evaluate the quality of all types of staff. The curricula of medical educa-

tion shall be rationalised and reoriented to national needs with greater emphasis on preventive and community health.

In order to ensure continuous evaluation of a student's academic performance, the semester system of teaching and examination shall be adopted. A final comprehensive examination before graduation has, however, been retained.

We are thinking of reducing the total period of education and training of graduate doctors by one year, without lowering the standard of education in the field of medicine.

Governing boards consisting of non-official and official members shall be constituted to administer medical colleges and higher medical teaching institutions and a greater measure of autonomy in administrative and financial matters shall be given to them.

Admissions to all medical colleges shall be on merit. The training curricula of para-medical staff have also been rationalised and the arrangements for their training shall be decentralised to district and tehsil hospitals.

The second prong of attack on availability of doctors we have adopted is improvement of the pays of doctors. Special incentives have been provided in the form of increased pay and free residential accommodation for service in rural areas which are notorious for their unattractiveness for doctors. Service in rural areas shall in future also get special weightage for higher training and promotions.

A number of incentives are also being provided to low-paid staff in medical institutions. Firstly, residential accommodation shall be provided by Government to 100 per cent of such staff. Secondly, medical facilities not given to their families at present shall be extended to the families as well. All contingent and work-charged staff in hospitals shall be made permanent forthwith if their posts are of a continuing nature.

The cost of treatment is highly inflated in this country due largely to the high prices of medicines. We intend to deal most effectively with this element. A multi-pronged attack shall be mounted on the problem. Firstly, the present bewildering varieties of drugs running into thousands have been reduced to about 250 single ingredient drugs and a national formulary is being prepared on the basis of their compounds whose total number will not be more than a few hundred. The list of single ingredients and the formulary for compounds shall not be final. Arrangements are being prescribed for a Standing Committee of Experts to keep them under constant review in accordance with advancing knowledge about ingredients and their quantification.

To make the concept of national formulary a success, drug testing laboratories shall be set up in provinces and the Central Drug Testing Laboratory shall be strengthened to work as a proper appellate institution.

In future, we believe that the manufacture and sale shall take place only under generic names and the present proprietary and brand names should go, eliminating thereby enormous profits at which brand names are sold.

Import of only such finished drugs and medicines and raw materials shall be allowed as are not available locally and shall be through the Trading Corporation of Pakistan.

To bring the cost of treatment down still further, the Scheme lays down that Government shall take all necessary steps over a period of time to secure the manufacture of all types of medical instruments, equipment and consumable stores, such as X-Ray films, within the country.

One matter which has come under repeated and wide-spread criticism is the evil of reimbursement to Government servants for purchase of medicines prescribed for them. We have decided to cut out the very sources of the malpractices resulting from this by abolishing the institution of reimbursement itself. In future, medicines necessary for the restoration of health of a Government servant shall be given to him from the hospitals themselves; there will be no private purchases by them and, therefore, no question of reimbursement. Another matter which has been the subject of severe criticism is the abuse of permission of private practice given to some, and non-practising allowances given to others. We are going to abolish private practice by Government doctors altogether. Instead, every graduate doctor from the time of entry into service shall be given an adequate non-practising allowance. We are, however, conscious of the need to keep the services of eminent specialists in various fields available to patients suffering from complicated and chronic diseases. This can be done only by allowing private practice to doctors of great maturity who are highly specialised in their respective fields and are also teachers of their subjects. To those of the specialists who fulfil prescribed requirements of age, etc., institutional private practice shall be allowed, *i.e.*, they will be allowed to see private patients in Government hospitals after normal working hours. Those who opt for private practice of this type shall not be allowed to draw the non-practising allowance. The fees to be charged from the private patients in such cases shall be prescribed and the total amount shall be so prescribed that it contains Government share with whose facilities the work has been possible as well as the share of the subordinate staff who assist the specialists.

In the case of these specialists, it has been felt that permission to see the private patients at home will also be necessary. Home visits by the specialists of the prescribed category have also, therefore, been permitted but the maximum fees have similarly been laid down.

Reforms are also being introduced in the field of practice by private practitioners, to whom a large majority of our people have to resort at one time or the other.

Firstly, a lot of members of the medical profession are at present combining consultation which is their own field with dispensing in the same premises. This shall be banned. In future, private practitioners shall not be allowed to dispense medicines in their premises. They shall provide only consultation and emergency treatment in case of danger to life or grievous injury. At present, many of them do not charge consultation fees which are covered by the charges for medicines dispensed. When dispensing becomes illegal, it shall be necessary to lay down the scale of consultation fees. We are going to prescribe the fees in such a manner that they are within the easy reach of the common man but are commensurate with the dignity and work involved in this noble profession. Enhanced fees shall be prescribed for home visits by private practitioners.

So much for general practitioners. Maximum fees for specialists in the private sector shall also be regulated in such a manner that they do not in any case exceed those prescribed for their counterparts in Government service.

At the same time, all medicines, except the ethical drugs, shall, in future, be dispensed only on prescriptions by registered medical practitioners.

We are also going to set up state-owned drug stores at the rate of one for every 50,000 of population or more or less similar other feasible units. The intention is to keep even the reduced prices resulting from the national formulary in check through these state-owned fair price shops.

Besides allopathic system, we also have indigenous systems and their practitioners in this country. I mean the Hakims and Homoeopaths. Boards for the regulation of these systems of medicine and their practice already exist. We intend to reconstitute these Boards with a view to bringing about improvement in the systems and their practice. We have not ruled out employment of practitioners of these systems even in Government service, if there is appreciable demand in any particular place for the type of treatment offered by them. It will, however, be ensured that in such cases they prescribe treatment which is particularly of their system and do not have recourse to medicines and treatment prescribed under the

allopathic system. In any case we have provided that in Government hospitals and dispensaries the man in over-all charge shall always be a graduate doctor with higher qualifications in some cases.

One important reform which I am sure was very much needed and will be appreciated is to separate the medical service from pharmacy work for which a new service shall be created. As is well known, pharmacy work in hospitals has suffered because there are no whole-time persons with requisite qualifications for doing it. In future, only members of the pharmacy service shall be in charge of pharmacy work. To this service only graduates in pharmacy shall be recruited. I may point out that due to the cost involved, hospitals down to tehsil/taluka level only shall employ them as lower units cannot be burdened with the expenditure involved in having these specialised men.

The People's Health Scheme shall commence from the current year and its implementation shall be phased over seven years. I would like to mention very briefly the priorities in implementation. In the first year all existing dispensaries, rural and urban, Government and Local Body, which are counterparts of the new basic health units and rural/town health centres conceived under the scheme, shall be brought upto the standards laid down for their respective type of units.

Secondly, from the first year, higher hospitals shall have their provision for medicines increased to three times the existing provisions which are notoriously inadequate and on account of which "Aqua Pura" has very often to be added to the mixtures dispensed.

The first year will also include commencement of the expansion work of training facilities in medical colleges and para-medical institutions. Incidentally, the training of para-medical and auxiliary staff has hitherto remained restricted to small numbers because training is imparted in large cities only. It is our intention to add simultaneously training arrangements for these categories of staff at district headquarters and even tehsil hospitals where local people shall be encouraged to avail of the opportunity to get training and join service of the nation.

The first year will see the foundation of the new medical college in Baluchistan laid.

The new and higher pays for doctors and the non-practising allowance prescribed under the scheme shall also come into force from the beginning.

Having brought the existing hospitals and dispensaries upto the mark to serve as proper basic health units and rural/town health centres, in the next three years efforts shall be concentrated on creating all the new

basic health units/rural/town health centres. At the end of four years of the scheme, the entire country shall have been covered by suitable health units providing both preventive and curative services under an integrated approach to the entire population, with a basic health unit available to every 10,000 of population and a ten-bed rural/town health centre for every 50,000 of population.

In the remaining three years of the scheme, tehsil and district hospitals shall be taken up for intensive improvement of work. Simultaneously, nine national institutes, one of each type in the country, shall be established in nine major fields such as cardiovascular diseases, communicable diseases, tuberculosis, leprosy, cancer and the like. These institutes will be medical institutions par excellence catering for advanced treatment as well as research and training of senior staff.

The total expenditure in the seven-year span is anticipated at something like rupees 380 crores. Some rupees 20 crores will be needed in the first year. It is our intention to introduce a special but small medical cess, the burden of which shall be placed equitably on the community.

Finally, I would like to emphasise that our plans in the health field shall bear fruit only with understanding and co-operation on the part of the distinguished members of the medical profession. I would, to that end, like misunderstandings and misgivings, if any, to be dissipated before the People's Health Scheme is launched. That is why I had asked the Health Minister to consult all manner and shades of opinion in the medical profession as well as allied professions. I have been informed by him that country-wide consultations were held and besides a large number of eminent doctors, a variety of leaders of public opinion were also given full opportunity to express their views. All such views were duly taken into account in formulating the scheme. In fact, all good suggestions coming from any quarter, whatever, were given due consideration and adopted wherever found feasible. Let me add that while we have spared no efforts to formulate our plans so that they are consistent with the dignity of doctors and protect their legitimate interests, the main objective of the plans cannot but be the welfare of the common man. The People's Health Scheme is in the true sense for the people. Doctors are no doubt members of a most respected profession and are the working intelligentsia of the country. But they are expected to share a little tightening of belts and a little austerity for a change just as a number of other citizens enjoying higher income brackets are being called upon to do. Doctors, whether under Government or in the private sector, have to understand the benefits of these

plans in their true perspective and work together to achieve the objectives envisaged in them.

*Translation of the speech delivered at a public meeting
at Sanghar on March 31, 1972*

I have come to Sanghar after a long time in fulfilment of the promise I made to the people of Sanghar two years ago. It was on this day two years ago that I came here to address the people but was prevented from doing so by a handful of nefarious individuals. The Pakistan People's Party had launched its election campaign after restrictions on political activities were withdrawn by the then Government. We had undertaken a campaign to meet the people so that they may become fully aware of the political conditions obtaining in the country, and with the sole aim of creating better political understanding of the various problems facing them. In those days there was no ban on political activity, and like other parties we were free to propagate our point of view before the people. We went to all parts of the country. I took my colleagues to Punjab, NWFP, East Pakistan, Sind and Baluchistan. All parties had the right to tell their viewpoint to the people. With that end in view, I addressed public meetings.

I and my colleagues in the Pakistan People's Party addressed public meetings and went to various places. On the third of January, I addressed a public meeting at Karachi. I said then that we will struggle afresh for building up Pakistan. I enunciated three cardinal principles of our Party. Firstly, I said Islam is our religion. We will sacrifice all for Islam and its glory. We want to uphold and follow the noble principles of our religion. The second principle of our Party is that democracy is our objective; and the third is that Islamic social justice will be made available to every citizen of this country. The people are the sole masters of their future. They are the sole arbiters of their destiny.

These are our Party's principles and these are enshrined in our Manifesto. We charted these principles in our Manifesto from the very beginning and we continue to stick to them. This has given power to the Party which has endeared itself to the people. These are the principles of equality, good humane behaviour and humanitarianism, where there is no place for injustice. We accepted these principles for the good of the poor people. Our political struggle started with this message and went to all corners of the country. I and my colleagues went to NWFP and Punjab, East Pakistan, Baluchistan and Sind. We went to each and every part of Sind. I went to every district, taluka, every village and every *tapa*. We have to keep contact with our people who are our friends, who are our masters. We cannot shut our eyes to them. As fragrance cannot be detached from a flower, as fish cannot remain out of water, in the same way I can say that Bhutto cannot be detached from the people.

I started our political campaign in Sind from Thatta. People listened to us intently and considered us their real friends from Thatta to Kotri, and then to Hyderabad, Badin, Matli, Tandobago, Mirpurkhas, Tandoadam and Shahdadpur. You all know what I said in Shahdadpur. I said we are friends of all the poor people. We are against all kinds of exploitation. I have no antagonism against any person or party. I stand for the people and that I have said repeatedly. Those who are against the poor people and the common man are our enemy. With that message I proceeded to Sanghar from Shahdadpur two years ago this day. Just outside this city, near a petrol pump on the road side, we were stopped by the Deputy Commissioner and the Superintendent Police who told us that people are hidden in the bushes with lethal weapons and there was risk of my life. But I told the officers that I am from the people and people are with us. I will not be frightened by threats from a handful of disgruntled elements. I said that we are people's friends and people cannot be against us.

Nevertheless, when I was about to enter the town of Sanghar there was a rain of bullets from a bus. I got out of my car and shouted at the people who were firing the bullets not to kill the innocent people but to shoot me instead. My supporters surrounded me and in that unfortunate incident my friend and ardent supporter, Mohammad Ibrahim, was killed. Our poor friend went all-out to protect me. Mohammad Ibrahim gave his life to save me. I salute that brave man. I have asked the Governor of Sind to give rupees 10,000 to the family of Mohammad Ibrahim. He stood for principles.

It is sad that people have been neglected for centuries and time has now

come when the chains of slavery will be broken; injustice in any form will be undone. Our Party has stood by the poor people, and it will continue to do so. You know for certain that we want to serve the people and want their betterment. There should not be any fight between Punjabis and Sindhis, Sindhis and Pathans and Sindhis and Muhajirs. The fight should be directed against exploitation. We will fight against capitalists. How have I reached this office? It is the people who have brought me to this position. We will build Pakistan into a strong country so that the world envies us. This sweet land will be rebuilt. There will be greenery all round. Injustice will be wiped out. Pakistan which the Quaid-i-Azam cherished will be made to blossom. There was a lot of opposition to our Party in the past but we are not narrow-minded. We will not take revenge. All the provinces will get their legitimate rights. Sind will get its due share and there should be no apprehension in this regard. Education is being made free upto Matric. We want to see that the meritorious students get due recognition. We would not distinguish between an influential person's son and a poor man's son.

Workers' betterment is our aim. *Haris* should know that we are taking revolutionary steps to bring about a happy change in their lives. Land Reforms will bring about prosperity to the *haris*. I have formulated a principle for the tillers of the soil. You should fully value the land which will be given to you, and try to make the maximum use of it. The Land Reforms of Ayub regime brought negligible benefits to the *haris*. In those reforms the land price was to be charged. Many *haris* could not buy land, and the *waderas* got back the land for themselves. The Land Reforms brought about by the people's Government envisage free distribution of land to the *haris*. The poor *haris* will be given land gratis, and no compensation will be paid to the land-owners. You should duly consider this, and take full advantage of this opportunity to maximise production. The land is a trust from God, and it is the trust of the people as well. You should put both hands to the soil. The whole nation is looking up to you. It is not only for your good alone, it will benefit the whole country. Put in hard work. Plough your fields four times and you will get enough return to buy good clothes for your children. You should pay respect to your mothers and bow before them. Thereby you can earn their gratitude and also earn blessings from God and help build your country. I am standing on the soil of Sind and I am the son of a landlord of Sind, rather the biggest landlord of Sind. Nevertheless, we must all sacrifice for the country.

Sind is inhabited by many people; there are Sindhis, Punjabis, Muhajirs,

Baluchis and others. You must look into your history. I cannot understand why young people of Sind are feeling perturbed. Sind's history is 5,000 years old. Sind is not a new province. There is no danger to Sindhi language. The culture of Sind and noble traditions of this province will not be harmed or allowed to be jeopardised by any means. I promise and solemnly pledge to the people of Punjab, Baluchistan, Frontier and others that full justice will be done to them and their rights and culture will be fully protected. There is no harm in letting all the languages grow on healthy lines. People of Sind know Sindhi and also Urdu. They are large-hearted people. I often speak in English. When I speak in English or Urdu, does it mean that Sindhi culture is in danger? Never! The more languages we know the better it is. Sindhis speak many languages. Theirs is a rich language, there is no danger to their language. It has lived through centuries. Urdu papers' burning will not solve any problem. Urdu papers should not be burnt. I will never speak lies to the people. This is my solemn pledge to the people living in all provinces of Pakistan. If you have any grievances, my young friends, you can come to us. Have I ever betrayed you? Never shall I betray you. Some people say that law and order situation has gone out of hand. We can take severe action. We can very well take care of this. I do not want to take baton into my hand against my people. They shout slogans of 'Jeeay Sind'. I am not against it. Does that mean that, along with shouting this slogan, we should try to burn newspapers or destroy valuable things? I would also ask our Muhajir brethren to accept Sind as their own province. They can continue to talk in Urdu but they should merge with locals and become one with them. They can rest assured that we are not against Muhajirs but they should also be reasonable and live like brothers. You must unite and I will do justice to Sindhis, Punjabis and others and treat them equally. After all, India has many provinces. The United States of America has fifty provinces. We have only four provinces. Why can we not live happily and unitedly? They talk of "Bangla Desh". What are the conditions there? Rice is being sold at 90 rupees per maund. "Bangla Desh" rice is going to India; jute is going to India; tea is going to India. Have patience and you will see what happens there. I say to them: if you get away from Pakistan and break off ties with us, I am sure you will not go in for a paradise or create conditions like paradise for yourselves. After all, why did you become an independent country? Was it not all a farce? Why did you accept the Quaid-i-Azam as your leader in 1947? All the resources of "Bangla Desh" are now going to Calcutta. All motors, air-conditioning machines, etc.,

have gone to Calcutta! Whatever defects are in us, we were prepared to accept them. You do not obtain any good by separation. It is always unfortunate. Farakka Barrage is in India, and will India give water to "Bangla Desh." What will you get?

I am with you, young men of Sind. You can come to us and talk about your problems and I will solve them. Sindhis and Muhajirs should sit together and forget about all differences. This whole issue has been raised by some self-seeking politicians who want to become big men. I have talked to Sindhi leaders and Muhajir leaders. We should all try to learn a lesson from the past and give up narrow-mindedness. You should have a large heart. The language issue, I have already said, will be decided by the elected representatives of the people in the National Assembly. I cannot decide it. If the National Assembly wants one language, it is all right for me. If it wants ten languages, I have absolutely no objection. Do not be parochial. Nothing can be achieved by fighting and being petty-minded. Everybody has become *Sheikhchilli*.

What happened in Hyderabad a few days ago is deplorable. Why should some people take out knives? How can Urdu get respect through knives? The world is laughing at us. If our Government is anti-people, then you can have grievances. But this is your own government, and we guarantee your protection. There is no need of fighting or unruly demonstrations. On 15th March there was a demonstration at my house in Karachi. It is not my responsibility alone to build the country. You must lend your support to me to rebuild this country and create peaceful conditions. My friends from Punjab, Sarhad and Baluchistan have come to attend this meeting and I ask them to join hands in building this country into a big Islamic state. The National Assembly is to meet on the 14th of the next month (April 1972). We have reached an accord with the NAP and JUI. I stand by it fully. I hope that the other two parties will also abide by it. It is for the good of everybody. If, God forbid, some party flouts the accord, then we should not be held responsible. We pledge to abide by the accord word by word. If they flout the gentlemen's agreement, then blame will lie with them. The political struggle will be won by the just and reasonable party, devoted to the good of the people. This is our firm conviction.