

chief of staff of the armed forces will expire. Zia has three options: he can retire as army chief, and stay on as President, a choice he rejected once before; he can appoint a junior officer to the post, thus forcing the resignation of many senior disgruntled officials; or he can retire both politically and militarily.

Since Zia himself seized power on July 4, 1977 in what he called "Operation Fair Play" and a "Ninety Day Operation Fair Play," he has long overstayed his own deadline to hold elections. Now his political future is complicated by the court verdict against Bhutto. Many sources suggest that there is extreme polarization among the military, between those who want Bhutto hanged and those who on some level understand the seriousness of the atrocity for Pakistan. Thus far, the former group, backed by the Jamaati, has managed to hold its ground to execute Bhutto.

— *Leela Narayan*

Governments, press support Bhutto

In 1976, when Pakistani Prime Minister Zulfikar Ali Bhutto told then U.S. Secretary of State Henry Kissinger that he would not cancel the purchase of a French nuclear plant, as demanded by the U.S., Henry Kissinger replied, "I will make a horrible example of you." In April 1977, four months before he was overthrown by a coup d'etat, Bhutto publicly charged that the Carter Administration, the British Broadcasting Corporation, and the Zionist lobby were the forces who sought his ouster for seeking a nuclear capability for Pakistan. We present here the international reactions, governmental and in major press organs to the Supreme Court's decision to hang Bhutto. While European governments have made it clear that an execution of Bhutto would be viewed harshly by their governments and peoples, Kissinger's responsibility in the matter has even been noted by some foreign press. Overall, the international press has reacted strongly against the imminent hanging of Mr. Bhutto, though several U.S. papers also took the opportunity to take swipes at the Prime Minister. In France, *Le Figaro* warned of the danger of civil war should Bhutto be executed, and *France Soir* quoted a recent court speech by Bhutto warning that "If I

What is the Jamaat-i-Islami?

On Feb. 10, it is expected that Chief Martial Law Administrator of Pakistan, Gen. Ziaul Haq will make a nationwide address. The *Daily Telegraph* states that Zia will announce the creation of an Islamic republic based on new social codes. The code will include penalties such as chopping off hands for theft, amputation of feet for banditry, public stoning for adultery and flogging for drinking. Gen Zia proposes a return to feudal dark age legal code which endangers the future of Pakistan as a nation, as well as its economic development and prosperity.

The author of Zia's social codes is the Jamaat-i-Islami, the Pakistani equivalent of the supranational Muslim Brotherhood, the Islamic fundamentalist group organized by Britain in the early part of this century. The Jamaati has, since the July 4, 1977 coup which overthrew Bhutto, promoted his hanging. As well, the junta-appointed Information Minister Farooqi has told this press service that he views the floggings given to supporters of the Prime Minister during their incarcerations as merely the implementation of the 1898 Civil Penal Code instituted by the British Colonial Office.

The Jamaati's connections with the British Foreign Office operations runs deep. In collaboration with Zbigniew Brzezinski's Institute for Communist Affairs at Columbia University, the tribal deployments are being organized at a strategic level. Money for the Jamaati operation is believed to be coming from the Prince Abdullah faction of the Saudi Arabia royal family, funneled through the Islamic Foundation of Europe.

If Bhutto is hanged as the Jamaati wants, the type of civil war unleashed in Pakistan will be far worse than the current disorders in Iran because Bhutto remains today, even in jail, the most popular political leader of Pakistan. It is not a mere coincidence that Iran's Ayatollah Khomeini sent Jamaati leader Maulana Mawdoodi a secret message on the eve of the Bhutto verdict announcement. In the message, it is reported, Khomeini urged the Jamaati to press ahead with the "holy war."

am killed, Pakistan will become a new Iran." The conservative German daily *Die Welt* predicted "a chain reaction leading to the renewal of separatist tendencies" if Bhutto is killed, and cited a warning from Bhutto's son in London that "The elections Zia promised won't be held because whether Bhutto is dead or alive, he can win them, even from his death cell."

Heads of state react to the verdict

Bulent Ecevit, Prime Minister of Turkey: Called for Pakistan to pardon Bhutto, and offered Turkey as a place for Bhutto to live in exile "if that will contribute to the setting up of a democratic regime in Pakistan."

Ola Ullsten, Prime Minister of Sweden (in a cable to General

Ziaul Haq: "My country opposes the death penalty and has for many years worked for its banishment.... A decision by your excellency to commute the death sentence to less grave penalties would be welcomed the world over as a humanitarian act."

Federal Republic of Germany: Asked for clemency for Bhutto and warned that the German people would view Pakistan harshly if Bhutto were hanged.

France, President Giscard d'Estaing: Urgently requested that Bhutto not be hanged.

James Callaghan, Prime Minister of Britain: "I have today officially made representations to General Zia to ask him that he should, as an act of clemency, spare the life of Mr. Bhutto. The consequences of clemency would be more beneficial to his country than the strict application of the law."

James Carter, President, United States: Appealed for clemency in a letter.

Arab world: Qatar and the Palestine Liberation Organization publicly called for Mr. Bhutto's life to be spared.

Press comment

Le Monde, editorial, Feb. 7: "The Gallows for Mr. Bhutto?": Only pressure from governments with whom Mr. Bhutto entertained good relations, and from which his successors also want to gain trust, can save the former prime minister from the gallows.

It is very unlikely that Washington will intervene vigorously. From his prison, Mr. Bhutto had accused the United States of having indirectly engineered his fall because they were hostile to his policy of providing Pakistan with nuclear energy. Has France, from whom he had ordered a uranium reprocessing plant, intervened to save a man who had been France's official host and who willingly turned to France to order military equipment? If she has done so, it was to say the least, done very discreetly (this was published prior to Giscard's statement — ed.).... We must expect a strong reaction from the members of the Pakistani People's Party which he had founded, if he is executed.

Vita Sera, Italian daily, Feb. 7, "Bhutto From Prison Accuses Kissinger: 'He Wanted the Coup d'Etat'": According to the former prime minister of Pakistan, the original author of the military coup d'etat and of his own downfall was Henry Kissinger. The American former Secretary of State, in fact, personally threatened that he would make of Bhutto a "terrible example" if he did not abandon his program for the development of nuclear energy.... According to Mr. Bhutto, "Kissinger told me that I had three alternatives. A, to forget the nuclear plant project, and the imminent operations (against Bhutto) would not materialize. B, to postpone the election, or C, to meet the serious consequences...." (Article then quotes from Bhutto's letters from prison, published by Executive Intelligence Review in "The Pakistan Papers.")

New York Times, editorial, Feb. 7: Mr. Bhutto is no innocent victim of the changing political winds. While in power, he ruled

with a high hand, and he bears a major responsibility for the return of military rule.... There was no way to separate the Bhutto case from politics. Despite the judiciary's quest for impartiality, it could not try Mr. Bhutto as if he were an ordinary defendant. The presiding judge, like General Zia, was a Bhutto appointee who had broken with his patron. The contempt of the judge and the general for the defendant, and his for them, was undisguised.... General Zia should consider that a martyred Mr. Bhutto might also wreak vengeance. The former prime minister is probably more popular now than he was before the coup.... Should he be executed, myth might well entirely supplant reality.

Baltimore Sun, editorial, Feb. 7: The opinion of the Lahore High Court last March convicting Mr. Bhutto was a convincing reading.... Now the Pakistan Supreme Court has reaffirmed the conviction.... The lesson of the supremacy of law, however, would be lost if the new military ruler, President Ziaul Haq, allows (Bhutto) to be hanged. The world and the Pakistani people would understand only that an inconvenient opinion was done away with. Mr. Bhutto remains the most magnetic political figure in Pakistan.... Presidential commutation of the sentence to imprisonment is in order."

What Jack Anderson and Katharine Graham Wouldn't Print

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