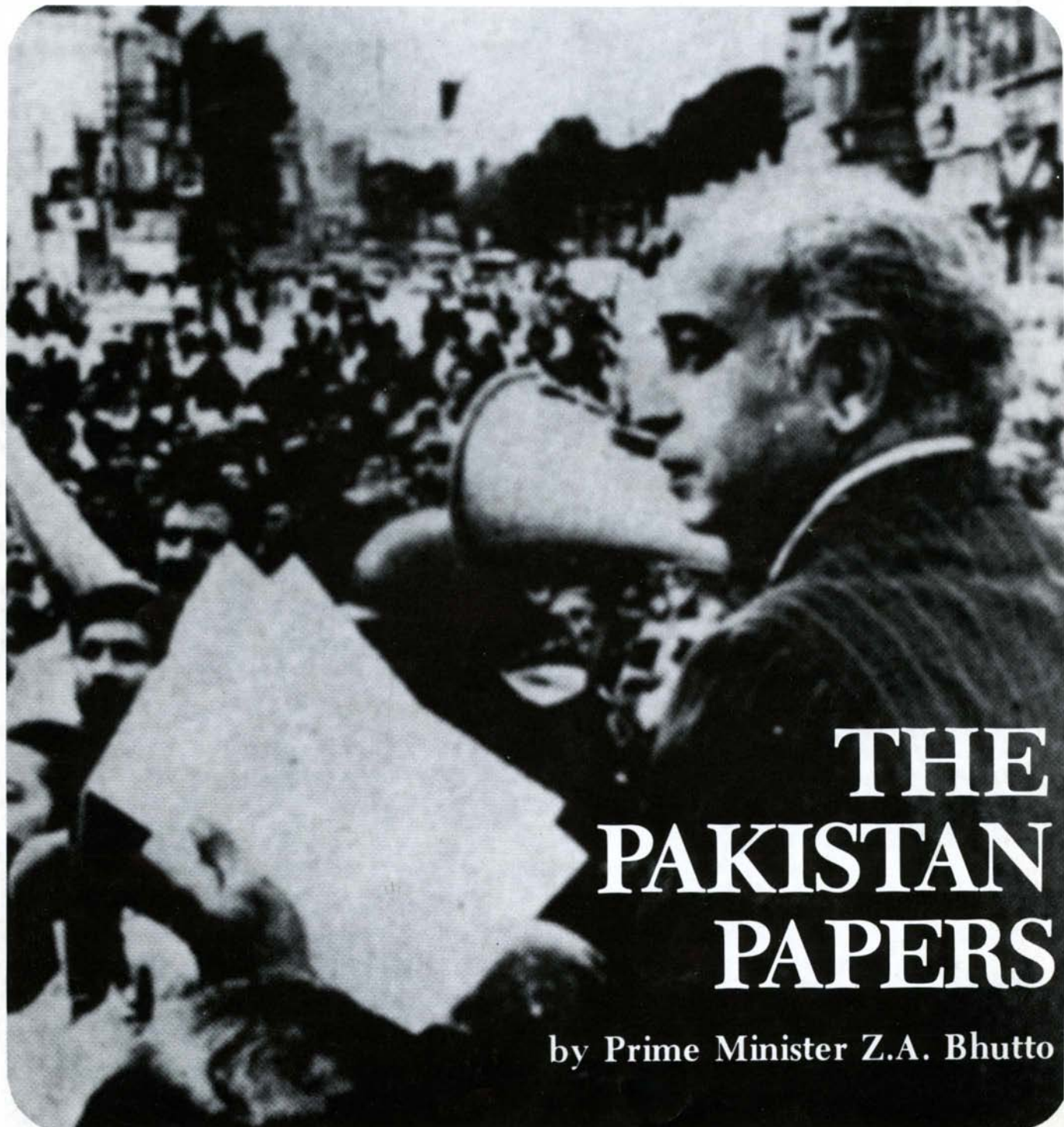


EXECUTIVE INTELLIGENCE REVIEW

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SMUGGLED
FROM PRISON



THE PAKISTAN PAPERS

by Prime Minister Z.A. Bhutto

New Solidarity International Press Service

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FOREWORD

by Daniel Sneider, Asia Editor, Executive Intelligence Review
The Executive Intelligence Review presents here for the general public a historic document, a document of living history that is required reading for every head of state, for every American political leader, for every student of politics, and finally for all people concerned with the progress of humanity. The document here, and an excellent introduction contributed by a noted Pakistani scholar (who must remain anonymous), tell the story of a man, Zulfikar Ali Bhutto, the Prime Minister of Pakistan, the story of a nation, the developing and strategically important South Asian country of Pakistan, and reveals the global events which have converged on both the man and the nation.

Mr. Bhutto, a leader of world renown, no longer sits in the Prime Minister's office but in a jail cell awaiting a court decision that could send him to his death. Overthrown by a military coup d'etat on July 4, 1977, Bhutto's enemies now are in power and are determined to eliminate him by any means available. Bhutto, in the document presented here and smuggled from his jail and out of the country, tells the real story of the events that brought him to this situation.

The EIR, in the face of a deliberate effort within and outside Pakistan to suppress this document, is privileged to bring the truth to the light of day. To our direct knowledge other media have been in possession of this document well before the EIR yet, with the exception of a few slanderous references to it alleging that Bhutto was trying to get 'the bomb' for Pakistan, none have revealed its startling contents. Instead a massive blackout has taken place, a blackout that includes any information about what is actually happening in Pakistan, about the immediate danger to Bhutto's life.

The suppression of the document is not surprising. Any honest reading of it reveals that Bhutto is the victim of a vast and powerful international conspiracy. That conspiracy stretches from Dr. Henry Kissinger in Washington, to the 'Zionist Lobby' of New York and London, to the financial interests of Anglo-American imperialism, and back into Pakistan itself. One may rightly ask: Why were such powerful interests after Bhutto?

The answer can be found in detail in the documents here but a

few words are in order first. Bhutto's overthrow is part of a clear pattern of destabilization of the entire region stretching from Iran in the west to Bangladesh in the east. The assassination of Bangladesh President Sheik Mujibar Rahman in the summer of 1975 marked the intensification of a concerted wave of political violence and destabilization that was aimed also at the government of Prime Minister Indira Gandhi in India, resulting in the declaration of a State of Emergency in July 1975. The electoral downfall of the Gandhi government in March 1977 coincided in turn with the turmoil following the elections in Pakistan which finally led to the military coup. In a space of less than two years the entire political leadership of the subcontinent was overturned (including Sri Lanka). The events in Iran of this year can be seen as directly tied to this pattern of events.

This systematic attack on the South Asian political leadership aims at blocking the emergence of a regional entente, an entente based upon economic development and cooperation which would end once and for all the decades and even centuries of manipulated religious, communal, and national tensions which have plagued the region since British Imperialism arrived on the scene. Bhutto, Gandhi, the Shah, and others all share, in slightly different degrees, a fundamental commitment to the development of their nations as independent sovereign states based upon the establishment of a productive industrial and agricultural economic system, within the context of the struggle to establish a New World Economic Order. They equally share the commitment to move to the use of advanced energy systems of nuclear energy to fuel the modernization of their countries. As Bhutto makes totally clear in his statement here, this was the final act that earned him the hatred of Henry Kissinger and the Anglo-American-Zionist elite.

A man of Zulfikar Ali Bhutto's humanity and passion for the progress of man is precious to the world today. He has stood the test of leadership—his courage remains undaunted even while awaiting his possible death. His enemies reveal themselves as cowards and mean little men who despise everything Bhutto stands for. Whatever the court and the military junta may decide, history has already reached a judgement in his favor.

Editor's Note

Since western newspapers, notably the *Washington Post* in the United States and the *Financial Times* of London, have chosen to use selected portions of the document published here as "proof" that Prime Minister Bhutto's sole intentions were to "produce the bomb," the Executive Intelligence Review is publishing *The Pakistan Papers* to let Mr. Bhutto make his own case as the only basis for justice. It was Mr. Bhutto's intention in the document to address the Supreme Court of Pakistan and a faction of the military which views its role as a guardian of the now endangered Pakistani nationhood. The fact that the military regime and its official spokesmen have labelled *The Pakistan Papers* "illegal" and have not permitted the submission of this document in the courts has hampered its presentation. The editors have not had the opportunity to get final approval for publication from the author.

The editors have attempted through adding footnotes and some subheadings to clarify sections which otherwise may only be accessible to a Pakistani audience. As much as possible we have sought to maintain the authenticity and intentions of the document, keeping stylistically to the original manuscript. The editors have used asterisks and italicized sections where Bhutto makes a special point in his overall case. The asterisks are editorial emphasis while the italicized sections are his own emphasis.

Due to the length of the original manuscript, an editorial decision has been taken to excerpt it. By and large the sections omitted are Bhutto's lengthy rebuttal to the current regime's widely circulated White Paper on his alleged crimes. The introduction written by a noted Pakistani scholar provides a summary of the main points in the White Paper as well as background in Pakistani post-independence history to locate the following document in proper perspective.

Pakistan Under Bhutto

An Anonymous Introduction

Amid the gathering storm around the world, a great tragedy is in the making far away across the oceans in an unfortunate country of South Asia—the Islamic Republic of Pakistan—literally “Land of the Pure.” A popularly elected leader, still beloved of the teeming millions of workers and peasants, the former Prime Minister of Pakistan, Zulfikar Ali Bhutto has been thrown into a dingy and suffocating death cell by the military junta led by General Mohammad Zia-ul Haq. Bhutto has been sentenced to death by the Lahore High Court, and currently his appeal is in the last stages of hearing before the Supreme Court of Pakistan. Bhutto was convicted of conspiring with Masood Mahmood, the head of the Federal Security Forces, and others, to murder Ahmad Raza Kasuri, a political opponent, in a police ambush in Lahore in November 1974. Kasuri escaped injury in the attack on the car, but his father, riding in the same car, was killed.

While the clock ticks, and Bhutto’s heart still beats in his cell, the Angel of Death hovers over him, as his executioner, perhaps imported from a fellow Muslim country, is getting ready to hang him on the gallows. To be sure, General Zia, in his latest speeches, has not minced words in reaffirming his resolution to hang Bhutto promptly the moment the Supreme Court announces its decision to uphold his death sentence. His so-called civilian ministers, a bunch of obscurantist mullahs and Islamic fundamentalists are strutting around the globe—at government’s expense—brazenly telling the world that nothing short of Bhutto’s death can bring back peace and stability in Pakistan. Alas! What a travesty of truth?

The truth of the matter is that they are out to settle accounts with Bhutto, whose primary transgression was to have infused the workers, peasants, and youth of Pakistan with a new sense of self-respect, dignity and courage. So Bhutto must suffer for his sins.

Was it not a sin to nationalize industries, banks, schools, and colleges, destroying the long established vested interests? Did he not commit a heinous crime of introducing drastic land reforms which crippled the power of the traditional feudal aristocracy? Was it not a high degree of sacrilege on his part to have ventured a long overdue reform of the colonial administration and bureaucracy? Was it not an outrageous act to have resurrected a new spirit and hope among the demoralized personnel of the armed forces by obtaining the release of 94,000 Pakistani prisoners of war from India? Was it not shameful conduct on his part to have regained large tracts of Pakistani territory from Indian occupation after the Indo-Pakistan war of 1971? Was it not an outrageous act on his part to attempt

to obtain nuclear power for Pakistan? Indeed his record of crimes is monumental and impressive, so must he suffer equally harsh punishment—a cooked-up murder case, and inhuman treatment in his death cell.

Mr. Bhutto’s case is unprecedented in modern history in more senses than one. It is not simply a case of an ordinary criminal, an accomplice in an allegedly premeditated murder of a Punjabi landowning father of a political adversary, Ahmad Raza Kasuri. The spokesmen of the junta vociferously maintain, and impress upon world opinion, that Bhutto’s case was not politically motivated. Instead they take pride in announcing to the world that in a society governed by Islamic Law and Traditions, even the chief executive of an Islamic State is not above law. Bhutto, on the other hand, demonstrates throughout the following document, that the whole case against him was nothing more than a frame-up to destroy him, physically, mentally and politically.

Under the circumstances, the crucial question arises: what is the truth? The issue is not only of historical import, but also of global concern, for it involves the life of a popularly elected leader whose political career has always been devoted to the herculean task of leading his people to democracy, social justice, and freedom. It became all the more significant because his lawful government was overthrown by a military junta which hand in glove with the Anglophile bureaucracy was hellbent to preserve its own power and prestige, and to protect the interests of its allies the backward reactionary social classes—the feudal aristocracy, the industrial bourgeoisie, opportunistic urban shopkeepers, merchants, and tribal chiefs. Even in a strictly ethical sense, the case deserves the fullest attention of world public opinion concerned with preserving the Charter of Human Rights, because it deeply involves fundamental questions of international law, morality and justice.

The question is: how far the Courts, whether High or Supreme, enjoy judicial autonomy—a *sine qua non* of justice in any civilized state—under a military regime which comes into power by overthrowing an elected Prime Minister of a constitutional democracy? Technically as well as substantially, therefore, the Courts under Martial Law do not derive their authority from the Constitution, but in fact from the Martial Law itself. The judges feel constrained by the ugly realities of circumstances to provide a cover of legitimacy to the Martial Law, either in the name of the Doctrine of Necessity or under the pretext of Revolutionary Legalism.

Therefore, it is high time that Bhutto’s case be judged by the collective consciousness of mankind. The myth of state sover-

eighty, and the doctrine of domestic jurisdiction should in no way bar the fullest consideration of his case before the *Higher Court of Mankind*. It is in pursuance of the precepts of higher reasoning, justice and equity that Bhutto's side of the case is presented in the following pages. A judicious selection of excerpts, comprising approximately two-thirds of the original, drawn from a document of 319 typescript pages, written by Mr. Bhutto himself in his death cell, is reproduced for concerned readers. This document was smuggled out from his prison cell for publication abroad. In accord with the imperative of Human Rights, it is everybody's birthright to seek justice, and if justice is denied to him in his own country, he must have the right to appeal to human conscience, to the International Court of Justice, and to the United Nations.

According to a report published in the U.S. newspaper *New Solidarity* of December 5, 1978 by its correspondent Daniel Sneider, the truth is that a conspiracy of silence has been maintained by the Press in the West about the truth in the Bhutto case:

"Few in the West know what is now happening in Pakistan. The reason is simple—the Zionist Lobby-London-controlled media have determined that the truth be suppressed at all costs. This writer has direct knowledge of suppression of the facts of the Bhutto case by the Washington Post, the London Financial Times, and columnist Jack Anderson."

The Setting: Modern Pakistan

However, before Mr. Bhutto's case is presented through gleanings from his document of self-defense, it seems only logical to provide some background information about the political events of the country with which he has been deeply associated since the late 1950s.

Pakistan, a country of 74 million, comprises an area of 310,000 square miles extending from the mountainous region in the North to the southern coast of the Arabian Sea; in the North and North West, it is surrounded by India, China, the U.S.S.R., and Afghanistan, and in the South East, the deserts of Rajasthan separate it from India; in the South West it has common frontiers with Iran across the province of Baluchistan. It is a predominantly Muslim state. A wide variety of peoples speaking Baluchi, Bruhi, Pushtu, Sindhi, Saraiki, Punjabi, and Kashmiri dialects inhabit this land of the Indus Valley civilization. In addition, there are numerous Urdu speaking Muslim migrants from Indian provinces. Urdu is the national language.

Pakistan came into being on August 14, 1947 as a result of the partition of the Indian sub-continent. The All-India Muslim League, the representative political organization of the Indian Muslims, under the able leadership of the late Mr. Mohammed Ali Jinnah, had demanded a separate homeland for the Indian Muslims on the basis that they constituted a separate nationality. The Pakistan movement was organized at two different levels: (i) the Muslim bourgeoisie and the urban middle classes had made common cause in promoting the idea of a separate Muslim state for the sake of preserving their socio-economic and political interests and privileges; and (ii) they were aided by a section of Muslim clerics, popularly

known as *Ulama*, in mobilizing the Muslim masses in favor of the demand for Pakistan as an ideologically Islamic state. So after Pakistan was achieved, the inherent social contradictions of its society, arising from regional-ethnic differentiations and class cleavages surfaced and were intensely reflected in the political dynamics of the country that were focussed on the task of constitution-making—involving the fundamental issues of federalism, democracy, and Islamic ideology. The failure of Pakistani leaders to resolve these same basic problems in past years had generated the thrust of the federal crisis ultimately leading to the tragic break-up of the country in 1971; under the same kind of strains and stresses, the country has been oscillating between tyranny and anarchy since its birth. Thus the processes of community, state, and nation building have remained as basic challenges to national leaders ever since independence.

On the eve of independence, the political system of Pakistan was superimposed upon a social foundation of a pyramidal structure. On the one side were the British institutional legacies—the governing classes composed of the bureaucracy and the military establishment, a traditionally Anglophile caste. On the other were the territorial and social formations: a feudal aristocracy, tribal chiefs, clergy, industrial and business elites and the emerging urban middle class. At the base of this mammoth pyramid were the masses—the workers and peasants for whom the freedom struggle in the sub-continent, be it on the Pakistani side or the Indian side, meant a new progressive world order.

Within such a political framework the ruling elites made their coalitions, deriving their power from their social classes inside the country and from foreign elites as well. The people at the base of the social pyramid were the ultimate sovereign, but in practice did not enjoy the substance of political power. The basic issue of Pakistan's politics focussed on the dialectics of social change and status quo. After independence, the ruling elites, still deeply linked with British imperialism and its multifaceted tentacles, pursued the policy of maintaining the status quo and consciously or in some cases unconsciously continued to act as agents of Anglo-American neo-colonialism. Since Pakistan's inception, therefore, the basic problem has been one of how to transform its stultified society, and its colonial model of administration, into a modern society and a nation state. During the past 31 years, Pakistani political elites have been seriously divided regarding the goals, the methods, the structure of change and the management of problems.

Pakistan Under Bhutto

Mass political parties did not emerge in Pakistan until the late 1960s when, in the wake of the popular upsurge against the military dictatorship of Field Marshal Mohammed Khan, the Pakistan Peoples Party (PPP) in West Pakistan, and the Awami League in East Pakistan, now Bangladesh, sprang up to represent the popular aspirations for democracy, federalism and socialism.

Bhutto became the leader of the forces of the PPP, a party whose cadre, organized in 1967, were a core of dedicated political workers drawn from a wide spectrum of social classes—workers, peasants and youth. Both the Awami League and the PPP strove to bring about major structural changes in the

country, in particular the return of the military to the barracks and the representation in office of political leaders regularly elected by the people.

The year 1978 has seen the intersecting of Pakistan's perennial problems, albeit this time in the most severe and far-reaching way. Previously during the decades of military rule, regionalism and class conflicts threw the issue of Islamic ideology into the background. Not so now. In December 1970, when general elections were held in Pakistan, to the utter chagrin of the military junta, the results reflected the "accomplishments" of the military. The Awami League swept the polls, and got an absolute majority; the PPP emerged as the single largest party in West Pakistan with majorities in Sind and the Punjab. Consequently post election political negotiations were conducted by General Yahya Khan with Shaikh Mujibur Rahman, President of the Awami League, and with Bhutto, Chairman of the PPP. In the initial stage, Yahya Khan and his coterie of pro-Mujib generals were anxious to strike a political deal with Mujibur Rahman, totally ignoring Bhutto. The intricate negotiations of those dark days in Bengal ended with a coup d'etat by hawkish generals that handed power over to Bhutto on December 20, 1970.

Bhutto, on assuming power first as Chief Martial Law Administrator, then as President, and finally as Prime Minister, strove to rebuild a hopeless nation. Pakistan had undergone a second partition in less than 25 years; the nation's morale was at its lowest. Many wondered if the nation would not further break up. Perhaps Bhutto's greatest achievement is that he saw the nation through this deep crisis. He courageously picked up the pieces and worked ceaselessly toward rebuilding a vigorous new Pakistan. He was able to restructure its broken polity on the foundations of a genuinely federal, parliamentary, Islamic and socialistic Constitution adopted unanimously by the National Assembly of Pakistan in 1973.

In less than two years, Bhutto put the country back on the path of Democracy. To the economy he gave a socialistic mold by introducing a program of nationalization of industries and banking. A great revolution was brought about in the sphere of agriculture by introducing successive measures of land reform. The new educational policy was revolutionary in its content insofar as it nationalized schools and colleges, and brought pay scales of schools, colleges and universities into harmony with government scales giving a new sense of dignity to the teachers. Revolutionary changes were brought about in the existing colonial structure of public administration by enforcing the Administrative Reforms Order; the bureaucracy's grades, and its scales of pay were revised in order to give it a new orientation. Far reaching Labor Reforms were introduced with a view to assuring security and justice to the factory workers.

Bhutto has, as well, to be duly credited for giving new directions to Pakistan's foreign policy in relation to the superpowers, neighboring states, the Third World, and the unification of the Muslim world. Thus, he was finally successful in putting together a coherent image of Pakistan as a credible, viable developing nation. No matter his errors in judgment, no matter his deep-seated and perhaps mislaid trust in the loyalty of the armed forces, Bhutto held up one goal: the nation of Pakistan would be a viable state.

It is for this reason that much of his suppressed documentary self-defense deals with his foreign policy, an area of thinking where virtually until the day of Bhutto's government Pakistan had asserted no measure of independence. On the domestic scene, Bhutto, by nationalizing industries and banks, broke the back of the "22 families" who had held a stranglehold over Pakistan's economy; he even built, with Soviet aid, the first steel plant in Karachi. Through reorganizing the Atomic Energy Commission, and careful planning, he ushered Pakistan into a new era of nuclear technology for development and economic growth. The Karachi Nuclear Plant is a living symbol of Pakistan's breakthrough in the field of science and technology.

Through all these measures, Bhutto was fairly successful in knitting together the social fabric of Pakistan into a reverberant nation-state. Never before in the history of Pakistan had any leader achieved so much in such a little time. That remains Bhutto's unique achievement whatever may come to be his fate in the end.

Of course, one cannot ignore the side effects of such a large-scale program of reconstruction, and the grave dangers one may have to encounter in dealing with the forces of reaction and counter-revolution. His multi-dimensional policies of reform had, no doubt, hit hard at the very social base of the classes with vested interests in the old system—the bureaucracy, the feudal aristocracy, the tribal chiefs, the Muslim clergy, the shopkeepers, and the merchants of the urban centers. Naturally, therefore, they could not take all this quietly. The patricians of today never relish becoming the plebeians of tomorrow. Therefore, all these revolutionary measures had already generated an undercurrent of furious resentment among the dislocated and dispossessed vested-interest classes. They have been biding their time, waiting to grab the first opportunity to strike back against their arch-enemy, Zulfikar Ali Bhutto.

March Elections and the Aftermath

Bhutto, however, undaunted by all kinds of threats from the vested interest groups, and confident of his countrywide mass support, never had any doubt in his mind that he could carry another election. Further, he himself stated that the mandate of a fresh election would strengthen his resolve to make Pakistan truly and completely independent. He had already begun the early retirements of Anglophile bureaucrats, he had pulled out of the British Commonwealth, and all indications were that he was ready to leave CENTO in exchange for a positive regional relationship with India and the Soviet Union.

The March 1977 election call produced an overnight electoral alliance of several mish-mash political entities, the centrist groups such as the Pakistan Muslim League and Tehrik Istiqlal (TI), the leftist National Democratic Party, and rightist conservative religio-political formations such as the Jamaat-e-Islami, Jamiat-ul-Ulama-e-Islam (JUI), and Jamiat-ul-Ulama-e-Pakistan, and a few minor groups. In this motley political alliance, representatives of dispossessed vested classes got together in order to push forward their counter-revolutionary forces. Here was their long-awaited moment. Retired Air Marshal Asghar Khan of TI and Mufti Mahmud of the JUI emerged as the major political figures for the newly formed

alliance which came to be known as the Pakistan National Alliance, a coalition whose platform focussed on restoring the Prophetic Order (*Nizam-i-Mustafa*) in Pakistan. Once again these forces of reaction and counter-revolution exploited religion for restoring the pre-Bhutto social status quo by undermining the quickened pace of social change fostered by the Bhutto era. Bhutto, not at all unnerved by the threatening posture of the PNA, made his platform the necessity for nuclear power in Pakistan—the image of a modern Pakistan applying Islam to an industrializing society.

The March 7, 1977 elections resulted in an overwhelming victory for the PPP. Slowly the PNA began to question the legality of the polls, citing misdeeds in specific instances and electoral rigging in other cases. At no point however was it able to demonstrate that Bhutto's PPP lost the elections. The PNA leaders were successful in mounting a large-scale urban agitation, using the mosque and the Muslim clerics, stirring up a demand for the *Nizam-i-Mustafa*. Obviously, the strategic goal of the movement was to force the overthrow of the legal government of Mr. Bhutto, to install a reactionary government, but tactically they raised the slogans of *Nizam-i-Mustafa* as a veneer for preserving the social and economic values of their own classes. *Nizam-i-Mustafa* was never clearly defined, intentionally, in order to conceal the underlying doctrinal differences of the 'Ulama of various schools. The Pakistani economy suffered grave monetary fluctuations and black money pressures, and finally, ambassadors of friendly Arab states, primarily Saudi Arabia, began mediation to bring peace.

On July 4, 1977 when Bhutto and the PNA were on the verge of settling their electoral disagreements at the bargaining table, the military struck. Chief of Staff General Mohammed Zia-ul Haq suspended the Constitution, took Bhutto under "protective custody," and declared the beginning of a grossly misnamed "Operation Fairplay." In 90 days, the General announced, elections would be held, and the winner would take all with the army returning to the barracks. Today, 16 months later, Bhutto is still under arrest in appalling prison conditions, the military is still in office, and the PNA is a shambles, backbiting having taken its toll on its fragile unity.

What is the junta's case against the constitutionally elected Prime Minister of Pakistan? What was "Operation Fairplay?" These are two questions in the minds of all those who fear for Pakistan's future and national sovereignty.

General Zia-ul Haq and Bhutto

After installing himself as the Chief Martial Law Administrator (CMLA), and subsequently, as the President of Pakistan as well, it appeared that General Zia and his colleagues had carefully designed their political strategy to re-establish the traditional civil-military oligarchy as a regular feature of Pakistan's political life. To achieve this goal, the junta has been relentlessly pursuing a twofold tactical move, namely, to ensure (i) his physical elimination; and (ii) the total political destruction of Bhutto's charismatic image and party apparatus. Following closely a premeditated scheme, General Zia and his colleagues have simultaneously put into operation a four-pronged attack on Bhutto and his party — (1) implication of Bhutto in a murder case; (2) publication of a two-volume White Paper alleging charges of election rigging and abuse of

the news media; (3) institution of a Special Tribunal, headed by Justice Shafi-ur-Rahman of the Lahore High Court to look into all specific cases of corruption, abuse of power, and misuse of government funds charged against the former Prime Minister; and (4) large-scale trials of PPP leaders by Military Courts.

For ensuring the successful execution of the above-mentioned plot against Bhutto and his party, the junta had shown few moral qualms in maneuvering and manipulating Bhutto's foes and friends against him. As an illustration, one may cite the example of Maulvi Mushtaq Husain who was specially chosen to play the role of villain in a state-managed murder case against him. Ironically, this gentleman has been assigned a double role. On the one hand, he was appointed Chief Justice of the Lahore High Court to preside over the Murder Trial in *The State versus Zulfikar Ali Bhutto* and decree a death sentence for Bhutto; and on the other, he was also made the Chief Election Commissioner, in which capacity he helped to produce the two-volume *White Paper* on election rigging and misuse of the news media. Messrs. A.K. Brohi, Law and Parliamentary Minister, and Sharifuddin Peerzada, Attorney General, both old professional rivals of Bhutto, were more than enthusiastic in playing the side roles in this tragic drama of villainy and intrigue.

One of the accused, and a key witness in the murder case, Masood Mahmood of the Federal Security Force, was cajoled into offering himself as the government approver [state's evidence]. Ahmad Raza Kasuri, a PPP renegade and Bhutto's political opponent, was provided funds and facilities to visit Great Britain and North America to mobilize support among Pakistanis abroad, mold world public opinion, and create good will in the diplomatic community and among state officials for General Zia's regime, particularly in defense of the Murder Trial in which he was himself directly involved as a key figure. In the political sphere, the military junta has made common cause with Bhutto's adversary, the Pakistan National Alliance (PNA), who have offered to cooperate with General Zia in organizing a civilian government at the center and in the provinces, and are more than willing to collaborate with the junta in hanging Bhutto.

In order to fully appreciate the substance of Bhutto's document of self-defense, it is essential to be familiar with two other important documents — (a) the Lahore High Court Judgment in the Murder Trial—*The State vs. Zulfikar Ali Bhutto et al*; and (b) the *White Paper* on the Conduct of the General Elections in March 1977.

Lahore High Court Judgment in the Murder Trial

Deposed Prime Minister Bhutto and four others were accused of hatching a conspiracy to murder Mr. Ahmad Raza Kasuri, a frequent critic of Bhutto's policies inside and outside of the National Assembly. In the Judgment, Bhutto is referred to as "the principal accused." According to the statement of Ahmad Raza Kasuri, "a murderous attack by firing was made on the complainant on the 17th of January 1972 at Kasur," and it was followed by another attempt at murder during an attack on the 24th August 1974 in Islamabad, using automatic weapons. Finally, a third attack was made between the 10th and 11th of November, 1974 at about 12:30 a.m., while Raza

and his father and other family members were returning from a marriage ceremony. The culprits aimed at him but missed the shot, and instead hit his father who died in the hospital. The Lahore High Court (LHC) in its 134-page unanimous judgment convicted the principal accused along with others, and concluded, "All the offenses of which the accused are charged are thus proved to the hilt," and sentenced them to death.

Bhutto's appeal against the LHC Judgment is being heard by the full bench of the Supreme Court of Pakistan, and the process of hearing of the case has reached its final state; by the first week of next month, the Supreme Court's decision is expected to be announced. At this stage one may anticipate the possible decisions of the Supreme Court, namely, (1) the death sentence is upheld and Bhutto is hanged; (2) Bhutto is acquitted on the basis of lack of sufficient material evidence; (3) the case is referred back to the LHC for re-trial; and (4) the death sentence may be commuted to life imprisonment.

Whatever may be the ultimate decision, one thing is sure: the "integrity and honor" of the highest judicial body of Pakistan has been put on trial in this case. It is also abundantly clear that public opinion inside Pakistan and abroad clearly perceives the political overtones of the Murder Trial. It may suffice here to refer to an article in *The Nation* contributed by Ramsay Clark, the former Attorney General of the U.S.A. In commenting upon the Judgment, Clark observes:

"The decision of the High Court is full of errors of fact and law. Its characterization of evidence shows its bias. There was no objective effort to determine fact...The Supreme Court of Pakistan is not in an easy position. The Chief Justice was selected by General Zia. Everyone is looking for political motivation. Each justice has the rule of law in Pakistan, his professional reputation, his personal future, perhaps his own freedom and life before him in this case...We should stand for life and implore with all our moral suasion a commutation of the death sentence. We should stand for justice and urge freedom, or—if the facts warrant prosecution, which I have not seen—a *new and fair* trial for Ali Bhutto."

The circles close to the Supreme Court judges believe that ultimately the Supreme Court will give a fair judgment. It is also believed that General Zia and his PNA colleagues will work on other available options to deal with Bhutto in case the Supreme Court acquits him.

The White Paper

The White Paper is a voluminous document comprising two sections; (1) the substantive part consisting of 405 pages dealing with different aspects of election rigging under ten chapters, and a brief Epilogue; and (2) annexures covering almost 1044 pages of documentary evidence in support of the charges of election rigging. The basic thrust of the White Paper is to establish the charge that Bhutto had carefully planned and organized election rigging on a countrywide scale. In the chapter on *The Blue Print*, it is asserted that a comprehensive "Model Election Plan," also known as the *Larkana Plan*, was prepared by Bhutto, and its details were worked out by his aides in the Prime Minister's Secretariat. The objective of the Plan was to ensure the electoral victory of the PPP. The authors of the *WP* conclude, on the basis of the Larkana Plan and other schemes, "that the entire edifice of general elections

was raised in broad conformity with the master blueprint of the author, Mr. Z.A. Bhutto, improved upon by his team of officials and political advisors." The following chapter deals with the *Election Commission*, its functions, terms and conditions and its status. The *WP* tries to prove that Bhutto proposed to exert greater control over it to pave the way for large scale rigging in the March, 1977 elections.

In the chapter on *The Delimitation of Constituencies*, the *WP* attempts to illustrate by specific examples how Bhutto aimed at manipulating the delimitation of election constituencies to the benefit of People's Party candidates. In another chapter the *WP* alleges that Bhutto also manipulated the civil bureaucracy to the advantage of his party for the purpose of winning the elections. The chapter entitled *The Mobility Factor* lays out the careful planning to provide transportation to the polls—utilizing all resources of government agencies—in order to ensure victory of the party. The *Image-Making* section of the *WP* charges that propaganda and publicity was used according to a thoroughly prepared scheme. In another section, *The Strategy*, the authors conclude, "elections were never intended to be fair. The plan to rig the election was conceived much before the announcement of election dates and so meticulously worked out that nothing was left to chance." In the section *Election Funds*, the *WP* alleges that Bhutto received large sums of money from a foreign head of state, and diverted the state's secret service funds for party purposes. In this regard, the central allegation is that Bhutto received huge sums through Agha Hasan Abedi, a financial magnate having close links with Saudi Arabia and the Gulf states.

Bhutto Speaks Out

Written from the jail cell in pieces, Bhutto's 319 pages are a thorough self defense against every charge made in the *White Paper* against him. The basic thesis of the Rejoinder to the *WP* may be stated as follows:

1. Soon after the coup d'état on July 5, 1977, the Chief Martial Law Administrator appointed an enquiry committee headed by a brigadier, and the *WP* itself was ready for publication on March 3, 1978, but was actually released on August 8, 1978. Therefore, that the timing of its publication strongly suggests that its real purpose was to prejudice the judges of the Supreme Court against the appellant.

2. The real authors of the *WP* are Maulvi Mushtaq Husain, the Chief Election Commissioner, Pirzada Sharifuddin, Attorney General, and A.K. Brohi, Minister of Law and Parliamentary Affairs. Bhutto in his document observes that all of them have their own axes to grind against him.

3. It is not a mere coincidence, but a matter of careful design that the same ubiquitous Mr. Husain who is the new Chief Election Commissioner, simultaneously sits in judgement as the Chief Justice of the Lahore High Court in the Murder Trial against Bhutto.

4. The authors of the *WP* have deliberately chosen Yahya Bakhtiar's constituency as a perfect example of election rigging. Is it a mere coincidence that Yahya Bakhtiar also happens to be Bhutto's defense counsel in his appeal against the Lahore High Court before the Supreme Court?

5. Bhutto also raises a very valid question: why did the *WP* on elections not treat the election rigging carried out by the Pakistan National Alliance during the March 1977 elections.

According to his assertion, “no one instance is given of the brutal rigging done by PNA in Karachi, Hyderabad, Mirpurkhas, Sukkur, Rahimyar Khan, Multan, Sahiwal, Lahore, Sargodha, Faisalabad... Not one PNA document is cited, not even the one that called the Armed Forces to revolt.”

6. Bhutto also refers to a very serious lacunae in the *WP* by raising another question of vital importance: why did the authors of the *WP* not record any statement by Mr. Sajjad Jan, the former Chief Election Commissioner who was for all intents and purposes would have been the best informed witness on the conduct of the elections? The validity of such a voluminous document becomes questionable, and doubtful without any direct evidence from Mr. Sajjad Jan.

7. Bhutto further points out that the Chief Secretaries of the provinces (states) of the Punjab, Baluchistan, and North-west Frontier Province have cleared him of election rigging in their statements. But strangely enough, the statement of the Chief Secretary of Sind province has not been mentioned in the document. Bhutto asserts, “His statement has been omitted because he would have accused the PNA of massive, violent and organized rigging in the province of Sind. Needless to say the massive rigging of the PNA finds no mention in the jaundiced Document.” (page 121)

8. In defending himself against the general charge levelled by the White Paper for having used civil bureaucrats for party purposes, Bhutto concludes, “I associated the Civil Servants on my Personal Staff not to get the Civil Service merged into the Party but to get impartial and disinterested advice on the complaints of the Public.” (page 74)

9. The White Paper further accuses Bhutto of having used the Intelligence Agencies of the State as a “political arm” of the Government of Pakistan. In self defense, Bhutto builds up his case in a most effective manner. He refers to Lt. Gen. Jilani, the Director of Inter-Services Intelligence who held that post even before December 20, 1971 when Bhutto assumed the Presidency and became the Chief Martial Law Administrator. Lt. Gen. Jilani continued to hold this sensitive office even after the July 5, 1977 coup d’etat, and was afterwards made Secretary of Defense. Bhutto raises the key question: why was he not also dismissed by the CMLA when all other key figures of the Intelligence community were disgraced, dismissed, and in several cases even arrested. But Gen. Jilani was not touched. In this connection, Bhutto reveals that he had confided in Lt. Gen. Jilani his intention to bring about, after his re-election, a thorough and complete re-organization of the Federal Structure both political and administrative; and the restructuring of the Intelligence Agencies into a single integrated Department with Internal and External divisions. He further points out that it was on the advice of the same Lt. Gen. Jilani that he had appointed Major General Zia-ul Haq to the key post of Chief of Staff of the Army, bypassing about six Generals. In the light of these revelations, Bhutto builds up a *conspiracy theory*, and draws an analogy between himself and President Nixon. As President Nixon was watergated for his plans for extensive reorganization, so was also Bhutto made a target of the so-called “Operation Fairplay” on July 5, 1977. Bhutto succinctly concludes that the White Paper has only one purpose: “to spread prejudice and resentment against me while my Appeal against the death sentence is being heard in the Supreme Court of Pakistan...”

Foreign Policy Issues

As a chief architect of the foreign policy of Pakistan, Bhutto was fully conscious of its historical perspectives, ideological underpinnings, and geostrategic context, and of the post-Bangladesh realities of power relationships in the local, regional and world settings. His major objective was to restructure the foreign policy of Pakistan to ensure a viable, stable, self-reliant, and truly non-aligned Pakistan. In order to achieve this objective, he had to take initiatives simultaneously at the domestic, local, regional and global levels.

The Nuclear Reprocessing Plant. In his document, Bhutto writes that the agreement with France in 1976 to purchase a nuclear reprocessing plant, after over eleven years of negotiations, “will perhaps be my greatest achievement and contribution to the survival of our people and our nation.” The above quotation prefaces a detailing of the process of negotiations with France for the plant. The Nuclear Reprocessing Plant Agreement was signed between France and Pakistan in March 1976, providing for full safeguards against any possibility of manufacturing atomic weapons. The International Atomic Energy Commission in Vienna had confirmed it, and even the U.S. representative on the Commission had voted in favor of confirmation. But in August 1976, the U.S.A. started pressuring Pakistan to revise the terms of the deal, and also began bringing pressure on France.

The deal with France for the nuclear plant figures prominently in Bhutto’s treatment of the subject of the conspiracy against himself. In this connection, Bhutto talks about “hidden hands” behind the Opposition. Henry Kissinger had already given his warning much earlier in Lahore “that he would make a horrible example of Pakistan” if she did not desist and give up the Reprocessing Plant deal. So the time had come to deal with the intransigent Prime Minister of Pakistan, a man whose country was treated primarily as a client state by the U.S.A. According to Bhutto, Mr. Rafi Raza, reporting on the formation of a grand opposition alliance, advised him to forget the Reprocessing Plant. In replying to a query from Rafi Raza regarding Bhutto’s insistence on keeping the Reprocessing Plant deal, Bhutto observes that “I was doing it to build an egalitarian society, to make my country strong and modern, to bring happiness to people who had no idea what the word meant.”

In unfolding the conspiracy against himself, Bhutto strongly suggests that the unity of the PNA was not a “desi” (indigenous) conspiracy; rather it was an *international conspiracy*... “a huge colossal conspiracy against the Islamic state of Pakistan.” In conclusion, Bhutto warns the military that if anything disrupts Pakistan’s nuclear program for peaceful purposes, “the primary responsibility...will fall on the PNA and the Junta...Only we, in Pakistan, have regimes which follow the policies of foreign governments. The more they talk of self-reliance, the more reliant they become; the more they talk of non-interference, the more they allow interference; the more they talk of independence, the more dependent they become.”

Third World Solidarity. Third World solidarity was adopted by Bhutto as the main plank of Pakistan’s foreign policy during his tenure of office. The policy expressed itself in a variety of ways. At the United Nations, Pakistan always championed the cause of the Third World in all the UN’s dif-

ferent organs and subsidiaries. He added a new dimension by emphasizing the New World Economic Order, of which he became a great champion. This was of crucial importance for Pakistan, the more so due to the country's persistent demand for the transfer of technology in order to level off the ever-widening gap of technology and growth between the developed nations of the west and the developing Third World. Bhutto was planning to organize an ambitious international conference. He came to be highly respected among the Third World nations. As he was gaining in stature in world forums, he became more suspect in the West.

Muslim Unity. The most significant contribution of Bhutto during this period was his careful cultivation of the idea of the unity of the Muslim world. He was deeply associated with the formation of the Islamic Secretariat, playing host to the Foreign Ministers Conference, and later in 1974 hosting the Muslim Heads of State Conference at Lahore on which occasion, due to the mediation of Muslim leaders, it was possible to bring about a reconciliation between Pakistan and Bangladesh through the most dramatic appearance of Shaikh Mujibur Rahman in Lahore. It was within such a framework that Bhutto moved closer to the oil-rich Arab states, and gradually was successful in building up an impregnable edifice of brotherly ties with the Gulf, and with other Arab states in the Middle East. His moves in the Middle East became highly suspect by the Zionist-British networks that have run the region for a long time, and they made him a target of their nefarious propaganda against his emerging image as a leader of the Third World, and of the Muslim World. In organizing a multi-pronged conspiracy against Bhutto, outside and inside Pakistan, these forces of reaction and exploitation have been awaiting an appropriate moment to strike. Thus, Bhutto became a victim of the Zionist-British network, and of a Brzezinski-Kissinger plot in which Pakistan was made the target of an insidious destabilization.

Bilateralism. This was Bhutto's own contribution for a rational Pakistani foreign policy visavis the superpowers—the U.S.A., the U.S.S.R., and China. Bhutto had clearly realized that during the Indo-Pakistan War of 1971, Pakistan was dismembered due to Soviet-Indian intervention leading to the creation of Bangladesh. This was the price that Pakistan was made to pay for its traditional policy of alignment with the U.S.A. and China. Thus corrective measures were required—and taken—in order to achieve improving Soviet-Pakistan relations, including two visits by Bhutto to Moscow. Professor Gankovsky, a Soviet expert on Pakistani affairs, noticing the new trends of improved relations, observed:

“Soviet-Pakistani relations are those of partners, based on the principles of people's solidarity, equality, respect for mutual interests, and relations developing within the framework of a natural international division of labor.”

While it is true that a small nation like Pakistan has only limited foreign policy options vis-a-vis the super-powers, Bhutto was able to conceive of improving relations with the super-powers on a bilateral basis without offending any one of them. Soviet-Pakistan relations could also improve during Bhutto's tenure because Bhutto carefully cooled off towards CENTO, an anti-Soviet military alliance.

At the regional level, Bhutto took initiatives to improve rela-

tions with neighboring Afghanistan, and an exchange of visits between the heads of state of the two countries facilitated the process of normalization of relations and helped a good deal in defusing Afghanistan's traditional policy of stirring up Pachtunistan and Azad Baluchistan. Similarly the guerrillas did not receive any encouragement during the period of military operations in Baluchistan, which operations were successful in dealing with the situation.

But now once again, with a pro-Soviet coup d'état and the establishment of the Tarakki government in Afghanistan, and a simultaneous destabilization of Iran, Pakistan is posed with an immediate threat to its own security in particular, and to the region in general. Pakistan's foreign policy, if there is one, has only messed up relations with Afghanistan. A rightist government in Islamabad under General Zia, with suspect connections in the Arab world, greatly weakens the capacity of Pakistan to manage well its relations with the communist countries in the region. The Tehran-Kabul-Islamabad triangle as it existed during Bhutto's time is no more, due to changing regimes in Tehran and Kabul, and consequently Pakistan stands out almost completely exposed and vulnerable.

Indo-Pakistan relations. Bhutto took initiatives, and Prime Minister Indira Gandhi of India responded favorably, for a meeting of the two leaders at the highest level. Thus the way was paved for the Simla conference and the consequent Simla Agreement, which restored to Pakistan its territory then under Indian occupation, and set up the return home of Pakistani prisoners of war. Both Bhutto and Indira shared a commitment to democracy, socialism, anti-colonialism, and the humanist traditions of rationalism, science, and technology. Both were engaged in the herculean task of modernization and industrialization of their societies. Therefore, both were targeted for special treatment. On several occasions, Indira Gandhi herself has observed that there was a design, not any mere coincidence, in the destabilization, one after another, of the regimes in Bangladesh, India, Sri Lanka, and Pakistan in South Asia.

At the conclusion of his document, Bhutto draws the ultimate disastrous consequence for Pakistan of the criminal incompetence of the Zia junta's foreign policy. Writes Bhutto, “If trouble and instability mar the future of Pakistan, it would be very dangerous to assume that none of the five neighboring states would get sucked into the situation...None of them can ignore it [such a situation] without peril to itself. *Our beloved country can become a battlefield more devastating than Vietnam.*” [emphasis added].

Conclusion

At the very end of his work, Bhutto makes an appeal to all forces in Pakistan, not excluding the junta itself, to rise above personal considerations in order to find a political solution to the present impasse, in these words:

“Time is crying out for political dexterity, for vision and for a genuine consensus. The immediate imperative is for a comprehensive political settlement based on an equitable formula. This is the moment for quiet and sincere negotiations between brothers, without malice or prejudice. The curse and stigma of Martial Law needs to be withdrawn without delay.”

THE PAKISTAN PAPERS



White Papers or White Lies

In The Supreme Court Of Pakistan Criminal Appellate Jurisdiction Criminal Appeal No. 11 Of 1978

ZULFIKAR ALI BHUTTO
SON OF SIR SHAH NAWAZ BHUTTO
DISTRICT JAIL, RAWALPINDI APPELLANT

VERSUS

THE STATE RESPONDENT

Statement Of The Appellant

The appellant, Zulfikar Ali Bhutto, respectfully submits:

That the paramount question begging an answer is why the document entitled "White Paper on the Conduct of the General Elections in March 1977" has been released at this point of time—why now?

Who's Who

The Junta has been in power for one year and twenty days (25 July 1978—date of release of the White Paper). After being in power for 385 nights of terror, it has come out with this doomsday document of 1044 pages, the remaining pages being consumed by annexures, which in turn are said to be State Government documents. The body is mainly a disfigured summary of the annexures with prejudicial comments and untenable deductions.

According to the White Paper, *soon after* the change over of 5 July 1977, the Chief Martial Law Administrator appointed a Committee of Inquiry to probe into the conduct of the March elections, with the following members:

(i) Brigadier Mir Abdul Naeem. Incidentally Rao Rashid, former Director of Intelligence Bureau, states in his Affidavit submitted before the Supreme Court of Pakistan, that he was

asked by Brigadier Naeem: "Do you think the Army can afford to see Mr. Bhutto back in power?" Mr. Rashid kept a discrete silence, and so Brigadier Naeem answered his own question by saying, "Obviously, it can't." His parting advice to Rao Rashid was "Please cooperate with the Army." Obviously Brigadier Naeem knows on which side his bread is buttered.

- (ii) Mr. Abdul Aziz Khan, Secretary, Police Foundation.
- (iii) Mr. M. Humayun Khan, OSD Election Commission.
- (iv) Lt. Colonel Mohammad Aslam Raja.

Inter alia, the Committee was charged with *fixing responsibility* for the malpractices during the elections. The White Paper pays a compliment to the Committee for doing "a fine job of work in a *short* time."

The White Paper names the members of the Committee but does not say who headed it. The invisible hand of the Chair-

man of this Committee is not all that invisible to the individual who has seen the blood stains on it.

The White Paper states that:

“Essentially this White Paper relies on documents signed and circulated by Mr. Z.A. Bhutto, Mr. Rafi Raza, overall election in charge for the People’s Party, Sardar Mohammad Hayat Tamman, Political Advisor to the former Prime Minister, officials of the Prime Minister’s Secretariat, Intelligence executives and the Provincial Chief Ministers, Chief Secretaries etc.”

According to the White Paper:

“This is basically their story. The documents, all photo-stats, speak for themselves. Few comments are needed.”

Actually, even before the usurpation of 5 July 1977, immediately after the elections of March 1977, the Chief of Army Staff organized teams of military officers in each of the Provinces to conduct “discreet” inquiries into the conduct of the March 1977 elections. This was reported to me in categorical terms by at least one Chief Minister. I received similar reports from other sources. For instance, the Additional Secretary of the Federal Secretariat informed me that the journalist, Mr. I.H. Burney, one time Editor of the English weekly “Outlook,” has been engaged in the GHQ to conduct a probe into the elections. A number of Members of the National Assembly complained to me that military officers were asking them all sorts of questions on the elections, as if they were conducting some kind of an inquiry. Some of the candidates and the Chief Minister of a Province informed me that such inquiries were being carried out in a hush hush manner in many places. In view of this information coming to me from diverse sources, I raised the question twice in high powered meetings of some of my Federal Ministers in which the Chief of Army Staff and the Corps Commanders participated. While the Corp Commanders remained silent, with visible discomfort, the Chief of Army Staff muttered some vague and inaudible words denying the information which had been given to me. I have discussed this in my affidavit filed in the Supreme Court in the Constitution Petition of Begum Nusrat Bhutto [wife of Z.A. Bhutto] challenging the imposition of Martial Law.

Why So Long

The point is that:

(a) if Army probes and preliminary inquiries into the elections began *soon after* March 1977,

(b) if the Committee of Inquiry was appointed “*soon after*” the change-over of 5 July 1977,

(c) if “the Committee did a fine job of work in a short time” and,

(d) if “Essentially, this White Paper relies on documents” obtained from Government records, so much so that the White Paper claims that the documents speak for themselves, that “This is basically their story” and that, “few comments are needed, then why has the White Paper taken 385 long days to hit the public eye on 25 July 1978 in the blaze of full publicity with an Arabic translation? The substance of the White Paper was heralded on the night of 24 July 1978 on the Radio and Television for the tale to reach every home and every village of Pakistan with alacrity.

The Solemn Oath

The timing is intriguing. I ask again, why *now*, when all the material was available months and months earlier, especially when the coup d’etat of 5 July 1977 was not explained nor sought to be justified on the charge of rigging the election of March 1977.

On the contrary, entirely different reasons were furnished:

(a) The Prime Minister was praised. General Zia-ul-Haq himself said in his first Press conference on 14 July 1977 that I was a “very tenacious fighter and a great politician,” a man with “a great sense of history.” He called me a patriot and a brave man, for whom he had high regard.

(b) The Chief Martial Law Administrator emphatically stated that the Prime Minister did not rig the elections of March 1977. He said that:

“he discounted the allegation that elections in all the constituencies had been rigged. He said that the Army had also the evidence that Mr. Bhutto was not responsible for the rigging. Moreover, it was wrong to say that the PPP victory was due to rigging. Party would have won even if there was no rigging.” (*Pakistan Times*, 1977)

If there was any rigging, he said, it was purely on an individual basis.

(c) The object of “Operation Fairplay” was to separate the two sides and to hold general elections within 90 days without apportioning blame or going into misdeeds. That was the responsibility of the electorate—the voter—and not of the Armed Forces. After his interview with Newsweek, BBC and UPI, it was reported that General Zia said that I, as Prime Minister, “did sincerely attempt to reach an agreement with the opposition. In fact what Mr. Bhutto agreed to was probably the maximum that any politician could agree to.”

“My sole aim” he had said previously, “is to organize free and fair elections which will be held in October this year... I give a solemn assurance that I will not deviate from this schedule... The officers in the civil administration who have any apprehensions about their future, are hereby assured that no victimization will take place.”

(d) It has been seen that the deadlock in the PPP-PNA negotiations was given as the reason for the coup. In actual fact there was no deadlock. Agreement had been reached. (This is inferentially admitted by the Chief Justice of Pakistan while rejecting my application relating to his bias.) The minor points raised by PNA were to be resolved the next day: the day of the coup—5 July 1977. But, subsequently, when the tirade was unleashed, it was alleged that the PPP Government adopted dilatory tactics. The truth is that in less than two months, my Government settled very complex and intricate problems covering the whole range of fresh elections, machinery for fresh elections, release of detainees, and other important administrative and policy questions including constitutional issues. This was done despite the impediments placed by the Chief of Army Staff on Baluchistan and the NAP trial. In marked contrast, a year has gone by before the PNA agreed to participate in his set up.

(e) As time passed other reasons were found for the illegal usurpation which, *inter alia*, were

- (i) threat of civil war
- (ii) enforcement of Islamic laws
- (iii) restoration of the economy
- (iv) positive results, etc.

So Why Now?

I therefore repeat, why has this document been released now, why on 24/25 July 1978? The same material could have been published as early as January 1978. It might have been more relevant and topical at that time—Why now, especially when, as shown above, the coup was neither justified nor explained on account of rigging the elections of March 1977; - *particularly*:

- (a) when Elections of March 1977 have been outstripped by other major developments;
- (b) when the Junta's own elections of 18 October 1977 stand cancelled;
- (c) when the Junta adamantly refused to announce a firm date for the General Elections, despite the universal demand;
- (d) when the Junta is moving away from basic democracy, towards allied anti-people policies;
- (e) when the Junta considers elections as a mere means to attaining "positive" ends.

Why all this rumpus over the so-called rigged elections of March 1977 at this juncture when the Physician is not healing his own wounds? His dereliction is more serious than mine, his sin is graver than mine, if indeed, I committed any. How does the General exonerate himself by not holding elections at all? Does he demonstrate that he is a better man by imposing Martial Law, by suspending the constitution, by cancelling the elections of 18 October 1977, by refusing to give a firm date for elections, by breaking his solemn public commitments, and by imposing a total, albeit highly discriminatory, prohibition on political activities including trade union movements? He has made the charge but not provided the solution. His solution is more detrimental, more abominable and more reprehensible than his charge. "People in glass houses should not throw stones." The whole exercise is a *non sequitur*.

The Link

In view of what I have said above, tenaciously I ask once again: what is the significance and the relevance of the timing of this White Paper with such fanfare and Goebbelian publicity?

The answer is in fact very simple and straight forward.

The object is to prejudice the mind of the people of Pakistan against Zulfikar Ali Bhutto, to seek to generate hatred and resentment against him, to demolish his image. It is an additional link in the long chain of the assiduous endeavors which began covertly and overtly from 5 July 1977. Although, from this standpoint, it is only one more link in the chain, yet the expectation of the Junta is that this vital piece would constitute the decisive link in the ugly chain of mud slinging and malignment. Hence the timing of the strike of this particular link of 1044 pages of abuse is ominously significant.

The document relates to elections, but in order to demonstrate that the elections were not fair, an effort has been made to portray me as "a modern Machiavelli," and an arch criminal. It is a malevolent indictment.

Urgent

To: His Excellency, Dr. Kurt Waldheim
Secretary General, United Nations
United Nations Headquarters
New York, USA

September 20, 1978

Excellency:

As yet another session of the General Assembly convenes in New York to discuss the issues of war and peace and presumably human rights, it must know that the elected leader of Pakistan is being subjected to brutal hardship ever since the coup d'état of July 5, 1977. By now friend and foe alike know that a false murder case has been fabricated against me in which I have been in solitary confinement for over a year and in a miserable death cell for over six months in appalling conditions. I am not receiving proper medical treatment although I am urgently in need of it. The conditions are so unbearable that on two occasions I was compelled to go on hunger strikes to protect my honour. My wife was shamelessly attacked and injured on December 16, 1977 at Lahore Gaddafi Stadium. Since January 1978 she has been in detention and solitary confinement. My young daughter was also under house arrest for over six months. My three younger children and a number of close party comrades are in virtual exile. Party leaders of the Pakistan Peoples Party and our workers are in jails by the thousands. Along with journalists, they have been mercilessly whipped in public. To silence the working classes the laborers of Multan were savagely killed in January this year.

The conscience of the world community gets aroused when the representative of a firm is arrested for alleged blackmarketing of currency but what happens to the same world community when the undisputed leader of his people is subjected to physical cruelty and mental torture for inter-alia waging a dauntless struggle against oppression, for valiantly upholding the banner of justice for the Third World and for equipping an Islamic state with a nuclear capability?

Without exaggeration, I will tell you Mr. Secretary General, that I have been treated worse than a Jew would be treated by Nazis or the victims of apartheid in Africa. I would request you to circulate this message to the debonair diplomats at the current session of the General Assembly.

Relevant world leaders are aware of the documentary evidence as to why my life hangs in the balance. This unimpeachable evidence of the last 14 years will show them beyond doubt that my blood, if it spills, will surely stain their hands and that in history they will owe me a debt of blood.

Yours truly
Zulfikar Ali Bhutto

The Appeal

The timing can logically be gauged in the context of the hearing of my Appeal in the Supreme Court of Pakistan against the Death Sentence. This is the exclusive aim of the publication of the White Paper in this juncture.

My appeal has reached a crucial phase in the defense of my innocence. The so-called further retraction of Mian Muhammed Abbaas, the heart patient, by cajolement and coercion in a Death Cell and outside, came on 10 July 1978.

As they say in soldier's language, "to reinforce success," this White Paper of dead weight has been dropped into the scales of justice, fifteen days later, so to speak.

Documentary Evidence

The White Paper is on "the conduct of the General Elections in March 1977," but the object is to malign me venomously. As the subject matter pertains to "Elections":

(a) Most of the documents, if not all of them, whether true or false, in the 342 annexures, relate to the March Elections, starting with the "Larkana Plan" in refreshing contrast to the "London Plan."

(b) For this reason, Mr. Humayun Khan, OSD in the Election Commission, was one of the four members of the Committee of Inquiry. Actually, excluding the unnamed Chairman, it turned out to be a three man Committee, because Mr. Abdul Aziz Khan, Secretary, Police Foundation, the fourth member, according to the White Paper, "did not remain actively associated with the Committee for long."

(c) Since the White Paper pertains to elections, it is essential for the Election Commission, past and present, to figure predominantly in the inquiry and in the findings. This is amply borne out by the composition of the Committee of Inquiry and by the material contained in the White Paper.

(d) Chapter II of the White Paper relates to the Charter and Constitutional functions of "The Election Commission" and to the responsibilities of the Chief Election Commissioner.

(e) The depositions or statements of the Secretary of the Election Commission Mr. A.Z. Faruqi, appear frequently in the White Paper. Incidentally, he also happens to be a nephew of Mr. N.A. Faruqi, whose wife is the sister of Masood Mahmud's wife. It is well known that Masood Mahmud is the Principal Approver in the murder case against me. According to my information, N.A. Faruqi acted as the go-between with the Martial Law Authorities and Masood Mahmud before he became an Approver in the case. The relationship is all a bit too close for comfort.

(f) The statements given to the press, letters written to me, meetings with my Ministers and officials, the decisions in the exercise of the special powers given to the Election Commission after the elections of March 1977, the complaints / petitions files of the Election Commission, the narration of events relating to delimitations, electoral rolls and the alleged conversations with the Secretary to the Election Commission are among the multifarious references made directly to the then Chief Election Commissioner, Mr. Sajjad Ahmad Jan, throughout the White Paper. Indeed, the White paper ends with his words. *But strangely enough, Mr. Sajjad Ahmad Jan's own depositions or statements either before the Committee of Inquiry or before any other agency constituted for the*

*production of this White Paper are conspicuous by their absence.** Statements of importance attributed to Mr. Sajjad Ahmad Jan have come from the mouth of Mr. A.Z. Faruqi, the Secretary of the Election Commission. Mr. A.Z. Faruqi,¹ being an Ahmadi² (Lahori group), expressed his antagonism towards me and my Government without qualms from the moment the decision on Ahmadi was taken by the National Assembly of Pakistan in September 1974.

(g) As the Election Commission from the Chief Election Commissioner downwards are inseparably and primordially involved in the gamut of elections from start to finish and even thereafter, the role of the Election Commission and, in particular, of the Chief Election Commissioner, is a sine qua non to the preparation of a White Paper on "the Conduct of General Election." Without the active collaboration and participation of the Chief Election Commissioner and his Commission, it would not be feasible to prepare and produce a White paper of this nature. To borrow the words from the document itself, "The documents, all photostats, speak for themselves. Few comments are needed." No Department is more concerned with the subject of elections than the Election Commission. The subject of elections is within the jurisdiction of the Election Commission. The responsibility of the Election Commission for Elections is of a primary and almost exclusive character, as the White Paper itself reveals. The Departments of Law and the Interior and the office of the Attorney General are also concerned, but in a secondary position. Hence, it is not unfair to arrive at the conclusion that three pairs of hands have penned this White Paper: Maulvi Mushtaq Hussain, A.K. Brohi and Shariffudin Pirzada, with Maulvi Mushtaq Hussain having the major role.

Misrepresentation

Without the active and enthusiastic participation of the present Chief Election Commissioner and the Chief Justice of the High Court of Lahore, Mr. Justice Maulvi Mushtaq Hussain, this White Paper would not have seen the light of day. I would go further and make bold to say that the Chief Election Commissioner is the principle draftsman, if not the sole draftsman of this fat and fatuous fiction. Barely three months after having sought my physical death in the 405 page judgment announced by him at Lahore on 18 March 1978, as Chief Justice, he has now released another notorious document of 405 pages, this time as Chief Election Commissioner, seeking, on this occasion, my political death. Just as he supervised and controlled the trial Bench at Lahore, the same Chief Justice Maulvi Mushtaq Hussain, has supervised and controlled the documentation of these lies in his capacity as Chief Election Commissioner. He has sat here in Rawalpindi to give the volume its final touches.

There is a full and separate Chapter on the alleged election rigging of my senior Defense Counsel, Mr. Yahya Bakhtiar, the former Attorney General. It is Chapter IX and is entitled "The Case of Mr. Yahya Bakhtiar" starting at page 341 and ending at page 381. Out of the legion of Ministers, both Federal and Provincial, out of all the Members of the National and Provincial Assemblies and the Senate, comprising about a thousand individuals, a separate Chapter of 40 pages is devoted exclusively to the individual who happens to be my

principal Defense Counsel in the Supreme Court. If this is not stretching the long arm of coincidence, how else is it stretched?

(...)

I will stand by that statement. I did not rig the elections. I am not responsible for the individuals who indulged in electoral malpractices in their individual capacity.

(...)

What Is Rigging?

In one of his famous essays, Sir Francis Bacon asked: "What is truth?" I should now like to ask: "What is rigging?"

The dictionary definition is clear: To rig, is "To manage or conduct fraudulently." In view of this I should like to ask whether engineering a coup in the name of elections, promising virtually on the Holy Quran that an election would be held within 90 days and then cancelling them only a matter of days after a solemn announcement had been made to the world in the General Assembly of the United Nations, is not fraudulence of the highest degree? Is it not fraudulence to deprive the people of the Constitution? Is it not management to state that *elections can only be held when "positive results" are obtained*, (sic) as General Zia ul-Haq said in his speech to the Nation of 25 June 1978? The ultimate piece of stage management is the formation of an Election cell, which is nothing more than a perpetuation cell, under the Chief Election Commissioner. His appointment in itself is fraudulent because, holding the twin offices of Chief Election Commissioner and Chief Justice of the High Court, he may judge himself in a complaint made against him as Chief Election Commissioner. The military regime is the biggest rigger by the duplicity and its malevolence.

A piece of satire further illustrates my point: in a conversation between two military dictators, one from Asia, the other from Africa, Field Marshal Aiz lu Odoh, asks General Saksao: "Tell me, Big Brother, do you rig elections?" to which the General replies: "Yes, of course, how else can I save the people?"

Field Marshal Odoh: "Well, I promise the fools an election; I swear; I forswear; no one knows the difference. It is the safest and neatest form of rigging."

General Saksao: "Yes, there's truth in what you say; but personally I sit on the fools so hard they cannot open their mouths. In that way, I have their agreement. You see, elections are only a means to an end, and rigging is only a means to a means."

(Recorded at the Conference of Keeping-them-under-Control).

(...)

The fatal miscalculation of the Chief Election Commissioner was that he did not realize that, whether dead or alive, the person pursued by him has infinitely greater historical and traditional capacity to pursue than the pursuer.

(...)

THE BUREAUCRACY

The White Paper has sought to create the impression that as the Chief Executive and the elected leader, my Government, both Provincial and Federal, should have sat idly by and exercised no authority over the bureaucracy. On the understanding

of this norm, it tries to establish that I used to my advantage the bureaucracy, the Election Commission, the Intelligence Agencies, the Ministry of Information and Broadcasting. It is a preposterous contention. It appears that the present self-imposed and self-appointed masters of Pakistan wanted the elected Federal and Provincial Governments to abdicate their legitimate authority over the State apparatus. Were we expected to request the Opposition to run the Government, on our behalf? As if this extraordinary conception were not enough, the Chief Martial Law Administrator observed at Quetta Airport on 27 July 1978, that "The bureaucracy was an institution which had its own functions"! He pointed out that "as far as our system was concerned the bureaucracy had a definite role to play." He further said, "It cannot take sides. If it takes sides with a particular party, it is not the correct institution. The damage was done by Mr. Bhutto to the institution of bureaucracy. The civil servants are faceless. They are also selfless; they can't come out in the open and have a public meeting and therefore a civil servant who is not playing to the tune of a particular party or certain individual party or is trying to be neutral is not liked under the present context." (*Pakistan Times*, 28 July 1978) I agree with him. The bureaucracy has a definite role to play under his martial law. The definite role is to fabricate false evidence against me, my family and my Party stalwarts; to give false evidence in criminal cases and before Disqualification Tribunals. The bureaucrats are handsomely rewarded if they play this definite role. They are punished and marched off to jails if they refuse. Never before, in the history of this Country, has the bureaucracy been ordered to play as loathsome a role as it is being forced to play today. The bureaucracy has ceased to be an institution. Civil servants are replaced and re-instated to satisfy the capricious whims of the regime. This is their neutrality. Yes, there are the "faceless" ones in Jail; but, for the first time in the history of Pakistan, the chosen Brahmans have been nominated to become Advisers and Ministers. In the past some bureaucrats held high political offices, but they went through the elective process. One former bureaucrat became a Prime Minister, but he was elected as the leader of the House by the Constituent Assembly of Pakistan. Another retired bureaucrat became the President of Pakistan but he was also elected. At one time (former Indian Home Minister) Vallabhai Patel or (Prime Minister) Morarji Desai or both were in the Indian Civil Service but they resigned and led the freedom struggle. Ayub Khan did not nominate bureaucrats to become Ministers in his Martial Law, nor did Yahya Khan. I had two former bureaucrats in my Government but both were elected to the Senate. For the first time in our history the present unrepresentative regime has selected and nominated bureaucrats as Advisers and Ministers. One of them has been a de facto Prime Minister since July 5, 1977. So much for the faceless, selfless and neutral bureaucrats who sit as Ministers and Advisers in this regime.

However, quite apart from the inherent contradictions and anomalies, a higher principle of general importance requires consideration. In discussion this general principle, I am not taking into account the system prevailing in the One Party State. In such a system the services are a part and parcel of the ruling party. I have in mind the multi-party democratic system.

In the multi-party system also, a watertight segregation is impracticable. In the United States of America, the top administrative posts are filled by the party in power. To enable the transition from one Administration to another the American system provides a period of about eight weeks after the elections to effect the enormous changes. In the parliamentary system also, the Civil Services and the other Services are not islands unto themselves, running parallel governments.

In the United Kingdom, the model for us natives, radical changes have taken place. At present, the British system has the institution of Special Advisers. The institution is expanding. During the tenure of Prime Minister Harold Wilson, the convention was not to permit more than two Special Advisers for every Cabinet Minister. The Labour Government of the present Prime Minister of Britain, Mr. James Callaghan is considering further improvements in the institution of Special Advisers. The Armitage Committee on the political activities of Civil Servants accepted the view that Special Advisers should be subject to separate rules issued by the Prime Minister. This institution of Special Advisers has created a comprehensive political network. In June 1974, thirty-eight Special Advisers functioned in the British government. There is talk of increasing the number to around one hundred. They are classified as "temporary Civil Servants." Whatever the rules might say to the contrary, Special Advisers engage themselves in normal political activities. There is little doubt that the Special Advisers who are "temporary Civil Servants" but who engage in political activities have come to stay in our institutional form in the British Government. This is the position of the faceless, neutral civil servant in the parliamentary democracy of Britain.

The myth of the segregated, neutral civil servant was needed by colonialism. The imperial power had created a cast iron framework of civil servants to be unavailable and hence faceless, to the natives; to be neutral in the feuds of the natives and in dealing with the communal and political problems of the Indians. Even this neutrality was tilted from time to time, in favor of one faction or the other, to serve the ends of the Raj. This neutrality and facelessness, fraudulent as it was, did not apply to the Imperial Masters. When it came to protecting the interests of Raj, the Indian Civil Service and the other permanent Services, played a selfish, faceful and partisan role as a mainstay of the Raj. I am not advocating a One Party System nor offering an apology for the equation of my Government with the Services. I am briefly clarifying the existing realities between the ruling party and the Civil Service in contemporary times.

(...)

If I had taken a blind partisan position at the cost of the masses, I would have let down the masses and their cause. If I had ignored the reasonable interests of the ruling Party, the counter-revolution of the reactionaries headed by the Chief Martial law Administrator might have swallowed up the State machinery earlier. I am suffering this ordeal partly because I sought an honorable and equitable *via media* of conflicting interests in order to harmonize our disjointed structure. It seems that the lesson of this coup d'etat is that a *via media*, a *modus vivendi*, a compromise, is a Utopian dream. The coup d'etat demonstrates that the class struggle is irreconcilable and

that it must yield in the victory of one class over the other. Obviously, whatever the temporary setbacks, the struggle can lead only to the victory of one class. The coup leaders will be responsible for the oncoming events. This is their writing on the wall. It bears their signature. It is a farce to get cold feet over the analytical observations made by my son, Mir Ghulam Murtaza in London. The over-reaction of the reactionaries was a manifestation of their nervousness and guilt. One reactionary Urdu newspaper wants to remind him that as he has a father, Kasuri also had a father. Kasuri is enjoying the festivity of *holi* with the blood of his father in Los Angeles, New York and Paris at State expense. My sons will not be my sons if they do not drink the blood of those who dare to shed my blood. This is the qualitative difference. Who are my sons? My sons are the masses. Mir Ghulam Murteza and Shah Newaz have been taught from birth to be their true servants.

THE INSIDE JOB

The Intelligence Agencies

The White Paper demonstrates its piety with crocodile tears on the role of the Intelligence Agencies of the State as a "political arm" of the Government of Pakistan Peoples Party. On page 195 it registers its concern in the following words:

"The role of the intelligence agencies of the State as a political arm of the PPP regime, particularly in relation to the general elections, raises many disconcerting questions. When politics permeates such sensitive institutions as the Intelligence Bureau or the Inter-Services Intelligence Directorate, it naturally deflects them from their prime concern with the State's external and internal security. Political bias against dissenting political parties which are a very necessary component of a democratic society, also tends to complicate and distort the task of State security."

In further support, at page 197 the White Paper quotes the submissions of A.K. Brohi [current Law Minister under the military junta] in the Supreme Court during the hearing of the Petition of Begum Nusrat Bhutto. This is what Brohi said:

"The Intelligence Bureau was used throughout this period as an instrument designed exclusively for the personal and political use of Mr. Bhutto."

Again, there is another reference to the same Petition. It occurs on page 181:

"Mr. Bhutto gave a similar directive to the Director of the Intelligence Bureau. Mr. A.K. Brohi, arguing for the Federation in the detention case of Mr. Z.A. Bhutto, stated, before the Supreme Court:

"(a) When the Director of the Intelligence Bureau put up a report to Mr. Bhutto on April 1, 1976, pointing out the possibility of the Opposition parties cooperating with each other, Mr. Bhutto issued the following directives:

"Please keep a very close watch. They must not be allowed to come together. It is a matter of principle and not fear. It is your job to keep them apart. I was told that Mr. Rauf Tahir had made a lot of money when Ghulam Mustafa Khar made him in charge of

“An anecdote will illustrate the need for foresight which the present regime lacks. When Mickey Mouse was getting married, his father advised him: “Mickey, if you are a man you should consummate your marriage on the same day but if you are a mouse, you will do it on the following day.” To which, Mickey replied: “Father, I am a dirty rat, I consummated it last night.” Leaders of the people are men and the governments they led should be honorable. In our revolutionary times, with the earth shattering signs of a Third World War on the horizon, there is no place for mice...”

the Punjab Ghee Board. Why cannot a probe be made.”

“(b) When a report was made by the Chief Security Officer to the Prime Minister on 5th May, 1976, about efforts for a merger between the Opposition parties, Mr. Bhutto passed the following order:

“You cannot permit them to unite. This is your supreme mandate.”

On the other hand, the Director-General of Inter-Services Intelligence Lt. Gen. G. Jilani who allowed himself and his military intelligence to be exploited and misused by me for five and a half years “exclusively for personal and political use” and who, according to page 66 of the White paper, in a Report submitted to my Government, had observed:

“There is no alternative leadership of his (Mr. Bhutto’s) standing and stature, or near his standing and stature, available in the field.

“Mr. Bhutto is the only leader with an international standing and image, who has profound knowledge and experience of the inter-plays of international power politics. He has done a yeoman’s service to Pakistan. He is the symbol of Pakistan’s stability and integrity.”

Lt. General Jilani was Director-General of Inter-Services Intelligence before I became President of Pakistan on 20th December 1971. He remained in this sensitive post up to the 5th July, 1977. Some months after the coup, he was made Secretary of Defense. At present he is still holding this equally important post. If he was in disgrace or, if the regime of his fellow Generals considered him to be a supine flatterer of mine, he would have departed from the scene like the many others who were removed on 5th of July 1977 or soon thereafter. Except for Lt. Gen. Jilani, all the officials in charge of Intelligence at the Federal level were arrested on the night of the coup, or within a month of it.

Subject to correction, Rao Abdur Rashid, my Special Secretary was arrested on 5th July 1977, so were Masood Mahmood, Director-General of the Federal Security Forces, Shaikh Akram, former Director of the Intelligence Bureau. I believe Saeed Ahmed, the Chief Security Officer, was arrested between the middle of July and the beginning of August 1977. Afzal Saeed, my Secretary, was arrested in the beginning or middle of August. The former Secretary of the Interior, Fazal

Haque was immediately dismissed from Service. The then Interior Secretary, M.A.K. Chaudhry being the brother of the then Chief Justice of Pakistan, was spared the honor. His farewell to arms coincided with the exit of his brother from the Supreme Court of Pakistan. The Chief of Military Intelligence, Lt. Gen. Jilani was not touched. On the contrary, he remained comfortably where he was and later was sent to Defense Ministry as its Secretary. Being my main Intelligence Officer for over five years, he was privy to a number of my thoughts. Some of the sensitive subjects I discussed with him in the event of my reelection as Prime Minister of Pakistan were:

- (a) The complete reorganization of the Federal Structure both political and administrative.
- (b) The merger of the Central Intelligence into one integrated intelligence Department divided into two categories:
 - Internal
 - External
- (c) Reforms.

Lt. Gen. Jilani had animated and stimulating discussions with me on my future plans. If the Junta is really so agitated by the manner in which I used the Intelligence Agencies, Lt. Gen. Jilani, Director-General, Inter-Services Intelligence, should have been target number one of his fellow Generals. The Chief Martial Law Administrator never tires of defaming me. He has called me a murderer, a modern Machiavelli. He has accused me of ruining the economy. He claims that on account of me, the country was under the shadow of Civil War. He travelled to a number of Muslim Countries and to China with State files and documents to convince the leaders of those countries that I was a murderer and a terrible person. In marked contrast, a few months before the coup, Lt. Gen. Jilani had expressed in writing and I *repeat* the text:

“There is no alternative leadership of his (Mr. Bhutto’s) standing and stature, or near his standing and stature, available in the field.

“Mr. Bhutto is the only leader with an international standing and image, who has profound knowledge and experience of the inter-plays of international power politics. He has done a yeoman’s service to Pakistan. He is the symbol of Pakistan’s stability and integrity.”

When the miserable citizens of this country have been lashed, whipped and given rigorous imprisonments for saying “Jeeyay Bhutto” [Long Live Bhutto] when women have been lathi charged, tear gassed and marched off to jails for praying for me at the Shrines of Saints, it is difficult to understand how the former Military Chief of Intelligence, who sent such flattering reports on the indispensability of my leadership, retains an important position in the Junta’s set up. *The question must be considered in conjunction with Lt. Gen. Jilani’s successful effort at influencing me to consider the then Major General Zia-ul-Haq for the post of Chief of Staff of the Army in supersession to about six Generals. This is only a fraction of the story. But even with this minimal disclosure, I would like to ask who exploited whom? Did the Military Intelligence Chief and his Chief of Staff exploit me or I exploit them?**

THE WATERGATING PROCESS

Recently I read a book by H.R. Haldeman entitled “The Ends of Power.” I may be forgiven to make a comparison with a Super Power. However, as this is not the only comparison I intend to make, I preface my remarks with a modest apology. Haldeman was the Rafi Raza of President Richard Nixon. In “The Ends of Power,” Haldeman believes that the C.I.A. is not above suspicion in the ultimate ouster of President Nixon; although the original intention might have been to cripple him. On page 27 of his book, Haldeman says:

“This time the C.I.A. was ready. In fact, it was more than ready. It was ahead of the game by months. Nixon would walk into what I now believe was a trap.”

The following quotations would establish that the comparison is not off the mark. The similarity is so strikingly close that it has stunned me:

- (a) “Nixon was not only demanding the resignation of Cabinet members, presumably to place stronger men in their place (four of them, in fact, would be reappointed), he was about to initiate a dramatic, even revolutionary, new structure of government.”
- (b) “In the middle of his first term Nixon had introduced a re-organization bill to accomplish that revolution. It was hastily rejected by a nervous Congress. Talk of power accruing to ‘a small handful of White House aides’ filled Congressional halls with fear; even more so when Nixon angrily said that he would accomplish the reorganization by executive order and to hell with Congress—if he won the election. He won. And he did.

Reorganization is the secret story of Watergate.”

- (c) “Nixon agreed. ‘I’ll suggest that we’re going to have a house cleaning. It’s time for a new team. Period. I’m going to say we didn’t do it when we came in before, but now we have a mandate. And one of the mandates is to do the cleaning up that we didn’t do in ’68.’”
- (d) “In January 1973, the *U.S. News and World Report: Behind Nixon’s Reorganization*

They’re calling it a ‘managerial revolution’—the way the President is shuffling jobs and duties. His goal: Get Government operating the way he wants it. Behind the

continuing shake-up in top administration jobs is this—Richard Nixon, in his second term as President, is determined to assert more effective control and policy direction over the massive Federal bureaucracy. The President is doing this, in part, by placing trusted White House Lieutenants—trained for four years in the Nixon way of doing things—in key positions in the operating departments.”

That article appeared on January 1, 1973. A few weeks later, after months of ‘Post’ and ‘Times’ news stories about Watergate, the Gallup Poll reported that Nixon’s popularity (or approval rating) reached an all-time high.

“The Watergate break-in and the associated revelations of Woodward and Bernstein, had failed to ignite the public. And now Nixon, a President more feared by Democrats and the bureaucracy than any President in this century, was at the peak of his power with control of the government tightly in his hands.

What would happen if Nixon’s reorganization went through, and Nixon remained in office? Washington insiders shuddered. Not only would he tightly control all reins of the government through eight top officers in the White House; he would plant his own ‘agents’ in key positions in every agency of the government.

It was too much for those who feared Nixon. Then suddenly like a ripe plum dropping from a tree, Watergate split wide open in late January 1973.

A reprieve. Nixon could be deflected, perhaps even crippled. At the worst he could be thrown on the defensive, unable to pursue his plan to grip the government in a way that had never been done before.”

- (e) “There are four major power blocs in Washington: they are, beginning with the most important:
1. Press
 2. The Bureaucracy
 3. The Congress
 4. The Intelligence Community

Each of them was under threat by the President in January 1973, who was at the height of his popularity with the American people. Each of them reacted with special ferocity because that President was Richard Nixon. And in the months of January, February and March of 1973, they would mount a war on the White House.”

Power ‘Blocs’ in Pakistan

I am not trying to equate myself with the President of the United States, nor my underdeveloped country with a Super Power. If Washington has four major power blocs, Islamabad also has four major power blocs:

- (a) The Military
- (b) The Bureaucracy
- (c) Big Business
- (d) The Politicians

I was at the height of my popularity with the masses when the conspiracy started against me. Initially, the PNA movement had failed to ignite the public. I was to embark on a massive re-organization and reform programme on the strength of my fresh mandate after the elections of March 1977. This was

known to what Haldeman calls "the Intelligence Community." There was a "Deep Throat" in my Administration who was providing "inside information" to an Urdu newspaper during the critical months of the upheaval. This is how I used the Intelligence Agencies for personal and political ends. There is a touch of irony throughout the White Paper but this is where it touches a very sore point.

How did Ayub Khan and Yahya Khan use the Intelligence Agencies? Yahya Khan used to the hilt the Intelligence Agencies for political purposes to divide the politicians and to influence the elections of 1970. I should know because, at that time, I was at the receiving end. My Party was subjected to enormous pressures by the Intelligence Agencies. After the elections of 1970 and until the collapse of Yahya Khan's Martial Law, the Intelligence agencies, both Civil and Military, tried to penetrate into my Party to influence and contaminate the elected representatives. Before leaving for London in January 1972, Mujibur Rehman [the late President of Bangladesh] told me that he wanted to lay his hands on five persons from West Pakistan and hang them in Paltan Maidan. Out of the five, two belonged to the Civil and Military Intelligence. Mujibur Rehman gave me an elaborate account of their mischief in the political field. I told him that our experience was not dissimilar. Ayub Khan also used the Intelligence Agencies for political purposes to the hilt. He tried to break DAC through the Civil and Military Intelligence. He tried to prevent my Party from getting off the ground through the Intelligence Agencies. He tried to sabotage our Foundation meetings on 30 November and 1 December 1967, and it was through the Intelligence Agencies that he tried to stop my movement against his regime. I shall cite only 3 instances to illustrate Ayub Khan's exemplary use of the Intelligence Agencies.

(a) When the Indo-Pakistan War of 1965 started, our Military Intelligence was not able to locate the whereabouts of the Indian Armoured Division. Ayub Khan was furious. He summoned the Director General, Inter-Service Intelligence to his office in Rawalpindi. Brigadier Riaz Hussein, later General Riaz Hussein, the Governor of Baluchistan in Yahya Khan's regime, was the Director General. As Foreign Minister, I was present. Ayub Khan gave hell to Riaz Hussein. He told him that Military Intelligence had let down the Country. I told Brigadier Riaz Hussein that the Armoured Division of India was not a needle in a haystack. With an injured tone of voice, President Ayub Khan said "It is a monster and not a needle!" He kept pressing Brigadier Riaz Hussein to explain to him what had gone wrong with the Intelligence Service. With a quivering voice, Brigadier Riaz Hussein replied, "Sir, from June 1964, Military Intelligence has been given political assignments on elections and post-election repercussions." A couple of days later, we located the Indian Armoured Division by chance and not due to the work of the Intelligence Agencies. An Indian dispatch rider was shot by a Mujjahid in Jammu. From the papers recovered from the rider, much to our relief we got the information we required.

(b) On the specific instructions of Ayub Khan the Intelligence Agencies blocked General Azam's candidacy as a Presidential rival in 1964.

(c) In the beginning of November 1964, a very close friend

of mine and a prominent politician of East Pakistan came to see me at my residence at 70, Clifton, Karachi. He was a leading figure of COP. After dinner and shortly before leaving, he made his small eyes smaller, and told me that a former Prime Minister of Pakistan would explode a bombshell in a month's time that would send Ayub Khan and all of us flying into the air. I tried to play down his remarks as a prank. He then told me: "Look here my friend, I do not know the details but it has something to do with a telegram Ayub Khan sent from Washington to the then Prime Minister of Pakistan on President Nasser." (At that time Ayub Khan was the Commander-in-Chief of the Army). When I returned to Rawalpindi, I mentioned the talk to President Ayub Khan. He started to reflect. For a moment he gazed at the ceiling, picked up the scissors on his desk and told me, "But that was long ago and I do not exactly remember what I wrote." He then added, "It was not a circulation telegram." He further mentioned that he had burnt the Embassy copy in our Chancery in Washington and, on his return to Pakistan, he had seen to it that the Foreign Office copy and the other two copies of "no circulation" were also destroyed. I told him that apparently the old man took the cypher telegram with him when he ceased to be Prime Minister. I further suggested to Ayub Khan that if he remembered what he had done with the copies of the cypher message, he should try to recollect what he wrote. He told me that it was more important to get the telegram. He buzzed the inter-connector and said to his Military Secretary, "Nawazish, please ask the DIB and the DG, ISI to come over immediately." Within half an hour both were in the office of the President. Ayub Khan narrated to them what I had told him and also what he had told me. After that, he leaned forward and told them: "Gentlemen, I want that bloody telegram, even if it costs all the gold in Fort Knox." Within about 20 days I was asked by the Aide-de-Camp to the President to see Ayub Khan at once. When I went into his office, a beaming Ayub Khan waved the cypher telegram in the air and handed it to me. After reading it, I told him, "Mr. President, my fingers are burning. Please burn this document at once." Ayub Khan had given up smoking. I smoked cigars but never carried matches or a lighter. I put my hand in the silver cigarette box on the desk and politely handed the matches to Ayub Khan for him to perform the ritual. It was an excellent political job done by an Intelligence Agency. But it was for the person of the President and for his stakes in an election.

I can go on, but the point has been made. The Intelligence Agencies of my times did not perform the skulduggery they did for the Martial Law dictators. We know what these Agencies are doing at present. All will be revealed with the passage of time.

(...)

The P.N.A.

The White Paper contends that I started planning for the elections in 1974, if not earlier, I drew up Model Plans, "Organized a formidable machinery," and left no stone unturned. But why did I take all these meticulous precautions? There is no quarrel if the aim is to show my temperament and method of work. I admit that I strive for perfection, or try to be thorough. However, this very characteristic would negate

the charge of rigging. Rigging is the antithesis of planning and preparation. Quite aside from the inherent risks of rigging, which I kept registering in my written directives and in my exposes in Conferences, the need to rig did not arise. The Opposition comprised of a motley lot; a strange mixture of odd creatures. It was a genuine example of zero, plus zero plus zero equals zero. The only strength of the Opposition lay in the zeroes of the millions of foreign currency. As for the superficial unity of this heterogenous band of political gypsies, the White Paper acknowledges that I anticipated it long before the elections. It was according to the pattern of our politics. There were precedents of the Jutgu Front, COP and DAC.⁵ I therefore do not take credit for extraordinary vision, for observing in a note to Rao Rashid⁶ on 15 May 1976:

“The Opposition both within the UDF and outside is getting more coherent. It is trying to reconcile and diminish its contradictions. As time passes it will intensify this effort and as the elections come closer there will be greater compulsion for the diverse political elements to make compromises in the interest of unity.

What are we doing to prevent this potential unity and to decrease the chances of coherence by enlarging the scope of their contradiction? We should be on the move, we should have our plans ready, we should be watching every step they take. Our counter-moves, should be ready as soon as they have made the moves. We should break them both individually and collectively. We should use diverse methods and means to create chaos in their ranks, to make them suspicious of one another, to make them despise each other. We have no machinery for it. We merely content ourselves in sending me consolation reports trying to minimize the progress achieved by the Opposition in its stage by stage movement towards greater unity. The Opposition is to meet again at the end of this month in Lahore for the second time in a month. Have we any plans ready for that meeting? Are we in touch with any one of them to sidetrack them or to get them off the rails? I doubt very much.”

The Hidden Hands

I have quoted the note in full because the White Paper has quoted it in full on pages 178 and 179. I foresaw the development. I was waiting for it. The note suggests that the incompatibles should, as far as possible, be kept incompatible, that a magician from outer space should not descend on Pakistan to tie together the tails of nine wild cats. I suggested the use of the rules of the game. The game is not new. The same game has been played in politics from the time of the Greek City-States. The same game is still played. I did not suggest that in view of the likelihood of their unity, my Government had no alternative but to indulge in malpractices and rigging. On the contrary, I gave another timely warning for adequate preparation and not for rigging. It was a warning against rigging. It was an order to get prepared to contest the election against a combined Opposition. What did surprise me and what I had not foreseen, was the forces arrayed behind the Opposition. These forces began to gather from middle of December 1976. The reports on the hidden hands began to come to me in the beginning of January 1977. In the same month, Rafi Raza⁷ had a

four and a half hour interview with me. He told me that the Pakistan National Alliance (PNA) was coming into being, he told me who would be the President of PNA and who would be the other office bearers. He gave me the reasons for the design, the strategy and the aim. At the end of his exposition, he told me that I had three alternatives:

- (a) *Forget the Nuclear Reprocessing Plant and the imminent unity of the Opposition will not materialize.**
- (b) Postpone the elections, or,
- (c) Face very grave consequences.

He kept emphasizing that I should not press him to reveal his sources but that he was speaking with full knowledge of what was taking place. I asked him to make his suggestion. He advised me to forget the Reprocessing Plant. He also informed me that during the elections, the Opposition would not make an issue of the Reprocessing Plant. Only now and then they would mention nuclear power plants in order to hoodwink the people; hoping that the public would not know the difference between nuclear power plants and a nuclear reprocessing plant. Rafi Raza warned me that the people around me, those who were making emotional noises and advising me not to budge an inch, would not be found when the curtain fell. We continued our discussion over dinner. Afterwards, I thanked him for the valuable information and advice. However, I told him it was too late to postpone the elections, or to drop the Nuclear Reprocessing Plant. I further told him that we would win the elections fair and square; but if we did not, then the Opposition was welcome to drop, ditch or modify the Reprocessing Plant Agreement. Rafi Raza said that he had no doubt that we would win the elections in a fair context, but that he had considerable doubt if we would be allowed to reap the benefits of the victory. As he would not expand, I remarked “All right, we will lose the elections or not be allowed to eat the fruits of our victory.” Looking through his thick horn-rimmed spectacles, and using his hand as a comb to straighten his side-parting and the back of his hair, ominously, Rafi Raza said: “But Sir, I am trying to tell you that more than an election or an Office is at stake.” I replied cryptically, “I got your point and you got my answer.”

Before leaving, he asked my permission for a question. I said, “Most certainly.” Thereupon he asked, “Why are you doing all this? What makes you take such big chances with yourself and your family?” I told him that I was doing it to build an egalitarian society, to make my Country strong and modern, to bring happiness to people who had no idea what the word meant. I told him that tears will always be shed but I wanted less tears to be shed and less bitterly.

My doctor, Naseer Shaikh came to see me after the departure of my Minister for Production. The Doctor, an observant man, remarked that he looked nervous and worried. He said, “Sir, he was as white as a ghost.” Naseer Shaikh asked me if I had been harsh with him. I was in a reflective mood; “No,” I replied, “I was not harsh with him. The subject we discussed was harsh.”

The formation of the PNA did not come as a surprise. I was expecting it on account of past precedents. Rafi Raza showed me its blueprint and also dynamite with which to explode it. The difference was that the unity of the Jutgu Front, of COP and DAC was “desi” work. The unity of PNA was not a

“desi” conspiracy. Rafi Raza was the first person to describe its foreign colors to me. The White Paper says at page 384 that, while addressing a joint session of the National Assembly and the Senate on 28 April 1977, I said:

“This is not a *desi* (indigenous) conspiracy, this is an international conspiracy...a huge colossal conspiracy against the Islamic state of Pakistan.”

I was dead right. The subsequent events have been more deadly. They have hit the nail on the head.

If anything happens to dislocate or destroy Pakistan’s nuclear programme for peaceful purposes, the primary responsibility, if not the exclusive responsibility, will fall on the PNA and the Junta. For this reason, both the actors in the play are joining hands openly. Foreign Governments will follow their own policies. Only we, in Pakistan, have regimes which follow the policies of foreign governments. The more they talk of self-reliance, the more reliant they become; the more they talk of non-interference the more they allow interference; the more they talk of independence, the more dependent they become.

The document released on 25 July 1978 is entitled “WHITE PAPER ON THE CONDUCT OF THE GENERAL ELECTIONS IN MARCH 1977.” The elections were keenly contested by PPP and PNA. Both sides accused each other of violence and malpractices. Both sides fought a bitterly contested election. There is no criticism of the PNA in the White Paper. Instead it offers apologies for the PNA. It mentions the unity of the Opposition. It defies me to prove that the PNA received funds from outside. It criticizes me for not being fair to the PNA. The non-appearance of the PNA in the White Paper merits consideration, in view of the lame excuse given in the Pakistan Times of 12 August 1978. Clearly the regime has felt a few pricks of conscience at the blatant one-sided volume of wastage it has produced. It has therefore obliged some lackey of a journalist to write a preposterous facesaver, which reads as follows:

“The White Paper ‘is a probe restricted to the conduct of the elections and it should be apparent to the meanest intelligence that the polls were not conducted by the PNA.’”

For this reason, the article says, the PNA has not been included in the White Paper. No greater indictment of its bias, its partiality and its favoritism could have been shown. The PNA did not conduct the polls, but nor did the PPP. They were conducted by the Election Commission, to whom numerous complaints could be and were made. It is quite happy to deal with the PPP’s alleged rigging of the polls, but it remains benevolently silent on the activities of the PNA. Just as the PPP conducted an election campaign, so did the PNA, and by virtue of this, its misdeeds should have been included in the White Paper. Truthfully, the explanation given above is not apparent to the meanest of mean intelligence. The void cannot be filled by fallacious ex-post facto explanations. By this hollow attempt to cover up for the mistakes that have been made, the fraud of the White Paper is thoroughly exposed. Even a cursory inclusion might have been a minimal facesaver. It might have covered up the cracks and gaping holes of deceit. I will not accept this fatuous excuse. Only an idiot could be so blind. It would have been more accurate if the regime had

come out brazenly and called the Document a “White Paper on the Conduct of the PPP in the General Elections in March 1977.” It has clearly selected only my Government and my Party for attack. Not one of the 343 documents relate to PNA’s election activities. Not one instance is given of the brutal rigging done by PNA in Karachi, Hyderabad, Mirpurkhas, Sukkur, Rahimyar Khan, Multan, Sahiwal, Lahore, Sargodha, Faisalabad, Sialkot, Gujrat, Gujranwalla, Quetta, Pishin, Mardan, Dera-Ismael Khan and a host of other places. Not one PNA document is cited, not even the one that called upon the Armed Forces to revolt.

(...)

In dealing with the actions of the PNA, which I intend to do, even though the White Paper does not appear to think they merit attention, I repeat the earnest request I made in January 1977 in the National Assembly, which I have already quoted:

“I hope that the coming election will be a clean and a fair election but my promise alone is not enough. Other parties should reciprocate this desire and policy. The other side must also demonstrate that it knows what it means to have a clean and fair election...”

I pleaded for reciprocation in the larger national interest. Here I quote only a few examples of PNA reciprocity:

(a) Mr. Asghar Khan,⁸ on a number of occasions, claimed long before the elections that the Opposition had already won them, and only a formality remained to be performed on 7 March 1977. He also said that the PNA would not accept any decision of the elections announced over the Radio which were contrary to the facts of a PNA victory. What clearer indication can there be that the PNA had no intention of fighting a fair election?

(b) In order to paralyze the Country, the leaders of the PNA called a General Strike a week before the General Elections. Disorder was widespread. The burning of two buses was enough to halt traffic completely in Karachi. People were intimidated by PNA supporters. They also attacked the property of PPP candidates, in order to obstruct their campaign. PNA workers did their best to break up PPP meetings by causing disturbances and burning PPP flags. A procession of PPP lady workers was abused in the most filthy language. In the Punjab violent attacks were made at Gujranwala, Daska and Sialkot.

(c) The PNA went mad... I received a copy of the complaint sent to the Chief Election Commissioner by the Federal Education Minister, Mr. Abdul Hafeez Pirzada, on the situation in Karachi. He described how the PNA had “openly resorted to hooliganism, vandalism, violence” and used “abusive and provocative language” against PPP. They had launched a vicious campaign involving numerous violations of election laws.

(d) On the Election Day itself, 7 March 1977, apart from the massive rigging which the PNA did, there were further acts of hooliganism. They went to town in Karachi. There were armed attacks at various polling stations which served the purpose of frightening away women voters. Two PPP workers died of gun-shot wounds and eight others were hospitalized. PPP election offices were burnt down in Malir Extension Colony, Korangi, PIB Colony and Liaquatabad.

(e) PNA agitation after the election followed a similar pat-

tern. Not content with trying to create havoc before the elections, they would not abide by the fruits of their labors. They went mad, absolutely berserk, as the Americans would say. Ironically, the wives of both sons of the Chief Election Commissioner, Asif Sajjad and Wasim Sajjad, led processions in protest of the election result.

These examples are only a token of their misbehavior. Notwithstanding the gravest provocations, my Government did not reciprocate in kind. We did not go berserk.

The “desire and policy” of the Opposition parties was not to contest a clean and a fair election. It is this glaring fact which is apparent to those of the meanest intelligence. The omission of the PNA’s commission is conspicuous by its absence in the White Paper. It is so one-sided as to close even the other eye of Lord Nelson. Double standards have been applied by this regime in double dosage.

(...)

THE MILITARY, THE CIVILIAN AND THE NATIONAL INTEREST

I now return to the all important subject of civil-military relations. I do not intend to trace the history of this relationship since Independence. Nor do I intend to repeat what I stated in my affidavits in the Supreme Court in the Constitution Petition challenging Martial Law. I do not want to repeat what I stated in my still censored Affidavit in the Lahore High Court filed in relation to my detention under Martial Law Order Number 12. Nor do I want to mention the subsequent events which have borne out my apprehensions. All the three fully fledged Martial Laws stand before the people like a mirror. Being heavily made up with cosmetics, the people could not clearly see the face of the first Martial Law. The Elizabeth Arden “make up” of the second Martial Law was washed away in the Brahmaputra.⁹ The wig and the false teeth of the present Martial Law have been removed and behold, the people see the reflection in the mirror in all its nakedness. As we stand at the precipice there is little time left for arguments. Events are moving very fast. There is little time to lose if time has not already been lost. Anyone who cannot fathom the moral and spiritual division is living in a fool’s paradise. I will cut short the arguments on pluralism and singularism, on secularism and theocracy, on democracy and dictatorship.

As my starting point, I will take the remarks made by the Chief Martial Law Administrator at the Quetta Airport on 27 July 1978. General Zia-ul-Haq observed that Mr. Bhutto had said that there were three forces in the country, that is the Awami League, Pakistan Peoples Party and the Army and Mr. Bhutto had tried his level best to eliminate the two and get on with one. I admit the first part of the remark and still hold to it as being the objective reality that emerged from the Elections of 1970. The Awami League in East Pakistan and the Pakistan Peoples Party in West Pakistan emerged as the two dominant political forces in Pakistan. The third was the Army. The Army began openly to take shape as a political force in 1954. Since that time its role has kept expanding, not diminishing. In 1969, in the form of Martial Law, the Army was the government of

Pakistan. The Elections of December 1970 were held under a Legal Framework Order provided by the Army. The Army was in politics up to its neck. It was an unpleasant and disconcerting reality but unpleasant or pleasant, it was the reality. There were three political forces—the Awami League, the Pakistan Peoples Party and the Army. The Awami League and the Pakistan Peoples Party had every right to be in politics. The Army was in the middle of the political field as an interloper and a trespasser. The second part of the General’s remarks are unintelligible and self-contradictory. By now we have got used to his pearls of wisdom. How did I try to eliminate the two and get on with one? Is he bracketing the Army with the Awami League? If that is the inference, there was nothing to prevent the Army from accepting the Six Points of the Awami League. If after my five and a half years of meritorious service to the Armed Forces of Pakistan, the chief of Army Staff rewards me with the compliment that I tried my level best to eliminate the Army, I can only repeat that it is very difficult to forgive kindness.

Did I try my level best to destroy the Army by bringing back with honor 90,000 prisoners of war? Did General Zia-ul-Haq have the ten year old American arms embargo lifted, did he get weapons from China, did he invest over one and a half billion dollars on armaments, did he modernize the Navy, give fighter planes to the Air Force and missiles to the three Services? Did he reorganize the Defense Services and establish the Ministry of Defense Production? Did he embark on defense collaboration with Muslim States? Did he conclude the Nuclear Reprocessing Plant Agreement although he called it “my plant” in an interview with a correspondent of the Washington Post? If I tried my level best to eliminate the Army, why did he serve under me for five and a half years, and why did he accept the office of the Chief of Staff?

General Zia says that he discovered my alleged rigging after he usurped power, that he could not have made this discovery before the usurpation. If the rigging was as massive and as total as the White Paper contends, surely he could have come to this conclusion before usurping power? But let us not pursue this subject in the elucidation of this submission. Elections are a political exercise and the General can be forgiven for his lack of knowledge. But if I had been trying my level best to destroy the Army from the days of Yahya Khan, this is a fairly long time for a soldier to see through the game. Why then did General Zia-ul-Haq pay me the most eloquent tributes as the savior of Pakistan, as the builder of the Armed Forces of Pakistan? At Quetta, in April 1976 at a dinner given in my honor at the Command and Staff College, Quetta, General Zia said, and these are his very words:

“Those of us who are aware of facts and figures are quite certain that the amount of attention which the Pakistan Army receives since 1971 till to date has no parallel in the history of the Pakistan Army prior to 1971.

With all this Sir, I personally and on behalf of the Army have nothing tangible to offer as yet. All I can say is that perhaps one day, by the Grace of God, while you are still present, this Pakistan Army can show that all the attention and affection that it received from you did not go waste...”

He concluded this eulogy with this glowing finale:

“I am saying this in very simple and humble words from the bottom of my heart that we thank you, Sir, for all that you are doing and what you have done for us in particular.”

He paid me glowing tributes such as this both before and after becoming Chief of the Army Staff. Indeed, as I have already illustrated, even immediately after the imposition of Martial Law he praised me to the skies.

He was responsible for the proposal for me to become the Colonel-in-Chief of the Armored Corps. The speech he delivered at the Investiture Ceremony in Kharian was wholesome in its praise. If actually I was the enemy of the Army and was hell bent on destroying it, a soldier of Islam could not have remained in the dark about my evil designs. Nor would a Momin¹⁰ have praised me repeatedly and lavishly as an outstanding Supreme Commander, if he knew that I was destroying the Army. It must be clearly understood that the subcontinent is not Latin America. The historical tradition of Latin America, except for the brief experiments with monarchies in Mexico and Brazil, has been one of transition from cruel colonial dictatorship, chiefly of Spain and Portugal, to indigenous military coup d’etats. Mexico and Cuba have had revolutions. Chile has a strong democratic tradition. Otherwise, by and large, the process has been to transfer power from external colonialism to internal colonialism. The subcontinent is not Africa. There also, with the exceptions of the established monarchies, the transition mainly has been from the colonial dictatorships of Britain, France and Portugal to internal military dictatorships. With the exception of countries like Guinea, Tanzania and Zambia, those African leaders who led their nations to independence like Nkrumah, have been overthrown by military coup d’etats just like President Goulart of Brazil was overthrown in Latin America. A revolution of heroic dimensions took place in Algeria. The Middle East either has established monarchies or revolutionary governments. The chaos created by the chronic coup d’etats in Syria and Iraq ended with the Party control of the two antagonistic factions of the radical Ba’ath Party. Again, exceptions apart, relative stability in the Third World has come through:

- (a) Established Monarchies
- (b) Revolutionary nationalist movements
- (c) Socialist revolutions
- (d) Parliamentary democracies

Wherever coup d’etats have become the order of the day, the result has been either secession or a socialist revolution or both. The secession of East Pakistan is a case in point. The recent revolution in Afghanistan is another. It was far easier for a socialist or progressive revolution to overturn the coup d’etat of Daud Khan than the established monarchy of Zahir Shah.

For a number of reasons, the subcontinent falls into a class by itself. It has in its bloodstream ancient democratic institutions like the panchayat.¹¹ Secondly, the subcontinent is a vast land mass with an enormous population. Thirdly, people’s uprisings and movements have taken place in the subcontinent from the time of Asoka. Fourthly, recognizing these and other related factors of a basic nature, after the War of Independence in 1857, the British conceded successive instalments of democracy to the people of India. The process of democratization continued for ninety years until total independence was achieved

“Did the Military Intelligence Chief and his Chief of Staff exploit me or I exploit them?”

in 1947. For over three decades civilian leaders like Mahatma Gandhi and Mohammad Ali Jinnah led the masses of the subcontinent in intensive struggle for independence and freedom. Without political consciousness, without political awakening, agitations against the Salt Tax, the Khilafat Movement, Quit India and Direct Action would not have been possible, and without these convulsions the pillars of British Raj would not have collapsed. Nowhere in Latin America, or Africa or in the Middle East, has the lesson in mass awakening been so long and so persistent as it has been in the subcontinent. The people of the subcontinent, both the Muslim and the Hindus, aroused and inspired by their civilian leaders, struggled and sacrificed not to merely hoist two new flags but to get the fruits of freedom and democracy. Nowadays we are told ever so often that Pakistan was created in the name of Islam. This is true but who created Pakistan? The Muslim masses, galvanized under the civilian leadership of the Quaid-e-Azam and not under a coterie of Generals created Pakistan. This country came into being by a massive movement of the Muslim masses and not through a midnight coup d’etat. The Muslim population and not the Military Generals created Pakistan. This country was created by the people and its independence can be sustained only by the people through their chosen leaders. Only those who created Pakistan in the name of Islam can order their chosen representatives how to ordain that name. A usurper or a coterie carries no mandate to fulfil the task. Nor has the usurper or his coterie been empowered by the people to determine whether this State is being administered in the name of Islam. The interpretation has been done collectively in Parliament and not by an individual or a gang with guns in their hands. The name of Islam does not come out of a barrel of a gun. I entirely agree that the people of Pakistan will not tolerate foreign hegemony. On the basis of the self-same logic, the people of Pakistan would never agree to an internal hegemony. The two hegemonies complement each other. If our people meekly submit to internal hegemony, a priori, they will have to submit to external hegemony. This is so because the strength and power of external hegemony is far greater than that of internal hegemony. If the people are terrified to resist the weaker force, it is not possible for them to resist the stronger force. The acceptance or acquiescence to internal hegemony means submission to external hegemony. The people of this Country will not tolerate either. They will rise against both hegemonies.

Pakistan has been created in the name of Islam by the people. This is accepted but Islam does not exist in Pakistan alone. Islam is the final message of God Almighty to the whole world and not only to the people of Pakistan. The Holy Quran states that God is “Rabil-al-a-Meen,” the Creator of the Universe and of both the Worlds. Islam expands throughout the World. Muslim nations adorn the Continents of Asia, Africa and Europe. Recently, on a visit to Saudi Arabia, the Chief Martial

Law Administrator declared that by virtue of it being the spiritual center of Islam, Saudi Arabia was entitled to the leadership of the Muslim world. Undoubtedly, Saudi Arabia is the spiritual center of Islam, but do such controversies rage in Saudi Arabia as have been provoked by this regime in Pakistan? They do not. Under the enlightened leadership of the Saudi Royal family led by King Khalid, the Kingdom is marching forward without dramatics. A year before he was deposed by the Egyptian Revolution of Abdul Gamal Nasser, King Farooq told the Ambassador of Pakistan to Egypt, that having observed Pakistan for three years since its independence, he felt that Pakistanis behaved as if Islam also came into being on 14 August 1947. Mercifully, the former sovereign of Egypt died years before 5 July 1977. The people of Pakistan and their chosen leaders are Muslims irrespective of what the Chief Election Commissioner might like to say. *The true Muslim is not the one who submits to a coup d'état, but the one who fights like a Mujjahid¹² for the political and economic rights of the oppressed masses.*

In the past, the struggle was carried out on the battlefields; today it is fought in the Parliaments. In the winter of 1960 or 1961 Von Brentano, the Foreign Minister of the Federal Republic of Germany visited Rawalpindi. Manzoor Kadir, the then Foreign Minister and I were asked to attend the meeting he was to have with President Ayub Khan. A substantial identity of views emerged during the discussions. The parting words of President Ayub Khan were that Pakistan had the same traditions as Prussia. Von Brentano, a German aristocrat of Italian origins and perhaps not entirely familiar with the common traits and traditions of the two countries remarked "this information is interesting." I heard President Ayub Khan make the same comments in Bonn to Chancellor Konrad Adenauer, to Foreign Minister Schroeder. In Lahore he repeated these remarks to the Minister for Economic Co-operation with Overseas Countries, Mr. Walter Scheel, now the President of the Federal Republic of Germany. Ayub Khan was not an ordinary person. He had been the Commander-in-Chief of the Pakistan Army for nine to ten years. What made Ayub Khan think that the comparison was so close that he repeated it to successive German leaders?

Having got rid of "the menace" of Napoleon Bonaparte, the Emperors and Kings of Europe gathered in Vienna, the Capital of the Austro-Hungarian Empire to settle on a treaty for peace and stability in Europe. It was the age of the aristocrats. They had staged a recovery from the French Revolution of 1789, defeated Napoleon at Waterloo. With their confidence regained in the belief that history had chosen "the blue blood" of Europe to be its eternal rulers, they framed the status quo. Prince Metternich of Austria was the moving spirit. Despite Talleyrand's genius to extract the best terms for France, in collaboration with Lord Castlereagh, the Foreign Secretary of Britain, Metternich imposed the New Order of Europe in a majestic ceremony in September 1815. The Congress of Vienna had concluded the Treaty of Vienna which was to ensure that the King was the State; a land in which nobility has special privileges and riches; a medley of autocracy and feudalism, with a sprinkling of nascent capitalism, in which the people came last and were suppressed by the two tiers of the nobility and the clergy. On September 26, 1815

Russia, Prussia and Austria signed the Holy Alliance. But within fifteen years the people were on the march again. By 1848 almost all the nations of Central Europe were in revolt. Revolution was in the air. Leaders like Mazzini and Louis Kossuth had emerged to lead and inspire the people. The status quo, evolved with such care at Vienna, was shaken to the ground. Its architect, Prince Metternich fled to London. Later, Benjamin Disraeli was to tell his wife and his mistress that Metternich was "a bore."

Engulfed by the revolutions of Europe, the Prussian Junkers expanded their standing Army. In due course, the Prussian Army had expanded beyond the resources of Prussia. It was evident that the size and capacity of Prussia would not be able to bear the burden for long. The situation became so untenable, that it was said: "Prussia is an Army with a Country and not a Country with an Army." The Prussian Junkers were well aware of the consequences. Three choices stood before them. Either:

- (a) Prussia had to expand to become the pivot of the German fatherland; or
- (b) The large standing Army had to be reduced; or
- (c) Prussia would collapse under the weight of the large standing Army.

Prussia resolved the problem through three wars of expansion. The first war was fought against Denmark in 1864, the second against Austria in 1866 and the third against France in 1870-1. The wars were planned by Prince Otto von Bismarck and executed with dazzling brilliance by General von Moltke. After the war against France, the process of the unification of Germany stood completed. Through her Army, Prussia had more than resolved her military budget problems. On 18 January 1871 a proud Bismarck, flanked by General von Moltke and other politicians and generals declared in an impressive ceremony, "ein Reich, ein Kaiser. The work is done."

Pakistan, like Prussia has a large standing Army. Three wars have been fought by Pakistan. Pakistan's three wars took place approximately eighty years later, in 1948, in 1965 and in 1971. The ceremony in which General Tiger Niazi participated at the Dacca Race Course on 17 December 1971 came a century after the ceremony in which General von Moltke participated.

Civilization means civilian supremacy. *Military coup d'états are a disaster. Even in the Pakistan of Europe, Adolf Hitler did not seize power through a coup d'état. He won a "rigged" election.** Just as Yahya Khan hesitated to transfer power to the elected leaders, Chancellor Hindenburg hesitated to accept the election results in Germany. He transferred power to Adolf Hitler and the Nationalist Socialist Party only after Baron von Papen assured the ailing Chancellor that he would handle Hitler. Mustafa Kamal Pasha came to power in Turkey through revolution and by virtue of glorious victories against the Greeks, supported by France and Britain. In Iran, Raza Shah led a movement to preserve the threatened unity of the Iranian nation. The system of government in Iran is based on uninterrupted monarchical foundations. Strictly speaking, the only military coup d'état that brought glory to its people was that of Napoleon Bonaparte. But Napoleon was a giant. There was no man more complete than him. His military brilliance was only one facet of his many-sided genius. His Napoleonic

Code remains the basic law of many countries. Napoleon was an outstanding administrator, a scholar and a romanticist. In my opinion, his prose was superior to that of Charles de Gaulle. However, even this military dictator with his undoubted genius, took France to the agony of Waterloo.

Those were difficult times. There is historical continuity and yet each epoch has to be judged in its own time and space. In the world of today, we have to draw lessons from contemporary developments without ignoring the past. With the knowledge of our own experience, we must evaluate where we stand. *In this perspective, it can be said that our nation is drowning and is in the hands of those who cannot swim. We have the results of our three coup d'états.**

The signature tune to the overthrow of every civilian government in Pakistan by Martial Law has been entitled "Civil War." However, this eye wash does not wash when an abortive coup d'état is frustrated. In 1951, the Government of Liaquat Ali Khan [Prime Minister from 1947-51] suppressed the attempted coup d'état of Major Gen. Mohammed Akbar Khan, the Chief of General Staff of the Pakistan Army. Prime Minister Liaquat Ali Khan condemned the attempted military take-over in the strongest of terms. He called the conspirators the "enemies" of Pakistan and the "enemies" of democracy. He warned the generals to keep away from politics for the welfare of Pakistan and its unity. He described the coup leaders as selfish individuals. This coup d'état was crushed and a civil war did not follow. If, on the other hand, the conspirators had succeeded, they would have called themselves saviours of Pakistan who had reluctantly stepped in to save the country from a civil war.

Towards the end of 1972 and the beginning of 1973, barely a year after a traumatic civil war had ended with the separation of East Pakistan, another coup d'état was being organized. All tin pot coup d'états are personal in character but this plot was an intensely personal one. General Tikka Khan,¹³ the Chief of the Army Staff, showed me a chart of the relationships and remarked that the attempted coup was from the "family corps." Some senior officers and a number of junior officers related and friendly to a politician, who was formerly in the Armed Forces, were the instigators.¹⁴ The comedy in this would-be coup is that the conspirators wasted half the time in trying to find the ostensible justification for their putsch and that the statement of that politician led the intelligence agencies to the hide-out. The conspirators were tried by their own peers. General Zia-ul Haq was the Presiding Officer of the Court. The 1951 attempt was called the Hyderabad Conspiracy case. When the trial concluded, I summoned General Zia to Rawalpindi for his impressions. He gave me a detailed account of his evaluation of the causes and impulses behind the plot. After hearing him patiently I was struck by the personal and selfish factor that aroused the conspirators. Not a trace, not even the pretence of an objective motivation was available in the cause of that attempt. What made it more melancholy was that it came so soon after the dismemberment of Pakistan in 1971. This meant that the historical tragedies arising out of military rule meant nothing to power blind individuals. The flow of blood was like water down a duck's back. The blunders of military regimes, both internal and external, were not eye openers. The pollution of the Armed Forces by its

involvement in politics had not conveyed any message. The catastrophe of East Pakistan and the surrender of ninety thousand prisoners of war did not teach a single elementary lesson.

Pakistan was established on 14 August 1947 as an Islamic Federal Democratic state. As I have said, the first military coup d'état of General Mohd Akbar Khan was attempted in 1951, three years after the creation of Pakistan. The second quasi-military coup came in October 1954, when Ghulam Mohammed dissolved the sovereign Constituent Assembly of Pakistan. This illegal and unconstitutional action would not have come to fruition without the full backing of General Ayub Khan, the Commander-in-Chief of the Pakistan Army. Without this vital support, Ghulam Mohammed would not have dared. The third quasi-military coup d'état came in October 1955, when, in total violation of the Lahore Resolution of March 1940, Provincial Autonomy was abolished and One-Unit foisted on West Pakistan by the same culprits using the same force that brought the demise of the Constituent Assembly a year earlier.

In October 1958 came the hard stuff: the military coup d'état of General Ayub Khan. In March 1969 came the military coup d'état of General Yahya Khan. In March 1973 the Brigadiers' military coup d'état was scotched. On 5 July 1977 came the existing military coup d'état. This means that in thirty years of the existence of Pakistan there have been:

- (a) Two attempted military coup d'états
- (b) Two quasi-military coup d'états
- (c) Three fully-fledged military coup d'états

Excluding the minor efforts to stop civil war like the martial law of General Azam Khan in Lahore in 1953 during the anti-Ahmedi (Khadiani) agitation, there have been seven major efforts to stop civil war in Pakistan in the last thirty years. It sounds very strange and ironical that the Muslims who unitedly struggled for Pakistan against British Imperialism and Hindu domination, and achieved Pakistan in a miraculous demonstration of unity should be on the verge of civil war every time the Autumn leaves begin to fall. The appetite for aggrandizement, the unquenchable thirst for naked power can become a habit-forming drug. It can bring hallucinations of civil war.

Let us compare these coup d'états with those of the same class in Asia and Africa. The subject is sensitive and only two examples of Asia and one among the many of Africa are being given. In Asia, the successive military coup d'états in Thailand have intensified the secessionist movement in that Country. Had it not been for the bond of unity provided by the Thai monarchy, the Country would have been dismembered by now. In the Philippines, the Martial Law, albeit led by a Civilian President, has accentuated the secessionist movement in Mindanao [Philippine province]. In sharp contrast the fragile and newly created unity of Malaysia, built on the sunken sands of Duncan Sandys, is showing unexpected resilience. It is due to democracy. Let us take India, our "great and dear" neighbor. If India had suffered from martial laws and military dictatorships, on the pattern of Pakistan, India would have been in three or four separate pieces by this day. India is more heterogenous than Pakistan. But India has been kept in one piece by the noise and chaos of her democracy. Only the

example of the most recent coup d'état in Africa is being cited. If the military coup recently witnessed in Mauritania is of the category under consideration, it would inevitably lead to the dismemberment of the Islamic Republic of Mauritania, the second Islamic Republic to face dismemberment.

The issues involved are very grave. But instead the present military regime passes its time producing White Papers which, in fact, are waste paper and should be treated as such. For God's sake, let us address ourselves to the dire national problems. Apart from the earlier retrograde measures taken by this regime, the suspension of Martial Law Regulation 115 promulgated by me to transfer land to the peasants of Baluchistan is pregnant with harm. Suspension of this reform until the settlement of land survey is completed, means its annulment. The former Sardars¹⁵ of Baluchistan are not with you; by annulling a basic reform like this one, you want to lose the peasantry of Baluchistan as well. Even the well cooked "Sajji"¹⁶ of Baluchistan is not a better recipe for secession. This is not the only unpopular measure take by this martial law regime, which has no mandate from the four provinces of Pakistan. It is only natural that when they feel no sense of participation and there is a political wilderness, national unity is eroded and secessionist tendencies are nurtured. This tendency has implications in the field of foreign affairs.

FOREIGN-DOMESTIC LINKAGES

In the sphere of international affairs, duty drives me to put questions which are disconcerting to national interest:

Pakistan-Afghanistan Relations

The policy of blowing hot and cold on Afghanistan will not pay. The complicated web erected by a legacy of three hundred years of history or more, cannot be swept away by lifting the hand of President Daoud at the Shalimar Gardens or by attending receptions at the Afghan Embassy. There is much more to it. The coming developments are linked with two major events. One is the unilateral and unconditional decision on the Hyderabad Tribunal. The other is the revolution in Afghanistan. The regime has not gained much credibility with the new Government in Afghanistan. It has been forced to fall back on the achievements of my Government to halt the inevitable exacerbation.

After an exacting period marked by tensions and troubles, in the first week of June 1976, the former President of Afghanistan, Sardar Mohammed Daoud invited me to Kabul to discuss and settle, what the Afghans call "the only political difference" between Pakistan and Afghanistan. The upshot of the intense discussions in Kabul was that the Afghan side sought the release of NAP leaders being tried by the Special Tribunal at Hyderabad before it would reciprocate by recognizing the Durrand Line as the international border between Pakistan and Afghanistan. On my part, I insisted that *both* actions be taken simultaneously in the form of a package agreement. Although the talks were inconclusive, it was decided that the former President of Afghanistan would visit Pakistan to continue the negotiations. In the meantime, a

historic Joint-Communique, based on the Bandung (Non-Alignment) principles of peaceful co-existence, was issued at the conclusion of the Kabul visit. When President Daoud and his delegation arrived in Pakistan in August 1976, the threads of the Kabul discussions were picked up in the talks in Rawalpindi. After the first round, the delegations of Pakistan and Afghanistan were instructed by their respective leaders to get together to work out a formula for the simultaneous package agreement. From Rawalpindi, the two leaders and their delegations went to Lahore. While President Daoud was given a warm welcome in the Shalimar Gardens, the delegations of both sides were burning the midnight oil to thrash out a written formula. This was finally reached. It called for the recognition by Afghanistan of the Durrand Line as the international frontier and simultaneously, Pakistan would release the NAP leaders and declare a general amnesty. Mr. Aziz Ahmed, at that time, Minister of State for Foreign Affairs, brought the written formula to the Government House at Lahore for my final approval. I studied the formula and said "I am satisfied." So was President Daoud. There was to be a formal ceremony for signing the Agreement in Kabul. Subsequent events prevented the Kabul visit from taking place.

President Daoud came again to Pakistan in early March 1978, but this time, with an air of supreme confidence. It was a different Pakistan from the one he had visited in August 1976. The pendulum had swung in his favor. Eager to enlist the support of Wali Khan in an effort to grasp at any straw to confront me and the Pakistan Peoples Party, the military regime released Wali Khan and the others without the corresponding reciprocity. The "political difference" still remained. This new situation arms the Baluch and Pakhtoon leaders to exploit the unresolved difference to their advantage. The irony is that the military regime forsook the draft Agreement for a foundered aim. NAP¹⁷ will not co-operate with the Junta. It would entail the political suicide of their veteran leaders.

General Zia-ul Haq had two meetings with President Daoud, one in Kabul and the other in Pakistan. Having squandered the opportunities of converting the draft Agreement into a formal treaty before the overthrow of President Daoud, the military regime has been put into a quandary by the revolution in Afghanistan. It has been forced to make amends for its maladroitness reactions on the convulsions in Afghanistan. It took an unnecessarily long time to recognize the present Government. Unwisely, it permitted attacks on the Afghan revolution to appear in the controlled press and also the hostile statements of its stooges in PNA. Due to its lack of vision, it failed to see the difference in the impact between its coup d'état and the revolution in Afghanistan. Although the revolution was spearheaded by the Armed Forces, the new Government is controlled by civilian Party leaders who know the art of politics. The present Afghan Government will not lose sight of its political capital arising out of the mistakes and the weaknesses prevailing in Pakistan. The bird called "quid pro quo" has flown out of the cage. The military regime talks tough one day and soft the next day. This is to be expected because it is operating without a mooring. At this rate, the repercussions are bound to spill over into Iran and India. Just as there are Muslims on both sides of the Durrand Line, so also there are

Muslims in Iran and India. Wrong and faulty steps accompanied by defective judgment will turn the light music of the Horn of Africa into a symphony.

The relations between Afghanistan and Pakistan are back to the starting point. This is all the more tragic as the chapter of strained relations was about to be concluded. When the General went to Kabul, he was even more of a novice in foreign affairs and in the art of Statecraft than he is today. The professionals stood aside and let him enter into a diplomatic duel with the wily Afghan diplomat. It was a predictable conclusion.

Fate has a sadistic way of playing its own pranks. Before leaving for Kabul in June 1976, at a conference at Peshawar which I had summoned to get the views of leading members of my Government on Pakistan's future relations with Afghanistan, the Chief of Army Staff said that he would not like to take the valuable time of the Conference as a "little knowledge is a dangerous thing." He finished his short and modest intervention by saying that he knew that Pakistan's interests in the coming negotiations with Afghanistan could not be in better hands than mine. Yes, indeed, a "little knowledge is a dangerous thing," but who believes in Shakespeare?

Indo-Pakistan Relations

Many questions are relevant. I would like to ask why India was called "a dear and great neighbor" at the banquet given in honor of the Prime Minister of Britain? Or, why has General Zia adopted the phrase "give and take" with regard to solving the problem of Kashmir in a compromising manner? How is the hegemony of India opposed by the Agreement on Salal Dam, and the Rajasthan Canal? The Rajasthan Canal is a multi-purpose project. In addition to being an irrigation project, it is a military fortification which puts into insignificance the fortifications of Pakistan, including the BRP¹⁸ Canal. The Rajasthan Canal is a modern Maginot Line. If, for four years my Government could successfully persuade the Government of Iran not to give India a loan for this project, this regime could have done the same if it had taken the matter seriously.

The most important problem facing India and Pakistan is the problem of Kashmir. Significant steps were made at Simla. Therefore, with what Machiavellian purpose was the canard on a false "secret clause" on Kashmir touted by the controlled press and by some unscrupulous journalists working for the regime in the Ministry of Information and Broadcasting? The regime knows that no such secret clause exists. Still, it encouraged the circulation of this falsehood. The object is clear. It is to pave the way for capitulation by firing the gun from my shoulder. If the 1973 Simla Agreement¹⁹ had contained a secret clause on Kashmir, it would have been made public long ago. Indira Gandhi would have revealed it during her election campaign. The Janata Government would have released it on coming into power. If a secret clause existed, why then did the military regime not disclose it after the coup of 5 July 1977? A barrage of fantastic yarns were told at that time and immediately thereafter. Why then were they shy to tell this one? Even Mr. Vajpayee (Indian Foreign Minister), when he came to Pakistan in February 1978, did not make any such bogus disclosures. Instead of making vague statements, he could have produced the text of the secret agreement and declared

"The object [of the White Paper] is to prejudice the mind of the people of Pakistan against Zulfikar Ali Bhutto, to seek to generate hatred and resentment against him, to demolish his image."

emphatically, "Sorry, Gentlemen, but both India and Pakistan are bound by our former Governments' secret clause, which I produce before you and the world to accept." Mr. Vajpayee said nothing of the kind. He did not even give a hint of such a clause, simply because there is none. On the contrary, he laid stress on the Simla Agreement as it exists and has existed and continues to exist in the shape it was openly arrived at in June 1972. There is nothing more nor less to it.

The propagation of this canard has been used to make two main points. First, that according to the non-existent "secret understanding" the Kashmir dispute cannot be taken to the United Nations. Secondly, that the term "ceasefire line" was changed to the line of control in the Simla Agreement. There is nothing in the Simla Agreement to prevent Pakistan from taking the dispute to the United Nations. The Kashmir dispute has been before the United Nations for the past thirty years. Still the problem has remained unsolved. The PPP government therefore wanted to exhaust the bilateral avenues fully before returning to the United Nations. This conformed to the PPP outlook on the efficacy of the Principle of Bilateralism. The Kashmir dispute is still on the United Nations agenda. It would have been withdrawn if the Simla Agreement had closed the door on the United Nations recourse. The fact that the Kashmir Dispute was maintained by the PPP Government on the United Nations agenda burst the balloon of falsehood floated by the capitulationists. The United Nations is still guarding the Disputed Line. It is short of funds. These UN troops would have been withdrawn at once if the Simla Agreement had precluded the UN from the Kashmir Dispute. During the PPP Government's time, the Indian Government did not dare to request the United Nations to remove the UN troops from the Disputed Line. In the winter of 1976, the Defense Minister of Denmark visited the Danish contingent of the UN Forces at Kashmir on both sides. However, only recently it has been reported by a spokesman of the Indian Home Ministry and significantly not the Indian Foreign Ministry, that when General Zia visits India, the Indians will ask for the withdrawal of the UN Observers. The Indian Home Ministry spokesman said that the withdrawal of UN troops would be asked for in the light of "growing relations." As far as the difference between "ceasefire" and "control" line is concerned, both mean the same thing. The Ceasefire line is a line of control and the line of Control is a ceasefire line. They are interchangeable terms. Objection was not raised in changing the term from ceasefire line to line of control. For more than

25 years, the term Ceasefire line has been used with such frequency and persistence, that it has virtually lost all significance. By changing the terms to a "line of Control," the disputed character of the line was made conspicuous and given a dynamic impetus. It is a dereliction of the basic duty of the nation to guide and prompt the Indians through the controlled press of Pakistan to interpret the nomenclature which is in fact favorable to Pakistan as being favorable to India.

The "growing relations" between India and Pakistan have "grown" ever since 5 July 1977. They have grown with:

- (i) Mr. Vajpayee's visit to Pakistan;
- (ii) Mr. Agha Shahi's visit to India;
- (iii) Salal Dam Agreement;
- (iv) Trade missions, transit negotiations;
- (v) Cultural and sports missions, etc.

After seeing off the Vice-President of Libya on 17 August 1978, in an informal talk with newsmen at the Rawalpindi Airport, the Chief Martial Law Administrator applauded the remarks of the Libyan Vice-President that the good relations between the two countries were not due to personalities. In the next breath, when his attention was drawn to the objection raised by the Foreign Minister of India on the Karakoram Highway, the General inducted the element of personalities in Inter-State relations by stating that personally, he had a great regard for Mr. Vajpayee and that, for the present, he would make no comment. The great personal regard the Chief Martial Law Administrator has for the rabid Jan Sanghi²⁰ leader could not have developed at first sight when they met for two days only at Islamabad last February. Generally a great personal regard develops over a period of time. It is not a secret over a period of time, Atal Bihari Vajpayee [India's Foreign Minister] has been an implacable foe of the Muslims of India. He has been their enemy number one. The communal objectives of his Party reiterated umpteen times by Mr. Vajpayee are to restore Hindu hegemony and supremacy in the sub-Continent. His career in public life has been marked by an intense hatred for the Muslims.

The Chief Martial Law Administrator is the master of his own wisdom. But if the remarks of the Libyan Vice-President were quoted with approval, there was no reason for introducing the personal factor in answer to the important question on the Karakoram Highway. Without demur, the Chief Martial Law Administrator should have seized the opportunity to declare that India has no *locus standi* in the matter. When it comes to a supreme national interest, like the strategic Karakoram Highway, the Chief Martial Law Administrator lumps the crude and insulting interference of India, by saying that he would make no comment beyond expressing his great regard for Mr. Vajpayee. When it comes to the prevention of my assassination, he raves and rants on what he erroneously describes as foreign interference.

Ever since the inauguration of the Karakoram Highway, for the last two months, India has been screaming loud protests over the "illegal" construction of this highway. It was suggested in the Lok Sabha (Indian Lower House) that in view of the construction of the highway, the Indian Foreign Minister should cancel his visit to China scheduled for October this year. The Indian Foreign Minister assured the members of the Lok Sabha that during his visit to China he would definitely

take up with the Chinese Government the "illegal" construction of the Highway, linking Pakistan with China through the illegally occupied part of India's Kashmir by Pakistan.

The Prime Minister of India also expressed his objection on similar grounds when he recently visited Srinagar and said that the whole of Jammu and Kashmir was an integral part of India, and that that was all there was to it. However, when at last, when there is an opportunity for the Chief Martial Law Administrator to remove all misgivings and tell the people that Pakistan would never countenance Indian interference and hegemony, he comes out with a limpid remark betraying trepidation. The dispute between India and Pakistan will not be dissolved by a dance.

Non-Aligned Conference

Were all the implications fully assessed before deciding to attend the Preparatory Conference of the Non-Aligned Nations at Belgrade? An insult was inflicted on Pakistan by attending that Conference as a second-class citizen in the comity of the Non-Aligned Nations. Anticipating these complications, my Government did not accept the offer of many friendly Non-Aligned countries to sponsor Pakistan's participation at the Non-Aligned Conference at Colombo in August 1976. When I visited Sri Lanka in January 1976, Prime Minister Bandaranaike enquired why I was reluctant to attend the Conference when so many of Pakistan's Non-Aligned friends were keen to see Pakistan participate as an "Observer." I told Madame Bandaranaike that even if invited to attend the Non-Aligned Conference in August 1976, Pakistan would politely decline the invitation because Pakistan is an Aligned State. Pakistan is aligned by virtue of CENTO (Central Treaty Organization). Recently, for the first time in the history of CENTO, Pakistan participated in a military exercise of CENTO outside the territorial jurisdiction and responsibility of CENTO. The military exercise took place in Scotland in NATO territory. How puzzling it is for Pakistan to strengthen her aligned status by linking NATO and CENTO through military exercises never undertaken before, and, simultaneously wanting to participate as a mere Observer in the Non-Aligned Conference in July 1978. This is an elementary contradiction hard to fathom.

The examples of Yugoslavia and Romania attending the Non-Aligned Conference as Observers cannot be furnished as a justification for Pakistan to follow suit. Yugoslavia and Romania do not have territorial disputes with a single Non-Aligned Nation. Pakistan has serious disputes with two important and influential Non-Aligned States. Both these neighbors of Pakistan attend the Non-Aligned Conference not as Observers at the tender mercy of others but as founder members. By attending the Conference as an Observer, Pakistan put herself into a nut-cracker. She has placed herself with the disadvantages of inequality of status. Our two neighbors were on home ground and among legitimate members of the family. Such problems do not apply to Yugoslavia or Romania. They can safely attend as Observers. They are European countries, giving aid or assistance to most of the Non-Aligned Countries. They belong to an entirely different category. Their parallel does not hold good for Pakistan.

But more important, Yugoslavia and Romania have no

objection to India gate-crashing into an Islamic Summit Conference. It will be recalled that India almost gate-crashed into the first Islamic Conference held at Rabat, Morocco. As her reasons for attending the Islamic Summit Conference, India pointed out her 70,000,000 Muslim population. The feeling was that by attending the Islamic Summit Conference, a big country like India would get closer to the Arab/Muslim cause and further from Israel. Whatever the compulsions, India almost got entry into the first Islamic Summit Conference, although "secular India" is a "Hindu State." If aligned Pakistan can attend a Non-Aligned Conference, would Pakistan be able to prevent Hindu India from attending the next Islamic Summit Conference? Once the basic criterion of this nature is compromised, there is no limit to its scope. Each State is captive of her own history. Just as the examples of Yugoslavia and Romania do not apply, nor do those of Portugal and Turkey. Portugal is not involved any more in the disputes of the Non-Aligned States. She would not have sought participation if she still held Goa in dispute or had not vacated Angola and Mozambique. The history of Turkey is far too glorious to come under suspicion. India has consented to Pakistan's second-class participation in the Conference to embarrass Pakistan and to set a precedent for her own participation in the next Islamic Summit. She has killed two birds with one stone.

When General Yahya Khan, the then Chief Martial Law Administrator belatedly recognized the monstrosity of his mistake at Rabat by almost agreeing to the presence of India at the First Islamic Summit Conference, he shut himself up in the Guest House. With eyes full of tears, he begged the Shahinshah of Iran, King Faisal of Saudi Arabia and King Hassan of Morocco to rescue him. The other distinguished members of the Pakistan delegation chose to drown their sorrows in a night club. The Ambassador of Pakistan to Morocco, Akbar Tayabji was the host. His guests included Agha Shahi (the present foreign policy advisor) and Major General Omar, the (military intelligence) Major Domo of Yahya Khan. At the night club, General Omar jokingly introduced Agha Shahi as the Foreign Minister of Pakistan. Shahi told General Omar not to joke like that. Seven years later, that is not the only joke which has come true.

It is not honorable to travel on false documents, nor to enter an International Conference on a fake Passport. It is not necessary to enter every place through the back door. If non-alignment is all that important, if we are so anxious to show our identity to an Independent Foreign Policy, the honorable course is to renounce CENTO, become a truly Non-Aligned State and attend the Non-Aligned Conference as a full participant through the front door and with head held high. The "to be or not to be," the neither fish nor flesh, the "katchi abadi"²¹ participation has caught us in the middle of the storm, despised by the Non-Aligned, distrusted by the Aligned and devalued by the Socialist States.

It is repeated, if Pakistan considers non-alignment to be so important as to sneak into its Conference by favor, sitting outside the main Shamiyana,²² it is more honorable to become Non-aligned and enter the Conference as of right and as a member of the family. In this manner, having met the generic test of classification, Pakistan would be morally obliged to reject the efforts of India to circumvent the test for the Islamic

Conference. An Aligned State should not therefore seek to participate in a Non-Aligned Conference in any capacity if it is placed in similar conditions. If it seeks to take advantage of an expedient and a chaotic definition of classification to its benefit, that State should also be prepared to permit the same promiscuity of definition to other States to its advantage in a different setting. "He who seeks equity must do equity," or, to use common phraseology, "what is good for the goose is good for the gander."

WHAT ABOUT THE NUCLEAR REPROCESSING PLANT?

After three years of intense negotiations, the Nuclear Reprocessing Plant Agreement was signed between France and Pakistan in March 1976. France was fully satisfied on the *safeguards*. The Agreement was concluded between my Government on behalf of Pakistan and the Government of President Giscard d'Estaing on behalf of France. The International Atomic Energy Commission at Vienna *confirmed* the Agreement. The United States representative on the Commission voted in favor of confirmation. The necessary confirmation and approval by the International Atomic Energy Commission would not have come if the Commission was not completely satisfied with the safeguards. In August 1976, I rejected the counter proposals of the United States. At that time, the French Government expressed its indignation over American interference. A consistent position was taken by France on the original Agreement until 5 July 1977.

After tantalizing the people of Pakistan for fourteen months and keeping the Armed Forces on tenter hooks, at last General Zia had to mention in his press conference in Rawalpindi on 23 August 1978, that he had received a very polite letter from the President of France but it did not serve the purpose. He added ominously that France wanted modifications in the contract through negotiations. So that is it.

The President of France has offered a face-saver but has not saved the plutonium separating capacity of the Plant. This means the end of the saga. In changing its position, the French Government has evoked the doctrine of "Rebus sic Stantibus." The French Government concluded the Agreement with a Civilian and Constitutional government, not with a Military and Dictatorial regime. The Agreement was concluded with an elected Prime Minister of International stature who had earned the respect and the confidence of three successive Presidents of France—de Gaulle, Pompidou and Giscard d'Estaing, and not with an incredible Chief Martial Law Administrator who keeps breaking his promises to his own people. The awesome implications of these developments were not weighed when there was a rush to join in the conspiracy to overthrow my Government. At that time, the typical "Baad mei dekha jai ga" attitude prevailed (we will see later). But this issue of the Nation's life and death did not deserve such a flip-pant and callous approach. It must never be forgotten that politics carries its own dynamics. Now that the water carriers in the safari have come face to face with the Super Power shikaris, they have got hoist by their own petard.

What does the regime propose to do to meet the threat of this qualitative change? More foreign aid? Now that it is officially admitted that the Nuclear Reprocessing Plant is lost, with or without foreign aid, Pakistan would have to unquestionably move towards steeper dependence and alien-reliance. It will be more at the mercy of those who are professionals in the art of nuclear blackmail. India is getting uranium from the United States despite the stiff letter President Carter threatened to send to the Indian Prime Minister after his talks with Morarji Desai in New Delhi. The stiff letter means nothing to the Indian Prime Minister as long as he gets the uranium from the United States for India to explode more nuclear devices. General Zia, in contrast, is thrilled by the "very polite letter" from President Giscard d'Estaing in which he has been told that the Agreement will have to be re-negotiated to deny Pakistan the promised nuclear capability. The French are a very cultured people. They stopped hanging their political leaders two hundred years ago. It was but natural that in making a volte face on such a basic Agreement, the French President had to select the politest words from the vocabulary of the rich French language to inform General Zia of the sad demise of the pretty plant. The politest of letters cannot match the pain and the punishment. But riddled by complexes, General Zia had to add insult to injury by saying that it was a "very polite letter." What a fall, my Countrymen! What a shattering blow to the dream of a lifetime.

I have been actively associated with the Nuclear Program of Pakistan from October 1958 to July 1977, a span of nineteen years. I was concerned directly with the subject as Foreign Minister, as Minister for Fuel, Power and Natural Resources and as Minister in charge of Atomic Energy. When I took charge of Pakistan's Atomic Energy Commission, it was no more than a signboard of an office. It was only a name. Assiduously and with granite determination, I put my entire vitality behind the task of acquiring nuclear capability for my Country. I sent hundreds of young men to Europe and North America for training in nuclear science. I commissioned Edward Stone to build PINSTECH and laid its foundation stone in the then wilderness of Islamabad. I negotiated the agreement for the 5-MW Research Reactor located in PINSTECH. In the teeth of opposition from Finance Minister Shoaib and Deputy Chairman of Planning Commission, Said Hasan, I negotiated with success to obtain from Canada the 137 MW Karachi Nuclear power plant and performed its opening ceremony. Towards the middle of 1976, I gave the approval for the Chashma Nuclear Power Plant. And of course, I negotiated and concluded the Nuclear Reprocessing Plant Agreement with France in 1976. Due to my singular efforts, Pakistan acquired the infra-structure and the potential of nuclear capability. It was not a simple task to catch up the lost time in a poor and underdeveloped Country like ours. When I assumed charge of Atomic Energy, Pakistan was about twenty years behind India's program. When I ceased to be Prime Minister, I believe, that at the most, Pakistan was five to six years behind India. If the internal opposition to the nuclear program had not come from the beginning from certain powerful Ministers and bureaucrats, I could have further narrowed, even reduced the gap. A country does not have to be merely wealthy to possess nuclear capability. If that were

the only requirement, every OPEC country would have nuclear capability. The essential pre-requisite is the infra-structure. For this reason, I gave the highest priority to train thousands of nuclear scientists in foreign countries. Now we have the brainpower, we have the nuclear power plant in Karachi. All we needed was the Nuclear Reprocessing Plant. Arrangements for the heavy water, the uranium and the fuel fabricating plant had been made. We were on the threshold of full nuclear capability, when I left the Government to come to this death cell. We know that Israel and South Africa have full nuclear capability. The Christian, Jewish and Hindu civilizations have this capability. The Communist Powers also possess it. Only the Islamic civilization was without it but that position was about to change.

Kissinger Blackmail

Dr. Henry Kissinger, the Secretary of State for the United States, has a brilliant mind. He told me that I should not insult the intelligence of the United States by saying that Pakistan needed the Reprocessing Plant for her energy needs. In reply, I told him that I will not insult the intelligence of the United States by discussing the energy needs of Pakistan, but in the same token, he should not insult the sovereignty and self-respect of Pakistan by discussing the plant at all. The General got the lemon—"limbo"—from the President of France. Pakistan got the "ladu."²³ The PNA got the "halva."²⁴ I got the Death Sentence. What difference does my life make now when I can imagine eighty million of my Countrymen standing under the nuclear cloud of a defenseless sky. The universal demand of the hour is that the regime should come out with a three volume White Paper on this issue of the Nation's life and death. No other problem is exercising the minds of the people more than this Supreme question. It is about time the regime straightened out its priorities. I did not rig the elections but is rigging an election worse than losing nuclear capability? The sovereignty and security of the State have been mounted on the gallows. The gallows that are loved and cherished for personal vengeance are ready for the neck of the Nation. The issue, being of paramount importance, the White Paper should be sub-divided into three parts, containing as annexures all official documents of any relevance to the subject:

- Volume I – Pakistan's efforts to acquire Nuclear capability.
- Volume II – The Conspiracy against the effort of Pakistan to acquire Nuclear capability.
- Volume III – The success of the Conspiracy and its Consequences.

All the three volumes should be documented fully with official documents, notes and memoranda as annexures on the precedent of the White Paper Volume I released on 25 July 1978 and Volume II released on 28 August 1978. What a wondrous achievement the regime has made to give vent to hatred. But surely, personal hatred and envy do not go to the extent of causing fundamental and irrevocable harm to National interest merely to deny me the honor of having been a faithful and diligent servant of the State?

National interests are not served by the advancement of personal amourpropre. I have always tried to serve the supreme national interest. I took pains to uphold the prestige and reputation of the Armed Forces. Even now, my open commentary

upon the Hamoodur Rehman Report [on the causes of the 1971 India-Pakistan War] would irreparably damage the name of the Armed Forces. Therefore, despite the gravest provocation and inhuman treatment, I will refrain. There are two significant references to the Hamoodur Rehman Report in the White Paper, which show how another effort is being made to turn virtue into vice.

All the Senior Military Officers who had access to the Hamoodur Rehman Report were of the unanimous view that the report should not be published. Whenever I held a meeting to consider the publication of the Report, each one of the Senior Officers of the Armed Forces vehemently opposed the idea. In deference to their wishes, and out of respect for the Army, I did not release the Report despite the enormous pressure from the public and the Opposition Parties. I took the cruel and unkind brunt of the vicious attacks to protect the honor and the name of the Armed Forces and this is how I am being repaid for it. The Military regime has been in power for a year and a month. It has released all sorts of filth and lies to malign me with the object of turning the people against me. The regime would have jumped the gun to release the Hamoodur Rehman Report if its nefarious purpose of maligning me had been served by it. The military regime is not releasing the Report because it is a severe indictment of the Armed Forces and the military hierarchy. In a press conference in Lahore about four months ago, the Chief Martial Law Administrator tried to play down the substance of the Report. He said that he had read it and there was nothing important in it. According to his yardstick, only those things are important which might damage me. Nothing else is important to him. The Report is important. It is a story of rape, plunder and loot. If, in those days, lashing were a punishment for rape and cutting off hands for theft, I would shudder to think of the number of handless persons. Since "purifying the blood of Bengalis" is not rape, the President of Pakistan could have exercised his powers of mercy. The Report exposes the macabre conspiracy of Yahya Khan and his clique. The color of the map of Bengal had to be painted red. What a colorful directive from a General whose skin I saved with honor but who nevertheless went to London to influence Jam Sadiq Ali²⁵ to become an Approver in a false murder case against me! The passage in the White Paper on page 106 shows that, due to the clamor, I was reflecting on the demand but that I was requested to consider further the tentative decision to the release of the item. The passage in the White Paper is in italics and it reads:

"In the discussion, it was concluded that any formal exposition of the 1971 War, and events preceding it, outside Hamoodur Rehman's report would raise new issues, accelerate and encourage the demand for the publication of Hamoodur Rehman's report and would be counter-productive. It was decided to request the Prime Minister to reconsider this item."

On page 107, the White Paper states:

"The other hot topic was 'the 1971 war and events preceding it' and the conclusion offered that 'any formal exposition outside Hamoodur Rehman's report would raise new issues, accelerate and encourage the demand for the publication of Hamoodur Rehman's report and would be counterproductive.' Mr. Bhutto agreed with

the line of action suggested with a cryptic 'It can be omitted'."

The passage on page 107 is a reproduction of the earlier reference but it includes my concurrence to the recommendation. This clearly shows that in a conflict of interest, I chose to sacrifice our political interests to safeguard the reputation and honor of the Armed Forces. I am receiving a wonderful token of gratitude. Instead of being beholden to me, a sadistic effort has been made to turn the tables on me. This is the meaning of "Idhar ham udhar tum", [here I am, there you stay], an expression I did not use in that distorted form; but it has come out to be true. There, the Bengalis were given hell and here we are being given hell. Over there the Bengali politicians were not fit to rule. Over here we are not fit to rule. Democracy is unworkable in Bengal. Democracy is unworkable here. Over there, the masses had to be exploited by Big Business and over here our masses have to be exploited by Big Business. Over there, the Bengalis had to get their danda [stick] and over here we have to get the danda. Idhar ham udhar tum.

The Chief Martial Law Administrator quoted me at the Quetta Airport on my analysis of the three forces that had emerged on the political scene as a consequence of the elections of December 1970. I have commented on this matter earlier. It would have been more germane to the present crisis, if the Chief Martial Law Administrator had taken the trouble to quote me on the ambivalent warnings I gave at that time on the continuation of the Army's role in the politics of Pakistan. General Zia-ul-Haq should have added Mr. Bhutto also said:

"The inescapable conclusion is that the people must participate in government. With military operations continuing in the East Wing, with India on the point of going to war, with mounting frustration in the West Wing, the present military regime cannot continue its military-bureaucratic rule and hope to overcome the crisis. Only a genuine representative government, having the confidence and support of the people, can succeed. For this reason, the People's Party believes that, representing the people, it is not only its right but its duty to call for an early transfer of power to the elected representatives. If there is delay in the transition from military rule, the Country may well reach the point of no return within a matter of months. (*The Great Tragedy*)

The General should have further stated that on 29 September 1971, Mr. Bhutto stated that:

"It is our considered opinion that, if democracy is not restored before the end of the year, it will be too late to salvage and save Pakistan. Let me now put everyone on notice that the present regime cannot cope with the mess. O my people! Let this long night of terror and uncertainty come to an end. The rule of the Generals must end and the people of Pakistan must take their destiny in their own hands."

The Chief Martial Law Administrator should have still further stated that Mr. Bhutto said:

"We have inherited a terrible legacy of unforgivable mistakes. We have become answerable for the sins of the Old Guard. Superficial minds without an elementary knowledge of politics, without any sense of history, have made fundamental political decisions which have

brought Pakistan perilously close to ruin.” (*The Great Tragedy*)

These were the unpleasant realities of 1970-71 that I articulated with foresight. As the elected leader, it was my duty to warn the people of Pakistan of the coming doom. The Junta of Yahya Khan paid no heed to my repeated warnings. The doom came.

Eight years have gone by and today an altogether different situation prevails. The crisis is deeper and more serious than the crisis of 1970-71. *In 1970 the danger was of losing East Pakistan. In 1978, the danger is of losing all of what remains of Pakistan. In 1970 there were three political forces on the scene.* * In 1978 there are only two political forces on the scene—the People and the Army. The cushions of 1970 have vanished. The gulf between the People and the Army is widening. The question is plain. Who is to be in charge of Pakistan—the People or the Army? Who is to order the life of our society—Parliament or the Generals? Will the people decide their own future or not? The conditions are inexorably leading towards the final confrontation. The outcome can be appalling in the extreme.

Spain had such a conflict. More than forty years have passed but the memory of that period haunts the mind of the Spanish people like a living nightmare. Spain is still crippled by its grievous injuries. Earlier, Islam was uprooted from Spain not due to Ferdinand and Isabella, as Western historians would try to establish. Islam saw its Granada due to the treachery and envy of Muslim Damascus towards Muslim Cordova. Ferdinand and Isabella were only the Chief Election Commissioners—Maulvi and his Jan.²⁶ Spain presents two warnings to Pakistan—one is of a deadly confrontation between the People and the Army and the other is the danger of the liquidation of this Islamic State. The Spanish say “*Todo por la Patria.*” The Pakistanis say “*Pakistan Zindabad.*” (“*Long Live Pakistan*”) *Basque is the Baluchistan of Spain, and Andalusia, the Sind of Pakistan.* *

Catholicism was the answer to all problems in Spain. Pakistan also has the answer to all the problems. In case of doubt reference should be made to Afzal Cheema²⁷ of Rani’s “home town.” Mahatma Gandhi once observed that if Islam is uprooted from the subcontinent, it will flourish elsewhere, but if Hinduism is uprooted from the subcontinent, it would be the end of Hinduism. The meaning of the remark was that if Hinduism had to be protected at the cost of uprooting Islam from the subcontinent, there was a justification for it. Is it the aim to prove that Gandhi was a Mahatma? Only recently, Muslims have been slaughtered in four or five towns of Shaikh Abdullah’s Kashmir. The General should not rest on his follies and false vanity. He should know that the choice is quickly getting limited to one between a new Granada or a new Kerbella. I am the only person in Pakistan who can stop this confrontation. It would be a sweet death to die in such an endeavor. I would consider it a signal honor to lay down my life in the battle to prevent the final catastrophe. I will address myself to this herculean task with an all-consuming energy. I was born to make a nation, to serve a people, to overcome an impending doom. I was not born to wither away in a death cell and to mount the gallows to fulfill the vindictive lust of an ungrateful and treacherous man. I was not born to be humiliated and

insulted by a barbaric and spiteful clique. I was born to bring emancipation to the people and to honor them with a self-respecting destiny. Sooner or later for every people there comes a day to storm the Bastille. The people of France charged on this symbol of hatred on 14 July 1789. The people of Pakistan are bound to have their day of Bastille if not in 1978 in 1989. The day is coming and nobody has yet been born to stop its advent. I am the only person to reverse the march towards self annihilation. I have the confidence of the people and I love my land too much to lose the respect I have for the Armed Forces as an Institution. The time is at hand. The time for playing marbles is over. I say again, the solution, although fading, is still in sight:

- (a) The Country wants the Constitution
- (b) The Nation wants Democracy
- (c) The People want Parliament
- (d) The Provinces want Autonomy
- (e) The Proletariat and the Peasantry want the Pakistan People’s Party.

Do you understand? This is what the People want. Stop trying to be a Mehdi.²⁸

DEMOCRACY

While giving an interview to the Chief Executive, the Chief Martial Law Administrator confided that by democracy, he did not mean the Westminster type but one suited to local conditions such as the “very good experiment with Basic Democracy.” But how good was the experiment? To pacify the urge of participation of the firebrand Bengalis, the British introduced a sort of basic democracy system in Bengal decades ago. Mr. Manzur Qadir, the Foreign Minister in Ayub Khan’s regime, picked it up, and, with modifications, advised President Ayub to launch it as a panacea for the political malaise of Pakistan.

Ayub Khan was attracted by the scheme. Gradually, he became enthused with the idea. Basic Democracies was the final solution. In it he found a manageable civilian power base, a wider constituency than his own small and slippery constituency of the GHQ [General Headquarters]. Hooked to the bureaucracy and glued to organized corruption, the scheme looked like a built-in machine for self-perpetuation. A day after the outlines of the New Order were announced to the Nation, Ayub Khan, General Burki and I went to Khengarh for a partridge shoot. Our host had cultivated a close friendship with Ayub Khan from the early days of his appointment as Commander-in-Chief of the Pakistan Army. He was an uneducated tribal chief and a zamindar [British-created landed aristocracy]. During the lunch Ayub Khan asked our host if he had heard of the new system. The zamindar said that he had heard the broad outlines on the radio. President Ayub Khan then asked, “What do you think of it?” The zamindar had no idea of Ayub Khan’s intense captivation by the scheme. His response was, “Let’s hope it will work, Jenab.” Ayub Khan was surprised at his reply. “But why are you doubtful?” he asked. The illiterate zamindar made the following points:

(a) People have exercised the right of adult franchise for over twenty years. The curtailment or abolition of adult franchise by the new system will cause resentment;

(b) The bureaucracy would become more powerful, more arrogant and more unsympathetic towards the public;

(c) The bureaucrats and the basic democrats would join hands to fleece the general public;

(d) By and large the members elected from a tiny constituency would be the “badmash” type of individuals [crooks];

(e) Since the constituency would be very small, rivalries and feuds would erupt between “father and son” and “brother and brother” for membership and thereby carry the heat of personal ambition and vendetta into every hut in every village;

(f) It would create a class of petty Brahmins and public would resent the emergence of these Brahmins;

(g) It would corrupt the political life of the Country.

I had not heard a better exposé or a more lucid analysis of Basic Democracies from my colleagues in the Government. It was remarkable that, having heard only once the broad outlines of the scheme on the radio, this uneducated zamindar was able to dart out cogent reasons with devastating ease.

The other zamindars sitting in the shamiana noticed Ayub Khan’s facial expression settle into unhappy lines. Ayub Khan was distressed. On the way back to Karachi he told me that a man of Ali Gohar’s limited vision could not be expected to comprehend the benefits of the new system. Six months later the zamindar died of cirrhosis of the liver. On my return to Karachi, I informed Ayub Khan that I had gone to Khangarh to offer condolences to the family of the Sardar. Ayub Khan remarked that he was very sorry to learn of the death of his very close friend. He added, “The trouble with him was that he drank too much.” After a moment’s silence, he added, “Probably he was drunk that morning when he criticized the Basic Democracies system.”

Ten years later Ayub Khan discovered that it was he who had become intoxicated with the Basic Democracies system. At his Round Table conference, Ayub Khan was forced to admit that the Basic Democracies system had failed. If the system was unacceptable in 1953 and was overturned by the people in 1969, no whitewashed version of this discredited vestigial organ will be acceptable to the people in 1978.

The Junta has maintained that the people of Pakistan are “emotional” and “illiterate.” The trouble is that there are two worlds in Pakistan—the world of the Masses and the world of the Masters. There is the people’s image of themselves and there is the arrogant coterie’s image of the people. We trust the people and their wisdom implicitly. We do not think that the people are children who can be led by a Pied Piper or that they are lambs driven into the slaughter house. I am not a master of Urdu oratory. Men like Ataullah Shah Bukhari²⁹ were the masters. Stirred and emotionally excited by the speeches of Bukhari, the people still did not vote for him or for orators like him. But they heard my poor and broken Urdu [national language of Pakistan] and because they are poor and broken, they reposed blind confidence in me. I have never betrayed and will not betray that confidence even now, as I sit in the shadow of the valley of death. The time-honored verdict of ascertaining the validity of this assertion is available if there is a scintilla of doubt. Let the people voice the verdict through the vote. Let the people indicate through the mark on the ballot paper if I have betrayed them or taken them to the hitherto unknown heights of self-respect and recognition.

*He told me I had three alternatives:
(a) forget the nuclear reprocessing plant and the imminent unity of the Opposition will not materialize.
(b) Postpone the elections, or,
(c) Face very grave consequences.*

The purpose of holding an election is vitiated if the result is to be guaranteed beforehand. No political party can guarantee “positive results.” Positive results to the Junta’s taste means positive rigging to their taste. Every illegal stratagem has been employed for the past fourteen months to eliminate the Pakistan People’s Party in order to pave the road for “positive results.” Now with great pomp and ceremony, a Civilian Cabinet has been set up like a puppet show and a date for elections has been announced. They are to be held in October 1979. I am not fooled. The people are not fooled. These changes are no changes at all. The Chief Martial Law Administrator still runs the show. It is still a military regime. It is still Martial Law. The Constitution has been violated. It has been torn to shreds. The date of October 1979 is too vague. It comes too late. There is no assurance to the people and no guarantee that their rights and liberties will be restored. In actual fact, the Chief Martial Law Administrator has merely shielded himself behind a smoke screen of more promises.

The doctrine of necessity has already gone overboard. The Supreme Court Judgment of Begum Nusrat’s [Mrs. Bhutto] Petition has long since been cast to the winds. The Supreme Court recognized the doctrine of necessity on the grounds that the regime would hold elections with dispatch as solemnly promised. Early elections constituted the pre-condition to the recognition of the doctrine of necessity. The military regime has had no shame in declaring, “The next election will be fought by the various political parties without intervention, providing that they assure me and the Nation that an election will bring positive results.” Its weak, feeble gesture does not hold water. Making an “effort” to hold polls once “conditions” have been “created” is nothing more than another effort to dupe the people. In reality, the Chief Martial Law Administrator fears elections. He talks about “positive results” and clearing the economic mess in order to procrastinate. Defeat and failure represent these conditions.

The economic mess has been created by the Junta Chief and his antediluvian and obsolete policies. He and his regime cannot clear the economic mess as he and his collaborators are the fountain heads of the mess that has accumulated in the past year. This is not the first time that the Chief Martial Law Administrator has laid down preconditions. Last time, he talked about firstly, clearing the economic mess and secondly, the ensurance of positive results. Now, he has merely used different words to disguise his deceit. Without going into the absurdities of the preconditions he sets, it is more pertinent to note that a positive legal and constitutional consequence flows

from his decision to flout the essential stipulation in the Supreme Court Judgment. Who is going to take cognizance of this flagrant violator of the letter and spirit of the Supreme Court Judgment? Who can take notice of a man who has said "whether it is or isn't constitutional, power in Pakistan will always be wielded by the man who sits in the chair of the Chief of Army Staff." If this is a formal declaration of the Army's permanent role in the politics of Pakistan, it means that the formal seal has already been affixed. Neither a democratic system nor a non-democratic system can brook such participation.

In one system the ascendancy is of the civilian elected government and, in the other, is the ascendancy of the Party. In both systems the Armed Forces are subordinate to the civilian government and under its control and direction. If the sovereignty and unity of a country is not safe in the supreme hands of the people and their elected representatives, it cannot be safe in any other hands. It is an insult to the people and their patriotism to impose a non-elected, salaried watchdog as the sentinel of national unity. This would be the death knell to national unity. Certainly armies are ordered to suppress rebellions, insurgencies and revolts. This has happened in most countries and will continue to happen in the future. But a temporary exigency cannot be converted into a permanent feature of national life. Parallel and competing sources of power would be a paradise for intrigues and plots. It would undermine and undercut authority. External colonialism foisted on our people diarchy. Internal colonialism is following suit with a vengeance. A supra-authority cannot be created above the supreme and sovereign parliament on a flimsy pretext. Two sovereigns cannot co-exist under one sovereignty. Such a situation provides no place for politics and, if there is no place for politics, there is no place left for polity.

I have seen the writing on the wall. I warned of it in October 1977. I told the Supreme Court in the Constitutional Writ Petition that, if the Constitution were to be held in abeyance beyond the briefest period, the argument might arise that the autonomy of the four Provinces voluntarily surrendered by them under the Constitution of 1973 would revert to them.³⁰ I emphasized with anguish the need to make the legal fiction of the suspension of the Constitution plausible by fixing an assured time limit for elections. When one of the Justices asked, whether I was suggesting a time limit to Martial Law, I replied by saying, "Exactly; your Lordship has understood exactly what I am driving at." This is a far cry from saying that I told the Supreme Court that regions could secede from the federation if they so chose. There is a fundamental difference between this mischievous attribution and what I actually stated in the Supreme Court on the implications of the indefinite suspension of the Grand Norm. This submission applies with equal force to any major amendments in the Constitution of 1973. If the inordinate delay in restoring the Constitution is coupled with arbitrary amendments, especially on fundamental settled issues like the electorate, it will be difficult to maintain a straight face and say that the Constitution of 1973 is still alive. In that position, all options will be re-opened de novo, including whether autonomy is to be "fullest," "total" or less than fullest or less than total. These fundamental and grave issues on

Pakistan's future existence will have to be settled by consensus of the new elected representatives in a *free* and *fair* election held without delay. The extent of autonomy is naturally determined through a consensus arrived at by the newly elected representatives.

I am not saying that the Constitution of 1973 is dead. This will depend on how much longer it is going to be kept in animated suspension, and whether it is going to be subjected to amendments. If free and fair elections are not held very soon and if the Constitution is amended, in that case it will be an illusion to think that the Constitution of 1973 is still the Supreme Law of the Land. The only prerequisites for an election are that they should be free and fair, not that they should be lumped together with the economy and Nizam-i-Mustafa.³¹ Whether or not the Constitution is scrapped, a new consensus should be sought by the correct and unquestionable legal procedures and genuine political authority.

Pakistan: Land of Coups

A coup d'état is an unpleasant experience. It leaves behind a dreadful legacy. *Pakistan, the land of the pure, has become coup-istan.* * If a coup d'état becomes a permanent part of the political infrastructure, it means the falling of the last petal of the last withered rose. It means the end. Many nations have existed from time immemorial. Even the eternal nations cannot risk this type of adventure, or misadventure. States which were liberated after the two World Wars cannot take a gamble of this nature with their unity. New states have been created out of existing States by the will of the People. Without the struggle of the People and without their sacrifices, this category of new States would not have come into existence. And if they cannot be trusted to maintain the unity of their own creation, the *raison d'être* of the struggle and the sacrifice disappears. It becomes archaic if the custodian of its survival is the chair of the Chief of Army Staff. A permanent role for the Army in the politics of Pakistan was not envisaged by the Quaid-e-Azam. The very thought was abhorrent to him. He advised the Cadets at Kakul to be loyal to the Government and faithful to the Constitution in letter and in spirit. I was not aware of this speech of the Quaid-e-Azam. The day before my departure for a short tour of the Middle East at the end of June 1977, the Chief of Army Staff, General Zia-ul-Haq drew my attention to this speech while he drove with me from the airport to my residence in Karachi. He said that for him, loyalty to my Government was a clear and firm duty laid down by the Quaid-e-Azam.

What nervous compulsions lie behind the anachronistic changes? What morbid motives cause these about turns? What confused complexes prompt these utterances? The nostalgia for the "Golden Era" of Ayub Khan, the admiration for basic democracies, the yearning for election results that are positive in the eye of the beholder, the suicidal thought of a permanent role for the Army in the politics of Pakistan, are notions which can cross the minds of those who stand outside the gate of history. Such ideas can appeal only to a fossilised mind, to a conservative mind wanting to drag Pakistan into the backwardness of the past. If a return to the past is not possible, the maximum the regime is willing to concede is the permanent institutionalization of the status quo. The debilitating dream of

a permanent status quo is the symptom of a society which has come to the end of its growth. Horace observed that man is "born under the malignant influence of change." In my opinion, change need not be maleficent provided it is brought about by the genius of the people and not by malignant minds overcome by megalomania.

PARTY FUNDS AND FOREIGN HELP

Proceeding on the premises of the White Paper, the subject of Party funds should follow that of corruption. In dealing with Party funds, the White Paper has cast aspersions on me and the PPP Government. It has not hesitated to falsely implicate a foreign Head of State. It has put a number of bank statements of our accounts in the annexures. It has not spared us from defamation and innuendo. Elections do require party funds. Money is to an election what gasoline is to an automobile. [Mahatma] Gandhi and the Indian National Congress were given financial assistance from Indian industrialists such as Birla, Dalmia and Tata. When independence drew nearer, the Maharajas also made contributions to the Congress coffers. The Muslim League Movement was given financial lubrication by the Ispahanis, Raja Saheb of Mahmoodabad and some others. When partition came closer, the Nizam of Hyderabad, the Nawab of Junagarh and the Nawab of Bhopal among others, played their part. During the elections of 1965 Ayub Khan squeezed and milked the industrialists for contributions. He even took liberal financial assistance from foreign firms operating in Pakistan, especially from the foreign oil companies.

According to reliable reports, recently, the regime has handed back to the surrogate Muslim League the funds of the original Muslim League. There were about 2 crore (2 million) when the funds were seized in the Martial Law of 1958. Now with the accumulated compound interest, it must be a huge amount. This huge sum of money did not fall over the roof top of an ugly red colored house in Gujrat during the recent rains. The only political party of any significance which does not need funds for elections or for its organization, is the Jamaat-e-Islami.³² This party lives on "kurbani khals."³³ It needs no money. The cheque that Maudoodi received from abroad during the elections, a photostat of which was published in the newspapers, was for distributing halva [sweetmeats]. The White Paper seems to suggest that while we flew in aircrafts, the PNA used donkey carts, while PPP used trains and buses, the PNA used bullock carts or stamped it out on foot; while funds were needed and used by PPP, the PNA campaign was self-generating. We did use funds but not foreign funds. PNA also used funds but the funds were foreign funds. Only recently, PNA politicians have accused each other of misappropriating funds. A member of the Muslim League has alleged that during the PNA movement, Asghar Khan was given lakhs [hundreds of thousands] of rupees, which he has since not repaid to the chagrin of the PNA.

It is reported that the PNA movement to topple my Government was the best financed campaign in the history of the sub-

continent. Activists and processionists were given daily wages, transport facilities, entertainment allowances. There was also generous compensation for those injured or killed in clashes. The motor cycles and bicycles we gave to our poor and deserving workers were from our Party funds. These motor cycles and bicycles have been illegally confiscated because this reactionary set-up cannot tolerate to see the common man, the poor and downtrodden man, have this much of a facility from his party.

As far as I can gather, from my quick reading of the White Paper, there are approximately four important references to PNA in respect of funds. On pages 237, 238 and 239 the White Paper says and I will quote in full:

"How the PNA fought the general elections or raised the necessary funds is not the subject matter of this White Paper which is basically confined to the conduct of the general elections—a task shared by the ruling party and the Election Commission. Mr. Bhutto, however, did express his opinion on the source of PNA funds. In fairness to him, this must be put on record."

"Addressing the joint session of the National Assembly and the Senate on April 28, 1977, he observed:

'Is it a secret that in the past few months, foreign currency has flooded Pakistan; so much of it has come that I can find no parallel for this influx. The rate of the dollar in Karachi, as a result, has gone down to seven rupees, to six rupees. The money is being used to bribe people to do various things; they are being bribed to go to jail, they are being bribed to give azaans (the Muslim call to prayer), many postmen, milkmen and meter-readers are being bribed to distribute anti-PPP literature... Dollars are being dished about. My party members have been bringing this to my notice. But I did not rush out to protest....'

"Another reference in the official papers to the dollar influx is to be found in the minutes of the daily meetings of the then Information Minister, Mr. Tahir Mohammad Khan, with media chiefs. The minutes of the meeting held on April 27, 1977, refer to a directive to the PPP to circulate a news story that the dollar was selling at a cheaper rate at Quetta and Peshawar. The idea perhaps was to prepare the ground for Mr. Bhutto's charge. The charge was levelled but Mr. Bhutto preferred to cite the Karachi market.

"In the oath-taking speech in the newly 'elected' National Assembly on March 28, 1977, Mr. Bhutto, however, had spoken in a slightly different vein. In that speech, he had said:

'I shall, if provoked and if the context is relevant, quote chapter and verse how they claimed in their inner council that their strength, resources and finances came from far beyond the oceans.

'Was it right for the Opposition members to behave so irresponsibly as to claim that they were bound to win in the election because their resources came from far beyond the frontiers of Pakistan?

'...I would not like to believe the claims made by the Opposition in this regard; they seem to be frivolous, immature and irresponsible, because, as you know, our relations with all countries of the world are excellent.'

From the PPP platform in subsequent speeches the charge continued to reverberate that the PNA had received foreign assistance. It was even suggested that the Pakistan currency had disappeared from the Gulf market. If it did, it might have had something to do, apart from the doings of the PNA, with the travels of Agha Hassan Abedi,³⁴ loaded as he used to be with bagfuls of money.

Mr. Bhutto, for his part, never quoted the promised 'chapter and verse' to stick the charge on the PNA. He never produced any other evidence while he remained in power, or afterwards. Although original letters are being produced before the Supreme Court by his lawyers, no document pertaining to the foreign funds, allegedly received by the PNA, have so far come to light. The records retrieved from the Prime Minister's Secretariat do contain references to internal financing of the PNA. A source report sent by Rao Rashid to the former Prime Minister dated April 12, stated:

'Among those who have contributed large sums of money to the PNA fund in Lahore are: Minno Shahzada, Nasim Sehgal, Fazal Din and Sons, Sheikh Salim Ali [part of the wealthy '22 families' in Pakistan].'

(...)

The fourth reference is on page 383 under the Chapter "The Aftermath." It is a repetition of the main points made on pages 237, 238 and 239. Nevertheless it is worth reproducing if only to show the regime's anxiety to protect PNA:

"Another line of attack which the Government took against the movement as soon as it had begun to assume a serious aspect was that it was being inspired and financed by powerful foreign forces interested in the liquidation of the 'revolutionary' regime. The charge that vast foreign funds were flowing into Pakistan has been discussed in a previous chapter: it appears to have had no basis in fact. Nor is there any evidence to prove any other kind of foreign involvement in the agitation. It was for the then ruling party to have published the evidence. This was not done.

"It is interesting that, while grave signals of a foreign hand behind the movement had begun to figure in the official propaganda early in the day, Mr. Bhutto himself took a rather tortuous line at first. On March 28, 1977, he made the startling allegation that, during the election campaign, the PNA had claimed that they were bound to win because their resources came from abroad. He of course cited no evidence, but alleged that the claim had been spelt out in an 'inner council' of the Opposition and even threatened to disclose the source of his information, a threat that never materialized."

This is an outright, unabashed apology for PNA. *The question is, why is the military regime defending PNA in a manner as if the two are one and the same?** Much water has flown

under the Sukkur Barrage since the Inaugural speech of July 1977 for anyone to ask about "Operation Fairplay."³⁵ Since February 1977, the PNA and the Chief Martial Law Administrator have been in league with each other. The agitation was a common affair. Jawans dressed in civilian clothes or in muftis were sent to PNA demonstrations to swell the crowds and incite public provocation.

The spectacular defiance of orders by the three Brigadiers of the Fourth Corps at Lahore during the agitation was pre-arranged. Even at the time of the so-called defiance, the Brigadiers were not Court Martialed. They were not even dismissed from Service. They were transferred to Rawalpindi, given a pat for their role in the game and told to remain out of sight. By now they must have been promoted or rewarded in some other way. Junior Officers were ordered to heckle Mr. Aziz Ahmed, the Foreign Minister [in Mr. Bhutto's government], when he addressed them in Karachi. The story of the resignation of General Iqbal was a ruse. The Chief Martial Law Administrator admitted in his speech on 5 July 1977, that the Martial Law in the three cities was a "Langra lulla" [lame] Martial Law. The Sanghar episode was pre-planned with the connivance of the Chief of Army Staff.

The PNA reopened the negotiations under orders from the Chief of Army Staff. The mutuality of interest is of a continuing nature. The White Paper is obliged to defend the PNA. In defending PNA, it is defending the regime. What is the mutuality of interest and how did it turn into a wedlock? The Chief of Army Staff has been an admirer and a follower of Maudoodi and Jamaat-i-Islami for a long time. He is a relative of his caste fellow and fellow Jullundarite,³⁶ Mian Tufail Mohammad, Amir of Jamaat-i-Islami. Both are intensely reactionary in their outlook. These common factors are known but a selfish man, who is inherently a time-server, would not enter in a twin conspiracy for only this much of common interest. He was sitting well saddled as the Chief of Army Staff. He had been given accelerated promotions and did not have reason to be ungrateful to my Government. The cause for joining and executing two conspiracies, one with PNA and the other his own Government had to be based on more substantial considerations than a mere relationship with Mian Tufail Mohammad or admiration for Maudoodi. This is where the inter-connecting hand from behind puts them in the same boat to make a common journey. This partly explains why the White Paper is ever so anxious to repel the foreign involvement and to take up cudgels on behalf of PNA.

If the Chief of Army Staff was not so mixed up with the sordid affair, he would not show the concern of a partisan to PNA's foreign involvement. The White Paper seeks assiduously to deny the charges levelled against PNA. It goes out of its way to defend PNA's innocence. It defies me to substantiate the charges. The document preposterously contends:

"How the PNA fought the general elections or raised the necessary funds is not the subject matter of this White Paper which is basically confined to the conduct of the general elections—a task shared by the ruling Party and the Election Commission." (page 237)

This is an untenable contention. The elections were an inter-locked contest between the PNA and PPP. Elections would have been called by some-other name if the subject matter of

elections is basically confined to a task shared by the ruling party and the Election Commission.

The task of elections is shared by the ruling party and the party or parties in the opposition. The Election Commission is only a referee. It does not have a share in the task. It is supposed to be the impartial observer outside the arena. If "how the PNA fought the general elections or raised the necessary funds is not the subject matter of this White Paper," in that event, the White Paper cannot deal with the subject matter of how the PPP fought the general elections or raised the necessary funds. If the activities and conduct of PNA in the elections is outside the scope of the White Paper, the activities and conduct of PPP in the elections cannot come within the gambit of the White Paper merely because it was the ruling party. Both the ruling party and the PNA opposition were parties to the elections. The conduct of the general elections was shared by both parties. There would not have been an election if the opposition had boycotted it. The conduct of the General Elections arises from the contest. The activities of both sides are equally relevant. The election was not between the ruling party and the Election Commission with the PNA being an idle spectator. In any discussion pertaining to the conduct of the general elections, both the ruling party and the opposition party or parties are equally concerned. If one party is not the subject matter in a White Paper on the conduct of the elections, the other party cannot be made the subject matter of the White Paper. To use similes and metaphors once more, a War between India and Pakistan is not a task shared by India and the Red Cross in which Pakistan is not the subject matter. A world heavyweight boxing contest is not a task shared by Mohammad Ali and the referee to the exclusion of the contender in the ring. By making such out and out biased statements, the author of the White Paper not only reveals his blind prejudice but also makes a laughing stock of the White Paper.

Into the bargain, the Junta is completely ridiculed. The supercilious contention that a White Paper on the conduct of General Elections is not concerned with the illegal role of the opposition, is a proposition that nobody can accept. It is universally untenable. However, the observation that the White Paper is basically confined to a task shared by the ruling party and the Election Commission, although wholly unacceptable, nevertheless confirms my submission that the Chief Election Commissioner is the author of the White Paper and the moving spirit behind the project and timing of its release. This shows my attitude. If I did not rush out to protest when I was the Prime Minister of the Country and under very great provocation, I am not going to do it from a death cell when all those events have faded into the past. I am not going to oblige the regime to attack foreign powers all over again. The whole story is known. More and more is coming out. I have done my duty. I put the Nation officially on notice on 28 April 1977 from no less a platform than the National Assembly of Pakistan. I repeated the warnings in subsequent political speeches and in the courts of law. I cannot fight the battles of Pakistan from a death cell. *The events of the last twenty years have made me arrive at the unambiguous conclusion that, at present, the greatest threat to the unity and progress of the Third World is from coup-gemony. The era of colonialism is*

all but dead. * Only a few places remain where colonialism has still to be buried. In those places also, the burial is at hand. The Third World has to guard against hegemony, but the best way to guard against hegemony is to prevent coup-gemony. The biggest link of external colonialism is internal colonialism, which means that hegemony cannot thrive on our lands without collaboration of coup-gemony. Military coup d'états are the worst enemies of national unity. Coup d'états divide and debase a free people. If there was any doubt on the subject, the events in Pakistan have shown that the people of the Third World have to primarily guard against the internal enemy, if foreign domination or hegemony is to be resisted. Coup-gemony is the bridge over which hegemony walks to stalk our lands.

PNA was not supported by foreign elements out of love. An understanding was reached. The understanding was that PNA would be helped and supported financially and politically to overthrow my Government by an inspired agitation. In the first instance, the Army would take over. The ground would be cleared and the obstacles removed. After the consolidation, it would be expected that the reason for the overthrow of my Government would be fulfilled. These terms and conditions were settled finally in February 1977. *The protests over the American decision to halt aid until the question of the Nuclear Reprocessing Plant is settled, is not an unexpected nor a new development. It was an integral part of the coup d'état of 5 July 1977. The PNA is expected to fulfill its part of the bargain. The dance of diplomatic words, the strong statements and editorials of the poodle press are a stunt to befuddle the people.* * The PNA thinks that it has succeeded to fool the people before and that it can fool them again. The shouting being done at the moment is only shadow-boxing. It is what they call a dress rehearsal. If they were indignant over the announcement, then they would have taken some positive counter-action. Concrete steps are required to mobilize the people in order to face the challenge. The PNA and its Masters are not seriously concerned. They are indulging in their usual verbosity. If the Junta thinks that Non-Alignment is more important than Alignment and sends its representative to Belgrade to attend the Non-Aligned Conference, it should not have the slightest difficulty in leaving CENTO as a retaliation to the stoppage of aid. The people are expecting concrete action. But instead, there will be talk and more talk. Why should the United States be blamed for pursuing her global policies? Those among us, who out of greed and hunger, agreed to surrender our nation's fundamental interests, are answerable to the people of Pakistan before the others.

If PNA was more concerned about the Nation's interest and the welfare of the people of Pakistan, it would not have taken 25 crores [250 million rupees] during the election and 5 crores [50 million rupees] after the elections to topple my Government and in exchange, compromise vital interests of Pakistan. The other side, having fulfilled its part of the terms of the agreement, feels that sufficient time has been given to PNA to fulfill its part of the agreement. Fuming and fussing, shouting and screaming will be construed by the other side as a deception on our people. This sort of hullabaloo will be tolerated for a reasonable period of time, but any fundamental change in policy would be regarded as a violation of the final agreement

arrived at in February 1977 with PNA on the one side and, with the Chief of Army Staff on the other. A price was paid. It was paid for a consideration.

From the moment the two-pronged agreement got into motion, it has moved into a computerized pattern. The protracted negotiations with PNA to join officially the set-up is an integral component of the plan. The fuss over the farcical five-point demand is stage-managed in order to depict the ostensible "independence" of the PNA. Everything is working according to a pre-arranged plan. Some of the parties and politicians were not taken into full confidence. This is understandable. Everyone cannot be taken into confidence in executing conspiracies of this magnitude. *In such operations, the right hand does not know what the left hand is doing. The full plan, a closely guarded secret, was disclosed only to a chosen few. The general aim might well have been shared with a larger element, but in a conversational spirit, on the grid of common interests and identity of views. In this conspiracy, only one Party and one politician of that Party was taken into complete confidence. Only he was told everything.*

The Khaksars³⁶ were not brought into the picture. They were harpooned on the slogan of Nizam-i-Mustafa. The real plan was not disclosed to the National Democratic Party (NDP) in its entirety. The one and only channel of contact and communication on the total scope of the conspiracy was Jamaat-i-Islami and Mian Tufail Mohammad³⁷ was the link. The others had lesser and varying knowledge of the plot. It varied from person to person and from Party to Party. For this reason, Mian Tufail Mohammad, a professional 'agent provocateur,' is now belatedly criticizing the United States for suspending economic aid to Pakistan. This is done to confuse our "simple-minded people." The people have not forgotten that the PNA sparked off violence on polling day in big cities like Karachi, Hyderabad and Multan. Everyone remembers how polling stations were burnt, attacked and invaded by PNA mercenaries and urchins. The threats of PNA leaders taking over the Government even before the announcement of the results still echo in the minds of the people. If such activities are outside the scope of a finding on elections, I should like to be educated on the meaning of elections. The Junta is obliged to defend the PNA and the PNA is obliged to defend the Junta.

My speech in Parliament on 28 April 1977 does mention the sudden rise in the rate of the rupee. What I stated on the floor of the Parliament was correct and even today, I do not deviate from it one jot. I also confirm that the information provided by Tahir Mohammad Khan on the rising rate of the rupee in Quetta and Peshawar is true. The author of the White Paper, as we know, has no sense of imagination. The extracts from my speech in the National Assembly on 28 April 1977 have been quoted on pages 237 and 238 to show that I myself cleared the opposition of receiving foreign assistance. Anyone reading these extracts and endowed with a modicum of imagination and sense of humor, would be able to tell that I was using diplomatic language, that I was speaking "tongue in cheek" as the saying goes, that I was inviting my audience and the public at large to read between the lines. The heavy dose of sarcasm was contained in the concluding words, "As you

know, our relations with all countries of the world are excellent." Since our relations with some countries are barely normal, I advisedly said that in view of our excellent relations with all countries of the world, the PNA was making an empty boast about its foreign support. These double-edged words were carefully chosen to confirm the PNA boasts and to condemn foreign interference without causing deleterious repercussions. I was the responsible Prime Minister of my Country and answerable to the people. I was speaking in the National Assembly of Pakistan. I had to kill the snake and also spare the stick. I could not speak irresponsibly by abusing the Opposition and openly attacking powerful foreign nations in the very first revelation on this sensitive subject. The case against a foreign power has been built brick by brick. It was not an internal Mochi Gate tamasha [spectacle]. It involved our relations with the outside world. In laying the first brick I had to be careful, cautious and use words subject to double interpretation. It was a probing exercise. I knew my profession. I had to use diplomatic language. Perhaps the White Paper's compilers think that using anything less than four letter words clears their PNA collaborators. Anyone who reads this speech carefully and has elementary common sense would know the message I was conveying.

In defense of PNA, the White Paper has mentioned that the source of funds for PNA were internal and not external. It has mentioned the reports I received on the industrialists of Lahore who were financing the PNA. The politicians of PNA are not the type of persons who would spare a penny. They did take money from industrialists, traders and those affected by the nationalization of the processing factories. However, the internal contributions bore no comparison to the colossal funds that came from outside. The evidence on the comparatively insignificant contributions made by the vested interests of Pakistan to PNA does not mean that PNA did not take colossal funds from outside sources. The internal contributions were a smoke screen for the inflow of foreign funds. It was a handy alibi.

The White Paper is desperately endeavoring to provoke me into a precipitate reaction. It says:

"Mr. Bhutto, for his part, never quoted the promised 'chapter and verse' to stick the charge on the PNA. He never produced any other evidence while he remained in power, or afterwards."

The Junta is a babe in the woods in diplomacy and in the ethics of running an Administration. The Chief Martial Law Administrator has no comprehension on the need to guard official documents. This is quite evident from the way in which official papers have been tossed about in the White Paper. It is more evident from the manner in which he carried files to foreign countries. Pakistan is going to pay a very heavy price in future for these unprecedented follies. I am afraid I cannot play gin rummy or poker with State Documents. Now that the Chief Martial Law Administrator has set the extraordinary precedent, we will have to follow it but even so, not as gamblers and adventurers. National interest prevents me from taking the same leap as the Chief Martial Law Administrator. The White Paper quotes my speech in the National Assembly on 28 April 1977, and the last sentence is:

“Dollars have been dished about. My party members have been bringing this to my notice. But I did not rush out to protest.”

In the fourth reference to foreign involvement at page 383 of the White Paper, it is stated, inter-alia:

“The charge that vast foreign funds were flowing into Pakistan has been discussed in a previous chapter: it appears to have had no basis in fact. Nor is there any evidence to prove any other kind of foreign involvement in the agitation.”

Why is the Junta over-anxious to clean the laundry of PNA? I did not accuse the Generals of receiving foreign funds. I accused the PNA. But the regime is defending the PNA, as if it were defending itself. It sponsors the alleged innocence of PNA as if it were proving its own innocence. It is behaving as if the Junta can be cleared only if the PNA is cleared. Hence, the charge that PNA received vast foreign funds “appears to have had no basis in fact.” Hence, “nor is there any evidence to prove any other kind of foreign involvement in the agitation.” I reiterate that despite the provocation and indeed, the challenge thrown to me by the White Paper, I am not going to touch the details of that period. This is hardly the place from where I can add anything more to the existing record.

When I came to Rawalpindi in August 1977, I asked Mr. Aziz Ahmed to give me a copy of the fifty page document prepared by the Foreign Office, quoting “chapter and verse,” the extent of foreign involvement. He told me that he had handed over the only copy he had to Mr. Ghulam Ishaque, the then Secretary-General-in-Chief. With misconceived relief, the White Paper says that evidence does not exist to prove any kind of foreign involvement in the agitation. Putting aside every other material, Operation “Wheel Jam” could not have materialized all on its own. Under foreign supervision Operation “Wheel Jam” was organized by the Army during the Martial Law of 1958. It was a top secret project of the Army. The training was given at Charrat. The object of the operation was to immobilize a government through “Wheel Jam.” When there were wheel jams in Karachi, the Chief of Staff of the Army was visibly upset when I told him that I knew about the old project of the Army called Operation “Wheel Jam.” I said to him that the use of the same code made it an unpleasant coincidence. The Chief of Staff was tongue-tied. He muttered something about many retired Army Officers being in PNA.

Although my speech of 28 April 1977 is quoted in the White Paper to point out that “I do not rush out to protest,” still the White Paper goads me to come out with the “chapter and verse” on foreign involvement. It says:

“He never produced any evidence while he remained in power.”

Within permissible limits, I have been circumspect. I do not treat official documents like a pack of playing cards or worse. I had to act with responsibility and reticence. More information is being pushed to the surface by the objective evolution of events and the subjective contradictions within PNA and inside the Junta. Just like all PNA politicians were not told the inner story, all the Generals were not taken into confidence on the depth of the plot. Within this one long year, the Chief Martial Law Administrator has tried to destroy all the in-

In such operations, the right hand does not know what the left hand is doing. The full plan, a closely guarded secret, was disclosed only to a chosen few. The general aim might well have been shared with a larger element, but in a conversational spirit, on the grid of common interests and identity of views. In this conspiracy, only one Party and one politician of that Party was taken into complete confidence. Only he was told everything.

criminating evidence. Only one politician was given the foreign funds, and that was Mian Tufail Mohammed of Jamaat-i-Islami. How he distributed those vast sums, to whom he distributed the money is a matter between him and the other components of the PNA. Soon after the coup d’etat, Mian Tufail Mohammed advised the Chief Martial Law Administrator to destroy the incriminating evidence. On 23 July 1977, I was informed in Murree that a heap of documents on the subject were burnt on 19 July 1977. I dare say that in the 385 days that have preceded the release of this White Paper many more bonfires have taken place. Confident in the belief that it has destroyed every vestige of evidence on the subject, the White Paper challenges me to produce from a death cell, the “chapter and verse” on Mian Tufail Mohammed’s perfidious participation in the plot.

I repeat, whatever is happening is play acting. Whatever has happened has happened, according to a planned agreement. One side has kept its bargain and delivered the goods. It gave the other side a year to fulfill its terms of the agreement. The other side is dragging its feet. It is making lame excuses and appealing for an extension of time. Outright dictatorship of the whip and the lash was not sufficient to intimidate the people into total submission. The open marriage with PNA might present the opportunity for the promised change. Sovereign interests are not always served by strong statements only. Sacrifices and not semantics are required to safeguard sovereign interests. Sacrifices are made by the people provided they can be mobilized. They cannot be motivated into making sacrifices by an unrepresentative coterie. The people will only follow the leaders they trust. The rest is an eyewash. From time immemorial, in inter-State diplomacy, the effective answer to pressure lies in counter-pressure. Having lashed the spirit out of them, this regime cannot stir them to heroic heights. Without the counter-pressure of the people the battle is lost. The rest of the stuff is a hoax. The Chief Martial Law

Administrator and the PNA leaders have picked up the joint theme that the stoppage of aid could create a sense of self-reliance and a blessing in disguise. The line is a hypocritical attempt to deceive the people. The issue at stake is not the stoppage of economic aid, but the Reprocessing Plant. I have already mentioned the implications for Pakistan if the Nuclear Reprocessing Plant is either modified or dropped, as it appears it has been.

The nation might itself expect some historic decisions. The Chief of Army Staff has broken a series of solemn promises to his people. It is about time he broke a solemn promise with a foreign power and, for once, went back on his commitment for the sake of Pakistan and not for his own sake. If the Junta is really incensed by the pressure of the Nuclear Reprocessing Plant, the least it could do to demonstrate national resentment is to leave CENTO. The people might then begin to take the General a little more seriously. Either before or after Meghrib prayers, he should go on the television to take the Nation into confidence on the foreign pressures, seek national unity and, as a token of his regime's earnestness, announce Pakistan's withdrawal from CENTO, as a first measure in resisting foreign pressure. He should make this announcement without dramatics because the people are fed up to the teeth with his stunts.

Quite independent of the fundamental question of the Nuclear Reprocessing Plant, and the consequences arising out of it, in the last one year Pakistan has moved further in the direction of critical dependence. The country has been brought to the position of importing two million tons of wheat. This is a fine way to become self-reliant. This is the best period of the year for wheat and yet the prices of wheat have soared to eighty rupees or more per mound. Wait until the lean months come. Not taking into consideration the approximate billion spent on the Armed Forces in addition to Chinese Assistance, ninety percent of the total foreign exchange earnings through exports will be spent only on wheat, edible oil and petroleum-lubricants-oil. The expenditure on these three items alone will amount to 1130 million dollars. This does not include debt servicing, and other essential imports will conservatively account for 2.5 billion dollars. If, by conservative estimates the total imports during the current year cannot be less than 3.5 billion dollars, "the trade deficit will be no less than 2.1 billion dollars provided the present cotton crop has not been severely damaged by the recent rains. It is an outrageous situation. the begging bowl will have to be stretched from Continent to Continent. *The foreign head of State—(name deleted)—will have to be approached. He will say, please remember your earlier promise and drop the pant—Pant did I hear? Oh I mean the plant.**

I have fought many of Pakistan's battles. Let me see how this one is fought without me. I cannot fight a battle from behind bars. Besides, it is too late. The game is over. It was over when the PNA sold its soul. I would not have suffered the fate I am suffering had it not been for internal betrayal. I do not blame any outside power. The vested interests of the Country have repaid me for upholding the honor of Pakistan. I am obliged to the masses for their sympathy and support. I am honored by the concern the leaders of the world have shown for my leadership. I have vision enough to begin anew

without any rancour for the past. I am aware of the importance of global politics. This is the moment for me to thank those world leaders and their Countries for their solicitude shown toward me. In so doing, they have paid a tribute to the people of Pakistan. They know how much my destiny is interwoven with the destiny of Pakistan. Unlike the Chief Election Commissioner, I will not single out one leader or one Country for the expression of my warm appreciation, the appreciation of my family, my Party and my Countrymen. Placed as I am, it is an affront to my pride and vanity to speak more on my future. However, I have decided to share a secret of my heart with my Countrymen.

THE WAR AGAINST BRITISH IMPERIALISM

Since my youth, I have been a fierce and unremitting fighter against British Imperialism. I went to Cathedral and John Cannon High School in Bombay. It was one of the best English schools in the sub-continent. Even then, as a school boy, I was in deep trouble for my political activities especially during the "Quit India" movement and "Direct Action Day." But much earlier, in 1935, when I was seven years old, my Father, who was then a Minister in the Government of Bombay, was invited to tea with his three sons by Lord Braborne, the Governor of Bombay. On being introduced to my eldest brother, Imdad Ali, who was then twenty-one years of age, Lord Braborne remarked "What a handsome young man." Being a cultivated and polished aristocrat, Imdad Ali said in reply, "I am all the more flattered, Sir, because the compliment comes from our handsome Governor." With my meek voice, I spoke out of turn and said: "*His Excellency, the Governor, is handsome because he has been fed on the blood of our beautiful Country.*"* Lord Braborne was taken aback. For a split second he looked at me in astonishment, and then pointing his finger at me, smiling, he turned to my Father and said, "And in him, Sir Shah Nawaz, you have the poet and the revolutionary." And that is what I have been all these years—"a poet and a revolutionary"—and that is how I shall remain until the last breath is gone from my body. I continued the fight at Berkeley by spear-heading every anti-colonial cause and by giving militant backing to every colored cause in the United States. In England, I had the honor of being at Christ Church, Oxford, and later at Lincoln's Inn. Both at Oxford and in London I was in the vanguard of anti-colonial causes.

As a Minister in the Government of Pakistan, I stridently denounced colonialism from every platform with tireless vitality, passion and conviction. I had heated arguments with every British Prime Minister from MacMillan to Edward Heath. As President of Paksistan I severed Pakistan's relations from the Commonwealth. As Prime Minister of Pakistan, I demanded the return of the Koh-i-Noor from the British Crown Jewels. From the age of seven to fifty is not a short period. When I was asked by my father on our return from the Governor's tea, "Saïen [Gentleman], what was the need of that remark?" it was enough to release my tension. I put both my hands on my

face and sobbingly, almost shouted hysterically in Sindhi, "Eiho asa jo mulk ahe, Eiho asa jo mulk ahe, Eiho asa jo mulk ahe,"—"this is our Country, this is our Country, this is our Country." I have considered every country under the yoke of colonialism as if it were my Country.

The British Empire is gone. Now the potent menace to the Third World lies in coup-gemony. The objective reasons for my long and bitter confrontation with the British have faded away by the inflow of revolutionary changes. I have been deeply moved by the honorable shelter given by the British Government and the British people to my three children and my comrades. I crossed swords with British leaders and governments to assert the intellectual and moral equality of Asia. I have done this with glory to the Asian people. My battle of Britain is over.

If the raising of the funds by the PNA cannot be the subject matter of a White Paper on the Conduct of the General Elections, it follows *ipso facto* that the raising of funds by the PPP cannot be the subject matter of a White Paper on the Conduct of the General Elections. By now, everyone from a courtier to a clown knows that there is one law for the PPP and another law for the PNA: there is one standard for the PPP and another standard for the PNA. The White Paper devotes pages and pages to the funds of the PPP, but it does not furnish any proof to establish impropriety on our part. The PPP did not receive foreign financial support. The wealth of the PPP is the people. This wealth is inexhaustible, and it cannot be taken away from the people. If tomorrow, I make an Appeal for funds, the millions of tormented souls will gladly come forward to share their last penny with me. This is the power of my Party. I am not a clerk or an auditor to answer all the trifling material mentioned in the White Paper. The documents have been doctored. Fantasy and fiction have been employed with extravagance at the cost of truth and facts. The material allegation relates to the 2 to 3 crores (20 to 30 million rupees) from an unnamed Head of State over a period of two years or so. This statement has purportedly come from my Secretary, Mr. Afzal Saeed. Furthermore, Afzal Saeed is reported to have said that the amount in question was delivered to him by Agha Hasan Abedi, the former Managing Director or Chairman of the United Bank of Pakistan. It is only the word of Mr. Afzal Saeed. According to newspaper reports, Agha Hasan Abedi has denied his involvement.

In a supplementary statement made on 26 September 1977, Mr. Afzal Saeed is reported to have stated as follows:

"Mr. Agha Hasan Abedi used to bring cash in rupees for payment to Mr. Bhutto saying that it was sent by... (a foreign Head of State—Z.A.B.) for election purposes to the Prime Minister and asked me to pass it on to him. I immediately used to deliver the amount to the P.M. This was over a period of two years or so and the amount used to be a few laks [100,000s] each time. The money which passed through me comes to Rs. 2 to 3 crores. I was told that this was for election purposes."

Before discussing the statement of Mr. Afzal Saeed, let us take up the persons involved. Mr. Agha Hasan Abedi has denied the allegation. It should also be known that my Government nationalized all the private banks in Pakistan, including the United Bank of Agha Hasan Abedi, one of the

most prominent and prosperous private banks. This was hardly the way to endear a top banker. My Government confiscated the Passport of Agha Hasan Abedi and did not permit him to leave Pakistan until the investigations in the affairs of his bank had been completed and he had been cleared.

The foreign Head of State has not been named. If I had received funds from a friendly foreign Head of State and if the foreign Head of State was identifiable from the material provided in the White Paper, I would not have hesitated to mention his name and his Country. If the foreign Head of State could infer that the material provided in the White Paper leaves no doubt that it refers to him, he would not take it amiss if I mentioned him and his Country to repel the false charge. Unlike the reference to a foreign diplomat who played tennis with the former Chief Election Commissioner and was identifiable both by his Embassy and by me, the current reference does not provide any such clue. Not having received any contribution from a foreign Head of State or Head of Government, I cannot hazard a shot in the dark. Mr. Agha Hasan Abedi would have been the link if Mr. Abedi had links in one Country or with one Head of State. Agha Hasan Abedi has expanding and far flung business interests in many countries. He has business and banking interests in Abu Dhabi, in Dubai and in the other components of the UAE federation. His business interests are in Kuwait, in Iran and in Saudi Arabia. Abedi can be a link in any of these countries. The heads of State and Heads of Government of all these countries were on very friendly terms with me. Who could it be? I wonder whom the regime wants to involve through the statement of Afzal Saeed merely to find a safety valve for Mian Tufail Mohammed. This is typical of the regime. This is how its mind works. The regime thinks that Tufail Mohammed's guilt can be washed away or mitigated if I am falsely charged with the same misdemeanor. But he is a guilty man; he plotted against his Country. I am an innocent man; I tried to serve the supreme and sovereign interest of my Country. Even if I had taken the alleged contribution, my wrong would not match the wrong of Mian Tufail Mohammed.

However, I did not get the alleged contribution. The mystery is not solved by naming Agha Hasan Abedi. In the first place he has denied it. With Abedi's denial, with my ignorance about the contribution, with Abedi's business interests not restricted to one foreign Country, which foreign Head of State does the regime want to implicate for reasons best known to itself?—The ShahinShah of Iran, King Khalid of Saudi Arabia, President Gaddafi of Libya, Shaikh Zaid the President of UAE, the Amir of Kuwait, the Ruler of Dubai?—Which Muslim Sovereign or President has been chosen for this singular honor at the cost of the Country and reputation of its former President and Prime Minister? Which fraternal Muslim Head of State's reputation is to be sacrificed at the altar of the regime's vendetta against me? Even Pakistan's foreign relations with friendly and brotherly Muslim Heads of State are of no consideration to the tin gods who hold Pakistan's interests at ransom. Perhaps the object is to ensnare a European Head of State or the American Head of State. Abedi has banking interests in Western Europe and America as well. He is the Head of the Bank of Commerce and Credit International. The BCCI is registered in Luxembourg. This in-

ternational bank has close connections with Bert Lance, the former U.S. Budget Director, a very close friend of President Carter from Georgia. Who can tell, in this strange world, Mian Tufail Mohammed and I might have received foreign funds from the same Head of State through the same Mr. Agha Hasan Abedi?! After all, my Secretary, Mr. Afzal Saeed is closely related to Maudoodi. A ready-made link existed from the Prime Minister's House to Icchra [headquarters of Jamaat-e-Islami]. (...)

The "Golden Era" of President Ayub Khan

I was not a pauper when I became a Federal Minister in 1958. Due to the chronic deficit in the balance of payments of Pakistan, the Ministry of Commerce has always been a lucrative one. I became the Federal Minister of Commerce in the "golden era" of President Ayub Khan. The Ministry of Commerce was one of the big gold mines. If the sons of Ayub Khan could become millionaires overnight, my second son was also born a month after Martial Law. It was the era of the robber barons, the time when Ministers held two posts, one in Islamabad as Finance Minister and the other, in Washington, as an Executive Director in the World Bank. Organized and large-scale corruption made its appearance in Pakistan during the first Martial Law. The golden era was the era of "Sarkari sallas" (Government's brothers-in-law). I can proudly say that my integrity was above board. I was among the handful of leaders of that regime whose hands were clean. At a reception in Karachi, a few months after the declaration of Martial Law, while talking to me, a cocky industrialist remarked half in jest, that Martial Law could not stop blackmarketing. I asked him whether he was blackmarketing. His reply was "To tell you the truth, Sir, I do, otherwise my business would come to a standstill." Thereupon, I ordered his arrest there and then, "on the spot," as they say. This news appeared in the New York Times but was suppressed in Pakistan. The industrialist was released within an hour on the grounds that the impetuous action of the brash young Minister for Commerce would frighten the business community and dampen the climate for private investment.

Later, I became the Minister for Fuel, Power and Natural Resources, another "gold mine." In that position, I broke the strangulating monopoly of the Western Oil Companies in Pakistan. I ordered the expulsion from Pakistan of two mighty foreign representatives of two oil empires on the ground that they were indulging in appalling malpractices and corrupting the top bureaucracy in the Economic Ministries. I concluded the Oil Agreement with the Soviet Union in December 1960 and March 1961. Thereafter, I became the Minister for Industries, the biggest gold mine of the golden gate. With tenacious dedication, I turned to the public sector and gave attention to P.I.D.C. [Pakistan Industrial Development Corporation]. After some time, the 22 families and their patron, the Finance Minister, got me eased out of that Ministry because my probes into corrupt practices were beginning to hurt them.

The fictitious 2-3 million rupees from a mysterious Foreign Head of State are peanuts compared to the inducements I contemptuously rejected as Foreign Minister of Pakistan in October 1963 and in December 1965. I was not a PNA politician to compromise the foreign policy of my Country. In the sum-

mer of 1968 my wife and I were in Paris. We were invited to a banquet. A Princess from a very important and affluent neighboring Muslim Country was also invited. She asked us to join her at her residence before the banquet. We went to her exquisite mansion and had an animated discussion on politics in Pakistan and in our region. Afterwards we left for the dinner but continued the discussion in the car. The Princess was wearing a diamond pendant. The diamond was like a rock. When the dinner finished, we went to another room for coffee. My wife and I were seated in a corner with the Princess and two of her ladies-in-waiting. She chose to continue the discussion. It became a lively conversation. At the end of it, the Princess appeared to be ruminating. She was playing with her pendant and engrossed in deep thought. Suddenly, she said: "Look, Zulfikar, if you do become the President of Pakistan, I will give you this," and she put her fingers on her pendant. We all laughed heartily and the matter was over. Years later, when I went to her great Country as President of Pakistan, the Princess invited me and my wife to her palace. After we settled down, she produced a wrapped package and asked me to open it. Upon doing so, I saw the diamond pendant. I told her that it would be impossible for me to accept it. The Princess told me, "We do not break our promises." Eventually, with considerable difficulty, the Princess was kind enough to understand. I had to implore her to retain her priceless pendant. I told her that her gesture was more valuable than the gift and her thought more precious than the pendant.

During the elections of 1970, I was staying in Falleti's Hotel in Lahore when a foreigner called on me. After the introductions and formalities were over, the gentleman told me that he had been sent by his President to offer assistance to me in the elections. How did I respond? Exactly four days later at a reception for me by some lawyers of Lahore at the International Hotel, I strongly attacked that President for accepting the "Rogers Plan" for a Middle East Settlement. A week or so after my speech, the Ambassador of that country met me at my residence in Karachi. He told me that his President had read my speech and he had asked his Ambassador to tell me that I had "broken his heart." I told the Ambassador to convey to his President most respectfully, that "he had broken my heart."

There are countless examples. The most recent being when His Majesty King Khalid of Saudi Arabia visited Pakistan in October 1976. His Majesty presented me a Rolls-Royce automobile and insisted that it was a personal gift, meant for my person. I thanked the King profusely for his generous gift. The car was, however, immediately registered as State property. If Ghulam Mohammed could have pocketed a Cadillac of His Majesty King Ibn Saud, I could have kept the Rolls-Royce. I am not a saint, but nor am I the sinner the Junta is trying to make me out to be. I do not relish the idea of mentioning such matters, but what can I do? The regime has lost its balance. I am compelled to come out with the barest minimum information in defense of my name. All these years I have tried jealously to guard my reputation. I have many weaknesses. I have openly admitted my frailties in mammoth public meetings. I am full of error but whatever my error, I am not a corrupt person. It is very painful to be chastised in this ungrateful manner. There is bound to be retribution. My tormentors have

brought disgrace to the name of Pakistan. Thirty to thirty-five years of public service stands behind me. Time will tell whether my name will be bracketed with the criminals of the Subcontinent or with the heroes who have waded across its lands. My name and my reputation is safe in the custody of the people and in the bosom of history.

JUSTICE

Hostile propaganda is emitting out against me at this critical juncture like bullets out of an automatic weapon. Even a knave knows why this barrage of abuse is pouring out at this point of time. It has gone on for over a year, the worst and the filthiest propaganda ever to be unleashed by a civilized people. This opera of hate is reaching a crescendo to synchronize with the judgment in my Appeal in the Supreme Court. This is obvious.

Since 18 March 1978, I have spent twenty-two to twenty-three hours out of the twenty-four in a congested and suffocating death cell. I have been hemmed in by its sordidness and stink throughout the heat and the rain of the long hot summer. The light is poor. My eye sight has worsened. My health has been shattered. I have been in solitary confinement for almost a year, but my morale is high because I am not made of the wood which burns easily. Through sheer will power, in conditions that are adverse in the extreme, I have written this Rejoinder. Let all the White Papers come. I do not have to defend myself in the bar of public opinion. My services to the cause of our people is a mirror in front of them. My name is synonymous with the return of Prisoners of War, with Kashmir, with the Islamic Summit, with the Security Council, with the proletarian causes. Ordinarily, I would not have bothered to reply to the tissue of lies contained in this disgusting Document. But the circumstances are not ordinary. A principle is involved: the principle of the right of reply; the principle of the right to face the lie with the truth.

It is said that some good comes out of the worst of evils. The good that might come out of this evil document is that perhaps the confusion over scurrilous publicity and the right of public trial will be removed once and for all. When I protested on the conversion of my trial for Murder from open proceedings into an *in camera* trial for my defense, somehow I was not able to make the Judges understand the difference between publicity and justice. I was demanding a public trial because the concept of justice is inextricably intertwined with an open trial. The political and legal struggle for an open trial, especially involving Capital punishment is writ large in golden letters. Prophet Moses preached it to his people during their long journey from tyranny. The same message is contained in Christ's Sermon on the Mount. The last and final Messenger of God dispenses justice in an open mosque and not as a "cloistered virtue." The Roman slave, Spartacus, gave his life for justice. Plato, Aristotle and Socrates philosophised on the openness of justice.

The history of Europe and Britain is rich and replete in the tradition of open trial. The Common Law considers an open trial as being an indispensable ingredient of justice. After a gallant struggle, the free people of America made certain that the right of public trial became inviolable by incorporating it

as the 6th Amendment to the American Constitution. The maxim: "Justice must not only be done but must also be seen to be done," is such an elementary and unimpeachable norm of law that I was astounded to find five Judges of the High Court of Lahore puzzled by my protest over converting the trial for my life into a secret trial when it came to hearing my defense. One of them made the profound observation that "We are trying you and not the public." On this illuminating remark, the Chief Justice of Lahore High Court added "but he wants publicity." What an irony! As I said in the trial of Lahore:

"Forget the fact that I have been the President and Prime Minister of Pakistan. Forget the fact that I am the leader of the premier party of this country. Forget all these things. But I am a citizen of this country, and I am facing a murder trial. Even the ordinary citizen—and I consider myself one—is not denied justice."

The sensitivity of the trial Judges on the exposure of their bias was more important to them than my life. Doom alone awaits such individuals. If a trial for murder can be held *in camera*, there is no need to hold any trial in public. There is no need to record any evidence or to write any order or judgment. If that practice is followed, justice will turn from the majesty of law, to the tyranny of law. It would mean the legalization of murder.

Yet even in that convoluted and closed court, I was not permitted to put forward my defense. Orally, I was informed in Kot Lakhpat Jail that my request to address the Court after the Prosecution was rejected. I was not a practising lawyer. From 9 January 1978 I was not being defended by lawyers. I had not heard the prosecution witnesses during my long illness and absence from the court. I had been insulted and humiliated by the Court during the open trial for three months. The prosecution case had received the full blast of publicity. The trial had been converted into a secret conclave. The dice was completely loaded against me. But still, with all those harrowing handicaps, when I sought to address the closed Court in defense of my life, I was not permitted because I wanted to hear the Prosecution before replying as a layman, without legal notes, without the aid of law books and legal rulings.

This pre-eminently reasonable request, this request for rough and ready justice was turned down. What is an *ex parte* judgement, if the judgement of the trial Court which awards the death sentence without hearing the defense of the illegally described "principal accused" is not an *ex parte* judgement? This is the extent to which I have been made a victim of criminal injustices. Where in the world is it considered intolerable and insufferable to prevent an individual charged with murder to address a closed court as a laymen on his innocence without legal preparation and legal Counsel? My request to be heard in Camera was turned down because it would have amounted to publicity.

It is a lie to state that I did not try to cooperate with the trial bench. Nothing short of my life was at stake. I had sense enough to extend cooperation and courtesy to those who would tell me that I should hang until I am dead. But the trial bench wanted me to prostrate myself before it. This is why I had to tell the bench that I would not crawl and cringe before it. A Muslim can only prostrate himself before his Creator. But the bench, in particular the Chief Justice, was always rude, abrasive and in-

sulting to me. In striking contrast, the Chief Justice was kindness itself to the confessing co-accused. He smiled at them. He enjoyed their rustic sense of humor at my expense. He was patient with them in a fatherly fashion. He would translate the question in Urdu and Punjabi for them whenever he thought that they were not able to follow the English. I was favored with the commands to "shut up," "get up" and "take this man away until he regains his senses." In these circumstances, to talk of cooperation is to ask for the patience of a saint.

It was not that the trial Court was oblivious of the basic norms of law, nor that it was really unable to follow the difference between publicity and public trial. The Chief Election Commissioner is acutely conscious of the value of publicity. On page 145 of the White Paper, a rebuke is registered against my Government for the discrimination in allotting time to the PNA on the Radio and Television. It says that whereas my news conference on 24 January 1977 was extensively covered by the Radio and Television,

"On the other hand neither the Pakistan National Alliance (PNA), nor any other contesting party was allowed these facilities. Radio and Television covered briefly their manifestos in their news bulletins only.

"Actually, this discriminatory approach became more pronounced as the tempo of electioneering built up. Every election speech of Mr. Bhutto was given full sound and visual coverage. No Opposition leader was given sound coverage. Their speeches were reported briefly in news only. Visually they sometimes did get a few fleeting seconds but in the matter of showing crowds television used camera tricks to maximize the PPP crowds and minimize the Opposition meetings."

During the election campaign the PNA filed a writ petition in the Lahore High Court on the alleged discrimination. I believe the Lahore High Court ordered that the PNA should be allotted time on the Radio and Television commensurate with its importance. If I am not mistaken one of the Honorable Justices of the Supreme Court was at that time a justice of the Lahore High Court and he sat on the bench which heard the writ filed by PNA and passed the order against discrimination. I did not make a grievance out of it then nor am I doing so now. I am pleading for consistency. If it is a part of equity to allow political opponents to put across their point of view to the public for getting votes, it is the essence of equity that the trial for murder of the leader of the largest and most powerful party in the Country and its former President and Prime Minister should have an open trial and get commensurate coverage. Where is that even-handed justice? More than votes are at stake. More than my life is at stake. Make no mistake about it, the future of Pakistan is at stake. But when my Counsel complains of the complete blackout of the defense case on the Radio and Television, he is nonchalantly told that there will be no publicity on the Radio or Television. That is the end of the matter. In the name of God, do not allow the defense to be heard by the public on the Radio and Television, but kindly be merciful enough not to call it publicity. Is it that I want to popularize executions and hangings, that I want publicity? What I want is even-handed justice. What I want is for the people of Pakistan also to come to a conclusion on whether the leader they voted

into power as their President and Prime Minister is a murderer or whether he has been framed.

The proposition is very simple. I refuse to believe that it is not being understood or that it is not being articulated with clarity. This so-called White Paper which has been thrown on the ground has come in the middle of my Appeal against the death sentence. It has been distributed throughout the world. It has been extensively broadcast on the Radio and Television. Nasty and vicious editorials have appeared on it. Foreign journalists are being requested to publicize it. Ambassadors of Pakistan are holding receptions for the elite of the countries of their accreditation for the distribution of this document. It is a big extravaganza on a world wide scale. *The bulky blue print on character assassination has been translated into four languages including Arabic. I wonder why Arabic? How does the subject matter of elections concern the Arab States?** The system of Government in Arab countries is of Monarchy or the One Party State. Lebanon has parliamentary democracy but these days the people of that unfortunate country are barely able to keep their Country together. With bullets flying over their heads, I doubt if they will be interested in this prescription for a coup d'état. Kuwait and Bahrain have either suspended or dissolved their parliaments. The subject matter of this White Paper is not a task shared by the military regime of Pakistan and the Monarchies and One Party States of the Arab world. It does not concern them. Unless it is a call to brother military officers in those Countries to rise and spread the menace of coup-gemony in the Arab states. *A White Paper on how to have a coup d'etat in twelve hours would be most useful to those military officers in the Arab States who are looking for a pretext to overthrow their legitimate Governments, their established Monarchies and Sheikdoms. What is the relevance to the Arab states, what is the message it seeks to carry? That Zulfikar Ali Bhutto allegedly rigged elections in Pakistan!** If I were an Arab monarch or an Arab Sheikh or an Arab revolutionary national leader, not having this system and not subscribing to this system of parliamentary elections based on adult franchise, I would say, So What? Those who think that a coup d'etat is the best thing that happened to Pakistan would, by conviction, like coup-gemony to spread to other countries, especially the neighboring countries. There is no other logical explanation for the Arabic translation on how to rig a coup d'etat and to justify it. So you call this justice?

LESSONS TO BE LEARNT

(...)

It is a falsehood of the darkest and dirtiest hue to charge that after the elections, my Government was preparing for civil war. That wicked lie was bandied around after the coup d'etat. It was taken up in the Supreme Court by Begum Nusrat Bhutto's Constitution Petition. The canard is quoted all over again in the White Paper. In my affidavit, I sought to establish that the bogey of civil war was a malicious afterthought. Without authoritative ignorance, they said that polarization had taken place not knowing that polarization is an inevitable historical evolution. Where the polarization sharpens and reaches an apogee, it means that the victory of the people is at hand. It

is during such a period that the vested interests, desperate for survival, use the engine of military coup d'etats against the people. They cry wolf and strike to get a respite. This is why the PNA cried wolf, and committed aggression. The PNA had the "wheel jams" and the long marches. The PNA leaders appealed to the Armed Forces to revolt. The PNA bought large quantities of arms and gave Azhans from the roof tops to fight the Jihad. Every assault was carried out by the PNA. All the calls for strikes were given by the PNA. All the formulas for a negotiated settlement were rejected by the PNA. The PNA even went back on the agreed formula meticulously thrashed out with its full concurrence.

My Government did not organize a civil war. Furthermore, as I have explained in my affidavit in the Supreme Court Petition of Begum Nusrat Bhutto, a civil war has its own historical antecedents and components. A civil war cannot be organized by a whistle from the Government. Mass conscience has to reach a recognized level of development and the Armed Forces have to be split into two camps, one with the exploiters and the other with the exploited, for a civil war to take place. A civil war is inconceivable when the Armed Forces as a whole are used by a Junta to act as a protective shield of the vested interests. Short of the attainment of the objective conditions for a civil war, a Government can organize pockets of violence and blood letting, but so can the Opposition, as the Opposition did in 1977. When the objective conditions for a civil war ripen, no amount of coup d'etats can hold the events. *A coup d'etat is the quickest method to ripen the conditions for a civil war.* * Objectively speaking, today Pakistan is much closer to a civil war than it was in the worst days of Spring 1977. Crocodile tears were shed in the Petition before the Supreme Court on the warlike statements of one of my Special Assistants to show that civil war was around the corner and would have come, if the Chief of Army Staff has not taken a sharp and a quick turn to the right. That same Special Assistant has filed an affidavit in the Supreme Court in my Appeal stating on oath that the Chief Martial Law Administrator tried to misuse him to the hilt against me. The General who executed the coup and put the lollipop of power into the mouth of the Chief of Army Staff, met this instigator of civil war in London for over three hours on 9 August 1978.

(...)

The alarming precipitation toward a polarization of no return, akin to that of Spain, has come about in the last fourteen months. I have thus recalled the Junta of Spain. The Junta would be well advised to remember the more recent events in the Southern Mediterranean. Greece is economically and socially more advanced than Pakistan. The per capita income in Greece is \$1200. In Pakistan it is Rs. 1,840. Greece is the mother of western civilization. The political consciousness of her people has reached comparatively higher standards than those obtained here. However, the Greek political situation has been unstable for some years. The military colonels took advantage of the situation and seized power through a coup d'etat in 1967 in order to establish political stability and halt polarization. Within seven years the Colonels had made such a mess of Greece that they not only brought their own Country to the brink but also Cyprus. They came to the verge of war with Tur-

The events of the last twenty years have made me arrive at the unambiguous conclusion that, at present, the greatest threat to the unity and progress of the Third World is from coup-gemony. Military coup d'etats are the worst enemies of national unity. Coup d'etats divide and debase a free people. If there was any doubt on the subject, the events in Pakistan have shown that the people of the Third World have to primarily guard against the internal enemy, if foreign domination or hegemony is to be resisted. Coup-gemony is the bridge over which hegemony walks to stalk our lands.

key. The Greek nation had to beckon their political leader Konstantin Karamanlis to return from Paris to save Greece from ruination.

In Argentina, after having played football with the politics for years without solving the problem of polarization, General Harguindeguy, a member of the Military Junta, recently observed, "the task ahead cannot belong to a military clique with a few civilian aides." These words were spoken in Buenos Aires, but they ring a bell in Islamabad. General Harguindeguy also emphasized the importance of open government with mass civilian participation.

Italy, another vital center of civilization, is in the clutches of a deep and serious economic and political crisis. The degree of polarization in Italy is hazardously acute. Convinced that the prevailing system has failed and that the crisis is beyond the grasp of normal remedies, the Red Brigade is determined to demolish the existing structure of the Italian State and to replace it by a new, classless structure. They have come to the conclusion that the quickest and surest way to destroy the existing state structure is to provoke the military into seizing power. They believe that once the military seizes power, the prevailing structure of the Italian state, based on the Constitution and the institutions enacted under it, would collapse. They further contend that once the pillars of the State fall, the exploitative state would crumble with its pillars. The Red Brigade regard the military seizure of power in Italy as a solution, the kind of solution we are witnessing in Pakistan. The military elite of Italy is aware of the pitfalls. The elite is exceptionally well-educated and it is familiar with the history of the Italian na-

tion. The military elite of Italy cannot forget that after his final and decisive military success to unite the Italian nation, Garibaldi disappeared into the hills with his wife Anna, and left the task of consolidating the unity of the new Italian nation to the skillful politician of Piedmont, Count Camillo di Cavour. If a hundred years back the task of consolidating the new unity of Italy was a political task, the Armed Forces of Italy are not going to respond to the invitation of the Red Brigade in a hurry to break the Italian State in 1978 by military intervention in the politics of Italy.

After the Russian Revolution, Lenin had to make sedulous efforts to concretize the political supremacy of the Party over the military. Stalin was equally aware of this essential prerequisite. Both Lenin and Stalin stipulated that the Soviet State would be perilously endangered if the military asserted its supremacy over the Party, or, in other words, over the political control and direction of the State. The principle of political ascendancy, that is, the ascendancy of the Party over the military, has been an uncompromising and consistent feature of the Soviet State from the day of the Revolution until today. It will remain so in the future. One means progress and power. The other means conflict and chaos. As late as 1957, the Defense Minister of the Soviet Union, Marshall Zhukhov, the conqueror of Berlin and one of the greatest Generals of the Second World War, was dismissed for displaying "Bonapartist" tendencies.

The same principle holds good in the Peoples Republic of China since the dawn of the Revolution. It must hold good for China and her people. If the military in China assumed control over the Party and the political leadership, China would return to the old times of the War Lords. The 800 million people of China are not kept united by Martial Law Order Number 12. The 800 million people of China are not progressing and becoming more powerful by public whippings. China and the Chinese people have been taken to pristine heights by its political leadership and through political motivation. The political factor is the inspiration of China's unity and the cause of the voluntary sacrifices of her 800 million people. When the Defense Minister of China, Marshall Lin Piao, plotted his "Operation Fairplay" called "Outline of Project 571" to kill Chairman Mao Tse Tung and establish military ascendancy in China, Premier Chou-en-Lai took direct command of the Armed Forces and played a key role in crushing the plot of Marshall Lin Piao. The timely action by Premier Chou-en-Lai to uphold the political leadership and to maintain the political ascendancy of the Party, saved China from a catastrophe.

The Turkish Example

Our Generals are very fond of quoting the Turkish example with little knowledge of Turkish history. Since the conquest of Constantinople, with a few exceptions, the Turkish Armed Forces have not seen military defeat or failure. The Turkish Armed Forces and the military leaders of Turkey carved out the largest Empire in the world until the advent of the British Empire. From the time of the Seljuks to that of the Ottomans, it is a history of centuries of military conquests. One military victory is crowned with another. There were exceptions, no doubt, but none of the defeats brought disgrace to the Turkish Armed Forces or her military leaders. In some battles, the whole force

was liquidated, without a single prisoner of war being left behind. General Mustafa's defeat at the gates of Vienna was not a military defeat. In the Battle of Gallipoli, the Turkish Armed Forces fought with such valor that the outcome was immaterial. During the First World War, the crushing defeat of the British at the Dardanelles, was not forgotten by Winston Churchill until his dying days. Turkey became the "Sick Man of Europe" due to the diplomatic intrigues of Western Powers. The system of "capitulations" imposed on weak and decadent Sultans caused a wave of repulsion amongst the patriotic forces, and gave birth to the Young Turk movement. This movement was basically a movement for political reform and emerged from the traditions and the character of Turkish history and politics. The political and military personalities and their purposes were indistinguishable and inseparable. The Young Turks were composed of soldiers and politicians. Men like Mustafa Kemal Pasha, Anwer Pasha, Ismet Pasha, Rauf Pasha and Talat Pasha were soldiers and politicians because, for over five centuries, Turkey was constantly at war. As an Axis power, Turkey lost the First World War along with Germany. But under the dynamic leadership of Mustafa Kemal Pasha, Turkey converted defeat into victory. Under his gallant leadership, Attaturk rallied the defeated and dismembered Turkish nation and inflicted crushing military defeats on the Greeks who were aided by France and Britain. After driving out the foreigners from Turkish soil, the greatest military hero of a great military nation, discarded his military uniform. He gave Turkey a Constitution and a Parliament. He modernized Turkey. He emancipated women. Attaturk set up the One-Party State and, in those early days, he ordered a mixed economy for Turkey. After some time he encouraged and brought into being an Opposition Party to strengthen democracy in his Country. He made Ismet Pasha, the hero of the Battle of Innanu, relinquish his military career in order to commit himself fully to politics. He made him the Prime Minister and leader of the peoples republican Party. He encouraged and supported the economist and banker, Ceyal Bayer to become President of the Democratic Party. For historical reasons and with proud justification, on account of the brilliant contributions, the military traditions were deeply intermingled with the socio-political fabric of Turkey. Had Attaturk lived longer, or had he been in better health, he would have weeded out completely the military influence from the politics of Turkey.

When he died, Attaturk left behind a nascent democracy in Turkey. The young plant of democracy saw many vicissitudes. After decades of rule, the Republican Party was defeated by the Democratic Party in 1950. Ceyal Bayer became the President of the Republic and Adnan Menderes the Prime Minister. Then the Generals struck in May 1960 with a coup d'etat. They proclaimed that Turkey was on the verge of civil war and they had intervened to stop it. The leaders of the Democratic Party were detained on the island of Yassida and the infamous Yassida trials ensued. Prime Minister Menderes, Foreign Minister Zorku and Finance Minister Krepatkan were given death sentences.

Immediately after the announcement of this mournful decision, President Ayub Khan sent me as his Special Envoy to Ankara to plead with the Junta not to implement the decision. I met President General Gersel in Ankara. The Foreign

Minister, Salim Sapar was present and interpreted. It was a lively discussion. General Gersel told me that the problems of Turkey would be resolved by the executions. Firmly, but politely I raised my voice to tell him, "Mr. President, Sir, the problems of Turkey will begin with the executions." When I left the office of the President of Turkey, Salim Sapar accompanied me. He told me, "God Bless you." The intense and disturbing polarization which faces Turkey today takes its roots from those ill-advised executions. The Turkish Armed Forces have seen that the modulation of polarization is a political phenomenon. The crystallization of a synthesis or an equilibrium is an aspect of political evolution. Any direct and ulterior interference from outside the pale of politics can only worsen the situation. Every country has its share of political commotion and turmoil. In Britain, the Trade Unions are regarded as a supra-government, but the military has not seized power in that country to deal with them. Nor did the British Armed Forces seize power when the country was paralyzed by the General Strike in 1931. During the Great Depression of 1930 and 1931, the American system had all but collapsed, but the American Armed Forces did not seize political power. The whole world would be under coup-gemony if the yardstick of Pakistan's coup d'etats were to become applicable as a justification for military intervention. I am absolutely certain that, if the Chief of Staff of the Italian Army had appeared on Television in Rome on 5 July 1977 and, after reciting a passage of the New Testament, told the people of Italy that he was compelled to intervene, objectively speaking, his words would have carried more credibility. This did not happen and will not happen because it would spell disaster for Italy and her unity.

The Armed Forces do not have to instigate, encourage or capitalize on a crisis to seize power. Whenever that is done, the crisis is made worse, not resolved. It reappears and becomes more evil. If it is true, as the Chief Martial Law Administrator said at his Press Conference in Rawalpindi on 1 January 1978, that political problems can only be solved by political means, he should have gone on to add, "and by politicians, not by soldiers."

At the end of the First World War, Prime Minister Clemenceau of France made a profound observation. It is an observation that the generals of Pakistan would do well to remember. Clemenceau remarked: "War is too serious a business to be left to the Generals." This profound observation is infinitely more valid when peace is the business.

The truth of the matter is that, with all the internal and external intrigues and conspiracies, there is no escaping the conclusion that, by the twilight of a long day of ordeal, I had mastered the situation. Even the Opposition is now forced to admit this. After his release from protective custody, the PNA leader, Nawabzada Nasrullah Khan, admitted that an agreement had been reached on 4 July 1977 because at 10:30 p.m. I had withdrawn my objections. The Agreement was to be signed on the following fateful day.

On page 391 the White Paper quotes Rao Rashid's note of 29 May 1977:

"The law and order situation is constantly improving. Although the PNA retains a potential of creating another law and order crisis if the talks fail, but passage of time would progressively lessen their potential. As much time,

therefore, should be brought in conducting the negotiations as possible...re-election in the near future would be disastrous from all points of view."

"All points of view" includes the national point of view more than any other point of view. After dinner, at approximately 1:20 a.m. on the night of 4 July, or morning of 5 July 1977, when the conspirators had already struck, Mr. Hafeez Pirzada told me, "Congratulations, Sir, the crisis is over." I asked him what made him say that. He said that the steam had gone out of the Opposition. I laughed and told Mr. Mumtaz Ali Bhutto (Bhutto's cousin and also federal minister) to wash off some of Pirzada's perennial optimism. He replied by saying that, in order to do that, he would have to take Pirzada to Sukkur Barrage during high flood. All three of us laughed. Within thirty minutes, we heard the other laughter. Time, in its maturity, will tell who will have the last laugh.

After a year or more of research, what has emerged from the bizarre details? This huge collection of material leaves me untarnished. It is a perverse testimony, which tortuously concedes its failure. Poetic justice apart, the avowed purpose of the White Paper is to destroy me politically. Its strenuous attempt has failed, because the truth must prevail.

WHAT NEXT:

THE FUTURE OF PAKISTAN

General Zia-ul Haque would be well advised not to rush into treading the ground the angels fear to tread. Since judicial notice can now be taken of his successive blunders, he should be prevented from crowning another failure. As he is not a politician, with one naive banter he destroyed all that I achieved with Afghanistan and, concomitantly, with the Country in Northwest Frontier Province (NWFP) and Baluchistan. For these two stupendous follies, Pakistan might have to pay an irretrievable price. By resorting to petty tactics, the General and his minions have already gravely damaged the Kashmir case by floating fictitious "secret clauses." Perhaps this was precisely the macabre object. I did not merely claim to get back 90,000 prisoners of war and more than five thousand square miles of territory, but I actually did get them back. Not even my bitterest enemies can deny this achievement. More than that, I stopped the war trials threatened by Mujibur Rehman. I held firm on the right of self-determination of Jammu and Kashmir. I prevailed on the Shahinshah of Iran not to give India a loan to construct the formidable defense fortification called the Rajasthan Canal. On the objection of the GHQ, I refused to conclude the agreement on Salal Dam. From the President of France, the General received a lemon. If he goes to India, the General will receive a chicko [a small tropical fruit, much smaller than a lemon] from the Prime Minister of India.

It is about time the General turned inward and looked into the deep well of crisis he has created in Pakistan. Let me make it abundantly clear. Let there be no mistake about it. Selfishness, ineptitude and a heathen vendetta have synchronized to the flash point of a mortal crisis. The crisis that Pakistan faces today is far graver and more catastrophic than the crisis of 1971. Objectively speaking, according to the rules of realpolitik and

power politics, five neighboring states are directly concerned. If trouble and instability mar the future of Pakistan, it would be very dangerous to assume that none of the five neighboring States would not get sucked into the situation. It would be the height of optimism to expect that all five of them will turn into hermits and look the other way. Each one of them has a direct strategic and geo-political interest in residuary Pakistan. None of them can ignore it without peril to itself. Our beloved country can become a battlefield more devastating than Vietnam.

After the death of Aurangzeb in 1707, the great empire founded by Babur began to disintegrate. Foreign invaders marched in to grab the booty of an empire as rich as that of any Caesar. Former Governors, dispossessed Sardars and soldiers of fortune carved out independent principalities. If such a calamitous misfortune could overtake the descendants of Genghis Khan, history is capable of repeating itself for lesser and smaller men. Nauseating debates on dead or living horses are futile. The hour has struck. The supreme challenge lies in preventing another outbreak. Tongue lashing, abuses and the employment of force will be disastrously counterproductive. Time is crying out for political dexterity, for vision and for a genuine consensus. The immediate imperative is for a comprehensive political settlement based on an equitable formula. This is the moment for quiet and sincere negotiations between brothers, without malice or prejudice.

The curse and stigma of Martial Law needs to be withdrawn without delay. The larceny of seizing power through the chimney will only gather more smoke. The pathetic and myopic jingoists are unloading their volley of words on a Balouch politician who is not even a "Sardar" of the twice born Brahmin of [words indecipherable]. I am more concerned, indeed, I am deeply perturbed not by his voice but by the voice or voices behind him. I am not suggesting that anyone is a spokesman for other powers. It is quite possible that thoughts and ideas outside the frontiers can conform and harmonize with thoughts inside the frontiers. This is what makes ideology international and this is what makes the struggle more potent and powerful. In June 1977 I stated in the National Assembly of Pakistan that there will be an acute horizontal and vertical polarization if Pakistan were to be destabilized. By horizontal polarization, I meant and said provincial polarization, and by vertical polarization, I meant and said class polarization. This is what has happened.

When Mujibur Rehman (the late Bengali leader) spoke he also gave his scheme at Lahore, but he would not have come all the way from Dacca to Lahore to announce it if he had not flown on the wings of two foreign powers. Mujibur Rehman was arrested, the counterparts of PNA joined the regime in Dacca but still Dacca fell. The same pattern is emerging almost methodically on the pattern of 1970-71. The same anti-people alignments are being made between obscurantists: the same rag-tag bands, the same "think tanks" to do "Jor-tor"³⁸ The scheme is remarkable in its similarities and symptoms—only this time it is far more deadly. Wise men learn from the mistakes and the lessons of the past. There were two parts of the London Plan. The first part was implemented. I prevented the implementation of the second part. It was buried, but the coup of 5 July 1977 revived it with gusto. It would be a dissipation of vitality to run after phantoms. The physician should heal his

own wounds. The Constitution of 1973 should be restored in its unamended purity as a matter of Olympian patriotism. The portals of negotiation should be thrown open to the accredited and authentic leaders for a magnanimous and magnificent consensus. This is the only way to save what is left of this battered and besieged land for the creation of which millions bathed in blood.

As I sit in the four walls of this tiny death cell, my mind reflects on the canvas of my life spent with dedication in the service of my people. My mind wanders over the rapidly changing contours of the magnificent political awakening. Man is moving toward revolution and reform. He is determined to snatch his rights from the usurping order of exploitation. In my solitary confinement, I sometimes think I have lived the past twice over. The scenes that come on the screen of my memory are a veritable feast. I recall many momentous occasions: the partition, the rebellious mood of youth, the epic struggles, the Indo-Pakistan wars, the Security Council, the matching of wits with the giants. If, out of the whole mosaic of the past, I had to select one piece from my most crucial and momentous achievements, I would not refer to my contributions in the 1965 war, nor the creative bilateral foreign policy I embarked upon for the glory of my Nation. I would not refer to that period when I picked up the broken pieces of an asundered land in 1971, nor the Simla Agreement. I would perhaps not refer to the blood, sweat and tears I shed in seeking to create a society marked with equity and justice, my tireless efforts to bring a smile on the face and contentment in the souls of people who had shed bitter tears since Mohenjodaro [the ancient Indus civilization] was built. In the light of recent developments which have taken place, my single most important achievement which I believe will dominate the portrait of my public life is an agreement which I arrived at after an assiduous and tenacious endeavor spanning over eleven years of negotiations. In the present context, the agreement of mind, concluded in June 1976 [the nuclear agreement with France] will perhaps be my greatest achievement and contribution to the survival of our people and our nation.

On my twenty-first birthday on 5 January 1948, I received in Los Angeles two birthday gifts from Larkhana [Bhutto's home]. One was an expensive set of five volumes of Sloane's biography of Napoleon Bonaparte. The other was an inexpensive pamphlet. From Napoleon I imbibed the politics of power. From the pamphlet I absorbed the politics of poverty. The latter ended with the words:

"Workers of the world unite. You have nothing to lose but your chains. You have a world to win!"

However, in deference to the sentiments of the Junta, I shall not end on this revolutionary note. I shall conclude with the quotation with which Jawaharlal Nehru ended "The Discovery of India," the last book he wrote in jail before taking command of a free and democratic India. It is a quotation from Ostrovsky's "How the Steel was Tempered." I says:

"Man's dearest possession is his life, and since it is given to him to live but once, he must so live as not to be seared with the shame of a cowardly and trivial past, so live as not to be tortured for years without purpose, that dying he can say, 'All my life and my strength were given to the first cause in the world—the liberation of mankind'."

NOTES

1. The connection Mr. Bhutto is attempting to establish is the two-pronged case against him, i.e. the political case against him and the legal case. Mr. Faruqi is the link to this. Masood Mahmud, Faruqi's close relative, is the government approver (the government witness against Bhutto). Faruqi acted as the intermediary between the martial law authorities and Masood Mahmud.
2. Bhutto is referring to the Ahmadi "religious minority," a religious sect originally organized by its founder, Ghulam Ahmad of Khadian, a town in the Punjab region of India. The Ahmadi are also known as the Khadianis. The movement was created in the 1840s by the British to defuse rising Muslim opposition to British rule on the Indian subcontinent. The British viceroys encouraged it and cultivated it because of one key feature of its religious ideology—its founder had given the verdict that waging Holy War against the British Empire was un-Islamic. In the post-World War II period, the Khadianis have functioned very much like the Bahai movement in Iran. The first foreign minister of Pakistan was a Zafrullah Khan, the very politician who brought Pakistan into the Central Treaty Organization and most of its military pact commitments. The bureaucracy was controlled largely by the Khadianis and it was only after Mr. Bhutto became Prime Minister that this stranglehold of the government offices by the Khadianis was loosened. Reliable sources report that when Bhutto started this process in 1973, it immediately produced an attempted coup d'état by the Air Force—also heavily infiltrated by the Khadianis. A distinct parallel exists between the Jamaat-e-Islami versus the Ahmadi religious divisions in Pakistan and the Shiite versus Bahai division in Iran. In the recent period all four sects have made their weight felt politically more than in the "religious" calling they nominally profess.
3. A.K. Brohi is current Minister of Law and Parliamentary Affairs in the military appointed 'civilian' government. He led the prosecution team in the Bhutto case. In domestic politics, he is known as a prominent rival of the Bhutto family in the Sind province, the southern state where both the Bhutto and Brohi family made its political base.
4. The Pakistan National Alliance was created almost the day after the announcement of the date for elections by the Bhutto government in 1976. It is a mixture of ideologically disparate elements ranging from obscurantist Muslim parties such as the Jamaat-i-Islami and Muslim League, to the centrist Tehriq Istiqlal and the leftist National Democratic Party (NDP). It has no defined economic program except the return to feudal Pakistan promoted by the Jamaat-i-Islami. In recent months, the PNA has almost completely disintegrated since opportunist and leftist elements have left the coalition leaving the Jamaat as the only center of the party. The key issue that has produced the divisions has been the question of how much pressure should be brought upon the military to declare a fixed timetable for elections. The Jamaat has wanted Bhutto out of the way while the other parties apparently fear that if Bhutto is hanged, they may not be far behind.
5. In Pakistani politics, there has always been a tradition of grand coalitions against the ruling party on the eve of elections. In 1954, the Jugtu Front brought all the opposition together; in 1964 a similar phenomenon happened.
6. Rao Rashid was formerly Inspector General of Police in the province of Punjab. He was picked up as the Prime Minister's special assistant and was a key figure in Bhutto's political establishment. He was arrested by the military junta for not having made depositions against Bhutto. Rao Rashid is the only close confidant to Mr. Bhutto who has not yielded to military pressures to turn government's witness.
7. Rafi Raza, a young lawyer from Karachi, was a personal friend of Mr. Bhutto. He was appointed special assistant in charge of party affairs.
8. A former chief of the Pakistani air force and former Chairman of Pakistan International Airlines, Asghar Khan was promoted by the New York Times as the alternative to Mr. Bhutto from the very first days of the political chaos in Pakistan in March 1977. Reliable sources have indicated that Asghar has been variously described as "the oldest British option in Pakistan" and "the blue boy of the CIA." He is formally the leader of the colorless and programless Tehriq Istiqlal (Movement for Stability) party. While himself not a Ahmadi, several of his family members are tied to this religious sect. A brother of his is known to have hosted the visit of the top Tehriq Istiqlal leaders to the U.S. two years ago and he himself continues to travel extensively through the Arab states and China to keep his "option" alive.
9. The Brahmaputra River flows through India and Bangladesh. Bhutto's reference is to the 1971 India-Pakistan war. The First Martial Law was declared in 1958 when General Ayub Khan took power. The second was in 1969 when he was overthrown, and the third was imposed with the overthrow of Bhutto on July 5, 1977. None of the martial law periods have resulted in any improved stability for the Pakistani nation.
10. A Momin is the expression used for a pious believer, a reference in this case to the Chief Martial Law Administrator, Gen. Zia-ul-Haque.
11. Village democracy institutions established for the first time in ancient Indian kingdoms.
12. Holy Warrior.
13. General Tikka Khan was Bhutto's Security Adviser. He is the only general under detention and is being tried before a military court for stirring up disaffection against the military junta.
14. This is reference to Asghar Khan's role in an earlier plot. Sources have characterized the coup attempt against Bhutto in 1973 as an "Ahmadi plot" caused by Bhutto's decision to make the group an official religious minority.
15. The vernacular title for tribal chiefs.
16. A regional delicacy where a whole lamb is baked.
17. National Awami Party (NAP), a left-oriented party led by Wali Khan, has widespread support in the Northwest Frontier Province and Baluchistan. It was banned in 1974 by Bhutto who had blamed it for provoking violence in those provinces but recently many of its leaders have been released by the ruling junta. Instead of staying on in Pakistan, many of the top leaders have spent much of the last year in London buying time until the Bhutto case is decided.
18. This is the strategic canal dividing Pakistani Punjab from Indian Punjab.
19. The Simla Accords of 1973 were signed by Indian Prime Minister Indira Gandhi and Bhutto as the bilateral treaty ending the 1971 Indo-Pakistan war. The accords returned over 90,000 POWs held by India to Pakistan and provided the framework of future detente and development perspectives for the entire region. During the last year the junta has tried to suggest that Bhutto and Gandhi signed a "secret clause" selling out the Pakistani claims on the disputed Kashmir region. The allegation has been debunked by both Gandhi and Bhutto and none of the detractors have yet produced any evidence substantiating their charges. The most salient feature of the Simla Accords was that they were signed as a bilateral accord, without any involvement by then U.S. Secretary of State Henry Kissinger. They became the turning point for policies on the Indian subcontinent as the Soviet Union began to view Bhutto as a friend rather than an adversary in the region. Following the Simla Accords, Bhutto got crucial aid from Moscow to begin building the Karachi steel mill, the only one in Pakistan.
20. The Jan Sangh is the "Hindu" equivalent of the Jamaat-e-Islami's "Muslim" militancy. Both now find themselves in the government and are seen as triggers for communal violence in the region. Their emphasis on a "religious" basis for state policies intersects the British Foreign Office's cultist and secessionist scenarios for the region.

21. "The colony of the poor."
22. A vast tent constructed for main conference proceedings.
23. A variety of Indian and Pakistani sweetmeats. Here Bhutto uses regional metaphors to demonstrate how the generals have gotten nothing.
24. Another reference to a regional dessert.
25. One of the former People's Party leaders who has been pressured to give false evidence in the murder case against Bhutto.
26. Maulvi Mustaque, the Election Commissioner and his predecessor Jan.
27. Afzal Cheema was formerly Justice of the Supreme Court. He is now chairman of the Council of Islamic Ideology. This is a reference to the much propounded theory that Pakistan's nationhood is dependent on implementation of Islamic law.
28. A reference to a belief among certain sections of Islam to the return of the Messiah.
29. A renowned religious leader of Punjab, known as the master of Urdu oratory.
30. This prediction is corroborated today by the demand by the leaders of smaller provinces of Pakistan for greater provincial autonomy, going beyond the provisions of the 1973 Constitution.
31. Order based on the prophetic model: a popular demand of the PNA for Islamic law.
32. The Jamaat-e-Islami is a Muslim fundamentalist party, a key constituent of the ruling Pakistan National Alliance. Its leader, Maulana Mawdoodi, has been compared often with Iranian religious leader Ayatollah Khomeiny. Mawdoodi however is a Sunni Muslim, a counterpart to the Muslim Brotherhood, while Khomeiny is a Shia.
33. Hides of sacrificed animals.
34. Abedi, the former founder of the United Bank of Pakistan, is now the head of the Bank of Credit and Commerce International (BCCI) based in London. Abedi is known in banking circles for his extensive travels and contacts in the Persian Gulf ruling elite and in Saudi Arabia as well. He has not given any statement to date on the charges and countercharges about his business affairs in either the Government White Paper or Bhutto's declarations.
35. The military code for the coup d'etat carried out by Gen. Zia-ul-Haque on July 5, 1977.
36. Jullunder is the city in East Punjab from which both General Zia-ul-Haque and many of the PNA leaders emigrated to Pakistan.
37. The Khaksars are directly modeled on the Nazi Brownshirts. Their leader, Enayatullah Mashriqi, presented an interpretation of Islamic ideology to adapt it to militarist policies. His "troops" wear khaki uniforms with spade designs and march in paramilitary formation. Presently they constitute one of the key components of the PNA but have remained formally out of the government.
37. Mian Tufail Mohammad is the party chairman of the Jamaat-e-Islami; Maulana Mawdoodi is the religious head of the organization.
38. Native expression for political intrigue.
39. The London Plan was conceived of in 1973-74 by "leftist" leaders at a secret meeting in London. It has been charged that it was plotted with the idea of following the creation of Bangladesh with a series of other autonomous tribal and regional entities.

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