

Mr. A. K. Brohi

**Counsel For Federation
Statement in the
Supreme Court of Pakistan**

**Rawalpindi
October 10, 1977**



Reproduced By:

Sani Hussain Panhwar

Membar Sindh Council, PPP



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**IN THE SUPREME COURT OF PAKISTAN, RAWALPINDI
ORIGINAL CONSTITUTIONAL JURISDICTION.
ORIGINAL CONST. PETITION NO. 1 – R OF 1977**

Begum Nusrat Bhutto Petitioner

Versus

The Chief of the Army Staff, etc Respondents

WRITTEN STATEMENT

ON BEHALF OF THE RESPONDENT NO. 2

It is submitted on behalf of the Respondent No. 2 as under: –

1. That the preliminary objections taken in the Application under Order 49 Rule 6 of the Supreme Court Rules may be deemed to be part of and incorporated in this written statement.
2. That the present written statement is being filed without prejudice to the contention raised on behalf of the answering Respondent that this Honourable Court may be pleased to first determine the Question of jurisdiction before embarking on a wider enquiry.
3. That in as much as during the course of arguments before this Honourable Court the legal question relating to the applicability of the doctrine of necessity was raised it has become necessary to traverse certain broad trends which were prevalent in the country at the material time so as to elucidate the historical context against which the imposition of Martial Law became an imperative necessity. It is respectfully submitted that this Honourable Court may be pleased to take judicial notice of the picture emerging from the mosaic of events within the country. Although certain specific events have been described in what follows, the object of so doing is merely to illustrate the overall pattern of events by means of concrete illustrations and not to embark upon a detailed factual inquiry which would be outside the scope of these proceedings. In so far as these specific events reveal illegalities committed by or at the instance of the former Government they will form the subject matter of independent legal proceedings

in which the detainees and their associates will be afforded all reasonable opportunities for their defence in accordance with the law of the land.

4. That the events leading to the imposition of Martial Law fall into two phases: –

(i) The first phase relates to the unconstitutional and illegal governance of this country by the detainees and their associates and terminates on the eve of the imposition of Martial Law.

(ii) The second phase relates to the preparations which were being made by the detainees and their associates for the fomenting of civil war within the country and their intention to frustrate and prevent the holding of free and fair elections and thereby consolidate their illegal tenure of office.

5. That although the so-called elections of 7th March 1977 represent a benchmark of illegality, in fact the pattern of illegality had been set earlier and was merely carried out thereafter with enhanced virulence. It is submitted that this Honourable Court would be entitled to take judicial notice of the flagrant illegalities attendant upon and constituting an integral part of the so-called elections of March 1977.

6. That the key note to the manner in which the elections were to be conducted was struck by the “unopposed” elections of the then Prime Minister and all four Chief Ministers of the provinces. It is a peculiar coincidence that these unopposed elections were accompanied by allegations of kidnapping, terrorisation and torture of potential Opposition candidates.

7. That the then Chief Election Commissioner in an interview given to the daily “Millat”, Karachi, pointedly commented on the widespread irregularities committed in relation to the election and recorded his opinion that the results in more than 50% of the seats were affected thereby. In view of the massive scale of the irregularities the Chief Election Commissioner felt that the appropriate course would be to hold fresh elections.

A true copy of the report of the said interview appearing in the May 6, 1977 issue of the Newspaper is being attached herewith.

8. That subsequent investigations have revealed the fact that the directions for the rigging of the elections were issued at the highest governmental level. By way of illustration a report of the Commissioner, Hazara Division, dated 21 September 1977 is being attached herewith. A perusal of this report would reveal the fact that Major General Imtiaz Ali, the Military Secretary to the Prime

Minister, the then Chief Secretary to the Government of NWFP and Mr. Hayat Tamman, former Political Adviser to Mr. Zulfikar All Bhutto, visited Abbottabad and personally issued instructions for the rigging of the elections. Specific instructions were issued that Air Marshal (Retd.) Asghar Khan was not to be allowed to be elected at all costs.

9. That a report of Mr. Rao A. Rashid Khan, Special Secretary to the then Prime Minister, reveals the fact that the Prime Minister had personally appointed a committee for the purpose of illegally distributing Motor Cycles and Bicycles to People's Party workers in the districts. The committee consisted of the following persons: —

- (a) Mr. A. W. Katpar
- (b) Mr. Qasim Patel
- (c) Mr. Nizamuddin
- (d) Mr. Nizamuddin Leghari
- (e) Mr. Kamal Azfar

A chart showing the number of Motor Cycles and Bicycles allocated for the various provinces is being attached herewith.

10. That the said Mr. Rao A. Rashid Khan also prepared a memorandum for the then Prime Minister dated 23 January 1977 giving a list of the Opposition candidates who were to be defeated on the ostensible grounds that their elections "would obstruct the democratic process in the country and cause problems in the Assembly". It is interesting to know that Mr. Rao A. Rashid Khan was being paid a salary out of public funds for executing this venture in democratic politics. A true copy of the said memorandum is being attached herewith.

10A. That earlier on 30th June 1977, Mr. Rao A. Rashid Khan submitted a memorandum to the Prime Minister reporting the following:

"All the four provinces were requested to prepare lists of those officials who are going to be used as Polling and Presiding officers and to include only those who are thoroughly dependable The Chief Secretary, Baluchistan, during my last visit to Quetta, had discussed this with me and had stated that in Baluchistan the selection of Presiding and Polling Officers would be crucial".

11. That the misuse of government property for the sake of the People's Party was, of course, not confined to a few officials. For instance Mian Mohammad Abbas, formerly Director (Operations and Intelligence), FSF, specifically made available eight government vehicles in order to help Raja Zahoor Ahmed, a People's Party candidate. Numerous other such illegal acts also took place.

12. That Mian Mohammad Abbas was also instrumental in setting up a "Demolishing Squad". The object for which this Squad was set up was to disrupt and break up public meetings of Opposition political parties. Mr. Rao A. Rashid Khan was also responsible, together with other senior officers of the FSF, for setting up squads of "bomb blasters", "sharp shooters" and "knife runners".

13. That massive transfers were carried out in the departments from which Polling; Presiding officers were to be selected. These transfers were primarily politically motivated and lacked any administrative justification. By way of illustration a chart relating to the Punjab Education Department is being attached herewith, which reveals that a total of 1,866 transfers took place at the material time. These included 941 teachers, 481 senior teachers, 204 lecturers and 181 headmasters. Similarly, large scale transfers of the police were carried out as also of Commissioners and Deputy Commissioners.

14. That thus it would be obvious that the entire governmental machinery involved in the election work had been subverted on a massive scale. It is submitted that in these circumstances it is not possible to accept the contention that electoral malpractices were restricted to isolated cases or that they were due to local excesses. The evidence viewed as a whole leads to the inescapable conclusion that there was a master plan for the rigging of the elections which had been conceived, directed and implemented by the then Prime Minister, Mr. Z. A. Bhutto.

15. That it is clear that the only remedy provided by law, namely, the filing of election petitions in individual cases was in fact no remedy at all for the prevailing situation. It is a notorious fact that election petitions tend to linger on indefinitely and, at times, remain pending even after the expiry of the life of Parliament. This is all the more so in cases where procrastination and dilatory tactics are utilized with the covert support of the government of the day. It is submitted that in such cases the grievance which cannot be rectified by the usual judicial machinery is not confined to individual candidates but extends to the nation as a whole which has been denied its constitutional right of self-representation.

16. That further cogent evidence in support of the above thesis is afforded by the fact that nationwide protests resounded from one end of the land to the other. The fact that hundreds of people laid down their lives in an attempt to protest against the defilement of the constitutional process affords the most eloquent testimony to the deep sense of outrage and resentment felt by the people of Pakistan against the denial of their right of self-representation. A chart setting

out the numbers of persons killed injured during the course of the agitation is attached herewith.

17. That instead of attempting to rectify the illegalities committed by them, the detenués and their associates thereafter embarked upon a widespread campaign to cow down the people of Pakistan and thus perpetuate their illegal rule. Although the crying need of the hour was to restore peaceful conditions by an acknowledgement and acceptance of the people's right of self-representation the People's Party proceeded to further subvert the governmental machinery for the maintenance of law and order. By way of illustration reliance is placed on the official minutes of the proceedings of a high powered committee known as the "Law and Order Committee" which was chaired by the Attorney General of Pakistan and in whose deliberations the Advocates General of Punjab and Sind also participated from time to time. Some of the aspects revealed by these minutes are the following: –

(i) The Law and Order Committee, whose membership consisted exclusively of high ranking government servants, obviously considered itself the guardian of the interests of the People's Party. Thus, in the minutes of the meeting held on 27th June 1977 the following decision is recorded as having been arrived at: –

"Conflicts and dissensions within the PPP need to be ironed out. Party ranks need motivation and better organization".

Similarly, at the meeting held on 21st June 1977, the following was recorded:

"Rift between PP leaders/workers on the other hand is very much visible. During their convention in Lahore, they fought among themselves. The party as a whole is lying low. Against this, PNA leaders/workers are very active and united".

(ii) It was widely known that the People's Party government had been indiscriminately issuing arms licences to its MNAs and MPAs in order to terrorise the public. The Law and Order Committee finally took cognizance of this problem as late as 27th June 1977, and the reason that it recommended its discontinuance is interesting and revealing : –

"Issue of arm licences to PPP workers through MNAs and MPAs was already being widely criticised. It had now come to notice that licences were being sold even to the Opposition by MNAs/MPAs. It was strongly recommended that this practice be stopped".

(iii) On 28th May 1977 the Committee considered the abuse of the Police force by the People's Party and took note of the following:

"It was reported to the committee that effectiveness of Police command in the Punjab had been eroded by political leaders, both Federal and Provincial by constant interference in matters of appointments, promotions and transfers, etc. of Police Officers. Similarly, an MPA was directly responsible for the Chiniot stabbing incident. A People's Party worker had insulted the PNA woman and was taken into custody by the Police. The MPA prevailed upon the Assistant Commissioner Chiniot to release the PPP worker at midnight. Shortly after his release, the worker was killed. If the MPA had not interfered and the man remained in police custody he would have possibly escaped his death".

(iv) The Committee paid special attention to the legal community and was firmly of the opinion that the appropriate method for dealing with lawyers was by resort to Martial Law as the following extracts from the meetings of 22nd April, 8th, 11th and 17th May 1977 would reveal:—

"Lawyers generally meet in Bar Rooms and plan defiance of Martial Law. All violations of the D. P. R. and substantive penal laws inserted in the amended Army Act should be tried by military courts. Investigations should be expedited and some cases put in military courts without delay. For this purpose, a cell in the Provincial Crime Branch should be created."

"All lawyers, who violate the Martial Law orders; instructions, must be dealt with by the military courts expeditiously."

"Bar Associations of Karachi and Lahore have passed several resolutions which are inflammatory. Army authorities should send for Office Bearers of these Associations and give them stern warning to desist from passing any such resolution in future."

"The members of the Bar who are misbehaving in Lahore/Karachi should be administered suitable warnings by the Martial Law authorities to behave otherwise they would have to be proceeded against by the said authorities."

"Mr. Nizam Ahmad, President of the Karachi Bar Association, is behaving in a most irresponsible manner and convening meetings,

etc., in violation of the provisions of rule 92 DPR. Martial Law authorities should try him in a military court.”

“Reference decision No. (7) taken in the meeting of 14th May about Bar Association meetings in Martial Law Zones, it was decided that Martial Law authorities should administer a warning to the spokesmen important persons present in such meetings should they, in any manner, criticise the imposition of Martial Law.”
“Martial Law Authorities in Karachi should call spokesmen of the group of pro-PNA Lawyers of the High Court Bar Associations who propose to hold a meeting on the 18th May 1977 and ask them to desist. If they still hold it, appropriate action should be taken against them.”

(v) The Committee was of the view that women should be dealt with “tactfully”. The meaning ascribed to the word “tactfully” by the Committee is, however, revealed by the minutes of the meeting held on 11th May 1977.

“Women processions should be handled tactfully. First step should be to plug the places from where the procession is to come out. If they are successful in coming out, the Army authorities may ask them sternly to disperse. If they pay no heed to this warning, there would be no harm in using teargas against them.”

(vi) The Committee had also occasion to consider the fact that reports of court proceedings in political cases were occasionally printed in the Press. Since it was necessary to discourage this practice the Committee decided on 29th April 1977 as follows:

“Proceedings of writ petitions filed before the Lahore and Sindh High Courts challenging the legality of the Martial Law, etc., shall not be allowed to be published. But if the judges order for their publication, they shall be allowed to be published.”

(vii) The Committee was also of the view that it was a grave error for the government to adopt a defensive attitude in relation to the shooting of people on the streets by the law enforcing agencies as is revealed by the minutes of the meeting held on 22nd April 1977:—

“It has been noticed that whenever firing or any other stern measure is resorted to our media get on the defensive by saying how the law enforcing agencies first gave warning, used teargas

followed by a baton charge and finally opened fire. This sort of apologetic attitude is neither necessary nor desirable. Orders exist for shooting on sight any one who indulges in looting, arson, etc. It should therefore be sufficient for the media to say that a mob or any individual found resorting to looting or arson was shot on sight."

(viii) The Committee also issued specific instructions for the abuse of the governmental machinery. The minutes of 24th April 1977, 14th and 17th May, 1977 are relevant in this connection:-

"Makhdoomzada Hassan Mahmood is exercising evil influence on Pir Pagara. Action should be taken against Mr. Hassan Mahmood in the several cases of recovery of loans, etc., pending against him."

"All the telephones of PNA leaders/important workers should be disconnected forthwith."

"If necessary, mass arrests of the suspected persons and miscreants should be made to clean the society before the referendum is held.

(xi) PNA leaders proposed to hold a long march to the Prime Minister's residence at the end of April 1977. The pre-planning for this march on the part of the Committee is too lengthy to be reproduced. However, some of the decisions taken by the Committee reveal the wholly arbitrary and illegal attitude of that law enforcement agencies in which all innocent passersby or travelers were to be arrested detained turned away at random and incoming traffic into Rawalpindi was to be paralysed:—

"Outsiders already in Rawalpindi should be transported out of the area of Rawalpindi Sub-Division and Islamabad. Those staying in the Mosque of Maulana Ghulamullah, including the students studying in the Madrassa attached to the Mosque, should also be taken into custody between 12 and 3 AM tonight and transported away. They could be kept in three or four camps improvised for this purpose outside the area of Rawalpindi Sub-Divisional Islamabad and also provided rations. The proposed camps should be set up tomorrow morning."

"All traffic coming from outside to Rawalpindi should be thoroughly checked and only bonafide travellers and exceptional cases of hardship should be allowed to enter into the Rawalpindi

area. These arrangements will remain in force from 4 PM on 29th April to 8 PM on the 30th April 1977.”

“No government or private buses from outside shall ply to Rawalpindi from 4.00 PM/29th April 1977 to 8.00 PM/30th April 1977.”

“No truck shall be allowed to come to Rawalpindi from Attock Bridge onward between 4.00 PM/29th April and 8.00 PM/30th April 1977. An announcement to this effect should be made by the relevant authorities of the Government of NWFP.”

“Rawalpindi, Islamabad Administration will keep a sharp look out at bus stops, railway stations, mosques, madrassas, PNA offices, Lahore colonies, hotels and sarais to see any large scale influx of outsiders. Those who have no explanations for their presence shall be removed and detained, if possible in adjoining district till after the 30th.”

18. That the abuse of the governmental machinery revealed by the deliberations of the Law and Order Committee was in fact merely one aspect of a more generalised subversion of governmental activity by Mr. Bhutto and his colleagues which commenced immediately on Mr. Bhutto’s assumption of office.

19. That during the years 1971-72 to 1976-77 a total amount of Rs. 1,95,76,563.73 was spent by Mr. Bhutto out of the Secret Service Funds which were at his disposal. Instead of utilizing these funds for the purposes for which they were intended, Mr. Bhutto spent them, in large part, for the benefit of the People’s Party. A detailed statement regarding monthly payments made to the Office Bearers of the People’s Party is being attached herewith. The total of such expenditure comes to Rs. 21,85,000.00. Furthermore, payments were made out of the Secret Service Account to Account No. C-89, Secretariat Branch, Peshawar, of the National Bank of Pakistan which stands in the name of Mr. Nasrullah Khattak, the then Chief Minister of NWFP, in his Party capacity. Further investigations are in progress.

20. That a Trust by the name of People’s Foundation Trust was set up on 4th August 1974. This Trust was set up ostensibly as a charitable trust and obtained registration from the Central Board of Revenue as such. However, in fact, it has been used for the benefit and advantage of Mr. Bhutto’s family and the People’s Party as would be indicated by the following circumstances:—

(a) All the Trustees are members of the Bhutto family, with Begum Nusrat Bhutto being the Chairman.

(b) A plot of 22 Kanals located at the junction of Lawrence Road and Race Course Road, Lahore, was obtained at nominal price of Rs. 5.64 lakhs as against the market price which is in the orbit of Rs. 2 to 3 lakhs per Kanal.

(c) The Industrial Development Bank advanced a loan for the purchase of machinery for a printing press while by-passing the normally applicable regulations. This press is used for printing People's Party newspapers and was transferred for Rs. 19.26 lakhs by People's Publications Ltd. (which is owned by the Bhutto family) to the Trust.

(d) The Trust acquired a plot of 3549 square yards in Karachi at the rate of Rs. 235.00 per square yard as against the market price of Rs. 1,500.00 per square yard. A ten-storey building has been constructed on the said plot at a cost of over Rs. 2.5 crore. This construction is in violation of the by-laws of the Karachi Municipal Corporation. Even the building plans have not been approved.

(e) Advance rent for premises in the said building was acquired from State owned corporations, who were asked to become tenants. The annual rent comes to about Rs. 48 lakhs.

(f) Arrangements were made, for the benefit of Mrs. Nusrat Bhutto, to import carpets from Hong Kong, an expensive chair from London, as well as other luxury items on which exemption of customs duty was obtained.

21. That perhaps the most significant aspect of this Trust relates to the manner in which it has been acquiring funds. A sum of Rs. 2,48,75,729.36 was received in installments between 23 August 1974 and 20th May 1977 from the Ruler of Abu Dhabi. These contributions were made by the Ruler out of his love and affection for the people of Pakistan. However, as against this, the Trust was mis-utilized for propagating and publicizing Mr. Bhutto and the People's Party through the medium of various party newspapers (for example, "Hilal-i-Pakistan", "Nusrat" etc.) which are being printed by it. Since the Trust did not qualify as a charitable trust under the "Approval of Religious and Charitable Institutions Rules 1975" special amendments were carried out therein for the benefit of the Bhutto family. In particular, Rule 7 (b) which prohibited the propagation of the views of a political party was deleted under the instructions of Mr. Bhutto.

22. That in as much as the misuse of funds generously donated by the Ruler of Abu Dhabi out of his desire to benefit the people of Pakistan could create

problems in relation to Pakistan's foreign policy, this matter has created a very delicate and embarrassing situation for the Government of Pakistan. This is all the more embarrassing in view of the fact that quite apart from the fraternal relations between UAE and Pakistan, the Ruler has always manifested a special love for the people of Pakistan. There is also a wider foreign policy aspect to the matter. Obviously donor countries in general will be reluctant to extend aid to Pakistan if they feel that the funds donated by them are misused by the highest functionaries of the State.

23. That it is necessary to add that there is also the question of propriety and protocol. It is undesirable, on the plane of principle, that the head of a government should solicit funds for a trust of which his family members are the sole trustees, at the same time as he is seeking funds for and on behalf of his government. It is unprecedented that these funds should then be used for party and personal purposes. Clearly the conduct of national foreign policy is likely to be imperiled thereby.

24. That in addition to the People's Foundation Trust, another Trust known as the Z. A. Bhutto Trust was also constituted and set up on 6th November 1973 with the funds of the Ruler of Abu Dhabi. An initial donation of Rs. 72 lacs and US \$100,000 was made to this trust by the Ruler of Abu Dhabi. Subsequently, further donations of approximately Rs. 3 crore in foreign exchange were made by the Ruler.

25. That although the object of the Trust is the promotion of the medical, educational and religious welfare of the people of Pakistan, in this case too there have been clear-cut violations of the Trust Deed as well as of law. Once again Mrs. Nusrat Bhutto is the Chairman of the Trust and all cheques are signed by her. Although investigations are still being carried on it has been found, for instance, that a sum of Rs. 50,000.00 was transferred to People's Publications Limited, which is a company owned by the Bhutto family. Similarly, the construction of the building of the Trust has been carried out by one Ruknuddin (an ex-MPA) who was awarded the contract without a public tender. Mr. Bhutto owed this contractor Rs. 9 lacs and it appears that the contract was awarded to him in consideration of his services to Mr. Bhutto. The sum of Rs. 11,59,746 has been debited to the account of the Trust, although admittedly this money was expended before the formation of the Trust. Money from the President's Welfare Fund has also been mis-utilised by Mr. Bhutto and thereafter partially repaid out of the funds of the Trust to the extent of Rs. 3,85,357 leaving a balance of Rs. 2,85,351 still owing.

Two luxury Rest Houses have been constructed out of the Trust funds, obviously for the convenience and comfort of the Bhutto family.

26. That an even more deplorable abuse of public funds by Mr. Bhutto relates to the expenditure on his personal residences. This commenced almost immediately on his assumption of office. The official expenditure on his Karachi residence amounts to Rs. 23,18,051.14 and on his Larkana residence to Rs. 29,86,824.88, making a total expenditure of Rs. 53,04,876.02. In a belated and futile attempt to cover up this grave illegality, which is evident on the face of the record, Mr. Bhutto had notifications issued which purported to convert the said houses into official residences with retrospective effect.

27. That it is interesting to note that Mr. Bhutto had the above two houses air-conditioned by the government at a cost of Rs. 11,58,610.33 after having undertaken on 20th July 1972 to pay the total cost of the air-conditioning out of his own pocket. The manner in which Mr. Bhutto honoured this undertaking is interesting. A considerable time after the work had been completed Major General M. Imtiaz Ali, the Military Secretary to Mr. Bhutto, directed the PWD to prepare an estimate of the residual value of the air-conditioning plants as depreciated on a 10 year basis. However, even this amount was too high for Mr. Bhutto who paid only Rs. 2,49,820.00 which is 50% of the depreciated amount, thereby causing a loss to the government of Rs. 9,08,790.33. In fact the actual loss was higher since no customs duty was paid on the air-conditioning plants.

28. That Mr. Bhutto took further advantages of his position by having a total amount of Rs. 87,71,877.10 spent on his farm located at Taluka Rato Dero, Larkana, out of official funds. The illegality of this requires no further comment.

29. That Mr. Bhutto also took advantage of his position by utilizing the Embassies of Pakistan in Rome, Bangkok, London, Czechoslovakia, USA, Austria, Iran, France and China for importing luxury items for his personal use. Charts containing details of some of these illegal expenses are being attached herewith. A perusal of these charts will reveal the fact that all these items were paid for out of official funds.

30. That in order to publicise and project his image and that of the People's Party, Mr. Bhutto had a book entitled "Promises and Performance" printed and distributed at the official expense. The total cost incurred on this was Rs. 10,09,568.00.

31. That one of the characteristic features of Mr. Bhutto's regime has been his involvement with and tolerance of corruption at the highest level. Cabinet members and high ranking dignitaries of the People's Party were given an open hand to loot the public exchequer. Although files of Ministers and other MNAs and MPAs were maintained, it appears that the object of maintaining these files

was to have a hold over Ministers to blackmail and terrorise them in the event that they displeased Mr. Bhutto. Mr. Saeed Ahmad Khan, the Chief Security Officer to Mr. Bhutto, has stated that "I have been keeping the Prime Minister informed of the malpractices and corruption indulged in by his PPP ministers with details and these are on record".

32. That the lead given by Mr. Bhutto in relation to the misuse of public funds was of course followed by his colleagues. For instance, Mr. A. H. Pirzada, the then Education Minister, sanctioned approximately Rs. 20 lacs for staging a song and dance function on 20th December at Liaqat Hall to celebrate the 5th anniversary of the People's Party's accession to power. Numerous other similar instances exist.

33. That in order to bribe the members of the National Assembly and Provincial Assemblies Mr. Bhutto's government directed the banks to give advances to them to enable them to purchase cars and jeeps. Many of these loans have not - yet been repaid. Two charts containing the necessary particulars are attached herewith.

34. That on the one hand the policy of Mr. Bhutto's regime was to have resort to large scale bribery and on the other hand to rely on an equally large scale intimidation. For this purpose the government machinery was ruthlessly misused.

35. That in pursuance of his designs to terrorise the Opposition, Mr. Bhutto set up the FSF which was intended as a sort of private Mafia. Apart from the case of Nawab Mohammad Ahmad Khan, evidence exists linking the FSF with the commission of numerous other crimes. It was responsible for disrupting the public meeting held by Mr. Khar on October 19, 1975 in which several persons were killed. Evidence exists in relation to the planned assassination of Mr. Ghulam Mustafa Khar and Air Marshal M. Asghar Khan. Contingency plans for dealing with a number of other leading personalities were also prepared. It was responsible for the harassment of Mr. J. A. Rahim. Two bomb explosions at Lahore and Quetta were engineered by it. Under "Operation Victory" it aided the PPP in relation to the elections. It passed on information to the Income Tax Authorities for taking the necessary action against members of the Opposition as well as members of the Chambers of Commerce and Industry. In such matters Mr. Bhutto took a personal interest. For instance, in the file of Mr. Qader Bakhsh Nizami, Mr. Bhutto wrote: "The case for them and others must be properly constructed so that no court in the country dare grant them interim bail". The FSF was also used for purposes of kidnapping the political opponents of Mr. Bhutto and keeping them in illegal detention in the notorious Dalai Camp. Arms belonging to the FSF were also illegally disposed off to the members of the

People's Party including 200 rifles with 20,000 rounds which were given to Sardar Dada Khan and 100 rifles with 10,000 rounds which were given to Mr. Salim Bugti son of Mr. Akbar Bugti.

36. Mr. Saeed Ahmad Khan, Chief Security Officer to the Prime Minister, has given many instances of illegal orders which were given to him by Mr. Bhutto. For example, in relation to a journalist by the name of Nasrullah, who was publishing an Urdu Weekly from London, Mr. Saeed Ahmad Khan has stated that Mr. Bhutto ordered him: "That I should set (i.e. Nasrullah) and his family members right and that this was a last chance given to him in spite of earlier failure". Mr. Saeed Ahmad Khan has also deposed that, after the killing of several disciples of Pir Pagaro by the Police, he was ordered by Mr. Bhutto to prepare a "Hur contingency plan". He has further stated that some public members opposed to Pir Pagaro were given service rifles and ammunition. He has also stated that: "PPP renegades and their associates were also pressurised through the income tax department as an economic squeeze to toe the party line. For this purpose a special cell had been created in the Central Board of Revenue Islamabad headed by Mr. Anwar Shaukat. Notable among these were Pir Pagaro, Ch. Zahoor Ellahi, etc". Numerous other similar instances of illegality exist.

37. That the long list of political murders which were perpetuated during Mr. Bhutto's tenure of public office are a matter of public record. Significantly none of these murder cases was solved. Since the case of the late Nawab Mohammad Ahmad Khan is pending before the Lahore High Court, no comment in relation thereto is being made. It may, however, be stated that investigations into the murders of the late Dr. Nazir Ahmed, Khwaja Rafiq, Assadullah Mengal and others are going on.

38. That the hundreds of false cases which were trumped up against political opponents are again a matter of public record. The numerous cases against Ch. Zahoor Ellahi (which included one of the stealing a buffalo) and other require no comment.

39. That cases in which Mr. Bhutto's political opponents were tortured and physically abused are also well known. In this connection reference may be made to the cases of Mr. J. A. Rahim and Malik Mohammad Qasim.

40. That the Intelligence Bureau was used throughout this period as an instrument designed exclusively for the personal and political use of Mr. Bhutto. Numerous notes exist in Mr. Bhutto's own hand writing containing illegal directions to the Intelligence Bureau. Some of these directions are reproduced below by way of illustration: —

(a) When the Director of the Intelligence Bureau put up a report to Mr. Bhutto on April 01, 1976, pointing out the possibility of the Opposition parties cooperating with each other, Mr. Bhutto issued the following directions: –

“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 Khan made him incharge of 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“.

(c) When Mr. Rao Rashid Ahmed Khan recommended to the Prime Minister on 21 October 1976 that the Intelligence Bureau should be asked to concentrate on the problems of the People’s Party’s likely candidates in each constituency so that the best candidates from the Party point of view could be chosen and time and money saved, Mr. Bhutto passed the following orders: –

“I agree with your recommendation. It should be limited to what has been stated in the last paragraph“.

41. That Mr. Bhutto also misused the Intelligence Agencies to destroy past records containing incriminating material against him. Thus, for instance, a report on Sheikh Mujibur Rehman which had been drawn by the officials who had interrogated him when he was in custody, was destroyed under Mr. Bhutto’s orders. In this connection it would be material to add that when Mr. Bhutto called a meeting at Tando Mohammad Khan on 23 January 1972 which was attended by various high ranking intelligence officials, he gave a specific direction that no action should be taken on behalf of the Pakistan Government which could undermine Sheikh Mujibur Rehman’s prestige and position. Mr. Bhutto’s destruction of all Intelligence records regarding his activities in the past is confirmed by Mr. Rao A. Rashid Khan who has stated that on Mr. Bhutto’s assumption of office in December 1971 orders were given that Intelligence Bureau reports/records relating to Mr. Bhutto should be burnt.

42. Mr. Bhutto also flagrantly violated the laws relating to Land Reforms in order to favour high ranking members of the People’s Party. For instance, the files

relating to numerous cases were called for and kept with the Prime Minister so that no action for the resumption of land could be initiated in these cases. Subsequently, an Act was passed in 1977 declaring that all pending cases had abated. Similarly, in the case of certain persons although land had been resumed it was illegally re-allotted to the former owners on lease. Lists of some of the persons concerned who were illegally favoured in the above respects are being attached.

43. That Mr. Bhutto also completely ignored the loss caused to the national economy in his desire to consolidate his personal power. Thus, for instance, he carried out a vendetta against members of the business community whom he suspected were not supporting him as is indicated by the following direction issued by him: —

“The business community is continuing to take part in activities prejudicial to the Government. We must put an end to these so-called business moods. Each one of the individuals who participated in this meeting should be watched carefully and we should have a complete dossier on every one of them to be able to put them on right track”.

Quite apart from this he issued directions in numerous cases that assessments should be transferred to the Investigation Branch of the Income Tax Department.

44. That material also exists which indicates the intention of Mr. Bhutto to discredit and destroy judicial institutions in Pakistan. Apart from the unilateral and arbitrary amendments in the Constitution which were introduced by him with a view to curb the powers of the superior judiciary, Mr. Bhutto also made attempts to cause dissension within the judiciary by pursuing an arbitrary policy in relation to judicial appointments. Although material exists on the record which indicates Mr. Bhutto’s views on the judiciary no further reference is being made thereto out of a desire to maintain the prestige of judicial institutions.

45. That thus it can be seen that the overall picture which emerges as to the manner in which Mr. Bhutto was running the Government is one of institutionalised corruption and terror. All opposition, whether from the ranks of the People’s Party or from the Opposition, was ruthlessly eliminated. The formidable apparatus of the police state was remorselessly erected. In fact Mr. Bhutto treated Pakistan as if it were a vast private jagir owned by a medieval wadera. For him the distinction between private and public property had ceased to exist. The private property of his opponents was intended for nationalisation. The public property of the State was intended for his personal use. Morality was considered antithetical to State policy. The abyss between rhetoric and reality grew day by day. Under the veneer of a politician trying to modernize the state,

Mr. Bhutto, in fact, steadily pursued retrogressive policies designed to destroy the institutional framework of government and replace it with a system meant to be operated on the basis of his arbitrary whims and caprices.

46. That against the above background the position emerging as a consequence of the mass rigging of the elections held in March 1977 may now be considered. It is submitted that the so-called elections were, in fact, no elections at all. Certainly these elections were not in accordance with the Constitutional mandate. Consequently the so-called National Assembly set up a result of the elections cannot be considered to be a body entitled to recognition under the law. It necessarily follows that any government set up by such a body would also be lacking in all constitutional and legal validity. In fact Mr. Bhutto, by agreeing to hold fresh elections, tacitly accepted the contention that the elections had been massively rigged. Hence Mr. Bhutto and his colleagues lacked all legal or moral sanction for running the country.

47. That although Mr. Bhutto ultimately and with extreme reluctance agreed to hold fresh elections, in the meanwhile irreparable harm had been caused to the fabric of society in Pakistan. The nationwide agitations led to 22 persons being killed and 369 injured upto March 7, and 242 killed and 1227 injured thereafter. In addition, 9 persons of the security forces were killed and another 536 injured. No less than 16,863 persons were arrested. 4290 processions were taken out by members of general public, 262 by women, 95 by lawyers, 19 by ulema, 233 by students and 68 by children. 1623 vehicles were destroyed and the same was the case with 18 installations, 42 stores, 30 wine shops, seven hotels, 58 bank branches, 11 cinemas, 7 factories, 23 railway carriages, 57 offices and 38 shops. In addition, the national economy ground to a halt during the summer months while the flames of violence spread all over the land. In the above circumstances it is clear that the cardinal obligation of the government was to urgently try to restore normalcy by accepting the acknowledging the rights of the people of Pakistan, which it had attempted to usurp. In fact, the actual actions of the People's Party government were the exact opposite.

48. That on 24th June 1974, the Punjab government had imposed a ban on the issuance of arms licences to private individuals. On 15th May, 1977, at the height of the agitation acid during the period that Martial Law had been imposed, this ban was removed and the Chief Minister issued a directive that every People's Party MNA could recommend 100 persons and every MPA 50 persons for the grant of an arms licence. It was further stated that this facility could be availed of within a period of 2 months and Deputy Commissioners were directed to call MNAs and MPAs and inform them of their entitlement.

49. That the Prime Minister constituted a cabinet committee consisting of Sheikh Rashid, Ch. Anwar Aziz and Mr. Farooq Leghari. This cabinet committee took a number of decisions which were subsequently approved by the Prime Minister in a cabinet meeting. These decisions included the following:—

(a) Chief Secretaries, Inspectors General of Police, Commissioners etc. were directed to hold informal meetings with People's Party MNAs and MPAs and obtain lists of persons against whom action should be taken.

(b) In relation to the arms licences upto 100 each in the case of MNAs and 50 each in the case of MPAs (including unsuccessful candidates of the People's Party) the direction was that District Magistrates were to act on the recommendations of the MNAs and MPAs without further verification.

50. That in consequence of the wholly illegal and unprecedented decisions of the Bhutto government which, in effect, transferred the power of issuing arms licences to People's Party members a vast number of arms licences were issued. In addition to the recommendations of the MNAs/MPAs licences were issued at random by the Prime Minister and Chief Ministers. The licences issued for the period from 22nd April 1977 till 11 June are the following:—

(a) Sindh (minus Tharparkar Distt.)	280
(b) NWFP	7252
(c) Baluchistan	29
(d) Punjab	959

For the period from 7th March 1977 upto 26 June 1977 the figures are much higher :—

(a) Sindh	971
(b) Baluchistan	80
(c) NWFP	13,137
(d) Punjab	5321

In addition prohibited bore licences were issued under the direct orders of the Prime Minister to VIPs of the People's Party and these numbered 98 in the case of the Federal government and 1 in the case of the Punjab government.

51. That thus it can be seen that throughout his period the policy of the People's Party government was intended to intensify the forces leading to strikes, disorder and violence in the land. This policy continued even at a time when the negotiations between the People's Party and the Pakistan National Alliance had

commenced. It appears that these negotiations were not being carried on bona fide but merely in order to gain enough time to try and crush the movement for the restoration of the right of the people by the use of brute force.

52. That with the passage of time as Mr. Bhutto's position deteriorated from day to day he became ever more desperate and determined to aid the forces of chaos and anarchy irrespective of the cost to the nation. In a vain attempt to divert the attention of the people from the movement against his tyranny he did not hesitate to imperil the country's foreign policy. Thus, for instance, Pir Pagaro stated in May 1977 that Mr. Bhutto had informed him that Indian troops had moved upto the borders of Sind and Azad Kashmir and Iranian forces had moved to the Baluchistan border. Similarly, the Washington Post dated 14th May 1977, quoted Pakistan government sources as saying that Iran and India had massed armed columns on the Pakistan borders. These allegations of troop movements were contradicted by the Iranian Foreign Minister and by the Indian Foreign Minister. It is significant that although widespread publicity was given to the statement of Pir Pagaro, Mr. Bhutto failed to deny the allegations made against him. In fact the following passage from the Pakistan Times of 13th May 1977 is revealing:

"In view of reports circulating about the deployment of foreign troops on more than one Pakistan frontier, the Premier was asked if there had been any troop movements on the border." 'No comment', was Bhutto's brief but, meaningful reply ".

53. That thus it would be apparent that Mr. Bhutto, in his frantic endeavor to retain political power, had reached the stage at which he was indifferent to every consideration relating to the national interest.

54. That despite the bitter political rivalry which had existed between Mr. Bhutto and Mr. Khar in the past, a rapprochement was effected at this time and Mr. Khar was appointed Special Adviser to the Prime Minister. This appointment was clearly motivated by a desire to capitalise on Mr. Khar's past record and reputation for relying on the naked use of force to attain his ends. The effect of the appointment was to significantly heighten political tensions between the PPP and PNA and enhance the possibility of widespread violence.

55. That on the eve of the imposition of Martial Law a significant incident took place on 4th July 1977 which was a clear indication of Mr. Bhutto's plans for the future. A procession headed by People's Party leaders went to Anarkali in the evening and engaged in indiscriminate violence against the shop keepers. The processionists were armed and it is clear that the entire incident was deliberately pre-planned in order to terrorise Mr. Bhutto's opponents. Similarly, Mr. Khar

started making inflammatory speeches in which he threatened to unleash forces of violence against the PNA supporters.

56. That reports were received to the effect that M. Khar had purchased a large quantity of arms from Peshawar. Similarly, it was reported that Mr. Mumtaz Ali Bhutto had procured 300 Sten Guns. Malik Jehangir Khan, a former MNA from the tribal area, has also disclosed that he had been asked by Mr. Bhutto to prepare a Lashkar of 20 thousand tribesmen to kill and loot PNA supporters.

57. That in the interregnum the dialogue between the PPP and the PNA, which had been prolonged by Mr. Bhutto for his own mala fide purposes had reached an impasse. The nation had clearly reached a critical juncture. The spectre of civil war loomed ahead. The necessity for the Army to act had become imperative.

58. That it was clear beyond a doubt that no possibilities of a fair and free election being held existed as long as the levers of power remained in Mr. Bhutto's hands. There was a general recognition of this fact which also led to widespread public demands that the Army should accept responsibility for the holding of elections.

59. That in the above circumstances Martial Law was proclaimed on 5th July 1977 and was greeted with a sigh of relief throughout the country. In the three months since the imposition of Martial Law peace and quiet has been restored. The national economy which had reached the stage of collapse is slowly being brought back to normalcy. Government institutions which were on the verge of disintegration are being restored to health. The country's foreign policy is being conducted in the national interest and not for the aggrandizement of Mr. Bhutto of the projection of his personal image.

60. That the Chief Martial Law Administrator has already declared his intention to hold elections as soon as possible. In response to the public demand the elections have been postponed until the process of accountability in relation to the top leadership of the People's Party is brought to a close. In this connection the Chief Martial Law Administrator has appealed for an expeditious disposal of all pending cases.

61. That thus it can be seen that Martial Law was imposed not in order to displace a constitutional authority, but in order to provide a bridge to enable the country to return to the path of constitutional rule.

62. That it is submitted that the doctrine of necessity is thus fully applicable in all the facts and circumstances of the case.

63. That in view of the above narration of the facts it is unnecessary to make a para wise reply to the petition and the various allegations made therein may be deemed to have been denied.

64. That it is therefore prayed that the constitutional petition may be dismissed with costs.

DRAFTED BY
KHALID ANWAR
ADVOCATE, SUPREME
COURT

FILED BY
FAZL-E-HUSSAIN
ADVOCATE-ON-
RECORD
SUPREME COURT

SETTLED BY
A. K. BROHI
SENIOR ADVOCATE
SUPREME COURT

IN THE SUPREME COURT OF PAKISTAN, RAWALPINDI

Original Constitutional Jurisdiction

Original Const. Petition No. 1-R of 1977

Begum Nusrat Bhutto Petitioner

Versus

The Chief of the Army Staff etc Respondents

Ser. No.	Description of Documents	Date
R/1	Press interview of Chief Election Commissioner in daily Millat.	06 May 1977.
R/2	Report of Commissioner Hazara Division Abbottabad regarding visits of Major General M. Imtiaz Ali and others, in connection with the elections.	21 September 1977.
R/3	Confidential letter by Mr. Rao A. Rashid Khan Special Secretary, regarding distribution of Motor Cycles and Cycles to People' Party workers.	25 August 1977.
R/4	Note by Mr. Rao A. Rashid Khan, Special Secretary to the Prime Minister suggesting to defeat Opposition candidates, along with the list.	23 February 1977.
R/5	Statement showing the transfer of teaching staff.	
R/6 to R/6-2	Statements regarding election casualties and destruction of property.	
R/7	Statement of over-draft allowed to MNAs, Senators, MPAs etc., for purchase of Jeeps.	
R/8	Statement of over-draft allowed to MNAs, Senators, MPAs etc., for purchase of Cars.	
R/9	Statement of payments made to PP office bearers.	
R/10	Note by Major General (Retd) N. A. M. Raza along with the statement regarding purchase/import made for the Prime Minister through the Ministry of Foreign Affairs.	
R/11	Statement of cases called for by the Federal Land Commission without any Inspection Notes.	
R/12	Statement of cases initiated by the Federal Land Commission on Inspection Notes.	
R/13	List showing areas of Live-stock Farm resumed under Land Reform Regulations. Press Clippings	

ANNEXURE R/1

Following is the English rendering of the news-item in Daily Millat (Gujrati), Karachi dated May 6, 1977:

“Sajjad shocked by election rigging – suggests re-election instead of enquiries.”

Lahore: In view of the grave irregularities that have come to the knowledge of the Election Commission during the enquiry held into election of 24 seats, the Commission has decided to hold enquiry into another 80 seats.

Records of the elections to these 80 seats have been sealed under the orders of the Commission. The Chief Election Commission, Mr. Justice Sajjad Ahmad Jan is shocked to learn of the grave irregularities committed in regard to more than 50 per cent of seats during elections.

In view of these grave irregularities on such a large scale, Mr. Justice Sajjad Ahmad Jan feels that it would be better to hold elections afresh.

In case of fresh elections, Mr. Justice Jan does not want to hold the office of the Chief Election Commissioner. He is of the view that the Election Commission should be so empowered that it should be capable of taking immediate remedial measures to undo irregularities.”

ANNEXURE R/2

Subject: Statement regarding visits to Abbottabad of Major General Imtiaz Ali, former Military Secretary to former Prime Minister, Syed Munir Hussain, Chief Secretary, Government of N. W. F. P. and Sardar Mohammad Hayat Tamman, former Political Adviser to Prime Minister.

1. Prior to the first visit on 4th March, 1977, Chief Secretary, NWFP rang up the undersigned from Peshawar and stated that very senior and high ranking VIPs would be paying a visit to this Division to meet the Commissioner, D. I. G. of Police and Deputy Commissioners in connection with some very important task. He further said that in case he was personally unable to accompany them, we should comply with whatever directions were given to us by the visiting VIPs. He emphasised that the directions to be given by the above mentioned persons should be treated as the instructions of the Prime Minister himself.

2. Consequent to the above telephonic conversation, the three gentlemen mentioned in the subject cited above arrived in Abbottabad at about 10 A.M. by helicopter. They were received and brought to the Commissioner's House. The conversation which took place between them and the officers mentioned above (Deputy Commissioner, Kohistan was not present) was confined to the actions to be taken with regard to the general elections in March, 1977. The gist of the directions/instructions which were given in the above meeting are reproduced below from memory. Since a long time has elapsed, therefore, it may not be possible to pinpoint exactly what each individual VIP directed the officers to do. However, from the purpose of the visit, the substance of the instructions given and the presence of MS to Prime Minister, it was very clear as to what the objectives were. All the three VIPs participated in the above mentioned discussions in varying degrees as follows:—

(a) In opening the discussion the Chief Secretary NWFP and Gen. Imtiaz dealt with the current political situation in the country and the dangers facing the nation. In brief the whole theme was built around the greatness and ability of Mr. Zulfikar Ali Bhutto and it was clearly indicated that if he failed in the elections the country would be in great jeopardy because he was indispensable to national solidarity and integrity of Pakistan. It was also pointed out that the members of PNA have no leader to match Mr. Bhutto and that if they came to power they would certainly ruin the

country leading to chaos and confusion. Consequently, according to them, it was imperative that the administration should go out of its way to ensure the return of PPP candidates in the General Elections. They went to the extent of saying that it would be a dis-service on the part of the bureaucracy not to render active support and assistance because the success of the PPP was identified with survival of the nation.

(b) Subsequent to the introduction contained in sub-para (a) above we were asked to give our assessment with regard to the position of PPP1PNA candidates in various constituencies. After each of us gave his frank assessment the VIPs were not very pleased. Major General Imtiaz was carrying a folder in which he had kept the record pertaining to assessment of various candidates. He gave his own views from the documents in his possession. Subsequent to this we were told that out of the six National Assembly seats in Hazara Division a minimum of four seats must be won by the PPP candidates at all costs. It was particularly directed that it should be ensured that Air Marshal (Retd.) M. Asghar Khan and Capt. (Retd.) Gohar Ayub Khan do not win their seats under any circumstances. Gen. Imtiaz gave the impression that the Prime Minister felt strongly about this.

(c) After the assessments were discussed the VIPs wanted to know the specific kinds of help we would be able to provide PPP candidates. They discussed the possibility of rigging and malpractices which could be resorted to under the circumstances. Amongst other instructions we were asked to direct the Presiding Officers to tamper with the sealed bags sent to them by the Election Commission on the night before the polling day. The objective was to fill a number of ballot boxes beforehand in favour of PPP candidates. These boxes were to be introduced and placed amongst the filled boxes sometime during the middle of the day when the polling agents of various parties went out for a break. It was also suggested that Returning Officers should call all the Presiding Officers and issue them with the above instructions as well as any other instructions they may deem necessary towards achieving the desired objective. They also suggested that rigging and adoption of other methods to stop the opposition voters from coming to the Polling Stations would be much easier in the remote and backward areas rather than in the urban areas where the people were more vocal. Consequently, we were asked to concentrate on remote rural areas.

After hearing their instructions I pointed out that even if we wished to help we would face considerable problems and difficulties in light of the rules contained in the Manual of Instructions for the General Elections and

in other Regulations issued on the subject. I particularly pointed out that if the Presiding Officers resorted to filling up of ballot boxes prior to the polling day they might find themselves in a difficult situation at the time of counting of votes because the total number of votes cast in accordance with the counterfoil of the ballot book would not tally with the total number of votes which would come out of the box. At this stage the agents of various candidates could raise an objection and could demand a scrutiny which would obviously reveal that certain ballot papers had been inserted into boxes at an earlier time. In answer to this the VIPs contended that this should not pose a serious problem because at best the candidate could go in petition before the Election Commission which would take its due course. They were merely interested in the immediate success of PPP candidates. Deputy Commissioner, Mansehra pointed out that most of the Returning/Presiding Officers belonged to various departments and they may have certain political inclinations. Consequently, it would be unsafe and risky to call them and take them into confidence as they might leak out information. However, he was snubbed and told that as a Deputy Commissioner, he should know who his Returning and Presiding Officers were. One of the participants suggested, that in order to overcome the problem which I had raised in connection with the difficulty that would be faced by Presiding Officers in filling up the ballot boxes, we could resort to obtaining extra ballot papers either from the Election Commission or by having them printed. Such ballot papers would be in addition to the prescribed number given to each Presiding Officer in sealed bags. These ballot papers would be given to PPP candidates duly marked and stamped ready for being placed in the ballot boxes. The PPP candidates would be advised to give these ballot papers to their trusted voters who would carry them to the Polling Stations. The voters would obtain their ballot papers in normal course from the Presiding Officers and while marking them in the enclosed booth they would fold them along with the extra ballot papers carried by them and put them into the ballot box without being detected. In this manner a large number of bogus votes would be cast by PPP voters without the direct involvement of election staff. This would also protect the Presiding Officers from any objection or blame if the count was challenged at the time of counting because as far as he was concerned his papers would be in order. However, this suggestion was not accepted because it was considered difficult at that stage.

(d) After we raised the above objections, and expressed our difficulty in complying with these orders with reference to the Rules and Regulations on the subject, I was instructed by the Chief Secretary to take the Deputy Commissioners aside and talk to them about the subject and to inform

him firmly whether we would be able to undertake this task or not. Consequently, I took Deputy Commissioners, Abbottabad and Mansehra with me to another room. Before giving them any advice I enquired from them as to what was their reaction to the instructions which clearly indicated that the VIPs, two of whom represented the Prime Minister, wanted us to indulge in malpractices and rigging. Deputy Commissioner, Abbottabad said that he would go back and tell them that he would be no party to this and that they should make alternate arrangements. Deputy Commissioner, Mansehra threatened to resign rather than indulge in such mal-practices. Subsequent to their replies they asked me to advise them as a senior colleague. I told them very clearly that there were three courses open to us: —

(i) To comply with the illegal orders and indulge in malpractices and rigging as directed by the VIPs. However, I made it clear that this course would be most undesirable because we would not be able to live with our conscience. I advised strictly against this course.

(ii) To adopt the course suggested by Deputy Commissioner, Abbottabad by telling them bluntly that we would not be able to deliver the goods. This course was obviously the most honourable and honest. However, I pointed out that it suffers from one serious drawback. The Government would immediately replace all of us by officers who would be willing to indulge in these mal-practices. Consequently, we would be instrumental in bringing such officers into position where they would surely indulge in illegal and immoral practices. I felt that we should not resort to this course and block the entry of such officers into our positions.

(iii) To inform the VIPs that we would try our best to comply with their instructions. However, no instructions whatsoever were to be issued to the Returning) Presiding Officers to indulge in mal-practices/rigging. In fact they were to be instructed to conduct the polls strictly in accordance with the rules and with impartiality. Deputy Commissioners agreed with this course of action and consequently we went back and informed the VIPs accordingly. Subsequent results indicated that the polls to the National Assembly had been held with considerable impartiality and four seats out of the six went to PNA candidates. The two PPP candidates who won did not get very big leads inspite of all the facility and patronage they enjoyed.

(e) After the results started pouring in and when it was found that they were going against the PPP candidates, I was instructed by the Chief Secretary, NWFP over the telephone from Peshawar that results should not be released without his prior permission. Consequently, similar instructions were issued to Deputy Commissioners to channelise the results through me. Home Secretary, NWFP, who was incharge of the Provincial Control Room, asked for the results and I told him that I had received instructions from the Chief Secretary not to release the results to any persons except him (Chief Secretary). Consequently, Home Secretary was very annoyed and protested to the Chief Secretary. Later, I believe, he staged a walk out from the Control Room as a protest. However, further details can be obtained from him.

(f) The second visit of the above three VIPs was on 8th March, 1977. They again arrived by helicopter and we held a meeting in the Government Guest House, Abbottabad In this meeting the following main points came up:—

(i) They were extremely annoyed over the adverse results of the National Assembly elections and stated that we had let them down.

(ii) Fresh instructions were issued to indulge in similar illegal actions for the Provincial Assembly elections on 10th March, 1977.

(iii) They instructed us to reverse the results of at least two National Assembly seats by asking the Returning Officers to break the seals of the bags and to tamper with the polling statements prepared by the Presiding Officers and to subsequently reseal the bags after having arranged a majority vote for the PPP candidates. The reasons for reversing the results of only two National Assembly seats were that they were in remote areas of Kohistan and the tribal areas and consequently there would not be much reaction at a subsequent stage when the result was announced. They were not in favour of touching results of Air Marshal (Retd.) M. Asghar Khan and Capt. (Retd.) Gohar Ayub Khan because these seats were located in urban areas and there would be considerable reaction if they were reversed. We objected to this course of action by pointing on that the Presiding Officers had already supplied written and signed statements to each candidate at the time of counting of votes and consequently when the Returning Officers announced a result totally in variance with the actual result it would cause a great deal of hue and cry from the PNA candidates who had won by a big margin. This objection was over ruled and it was said that it would

only result in an election petition which could be decided in due course. When they were not prepared to listen to the objection raised by me and the Deputy Commissioners I pointed out that the Kohistani Tribal Areas seats were located in areas through which the Karakurram Highway passed. This highway had been subjected to blockade several times in the past and it was extremely difficult to deal with the tribesmen in such situations. It was also pointed out by me that about 9,000 Chinese road builders were working on this highway and they had always been the subject of threats from the locals during agitations/disturbances. Moreover, I emphasised that most of this area is a stronghold of JUI and if the results were reversed there would definitely be a reaction against the Chinese and it may result in an embarrassing situation for the Government and it would require a huge force to control the law and order situation. This matter was considered and finally Major General Imtiaz, who had earlier stressed the necessity of opening the sealed bags, realised that it would not be worthwhile taking the risk and embarrassing the Prime Minister just for the sake of one or two seats. Consequently, this idea was dropped after much persuasion.

Chief Secretary, NWFP, rang me up on 19th September, 1977 and enquired about the probe which is being conducted by the Inspection Team in this regard. He said that Martial Law Administrator Zone ' B ' was of the view that it was entirely discretionary on my part whether I wanted to make any statement before the Inspection Team or not. He repeatedly said that it would not be mandatory and it was entirely within my own discretion. This matter was brought to the notice of Brigadier M. A. Nayeem, Station Commander, Abbottabad, presently on special duty with National Security Council over the telephone on 20th September, 1977.

(Mohammad Azam Khan)
Commissioner Hazara Division
Abbottabad.
21-9-1977

SECRET

PRIME MINISTER'S SECRETARIAT (PUBLIC)

(16)

Regarding the finalisation of the list of PPP workers who are to be given cycles and motor-cycles, I have made telephonic enquiries from all the Committees. The Chairman in each Province has promised to finalise and send the lists before the 30th October. In Baluchistan, the lists have already been finalised and shall be with us soon.

Mr. Katpar had suggested that we should wait for the announcement of the reorganisation of the PPP in Sind before finalising the lists. I have requested him that the matter should not be delayed and if any changes were necessary in view of the reorganisation whenever announced, those could always be made. However, he appeared very reluctant to associate other members of the committee in this task and insisted that I should convey his request to the Prime Minister that he alone should be allowed to finalise the list because the association of other members, specially the new comers to the PPP, namely, Mr. Najmuddin Lagari and Mr. Nizamuddin Memon would, in his opinion, complicate his task. I have requested him to start the work and in the meanwhile I would obtain and convey the orders of the Prime Minister on his request.

For the kind information and orders of the Prime Minister.

Rao A. Rashid Khan
(Rao A. Rashid Khan)
Special Secretary.
4-10-1976

The Prime Minister

F.0007 Spe Secy 176 1976-10-24

Spoken to Mr. Nizamuddin Memon on 10/10/76

*1. Chairman
2. Mr. Katpar
3. Mr. Najmuddin Lagari
4. Mr. Nizamuddin Memon
5. Mr. ...
6. ...
7. ...
8. ...
9. ...
10. ...*

6/1

ANNEXURE R/3

Rao A. Rashid Khan,

CONFIDENTIAL

Special Secretary.

It is intended to provide a selected number of dedicated and devoted PPP workers with motor-cycles and bicycles for the purpose of election work. A distribution list showing the allocation of motorcycles and bicycles for each district in your Province is enclosed for information. A tentative list prepared by the Party Secretariat of suitable workers who can be entrusted with these motor-cycles and cycles in the hope that they would make proper and full use of it during the elections is also enclosed. Moreover, this list is not binding.

The Prime Minister/Chairman, PPP, has been pleased to appoint the following committee for the selection of the workers and taking the work of distribution in hand:—

1. Mr. Abdul Waheed Katpar Convenor
2. Mr. Qasim Patel.
3. Mr. Nizamuddin Memon
4. Mr. Najmuddin Sariwal Lagari.
5. Mr. Kamal Azfar (co-opt. for Karachi)

It shall be the duty of this committee to make an extremely careful selection of the workers who are to be given cycles and motorcycles. Village level worker shall be given cycles while those who are influential and have the ability to operate in a tehsil or a district, motor-cycles. The motor-cycles and the cycles are being embossed with a distinctive mark to indicate that they are Party property. While making the selection, it has to be borne in mind that only these workers are selected who could really use the cycles and motor-cycles for the party work and not misappropriate it or misuse it or sell it off. This would especially hold good in case of students.

The selection should be kept secret and made known only when the motor-cycles and cycles are about to be distributed to avoid a scramble. The list may please be finalised by the 30th of October without fail. The time of the distribution and the mode of distribution will be conveyed in due course.

A separate quota has been allotted for Karachi. While making a selection for Karachi, Mr. Kamal Azfar shall be co-opted who would be a full-fledged member so far as Karachi is concerned.

Yours sincerely,

(Rao A. Rashid Khan)

Mr. Abdul Waheed Katpar,
President PPP,
HM-3, Bath Island,
KARACHI.

Haji Kasim Abbas Patel,
President PPP, Distt : West,
C-4, Block No. 17,
(Opposite Yousuf Plaza), Super Highway,
Federal "B" Area,
KARACHI-38.

Mr. Nizamuddin Memon,
Advocate,
Hyderabad.

Mr. Najmuddin S. Lagari,
Bungalow No. 186/3,
Tariq Road, Civil Lines,
HYDERABAD.

Mr. Kamal Azfar,
President PPP
Coordination Committee,
31-F, Block 4,
KDA Scheme No. 5,
Clifton, KARACHI.

STATEMENT SHOWING THE NUMBER OF MOTOR CYCLES AND BICYCLES TO BE DISTRIBUTED TO PARTY WORKERS, STUDENTS AND LABOURERS IN VARIOUS DISTRICTS OF PUNJAB

District	Party Workers		Students		Labour		Total	
	Motor Cydes	Bicycles	Motor Cydes	Bicycles	Motor Cycles	Bicycles	Motor Cycles	Bicycles

PUNJAB (LAHORE DIVISION)

Lahore	3	6	2	3	2	6	7	15
Kasur	3	12	-	-	-	-	3	12
Gujranwala	3	18	-	3	-	3	3	24
Sheikhupura	3	18	-	2	-	4	3	24
Sialkot	3	30	-	3	1	3	4	36
TOTAL	15	84	2	11	3	16	20	111

PUNJAB (RAWALPINDI DIVISION)

Rawalpindi	3	24	1	3	1	6	6	33
Campbellpur	3	24	-	2	-	3	3	29
Jhelum	3	18	1	2	-	3	3	23
Gujrat	3	18	-	2	1	4	4	24
TOTAL	12	84	2	9	2	16	16	109

PUNJAB (MULTAN DIVISION)

Multan	3	30	1	3	2	4	6	37
Vehari	3	18	-	-	-	-	3	18
Sahiwal	3	24	1	2	-	2	4	28
Muzaffargarh	3	24	-	1	-	2	3	27
D. G. Khan	3	18	-	2	-	2	3	22
TOTAL	15	114	2	8	2	10	19	132

PUNJAB (SARGODHA DIVISION)

Sargodha	3	24	1	2	1	3	5	29
Lyallpur	3	24	-	3	1	5	4	32
Jhang	3	18	-	1	-	2	3	21
Mianwali	3	18	-	1	-	3	3	22
TOTAL	12	84	1	7	2	13	15	104

PUNJAB (BAHAWALPUR DIVISION)

Bahawalpur	3	18	1	2	1	2	5	22
Rahimyar Khan	3	24	-	1	-	1	3	26
Bahawalnagar	3	24	-	2	-	2	3	28
TOTAL	9	66	1	5	1	5	11	76

GRAND TOTAL	63	432	8	40	10	60	81	532
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STATEMENT SHOWING THE NUMBER OF MOTOR CYCLES AND BICYCLES TO BE DISTRIBUTED TO PARTY WORKERS, STUDENTS AND LABOURERS IN VARIOUS DISTRICTS OF SINDH

District	Party Workers		Students		Labour		Total	
	Motor Cycles	Bicycles	Motor Cycles	Bicycles	Motor Cycles	Bicycles	Motor Cycles	Bicycles
SINDH (HYDERABAD DIVISION)								
Hyderabad	3	24	2	3	2	5	7	32
Dadu	3	42	-	2	-	2	3	46
Sanghar	3	24	-	2	-	2	3	28
Tharparkar	3	42	-	2	-	2	3	46
Badin	3	24	-	1	-	2	3	27
Thatta	3	54	-	2	-	3	3	59
TOTAL	18	210	2	12	2	16	22	238

SINDH (SUJIKUR DIVISION)								
Rawalpindi	3	48	1	2	2	4	7	54
Campbellpur	3	42	1	3	-	3	3	43
Jhelum	3	30	-	1	-	1	3	32
Gujrat	3	30	-	2	-	2	3	34
	3	36	-	2	-	2	3	40
TOTAL	15	186	2	10	2	12	19	203

Grand Total								
Excluding Karachi	33	396	4	22	4	28	41	446

SINDH (KARACHI)								
West	3	18	1	3	2	8	6	29
South	3	18	1	3	1	7	5	28
East	3	18	1	3	1	8	5	29
TOTAL	9	54	3	9	4	23	16	86

STATEMENT SHOWING THE NUMBER OF MOTOR CYCLES AND BICYCLES TO BE DISTRIBUTED TO PARTY WORKERS, STUDENTS AND LABOURERS IN VARIOUS DISTRICTS OF N.W.F.P.

District	Party Workers		Students		Labour		Total	
	Motor Cycles	Bicycles	Motor Cycles	Bicycles	Motor Cycles	Bicycles	Motor Cycles	Bicycles

N.W.F.P (PESHAWAR DIVISION)

Peshawar	3	18	2	3	1	7	6	28
Mardan	3	12	-	2	1	4	4	18
Hazara	3	12	-	2	1	4	4	18
Mansehra	3	12	-	-	-	-	3	12
Kohistan	3	12	-	-	-	-	3	12
TOTAL	15	66	2	7	3	15	20	88

N.W.F.P (D. I. KHAN DIVISION)

D. I. Khan	3	18	1	2	2	6	6	26
Bannu	3	12	-	2	-	4	3	18
Kohat	3	18	-	2	-	4	3	24
TOTAL	9	48	1	6	2	14	12	68

N.W.F.P. (MALAKAND DIVISION)

Swat	3	18	-	3	1	3	5	23
Chitral	3	24	-	2	-	3	3	29
Dir	3	18	1	1	-	3	3	23
Malakand Agency	3	18	-	1	-	2	3	
TOTAL	12	78	1	7	1	11	14	75

GRAND TOTAL	36	192	4	23	6	40	46	252
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STATEMENT SHOWING THE NUMBER OF MOTOR CYCLES AND BICYCLES TO BE DISTRIBUTED TO PARTY WORKERS, STUDENTS AND LABOURERS IN VARIOUS DISTRICTS OF BALUCHISTAN

District	Party Workers		Students		Labour		Total	
	Motor Cycles	Bicycles	Motor Cycles	Bicycles	Motor Cycles	Bicycles	Motor Cycles	Bicycles
BALUCHISTAN (QUETTA DIVISION)								
Quetta	2	3	2	1	1	4	5	8
Pishin	2	6	-	1	-	2	2	9
Loralai	2	12	-	1	-	2	2	15
Zhob	2	15	-	1	-	1	2	17
Chagai	2	6	-	1	1	1	3	8
TOTAL	10	42	2	5	2	10	14	57
BALUCHISTAN (SIBI DIVISION)								
Sibi	2	6	1	1	1	1	4	8
Kohlu Agency	2	15	-	1	-	2	2	18
Nasirabad	2	9	-	1	-	1	2	11
Kachhi	2	15	-	1	-	1	2	17
TOTAL	8	45	1	4	1	5	10	54
BALUCHISTAN (KALAT DIVISION)								
Kalat	2	6	1	1	1	1	4	8
Khuzdar	2	12	-	1	-	1	2	14
Makran	2	21	-	1	-	1	2	23
Lasbella	2	18	-	1	-	1	2	20
Kharan	2	6	-	1	-	1	2	8
TOTAL	10	63	1	5	1	5	12	73
GRAND TOTAL	28	150	4	14	4	20	36	184

ANNEXURE R/4

PRIME MINISTER'S SECRETARIAT (PUBLIC)

SUBJECT: – ELECTIONS.

The names of those opposition candidates, who, if elected, would obstruct the democratic process in the country and cause problems in the Assemblies, are given in the enclosed lists. Of course the guiding principle is that the Peoples Party should strive to defeat as many opposition candidates as possible but special effort needs to be made to keep the listed candidates out of the Assemblies.

2. As regards conceding certain seats to the opposition candidates who have been helpful or are going to be helpful, the position is such that no such generosity can be shown as every seat is important.

(Rao A. Rashid Khan)
Special Secretary
23-2-1977.

NAMES OF OPPOSITION CANDIDATES FOR NATIONAL ASSEMBLY

S. No.	Name of Constituency	Name of Candidate
1.	NA-1-Peshawar-I	Air Marshal (Retd.) Asghar Khan
2.	NA-3-Peshawar-III	Sardar Sher Baz Khan Mazari
3.	NA-Peshawar-IV	Begum Nasim Wali Khan
4.	NA-8-Mardan-III	Begum Nasim Wali Khan
5.	NA-12-Abbottabad-I	Air Marshal (Retd.) Asghar Khan
6.	NA-13-Abbottabad-II	Air Marshal (Retd.) Asghar Khan
7.	NA-14-Abbottabad-H	Mr. Gohar Ayub
8.	NA-35-Federal Capital	Mr. Ghafoor Ahmed
9.	NA-47-Gujrat-I	Ch. Zahoor Elahi
10.	NA-48-Gujrat-II	Ch. Zahoor Elahi
11.	NA-60-Mianwali-I	Malaulana Abdus Sattar Khan
12.	NA-61-Mianwali-II	Maulana Abdus Sattar Khan
13.	NA-82-Lahore-II	Mr. Mohammad Hand Ramay
14.	NA-150-Rahim Yar Khan-IV	Mr. Hassan Mahmood Makhdoomzada
15.	NA-183-Karachi-I	Mr. Sher Baz Khan Mazari
16.	NA-190-Karachi-VIII	Air Marshal (Retd.) Asghar Khan

NAMES OF OPPOSITION CANDIDATES FOR PROVINCIAL ASSEMBLY OF PUNJAB

S. No.	Name of Constituency	Name of Candidate
1.	PP-23-Jhelum-VI	Raja Munawar Ahmed
2.	PP-51-Mianwali-II	Maulana Abdus Sattar Khan
3.	PP-99-Lahore-VI	Mr. M. K. Khakwani
4.	PP-103-Lahore-X	Mr. Mohammad Javed Akhtar Khan
5.	PP-109-Lahore-XVI	Mr. Masood Ahmad (Khanzada)
6.	PP-161-Multan-V	Mr. M. K. Khakwani
7.	PP-238-Rahim Yar Khan-VII	Mr. Hassan Mahmood Makhdoomzada
8.	PP-239-Rahim Yar Khan-VIII	Mr. Hassan Mahmood Makhdoomzada

**LIST OF OPPOSITION CANDIDATES FOR PROVINCIAL
ASSEMBLY OF SINDH**

<u>S. No.</u>	<u>Name of Constituency</u>	<u>Name of Candidate</u>
1.	PS-88-Karachi-XIII	Mr. Abdul Harold Chapra
2.	PS-96-Karachi-XXI	Mr. Azad Bin Haider

**LIST OF OPPOSITION CANDIDATES FOR PROVINCIAL
ASSEMBLY OF N.W.F.P.**

S. No.	Name of Constituency	Name of Candidate
1.	PF-3-Peshawar-III	Mr. Arbab Mohammad Hamayun Khan
2.	PF-10-Abbottabad-VII	Capt. Akhtar Ayub Khan

ANNEXURE R/5

PUNJAB EDUCATION DEPARTMENT

S. No.	Designation of Officers/Officials	No. of officers/officials transferred	Remarks.
1	Directors of Education	4	90% of the transfers were made on political grounds under orders from C.M./P.M. or at the instance of MNAs/ MPAs. Only about 10% transfers were made on administrative ground.
2	Principals/Professors	14	
3	Assistant Professors	17	
4	Lecturers	204	
5	Director Physical Education/Librarians	5	
6	District Education Officers/Principals(Grade-18)	19	
7	Headmasters/Headmistresses/ Subject Specialists	181	
8	Senior English Teachers/ Assistant Education Teachers	481	
9	Teachers	941	
Total:- -		1866	

ANNEXURE R/6

(Period 7 Jan. – 8 Mar. 77)

PRE-ELECTION CASUALTIES

PROVINCE	PUBLIC		Remarks
	Killed	Injured	
Punjab	@ 5	116	@ 2 Mandra
			@ 1 Multan
			@ 1 Lahore
			@ 1 Gujranwala
N.W.F.P	@ 4	32	@ 4 Mardan
Sindh	@ 13	218	@ 8 Hyderabad
			@ 2 Karachi
			@ 1 Sanghar
			@ 1 Jam Khuda (Malir)
			@ 1 Nawabshah
Baluchistan	-	3	
Total	22	369	

ANNEXURE R / 6-1

(Upto 5 July 77)

POST ELECTION CASUALTIES

PROVINCE	PUBLIC		SECURITY FORCES		ARRESTED
	Killed	Injured	Killed	Injured	
Punjab	181	765	4	313	9765
N.W.F.P.	8	34	1	40	2700
Sindh	132	409	3	168	4208
Baluchistan	1	19	1	15	190
TOTAL	322	1227	9	536	16863

STATISTICS PNA AGITATIONAL ACTIVITIES

PROVINCE	PROCESSIONS										DESTRUCTION OF PROPERTY									
	Public	Women	Lawyers	Ulama	Students	Boys/Children	Vehicles	Installations	Houses	Wine Shops	Hotels	Banks	Cinemas	Factory	Railwar					
Punjab	2537	105	71	12	92	17	50	2	16	4	3	30	4	4	13					
N.W.F.P.	870	14	20	3	70	2	19	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-					
Sindh	338	140	3	4	93	38	1553	16	26	26	3	25	7	3	10					
Baluchistan	575	3	1	-	28	11	1	-	-	-	1	3	-	-	-					
Total	4320	262	95	19	283	68	1623	18	42	30	7	59	11	7	23					

ANNEXURE R/7
(FOR JEEPS)
NATIONAL BANK OF PAKISTAN
MAIN BRANCH ISLAMABAD
STATEMENT OF OVERDRAFT ALLOWED TO MNAs/SENATORS/MPAs AND VIPs FOR PURCHASE OF JEEP
POSITION AS ON 31/8/1977

Sr. No.	Name of Borrower	Account No.	Date of Advance	Initial Deposit	Overdraft Allowed	Total Amount of Installment Paid	Outstanding	Rate of installment monthly	No. of Installments due	
1	Dr. Syed Mahmood Abbas Bokhari MNA	1385	19/6/1973	3,615.00	42,242.00	-	61,705.10	1,000.00		
2	Malik Mohammad Sadiq MNA	1387	7/8/1973	5,000.00	40,857.00	-	65,714.98	1,000.00	46	
3	Mehar Manzoor Hussain Somra, MNA	1391	10/31/1973	5,000.00	42,828.05	-	65,029.93	1,000.00		
4	Meer Ajaz Ali Talpur, MNA	1398	18/4/1973	10,000.00	81,714.00	-	131,779.95	2,000.00	50	
5	Mr. Hakim Ali Zardari, MNA	1403	5/5/1973	5,000.00	40,857.00	-	67,165.40	1,000.00	49	
6	Mr. Ghulam Rasool Jilani, MNA	1403	18/4/1973	5,000.00	81,714.00	38,000.00	84,081.32	1,000.00	50	
7	Malik Sikandar Khan, MNA	1412	9/5/1973	5,000.00	40,857.00	42,000.00	11,487.65	1,000.00	49	
8	Malik Sikandar Khan, MNA	1704	1/1/1974	5,000.00	42,891.00	12,500.00	49,753.51	2,000.00	41	
9	Mr. Abdul Sattar Gabool, MNA	1413	26/5/1973	5,000.00	40,857.00	7,000.00	54,806.60	1,000.00	49	
10	Mr. Daryal Khan Khoso, MNA	1415	3/10/1973	5,000.00	40,857.00	21,000.00	34,333.84	1,000.00	46	
11	Mr. Mohammad Yasin Khan, VIP	1432	5/6/1973	5,000.00	40,000.00	4,000.00	60,656.18	1,000.00	48	
12	Mr. Abdul Hafeez Pirzada, MNA	1488	7/5/1973	5,000.00	40,857.00	5,000.00	62,403.36	1,000.00	49	
13	Mr. Abdul Hafeez Pirzada, MNA	1489	7/5/1973	5,000.00	40,857.00	5,000.00	62,607.91	1,000.00	49	
14	Mr. Ali Hassan Mangi, MNA	1503	19/12/1973	5,000.00	42,891.00	-	66,097.66	2,000.00	41	
15	Pir Syed Abdul Qadir Shah Jilani, MNA	1504	6/7/1973	5,000.00	40,857.00	14,000.00	44,858.07	1,000.00	47	
16	Mrs. Ashraf Abbasi, MNA	1526	18/6/1973	5,000.00	40,857.00	40,000.00	12,273.94	1,000.00	48	
17	Syed Abbas Hussain Gardezi, MNA	1543	23/7/1973	5,000.00	40,857.00	38,300.00	19,690.83	1,000.00	47	
18	Mr. Abdul Hameed Memon, MPA	1550	13/7/1973	5,000.00	40,857.00	4,000.00	60,010.49	1,000.00	47	
19	Syed Manzoor Hussain Shah, MPA	1559	4/7/1973	5,000.00	40,857.00	-	66,085.14	1,000.00	47	
20	Mr. Qamar Zaman Shah, Senator	1620	20/9/1973	5,000.00	40,857.00	47,500.00	2,759.52	1,000.00	45	
21	Syed Qurban Ali Shah, Senator	1628	21/9/1973	5,000.00	40,857.00	-	60,058.08	1,000.00		
22	Sardar Ghulam Mohammad Khan mahar, MPA	1629	20/9/1973	5,000.00	40,857.00	-	60,320.53	1,000.00		
23	Mir Sundar Khan, MPA	1630	20/9/1973	5,000.00	40,857.00	62,540.00	4,159.00	1,000.00	45	
24	Mr. Hazoor Buksh, Senator	1694	7/12/1973	5,000.00	42,828.05	40,000.00	25,154.64	1,000.00	42	
25	Mr. Ghulam Khan, Senator	1846	8/6/1974	5,000.00	42,858.05	4,000.00	17,138.38	1,000.00	40	
26	Pir Syed Abdul Qadir Shah Jilani, MNA	1905	6/7/1973	5,000.00	40,857.00	14,000.00	45,832.14	1,000.00	47	
GRAND TOTAL							336,300.00	1,325,232.45		

**ANNEXURE R/8
(FOR CARS)**

**NATIONAL BANK OF PAKISTAN
MAIN BRANCH ISLAMABAD**

**STATEMENT OF OVERDRAFT ALLOWED TO MNAs/SENATORS/MPAs AND VIPs FOR PURCHASE OF JEEP
POSITION AS ON 31/8/1977**

Sr. No.	Name of Borrower	Account No.	Date of Advance	Initial Deposit	Overdraft Allowed	Total Amount of Installment Paid	Outstanding	Rate of installment monthly	No. of Installments due
1	Mr. Noor Mohammad, MNA	1385	21/5/1974	10,000.00	61,460.00	-	88,228.96	3,000.00	38
2	Mr. Naimatullah Shinwari, MNA	1406	8/1/1974	10,000.00	71,240	24,000.00	79,779.77	3,000.00	42
3	Mr. Ghulam Haider, MNA	1344	12/7/1975	20,000.00	166,502.00	-	207,259.57	3,000.00	22
4	Mr. Mian Hamid Yasin, MNA	1548	1/3/1976	10,000.00	67,776.00	6,000.00	84,769.33	3,000.00	17
5	Mian Mohammad Attaullah, MNA	1635	25/3/1974	10,000.00	71,240.00	-	127,725.55	3,000.00	39
6	Mr. M. Hashim Khan, MNA	1696	19/12/1973	10,000.00	71,240.00	18,000.00	82,796.69	3,000.00	45
7	Mr. Khayal Said Senator	1700	28/12/1973	10,000.00	55,650.00	61,000.00	6,213.27	3,000.00	45
8	Mr. Mohammad Suleman Samejo, Senator	1701	24/12/1973	5,000.00	33,070.00	9,000.00	32,438.31	2,000.00	43
9	Mr. Abdul Wahid, MNA	1705	24/12/1973	10,000.00	61,460.00	41,000.00	42,962.35	3,000.00	43
10	Mian Ihtasul Haq, MNA	1715	27/12/1973	10,000.00	71,240.00	6,000.00	103,364.53	3,000.00	43
11	Rana Taj Ahmed Noon, MNA	1716	27/12/1973	10,000.00	71,240.00	32,790.00	62,315.58	3,000.00	43
12	Chaudhry Manzoor Hussain, MNA	1719	3/1/1974	10,000.00	71,240.00	-	108,803.97	3,000.00	42
13	Mian Shahadat Khan, MNA	1721	29/12/1973	10,000.00	61,460.00	71,000.00	6,776.52	3,000.00	43
14	Mr. Mohammad Khan Choudhry, MNA	1725	1/1/1974	10,000.00	61,640.00	10,000.00	83,400.51	3,000.00	42
15	Begum Nasim Jahan, MNA	1726	2/1/1974	5,000.00	33,070.00	8,900.00	37,179.15	2,000.00	39
16	Rao Khursheed Ali Khan	1729	26/1/1974	5,000.00	33,070.00	10,000.00	40,011.53	2,000.00	42
17	Mr. Mohammad Afzal Randhawa, MNA	1733	1/1/1974	10,000.00	61,460.00	-	94,050.85	3,000.00	42
18	Mrs. Nargis Naeem Sandhu, MNA	1736	10/1/1974	10,000.00	61,460.00	4,000.00	88,158.06	3,000.00	42
19	Mr. Sajid Pervez Mian, MNA	1738	11/1/1974	10,000.00	71,240.00	25,000.00	81,289.83	3,000.00	42
20	Syed Rafi Mohammad Shah, MNA	1741	29/12/1973	10,000.00	61,460.00	20,000.00	74,134.28	3,000.00	43
21	Mr. Mohammad Nazir Sultan, MNA	1742	11/1/1974	10,000.00	71,240.00	22,000.00	76,554.35	3,000.00	42
22	Mr. Sher Mohammad Khan, Senator	1744	19/1/1974	10,000.00	61,460.00	29,000.00	55,608.68	3,000.00	42
23	Col. Habib Ahmed, MNA	1748	1/4/1974	5,000.00	33,070.00	51,400.00	8,923.73	2,000.00	59
24	Mian Masood Ahmed, MNA	1752	18/1/1974	10,000.00	55,650.00	55,000.00	5,632.03	3,000.00	59
25	Mr. Ihtasul Haq, Senator	1754	23/4/1974	10,000.00	54,280.00	42,980.00	21,262.52	2,000.00	32
26	Mr. Ghulam Hussain, MNA	1755	23/1/1974	10,000.00	28,070.00	-	42,871.57	3,000.00	42

ANNEXURE R/8 (Cont)
(FOR CARS)

NATIONAL BANK OF PAKISTAN
MAIN BRANCH ISLAMABAD

**STATEMENT OF OVERDRAFT ALLOWED TO MNAs/SENATORS/MPAs AND VIPs FOR PURCHASE OF CARS
POSITION AS ON 31/8/1977**

Sr. No.	Name of Borrower	Account No.	Date of Advance	Initial Deposit	Overdraft Allowed	Total Amount of Installment Paid	Outstanding	Rate of installment monthly	No. of Installments due
27	Sahabzada Farooq Ali, MNA	1756	22/1/1974	10,000.00	55,650.00	45,000.00	10,668.03	3,000.00	42
28	Kh. Ghulam Sulaiman, MNA	1760	24/1/1974	10,000.00	61,460	67,000.00	25,289.68	3,000.00	42
29	Mr. Zulfiqar Ali Shah, MNA	1766	25/1/1974	10,000.00	71,670.00	19,000.00	87,442.60	3,000.00	42
30	Pir Sai-ud-Din, MNA	1744	9/3/1974	5,000.00	33,070.00	6,000.00	42,129.09	2,000.00	40
31	Mian Ghulam Abbas, MNA	1776	9/4/1974	10,000.00	71,240.00	-	106,465.71	3,000.00	39
32	Mr. Tahir Mohammad Khan, Senator	1778	22/2/1974	5,000.00	33,070.00	25,000.00	18,241.60	2,000.00	40
33	Samia Usman Fateh, Senator	1792	21/3/1974	5,000.00	33,070.00	33,000.00	852,509.00	2,000.00	40
34	Shireen Wahab, MNA	1792	21/3/1974	5,000.00	33,070.00	33,000.00	8,525.90	2,000.00	40
35	Mr. Zahoor-ul-Haq, Senator	1793	20/2/1974	5,000.00	33,070.00	-	50,677.95	2,000.00	41
36	Mr. Mohammad Aardar Khan, MNA	1796	21/2/1974	5,000.00	33,070.00	4,000.00	44,391.72	2,000.00	41
37	Malik Mohammad Suleman, MNA	1799	20/3/1974	5,000.00	33,070.00	3,000.00	45,265.88	2,000.00	40
38	Ch. Mohammad Aslam, Senator	1806	11/3/1974	5,000.00	33,070.00	-	49,100.95	2,000.00	40
39	Mr. Nisar Ahmed Pannoun, MNA	1833	18/3/1974	5,000.00	33,070.00	41,400.00	4,862.52	2,000.00	40
40	Khan Irshad Ahmed Khan, MNA	1836	10/4/1974	10,000.00	71,240.00	-	108,288.95	3,000.00	59
41	Mr. Ghulam Hasan Dhandia, MNA	1838	16/4/1974	5,000.00	33,070.00	10,000.00	38,397.75	2,000.00	39
42	Rai Shahadat Ali Khan, MNA	1839	15/5/1974	10,000.00	83,506.00	10,000.00	109,243.98	3,000.00	38
43	Sh. Mohammad Rasheed, MNA	1955	13/9/1974	5,000.00	36,395.00	8,000.00	41,020.24	2,000.00	34
44	Mr. Nazar Husain Kiani, MNA	2083	30/5/1975	10,000.00	60,028.20	-	75,598.66	3,000.00	23
45	Sardar Habibullah Khan, MNA	2535	3/7/1977	15,000.00	31,200.00	-	31,102.00	1,500.00	1
46	Malik Mushtaq Ahmed, MNA	2559	25/6/1977	8,379.00	43,000.00	-	45,058.89	1,500.00	2
47	Haji Akbar Khan, Senator	2584	1/6/1977	10,000.00	45,573.00	-	45,921.63	1,500.00	2

Note:

- 1) The borrowers are being reminded by ordinary post regularly for repayment of installments
- 2) We have written to the borrowers to confirm that registration and comprehensive insurance (both) have been effected in the joint name of
- 3) During the month under the report there has been repayment of Rs. 108,720.46 only. This is very disturbing and calls for immediate remedial

MANAGER

**CONSOLIDATED STATEMENT SHOWING THE TOTAL OF
MONTHLY PAYMENTS MADE OUT OF SECRET SERVICE
FUNDS DURING THE YEARS 1971-72 TO 1976-77.**

Name of Beneficiaries	Amount paid out of		Total	Ref. Page
	DIB	budget of P.M. Sectt.		
SECRETARIES/DY SECY GENERAL				
Mr. Khurshid Hassan Mir	1,94,632	15,368	2,10,000	1
Dr. Mubashir Hassan	2,30,000	30,000	2,60,000	2
Dr. Ghulam Hussain	1,00,000	40,000	1,40,000	3
Mr. Nasir Ali Rizvi	2,10,000	10,000	2,20,000	4
PRESIDENT PPP PROVINCES .				
Mr. Hayat Mohammad Khan Sherpao	2,00,000	50,000	2,50,000	5
Mr. Aftab Ahmad Khan Sherpao	NIL	20,000	20,000	6
PRESIDENT/GENERAL SECY, PPP PUNJAB				
Mian Mohammad Afzal Watto	40,000	20,000	60,000	7
Mr. Mohammad Khalid Malik	1,10,000	50,000	1,60,000	8
PRESIDENT PPP QUETTA				
Sardai Ghaus Bakhsh Raisani	1,90,000	45,000	2,35,000	9-10
CHIEF MINISTER OF NWFP				
Mr. Nasrullah Khan Khattak	1,50,000	30,000	1,80,000	11
CHIEF MINISTER OF SINDH				
Mr. Mumtaz Ali Bhutto	40,000	NIL	40,000	12
Mr. Ghulam Mustafa Jatoi	3,30,000	80,000	4,10,000	13
Grand total Rs: -	17,94,632	3,90,368	21,85,000	

(S. M. YUNUS)
Section Officer.
8-9-77

**PAYMENT MADE TO DR. GHULAM HUSSAIN, ADVISOR TO
GOVERNOR PUNJAB-SECRETARY GENERAL, PPP, OUT OF
SECRET SERVICE FUNDS ON MONTHLY BASIS.**

PRIME MINISTERS SECTT: BUDGET		INTELLIGENCE BUREAU'S BUDGET	
DATE	AMOUNT	DATE	AMOUNT
9- 5-73	10,000	18-10-72	10,000
30-6-73	10,000	16-11-72	10,000
15- 6-77	10,000	2-12-72	10,000
<u>28- 6-77</u>	<u>10,000</u>	3- 1-73	10,000
<u>Total</u>	<u>40,000</u>	8- 2-73	10,000
		5- 3-73	10,000
		4- 4-73	10,000
		3 8-73	10,000
		<u>15- 9-73</u>	<u>20,000</u>
		<u>Total</u>	<u>1,00,000</u>

Intelligence Bureau	Rs. 1,00,000
<u>Prime Minister's Sectt.</u>	<u>Rs. 40,000</u>
<u>Grand Total</u>	<u>Rs. 1,40,000</u>

**PAYMENTS MADE TO MR. NASIR ALI RIZVI, DEPUTY
SECRETARY GENERAL, PPP, PUNJAB, OUT OF SECRET
SERVICE FUNDS ON MONTHLY BASIS.**

PRIME MINISTERS SECTT: BUDGET		INTELLIGENCE BUREAU'S BUDGET	
DATE	AMOUNT	DATE	AMOUNT
4- 6-74	10,000	4- 7-74	10,000
<u>Total</u>	<u>10,000</u>	6- 8-74	10,000
		7- 9-74	10,000
		3-10-74	10,000
		2-11-74	10,000
		10-12-74	10,000
		18- 1-75	10,000
		11- 2-75	10,000
		10- 3-75	10,000
		9- 4-75	10,000
		6- 5-75	10,000
		3- 6-75	10,000
		11- 7-75	10,000
		5- 8-75	10,000
		10- 9-75	10,000
		11-10-75	10,000
		6-11-75	10,000
		5-12-75	10,000
		14- 1-76	10,000
		6- 5-77	20,000
		<u>Total</u>	<u>2,10,000</u>
Intelligence Bureau	Rs. 2,10,000		
Prime Minister's Seat	Rs. 10,000		
Grand Total	Rs. 2,20,000		

**PAYMENTS MADE TO MR. MOHAMMAD HAYAT KHAN
SHERPAO, PRESIDENT, PPP, NWFP, OUT OF THE SECRET
SERVICE FUNDS ON MONTHLY BASIS.**

PRIME MINISTERS SECTT: BUDGET		INTELLIGENCE BUREAU'S BUDGET	
DATE	AMOUNT	DATE	AMOUNT
9- 5-73	20,000	12-10-72	10,000
11- 5-74	20,000	4-11-72	10,000
8- 6-74	10,000	14-12-72	10,000
<u>Total</u>	<u>50,000</u>	13- 1-73	10,000
		13- 3-73	10,000
		10-10-73	30,000
		8- 3-74	50,000
		3- 7-74	10,000
		6- 8-74	10,000
		7- 9-74	10,000
		3-10-74	10,000
		2-11-74	10,000
		10-12-74	10,000
		<u>18-1-75</u>	<u>10,000</u>
		<u>Total</u>	<u>2,00,000</u>

Intelligence Bureau Rs. 2,00,000
Prime Minister's Sectt. Rs. 50,000
Grand Total Rs. 2,50,000

**PAYMENTS MADE TO MR. MOHAMMAD KHALID MALIK,
GENERAL SECRETARY, PPP, PUNJAB, OUT OF SECRET
SERVICE FUNDS ON MONTHLY BASIS.**

PRIME MINISTERS SECTT: BUDGET		INTELLIGENCE BUREAU'S BUDGET	
DATE	AMOUNT	DATE	AMOUNT
17- 4-76	10,000	5- 3-76	10,000
8- 5-76	10,000	15- 7-76	10,000
9- 6-76	10,000	11- 8-76	10,000
17- 5-77	10,000	8- 9-76	10,000
15- 6-77	10,000	12-10-76	10,000
<u>Total</u>	<u>50,000</u>	13-11-76	10,000
		13-12-76	10,000
		19- 1-77	10,000
		16- 2-77	10,000
		17- 3-77	10,000
		23- 4-77	10,000
		<u>Total</u>	<u>1,10,000</u>

Intelligence Bureau	Rs. 1,10,000
<u>Prime Minister's Sectt.</u>	<u>Rs. 50,000</u>
<u>Grand total</u>	<u>Rs. 1,60,000</u>

**PAYMENTS MADE TO THE CHIEF MINISTER, NWFP, MR
NASRULLAH KHAN KHATTAK, OUT OF SECRET SERVICE
FUNDS ON MONTHLY BASIS.**

**PRIME MINISTERS SECTT:
BUDGET**

**INTELLIGENCE BUREAU'S
BUDGET**

DATE	AMOUNT
17- 4-76	10,000
8- 5-76	10,000
9- 6-76	10,000
<u>Total</u>	<u>30,000</u>

DATE	AMOUNT
12- 8-75	10,000
10- 9-75	10,000
11-10-75	10,000
6-11-75	10,000
5-12-75	10,000
14- 1-76	10,000
3- 2-76	10,000
5-3-76	10,000
15- 7-76	10,000
11- 8-76	10,000
8- 9-76	10,000
12-10-76	10,000
13-11-76	10,000
13-12-76	10,000
17- 3-77	10,000
<u>Total</u>	<u>1,50,000</u>

Intelligence Bureau	Rs. 1,50,000
Prime Minister's Sectt.	Rs. 30,000
<u>Grand total</u>	<u>Rs. 1,80,000</u>

**PAYMENTS MADE TO MR. MUMTAZ ALI BHUTTO, CHIEF
MINISTER, SINDH, OUT OF SECRET SERVICE FUNDS ON
MONTHLY BASIS.**

PRIME MINISTERS SECTT: BUDGET		INTELLIGENCE BUREAU'S BUDGET	
DATE	AMOUNT	DATE	AMOUNT
	NIL	28-10-72	10,000
		15-11-72	10,000
		7-12-72	10,000
		7- 3-73	10,000
		<u>Total</u>	<u>40,000</u>

**PAYMENTS MADE TO MR. GHULAM MUSTAFA JATOL, CHIEF
MINISTER, SINDH, OUT OF SECRET SERVICE FUNDS ON
MONTHLY BASIS.**

PRIME MINISTERS SECTT: BUDGET		INTELLIGENCE BUREAU'S BUDGET	
DATE	AMOUNT	DATE	AMOUNT
8- 4-74	10,000	10-10-73	20,000
7- 5-74	10,000	18-2-74	20,000
4- 6-74	10,000	4-7-74	10,000
17- 4-76	10,000	16- 8-74	10,000
4- 6-76	10,000	7-9-74	10,000
9- 6-76	10,000	3-10-74	10,000
17- 5-77	10,000	2-11-74	10,000
<u>15- 6-77</u>	<u>10,000</u>	10-12-74	10,000
<u>Total</u>	<u>80,000</u>	18- 1-75	10,000
		11- 2-75	10,000
		10- 3-75	10,000
		9- 4-75	10,000
		6- 5-75	10,000
		3- 6-75	10,000
		11- 7-75	10,000
		5- 8-75	10,000
		10- 9-75	10,000
		11-10-75	10,000
		6-11-75	10,000
		5-12-75	10,000
		14- 1-76	10,000
		3- 2-76	10,000
		5- 3-76	10,000
		15- 7-76	10,000
		11- 8-76	10,000
		8- 9-76	10,000
		12-10-76	10,000
		13-11-76	10,000
		13-12-76	10,000
		17- 3-77	10,000
		<u>23- 4-77</u>	<u>10,000</u>
		<u>Total</u>	<u>3,30,000</u>
Intelligence Bureau	Rs. 3,30,000		
<u>Prime Minister's Sectt.</u>	<u>Rs. 80,000</u>		
<u>Grand total</u>	<u>Rs. 4,10,000</u>		

**PAYMENTS MADE TO SARDAR GHAUS BAKHSH RAISANI,
PRESIDENT, PPP, BALUCHISTAN, OUT OF SECRET SERVICE
FUNDS ON MONTHLY BASIS.**

INTELLIGENCE BUREAU'S BUDGET		PRIME MINISTERS SECTT: BUDGET	
28-10-72	5,000	8- 4-74	5,000
4-11-72	5,000	4- 6-74	5,000
11-12-72	5,000	7- 5-74	5,000
7- 3-73	5,000	29- 6-74	5,000
4- 7-74	5,000	17- 4-76	5,000
16- 8-74	5,000	8- 5-76	5,000
7- 9-74	5,000	9- 6-76	5,000
3-10-74	5,000	17- 5-77	5,000
2-11-74	5,000	15- 6-77	5,000
10-12-74	5,000	<u>Total</u>	<u>45,000</u>
18- 1-75	5,000		
11- 2-75	5,000		
10- 3-75	5,000		
9- 4-75	5,000		
6- 5-75	5,000		
3- 6-75	5,000		
11- 7-75	5,000		
5- 8-75	5,000		
10- 9-75	5,000		
11-10-75	5,000		
6-11-75	5,000		
5-12-75	5,000		
14- 1-76	5,000		
3- 2-76	5,000		
5- 3-76	5,000		
15- 7-76	5,000		
11- 8-76	5,000		
8- 9-76	5,000	Intelligence Bureau	Rs. 1,90,000
12-10-76	5,000	Prime Minister's Sectt.	Rs. 45,000
13-11-76	5,000	<u>Grand total</u>	<u>Rs. 2,35,000</u>
6-12-76	20,000		
13-12-76	5,000		
16- 2-77	5,000		
17- 3-77	5,000		
23- 4-77	5,000		
<u>Total</u>	<u>1,90,000</u>		

**PAYMENTS MADE TO MR. AFTAB AHMAD KHAN SHERPAO,
PRESIDENT, PPP, NWFP, OUT OF SECRET SERVICE FUNDS ON
MONTHLY BASIS.**

PRIME MINISTERS SECTT: BUDGET		INTELLIGENCE BUREAU'S BUDGET	
DATE	AMOUNT	DATE	AMOUNT
17- 5-77	10,000		N I L
15- 6-77	10,000		
	<u>Total 20,000</u>		

**PAYMENTS MADE TO MIAN MOHAMMAD AFZAL WATTO,
PRESIDENT, PPP, PUNJAB, OUT OF SECRET SERVICE FUNDS
ON MONTHLY BASIS.**

PRIME MINISTERS SECTT: BUDGET		INTELLIGENCE BUREAU'S BUDGET	
DATE	AMOUNT	DATE	AMOUNT
8- 4-74	10,000	11-11-73	10,000
7- 5-74	10,000	4-12-73	10,000
	<u>Total 20,000</u>	15- 2-74	10,000
		7- 3-74	10,000
			<u>Total 40,000</u>

Intelligence Bureau Rs. 40,000
Prime Minister's Sectt. Rs. 20,000
Grand total Rs. 60,000

The Prime Minister.

ANNEXURE R/10

MINISTRY OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS

The attached statement of purchases made through me from abroad for former Prime Minister's home at Larkana has been prepared, basing the information contained therein on memory, as the relevant record has already been handed over to F.I.A. Out of these articles some might have been taken to Mr. Z. A. Bhutto's residence at Karachi.

2. A copy of the statement of all the purchases/imports made through me from abroad, which was supplied to the F.I.A. is also placed below.

(N. A. M. Raza)

FOREIGN AFFAIRS PERSONAL ACCOUNT OF THE FORMER PRIME MINISTER MR. Z. A. BHUTTO

S. No.	Particulars of Items	Cost	Source of Purchase/Import	Remarks
1973			ALL PAYMENTS HAVE BEEN MADE BY PRIME MINISTER'S SECRETARIAT.	
1	Dress material. Two suit lengths (3.5 meters each)	\$195.00	Embassy of Pakistan Rome	Payment made to the Embassy in May 1973 by Prime Minister's Secretariat.
2	Tropical material for Trousers and Bush Shirts	\$49.05	Consulate General of Pakistan, New York	Payment made in June 1973 by Prime Minister's Secretariat.
3	Cloth for Trousers & Bush Shirts from Bangkok	\$24.60	Embassy of Pakistan Bangkok	Payment made in May 1973 by Prime Minister's Secretariat.
4	Hot Cabinet Trolley	£ Str. 97.00	Embassy of Pakistan London	Payment made in February 1975 by Prime Minister's Secretariat.
5	Marble Furniture	\$5,925.00	Embassy of Pakistan Rome	
6	Six Bath Room Sets - Two Black, Two Green, Two Pink	\$3,699.00	Embassy of Pakistan Rome	Payment made to Embassy of Pakistan, Rome, against remittance of US \$25,000.00 made in November 1973 by P.M. Sect.
7	Chandeliers, Ceiling Baskets, Wall Brackets & Bulbs	\$1,880.00	M/s Tuzex, Prague - Order placed through Embassy of Czechoslovakia, Islamabad	Order Placed in October 1973. Payment made in November 1973 by P.M.'s Sect.

1974				
1	Splendid Glassware (33 Pieces)	\$455.00	M/s Tuzex, Prague - Order placed through Embassy of Czechoslovakia, Islamabad	Order placed in May 1974, Payment made in June 1974 by P. M's Sect.
2	Twelve pieces of glass discs	D.M. 118.29	Embassy of Pakistan Bad Godesberg	Order placed in November 1974 and payment made in June 1975 by P.M. Sect.
3	Replacement of pieces of Royal Crown Derby China Set	£ Str. 241.04	Embassy of Pakistan London	Order placed in December 1973. Payment made in May 1974 by P.M.'s Sect. Goods received in March 1974
4	Replacement of two broken pieces of Glass set No. 240 Gols Lustre	\$14.00	Embassy of Pakistan Vienna	Order placed in 1974,. Payment made by Prime Minister's Secretariat.

1975				
1	Chandeliers and wall Brackets	\$2,174.00	M/s Tuzex, Prague - Order placed through Embassy of Czechoslovakia, Islamabad	Order placed and payment made in January 1975 by Prime Minister's Secretariat. Goods received in May 1975.
2	Replacement of different items of the cutlery set	£ Str. 193.46	Embassy of Pakistan London	Order placed in January 1975. Payment made in April 1975, by P.M.'s Sect.
3	Chandeliers and wall Brackets	\$1,361.00	M/s Tuzex, Prague - Order placed through Embassy of Czechoslovakia, Islamabad	Order placed and payment made in October 1975, by Prime Minister's Secretariat.
4	Chandeliers and wall Brackets	\$1,761.00	M/s Tuzex, Prague - Order placed through Embassy of Czechoslovakia, Islamabad	Order placed and payment made in September 1975, by Prime Minister's Secretariat.

1976				
1	Chandeliers and wall Brackets	\$1,927.00	M/s Tuzex, Prague - Order placed through Embassy of Czechoslovakia, Islamabad	Order placed and payment made in October 1976, by Prime Minister's Secretariat.
2	Six Chandeliers	\$1,868.55	Embassy of Pakistan Tehran	Order placed in September 1976. Payment made in October 1976, by Prime Minister's Secretariat.
3	Suit Length	£ Str. 71.32	Embassy of Pakistan London	Order placed in March 1976. Payment made in April 1976, by Prime Minister's Secretariat.

FOREIGN AFFAIRS PERSONAL ACCOUNT OF THE FORMER PRIME MINISTER MR. Z. A. BHUTTO				
S. No.	Particulars of Items	Cost	Source of Purchase/Import	Remarks
PRIME MINISTER HOUSE LARKANA				
5	Silk curtain material (50 Yards)	\$1,752.55	Embassy of Pakistan Paris	Payment made in November 1976
6	Upholstery material i) Velvet Rio 14 (14 yards) ii) Velvet Rio 32 (56 yards)	£ Str. 212.80	Embassy of Pakistan London	Payment made in September 1976
7	Down for cushions 25 Kilos	£ Str. 260.75	Embassy of Pakistan London	Payment made in September 1976
8	Expenditure on transportation of items at (6) and (7)	£ Str. 186.88	Embassy of Pakistan London	Payment made in November 1976
9	Curtain Material i) Cesari (86 yards) ii) Hass - 1910 (100 yards) iii) Hass - 1200 (25 Yards) iv) Hass - 1710 (24 yards) v) Hass - 88363 (37 yards) vi) Hass - 8837 (30 yards) vii) Freight and Insurance charges from Rome to Paris for items (ii) & (vi)	\$4,085.00	Embassy of Pakistan Rome	Payment made in September 1976
PRIME MINISTER HOUSE KARACHI				
10	Wall paper, Wall lining & paste	\$218.00	Embassy of Pakistan Rome	Payment made in May 1976
11	Curtain Cloth - 16 meters Tapestry cloth - 12 meters	\$410.00	Embassy of Pakistan Rome	Payment made in June 1976
12	Upholstery cloth - 2284 (33 meters)	\$415.00	Embassy of Pakistan Rome	Payment made in September 1976
13	Upholstery cloth - 1697 (19 meters)	\$280.00	Embassy of Pakistan Rome	Payment made in June 1976
14	Curtain Cloth - 1697	\$708.00	Embassy of Pakistan Rome	Payment made in November 1976
15	Dining Room furniture	\$8518.41	Embassy of Pakistan Rome	Payment of advance of US \$ 2953.63 arranged in December 1975. Payment of the balance arranged in January 1977.
16	Moquette (4.50 meters)	\$34.70	Embassy of Pakistan Rome	Payment made in November 1976
17	Upholstery cloth Bergamo (26 yards)	\$1121.00	Pakistan Permanent Mission, New York	Payment made in July 1976
18	Upholstery cloth Erbum (6 yards)	\$166.40	Pakistan Permanent Mission, New York	Payment made in July 1976
19	Upholstery cloth Sekers Zutta - 117, (18 yards)	£ Str. 69.30	Embassy of Pakistan London	Payment made in July 1976
20	Upholstery cloth Sekers Zutta - 5131 (35 yards)	£ Str. 112.35	Embassy of Pakistan London	Payment made in July 1976
21	Upholstery cloth Zennor - 4823 (44 yards)	£ Str. 112.84	Embassy of Pakistan London	Payment made in July 1976
22	Upholstery cloth Sekers Rio 52 (21 yards)	£ Str. 72.96	Embassy of Pakistan London	Payment made in July 1976
23	Upholstery cloth Sanderson 4712/5 (35 yards)	£ Str. 340.80	Embassy of Pakistan London	Payment made in September 1976
24	Upholstery cloth Sanderson HV 4712/8 (9yards)	£ Str. 87.33	Embassy of Pakistan London	Payment made in September 1976
25	Upholstery cloth Sanderson HV 4487/12 (9yards)	£ Str. 103.32	Embassy of Pakistan London	Payment made in September 1976
26	Carpet Antique design including freight and insurance	£ Str. 2629.81	Embassy of Pakistan Peking	Payment made in September 1976
27	Dwarf trees with stones (four)	£ Str. 1631.51	Embassy of Pakistan Peking	Order placed in 1976. Payment made in January 1977
1977				
1	Venetian Chandeliers and wall brackets with bulbs	\$4867.00	Embassy of Pakistan Rome	Order placed in March 1977. Down payment of US \$ 470.00 made in April 1977. Balance yet to be paid. Consignment not yet dispatched.

ANNEXURE R/10

List A- OF CASES CALLED FOR WITHOUT ANY INSPECTION NOTES

S. No	Name	Date on Which called	Area likely to be resumed
1	Mr. M. K. Khakwani Ex Minister	23-1-1975	250 Acres
2	Mst. Almas Begum	23-1-1975	100 Acres
3	Mr. Ghulam Mustafa Khar	24-12-1974	100 Acres
4	Mr. Mohammad Sharif Khar	24-12-1974	100 Acres
5	Mr. Mohammad Latif Khar	24-12-1974	100 Acres
6	Mr. Ghulam Mohammad. F. R. Arbi Khar	24-12-1974	100 Acres
7	Mr. Ghulam Mohammad Noor Rabani Khar	24-12-1974	100 Acres
8	Malik Ahmed Yar Khar	24-12-1974	280 Acres
9	Sultana Begum (mother of No.3)	24-12-1974	280 Acres
10	Mian Mumtaz Mohd. Khan Daultana	24-12-1974	280 Acres
11	Mst. Naseem Jahan Begum	11/9/1975	349 Acres
12	Mst. Jahan Ara Shah Nawaz Begum	11/9/1975	528 Acres
13	Mian Riaz Ahmed	11/9/1975	421 Acres
14	Mian Mushtaq Ahmed	11/9/1975	331 Acres
15	Mr. A. H. Isphahani	11/9/1975	401 Acres
16	Begum Qamar Isphani	11/9/1975	59 Acres
17	Mian Badar Din Gurmani	11/9/1975	90 Acres

Note No. 1 -

All the above had been already decided by Provincial authorities except No. 16

Note No. 2 -

The case of No. 10 was returned without scrutiny because the Ex-Prime Minister had so directed

Note No. 3 -

The area shown as likely to be resumed in addition to what the Provincial authorities had decided was according to scrutiny in FLC Office.

ANNEXURE R/11

List B- OF CASES INITIATED ON INSTRUCTION NOTES, PENDING BEFORE CHAIRMAN FLC ON 4-11-1977, CALLED FOR BY THE EX-PRIME MINISTER.

S. No	Name	Date of P.M.'s Intervention	Area likely to be resumed in Acres
1	Mir Ali Murad Khan Nawab Khairpur	5/12/1976	148
2	Rais Shabir Ahmed	5/12/1976	15
3	Mohammad Alangir	5/12/1976	67
4	Mohammad Jahangir	5/12/1976	61
5	Mst. Shahnaz Bibi	5/12/1976	147
6	Mst. Zakia Khanum	5/12/1976	24
7	Mst. Jawahrin Bibi	5/12/1976	79
8	Ibrahim Khalilullah	5/12/1976	153
9	Rais Mehboob Ahmed	5/12/1976	61
10	Rais Matloob Ahmed	5/12/1976	-
11	Rais Habib Ahmed	5/12/1976	-
12	Rais Wazir Ahmed	5/12/1976	24
13	Dure Naz Khatoon	5/12/1976	151
14	Mir Raza Ali Jamali	5/12/1976	17
15	Mir Sher Khan Jamali	5/12/1976	89
16	Mir Abdun Nabi Jamali	5/12/1976	504
17	Mir Nasarullah Khan Jamali	5/12/1976	473
18	Mir Tahir Khan Jamali	5/12/1976	342
19	Mir Yar Mohammad Khan Jamali	5/12/1976	236
20	Mir Nauroz Ali Khan Jamali	5/12/1976	65
21	Mst. Sahibzadi	5/12/1976	341
22	Mir Noor Mohammad Khan Jamali	5/12/1976	896
23	Mir Aman Ullah Khan Jamali	5/12/1976	895
24	Mst. Shahzadi	5/12/1976	199
25	Mir Zafar Ullah Khan Jamali	5/12/1976	314
26	Mir Fazal Mohammad Khan Jamali	5/12/1976	236
27	Mir Mohammad Ayyub Khan Jamali	5/12/1976	298
28	Mir Ahmed Khan Jamali	5/12/1976	-
29	Nazir Ahmed, Ex-Defence Secretary, Sukkur	16/12/1976	-
30	Zafar Ali Shah	8/1/1977	103
31	Zulfikar Ali Khoso, D.G. Khan	8/1/1977	24,000
32	Maqbool Hussain Qureshi, relation to Ex-Chief Minister, Punjab	5/12/1976	242

ANNEXURE R/13**List C- AREAS OF LIVESTOCK FARMS RESUMED AND REALLOTTED ON LEASE ILLEGALLY TO THE OWNERS**

District	Name	Name of Livestock farm resumed under the law (Acres)	Area Leased back to owner in column 2 illegally (Acres)
Multan	1 Zafarullah Khan	2,832	1,416
	2 Ch. Abdul Latif	1,215	607
	3 S. Subban Sadiq	4,190	2,095
Shaiwal	4 Sh. Mohammad Abbas Shah	158	78
Mianwali	5 Malik Muzaffar & brother S/o Malik Amir Mohammad	18,290	-
Jhang	6 A. Abida Sultana	1,195	597
	7 S. Ghulam Mohammad Shah	876	438
Sargodha	8 Malik Khizar Hayat	7,700	3,850
	9 Malik Ghulam Mohammad Nagina	74	-
Peshawar	10 Mian Jamal Shah Farm	500	250
Hazara	11 Nawab of Amb Farm	1,818	818
Sukkur	12 Mahar Farm	4,061	2,030
Hyderabad	13 Luari Farm	3,124	1,562

GOVERNMENT OF PAKISTAN
PRESS INFORMATION DEPARTMENT

Name of Newspaper

Place of Publication

Date

PNA team had full mandate Accord cannot be reopened: Bhutto

Prime Minister Zulfikar Ali Bhutto declared in the early hours of this (Monday) morning that after the accord had been reached between the Government and the PNA, "it cannot be reopened".

"This is just not done," he said.

The Prime Minister recalled in detail how the PNA had given assurances before entering into the negotiations that no single party would have veto over the decisions arrived at between the Government and the PNA. This, he said had been amply clarified by PNA leaders before foreign envoys who helped in bringing about the negotiations between the two sides.

The Prime Minister disclosed that after having agreed and prepared a draft which was only to be signed by the two parties, they brought on Sunday evening 10 points saying that the PNA Central Council was not willing to accept the agreement.

He said the three-man committee consisted of the President, the Vice-President and the Secretary General of the PNA and had come to the negotiating table with a clear mandate of the nine party Alliance.

The Prime Minister said it was irrelevant whether the 10 points were new or important. The question was that once an agreement had been reached, it could not be reopened.

However, he said, he had called a meeting of the Cabinet which was joined by all provincial Chief Ministers, excluding that of Baluchistan, Chiefs of Staff, the CGS, and the ISI

WRECKERS AT WORK

Leading article on Page 3

Director-General, to discuss the situation arising out of their wanting to reopen the agreement.

The Prime Minister described as totally false PNA assertion that it had not given its team of negotiators the mandate to discuss their final draft with the Government.

Mr. Bhutto recalled how PNA President Mufti Mahmud phoned him after Prof. Ghaffar's "take it or leave it" statement that there had been a misunderstanding and that they were coming to negotiate with the Government.

Mr. Bhutto said in fact they were willing to sign the accord after the night long session but they all decided that it could be signed after going through the formality of getting it approved by the PNA Central Council.

He said the PNA Central Council had in fact insulted its President, Vice-President and Secretary-General.

It was unjust not only to the PNA negotiating team which did their very best to win their point of view during the talks but the nation as a whole which had been awaiting results eagerly.

Mr. Bhutto said he would

tell the people when the time comes why he agreed to the holding of second elections. He said there had been heated discussions at the Cabinet. He, too, was responsible to the people, his Cabinet, MNAs, Provincial Assemblies and the Central Committee of his party. He, too, was answerable to them, Mr. Bhutto said.

He said when the people would see the agreement they would be surprised to see what extent the Government had acceded to the Opposition's point of view.

He said the three PNA leaders fought on every point with logic and good advocacy. The PNA could not have sent better representatives than the three they sent.

The Prime Minister said the agreement had been finally reached between the two sides after discussion on every point—rather on "every word"—and it was only left to be signed.

'Great difficulty'

He said by reopening the question, the PNA had put into "great difficulty" not only the Government but the nation as a whole. He expressed his willingness to meet the PNA leaders again but said he would have to have further consultations with his Cabinet before that.

The Prime Minister said in the Cabinet meeting there was sharp difference of opinion. After all, he said he also had to run his team and take into account their wishes because nobody could afford to be alone in politics. He said his colleagues had not differed with him so much during the past five-and-a-half years as they did now.

If the PNA had its difficulties, he too had difficulties of his own, he pointed out.

Mr. Bhutto's hurriedly-called Press conference held in the auditorium of the Prime Minister's House, began at 1.30 a.m. Cabinet Ministers, Chief Ministers and high civil and military officials were present.

Apologising for calling them at such an odd hour, he said he wanted to make three points to show how unjust was the PNA stand.

Firstly, he said, it was agreed at Sibala, before the negotiations started, that none of the nine parties would have veto

agreeable. He, too, had difficulties in asking his Assembly members to sign their death warrant and amend the Constitution to provide for new elections.

On that basis, the negotiations were started, otherwise all the nine parties of the PNA could have been asked to join with them or not.

The same point was clarified by Sardar Abdul Qayyum in answer to Pressmen's questions before he started his contact tour.

Secondly, he said, the PNA leaders assured that they would not like to waste time by taking issues to their Council which they said would be bound by their decisions.

Thirdly, it were negotiations between two parties—the Government and the PNA. Both sent their top negotiators. The PNA sent its President, Vice-President and the Secretary General. They were not selected by us. They were given full mandate to reach an accord and not to act as messengers.

If consultations with Council were taken as a compulsion, he said, his side too had a Central Committee, Cabinet and Assembly members to consider.

Mr. Bhutto said since PNA negotiators had full authority they could not reopen whatever had been already agreed to.

The Prime Minister said he had put aside all other State duties and international matters in order to expeditiously reach a settlement with the PNA and it was now for the people to see who was wasting time keeping the nation waiting and deepening the crisis.

People's verdict

Answering a question, Mr. Bhutto said if the PNA had not been afraid of the people's verdict in the next elections, why should it create difficulties now.

The Prime Minister said the PNA leaders could not claim now that final agreement had not been reached when the two sides concluded their long session last Saturday morning. The only question left was when it should be signed.

Asked whether there was deadlock now, he said he would not make any comment.

The Prime Minister said they could not deny that every matter was settled on Friday night. All had left happy—and declaring so.

Mufti Mahmud had said in the meeting that the settlement had been resumed. He would refer it to the Central Council of PNA formally. He was sure that the Council would give its approval.

But now, today, they returned to tell the Government side that some colleagues in PNA Council were not agreeable to certain points and had raised 10 more points. This was a matter of great regret, he said.

Mr. Bhutto said he, too, could say that his Cabinet was not

Ten points

The Prime Minister said now when only the signing of the agreement reached on Saturday remained, the PNA wanted to reopen it, pleading that the 10 points they had now brought in were minor points.

Mr. Bhutto said: We are blamed for everything just because we are in power. But both parties have to solve the crisis.

He said he had stretched to the farthest possible to accommodate PNA's point of view.

He said he had called a special meeting of the Cabinet to consider the situation arising out of the PNA's latest 10 points. The Government PNA meeting could be arranged tomorrow or the day after. That

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also made speeches, but "I cause this could also cause misunderstanding. However, be made no speech".

The Prime Minister said said whatever the PNA consisted during the negotiations, it was dered related to the elections, decided that Maulana Kausar it was discussed.

Niazi from the Government In the meantime, he recalled, side, and Prof. Ghafoor Ahmed it was alleged from the PNA that the Government was wasting time. But he had pointed out that this was not so. He said he had told the PNA President that the two sides would meet on July 1 and would not leave the conference room until they had reached the final accord.

He said notwithstanding what points were raised by the PNA and which of them were accepted—or not accepted—the final result was that a decision had been reached. "The only thing left was when the accord should be signed".

Mr. Bhutto said he had considered the idea of holding the signing ceremony at Murree but he had to stay back in Rawalpindi in view of the U.S. independence day reception on July 4.

To answer to question, the Prime Minister said if PNA leadership would have been sure of its footings and popular following it would have not created obstacles. If they could face Oct. 6 confidently, why were they wasting time? he asked.

Asked if the accord would form part of the Constitution, he retorted even this matter was decided. Whatever the Constitution permitted was to be accommodated in the Constitution but nowhere in the world everything went into the Constitution.

Mr. Bhutto said no one could remain aloof in politics. "I have to take my own people into confidence. There are many 'Tatars' sitting in my party."

After the 55-minute Press conference, Mr. Bhutto asked his Cabinet members to stay on in the auditorium.—PPIAPP.

would, however, be decided after the Cabinet meeting.

Mr. Bhutto said the PNA negotiators should be man enough to say that agreement had been reached. "You will be surprised when you see the agreement. They (PNA) got all they wanted."

He said he had not been left with any room for manoeuvrability. He had already done whatever was humanly possible, which was unparalleled.

In answer to a question, he agreed that the apprehension of new demands being raised by PNA was there, but what mattered was that any new demand was against the principle of not opening settled issues.

Asked if the new points were new or old and how far they were acceptable to the Government, Mr. Bhutto said this was irrelevant in view of the above principle.

When a correspondent pointed out that the new PNA spokesman (Asghar Khan) had said the PNA negotiating team had mandatory powers, Mr. Bhutto said it was to contradict this that he had held the Press conference.

Mr. Bhutto said he had called the Press conference because he considered it important to talk to the Press.

He said he had refrained from making any statement to the Press since the talks with the PNA started on June 3. He said the Press had been present in the Prime Minister's House to cover the talks, but whenever the Press wanted to talk to him, he did not do so. He said he did not want to spoil the atmosphere and, therefore, avoided making any statements.

The Prime Minister said he was sorry to have called the correspondents at this late hour. But, he said, "I thought you are used to work late at night, and you are everyone's friend"

He said: When I see the statements published by the Pressmen, then I sometimes think that I should take all of you in the Foreign Service, because you can keep everyone happy.

He said: Even now, I do not want to say anything which may create any complications, or do any damage, because even a minor statement can do the damage, as different interpretations can be put to what is said. Then, such things create reactions.

On the other hand, he said, statements were made by "our friends" (in the Opposition), though not necessarily by those who were engaged in the negotiations. The ones who were engaged in the negotiations had

In nation's interest

Mr. Bhutto said when the talks were started it was in order to safeguard the interests of the people, democracy and Pakistan that he accepted what was their demand, or the demand of the nation, although he had first stated that there was no need of fresh elections.

Mr. Bhutto said the PNA had "a single central and specific point," but to this, the Opposition added 32 points, and they went on expanding their demands, although "they had told us previously that there is only one point at issue".

He said as a result of the negotiations, the two sides had agreed on three major points: (1) Holding of fresh national elections, (2) date of the election, which was set for Oct. 7, but because it was a Friday; it was decided to hold the elections on Oct. 6, and (3) arrangements for ensuring fair elections, for which it was agreed to increase the powers of the Election Commission.

Mr. Bhutto said after an agreement on basic issues he had thought that only details were left to be worked out. It was in view of this situation, he said that he had undertaken his tour of six Islamic countries.

On his return from this tour, he said all sorts of things were brought in. But he would not go into the question which of these things concerned the elections and which did not, be-

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GOVERNMENT OF PAKISTAN
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29 JUN 1977

Multan convention PPP workers ready for any sacrifice

MULTAN, June 28: The convention paid tributes to the leadership of Chairman Bhutto for showing great courage, wisdom and statesmanship in facing the challenge thrown by the recent agitation of the Opposition and its social, political and economic effects on the country. It expressed its unflinching faith and belief that only Prime Minister Bhutto could successfully head the nation out of present crisis and put it on path of glory.

The Convention which was attended by nearly 10,000 delegates from all over Multan Division passed resolutions expressing firm resolve of the party workers to crush with the help of the masses any agitational movement if it was started by the Opposition.

In one of its resolutions, the

should be given to honest, loyal and courageous workers of the party. It expressed sympathy with those party workers who suffered as a result of politics of violence adopted by the Opposition.

Addressing the convention, PPP Secretary-General Dr. Ghulam Husain said that the PPP would once again give a crushing defeat to the Opposition parties in the next election because it enjoyed overwhelming support of toiling masses of the country.

He said the PPP remained the strongest party of the country having deep roots in the masses. Under the leadership of Prime Minister Bhutto, the party would frustrate the designs of its opponents who have adopted the politics of violence and subversion.

He warned that the People's Party would no more tolerate violent offensive of its opponents neither could it remain on the defensive for an indefinite period.

Dr. Ghulam Husain said the various parts of the country have debunked the whispering campaign of those elements who were forecasting any signs of weakness or disunity in the party.

He said the Opposition had tried to mislead the people by exploiting the sacred name of Islam. These were the people who had arraigned against the Quaid-Azam during the Pakistan Movement. The war was a Jihad by the Muslims against Hindu domination and yet one of the PNA leaders declared that those who died in that war could not be called martyrs because, in words, they died the death of a dog.

He said the party believed that there was no clash between socialism and Islam. It had served the cause of Islam during its five-year tenure which had no precedence in the history of the country. The imperialists and Zionists were opposing Mr. Bhutto because he championed the cause of Islam and the Third World. He said the Opposition agitation during the last three

months was never for Islam but for Islamabad. This was in fact a struggle between the haves and the have-nots the poor and the rich. The Peoples Party stood with the poor and Party workers would frustrate the designs of anti-people forces aimed at capturing power.

Federal Food and Agriculture Minister Sheikh Mohammad Ghulam Husain said it was imperative that the party workers should remain united and disciplined. The present political situation in the country presented two alternatives to the party workers, one was to prepare for the elections in case of an agreement between the Government and the PNA. In other case, if the Opposition resorted to agitation, the party workers must remain prepared for a long struggle and sacrifice to defeat the designs of anti-people forces.

He said the Opposition alliance had misled a section of people and provoked them to violence against their own brothers. The People's Party under the leadership of Mr. Bhutto had the capability to crush this agitation.

Sheikh Rashid said the Prime Minister adopted the path of negotiations with the Opposition because he hated the very idea of bloodshed among the people. It would be foolish on the part of the Opposition to take it as a sign of weakness.

He said the People's Party was established to eliminate all kinds of exploitation, oppression and transfer of wealth from the masses to a few waderas and capitalists. The struggle against exploitative classes was the real service to Islam.

Punjab P.P. President Sheikh Rafique Ahmad, addressing the convention, said the present political situation could be interpreted as a struggle by one section of society to maintain its economic domination and by the vast majority of the people to achieve real socio-economic emancipation. In this struggle, the People's Party led the toiling masses of the country.

He said the imperialists and their agents in Pakistan refused to accept political victory of the poor masses in the last elections because they knew that the People's Party stood for economic power of the down-trodden sections of society. The capitalists, the waderas and the big businessmen joined hands to play the game of international imperialism which has always conspired against the emerging nations of the Third World.

Public Information Department
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Bhutto wants to mislead people, says Pir Pagaro

Shah Mardan Shah II, Pir Pagaro, President of Pakistan Muslim League and a PNA leader issued the following statement to the Press in Karachi yesterday.

It seems that the series of stunts by Chairman Bhutto, starting with his post-rigged N.A. elections Press conference is not going to end — the stunts to mislead the people at home and abroad that he is most eager to resolve the current political crisis in the country and that the PNA leadership is most unreasonable in its attitude and is unwilling to reciprocate his gestures.

In his bid to give this impression, he is performing all sorts of fantastic acrobatic feats which comprise his going round and round and jumping over and across the points central to the issue, namely, the PNA and the entire nation's demand that Chairman Bhutto should resign from Premiership and fresh elections must be held to the National Assembly under the supervision of the Army and the Judiciary and conducted by a new Election Commission. The latest stunts comprise his suggestion, first put forward through his Attorney General, that the PNA should agree to contest the Provincial Assembly elections and if it wins a majority there, the National Assembly would have to be dissolved and such further lures as the withdrawal of curbs on the Press and the subsequent offers during the course of his yesterday's Press Conference — like the withdrawal of Section 144 and the banning of gambling, liquor and so on.

Having played havoc with democracy, the law and the Constitution, it now seems that he is after Islam itself. The least that I can say is that Chairman Bhutto is labouring under a delusion if he thinks that the nation is going to be misled by these diversionary antics and overlook his major crime in subverting the Constitution by rigging the polls and compromise on this issue, no matter how much he or his hired publicists, particularly abroad, try to argue that he was not personally responsible for these rigging. Repeated lies cannot obliterate truth.

The wholesale rigging of March 7 elections to the National Assembly by Chairman Bhutto and his PPP Government and parliament is a fact which every man, woman and child in this country knows through personal experience. But Chairman Bhutto is in a pitiable mental state. He refuses to accept the obvious truth that he is the most despised man in the country and that the nation is determined not to tolerate him any further in the position of the Prime Minister of the country, or for that matter, in any office of State. His very name is an anathema to the people. They know that any elections during his stay in a position of authority will be even a bigger mockery than the March 7 elections to the National Assembly. So, there the matter ends so far as his suggestion for dialogue and discussion and offers of withdrawing this or that are concerned.

Instead of concentrating on efforts to somehow maintain himself in office, Chairman Bhutto should try to face the reality and assess the degree of disgust that years of his rule have created against him — years during which he destroyed political, judicial, economic and all other institutions and reduced the law of the land to a mockery. I have shaken the very foundations of the country. His desire to prolong his stay in office is the sole serious existing threat to the nation's well-being. He should know that long ago his word lost all credibility. The way he behaved with the Opposition in the previous National Assembly in respect of his six-point agreement with it, the way he got the Constitution amended, the way he broke his promises to businessmen and industrialists and the way he often went back upon his various commitments with his now notorious utterance "agar margar to margar mach" have not left him in a position where his word could be trusted. Hence the PNA's refusal to enter into any futile dialogue with him.

The deplorable fact is that Chairman Bhutto is behaving in a manner characteristic of him and every move of his can be anticipated by even the man in the street. He wants to cling to power at all costs, even the safety and survival of the nation itself. On the one hand, he deceptively flourishes the olive branch of dialogue and various offers to the PNA and the nation and, on the other, he encourages a policy of violent confrontation between whatever remains of his PPP, aided by certain goonda elements, and the rest of the nation which is determined in its opposition to his presence in any office of State. I wish to emphatically warn that his bid to pit goondas against the people, even when his own parliament are leaving him (because they find it virtually impossible to stand by him), is fraught with very serious consequences the entire responsibility for which shall rest with Chairman Bhutto. The most sensible course for Chairman Bhutto is to accept the realities and quit office, accepting the PNA demands — which are, in fact, now the entire nation's demands — and not to further endanger the nation's interests.

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4 JULY 1977

PAKISTAN TIMES, Islamabad

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Moral obligations go overboard PNA Council 'unanimity' after sharp division

From Salamati Ali

ISLAMABAD, July 3: The PNA seems to have backtracked on the settlement it reached with the Government yesterday. It is now refusing to state whether it has endorsed or rejected the agreement its negotiating team reached with the Government.

The backtracking appears to be mainly incomprehensible, for Mr. Hafeez Pirzada said earlier today that copies of the final accord were exchanged between him and Prof. Ghafoor Ahmed during their meeting last evening. Your correspondent further gathered today that in the last Pirzada Ghafoor Sub-Committee meeting each and every clause of the draft accord was finalised. Also, all outstanding matters were finalised and nothing was left outstanding.

It is also learned on good authority that PNA chief Mufti Mahmud talked to the Prime Minister on telephone today. It is not known what they discussed.

Hawks on top

After the second session of the day of PNA's Central Council, Mr Asghar Khan told reporters this evening: "I have been asked by the Council to convey to you that it has considered the suggestions made by the Government's negotiating team. The Council has reached complete agreement on its attitude to the Government's suggestions. Right now we are drafting our comments on those suggestions and shall convey them to the Government. The reaction is unanimous and is to be conveyed tonight.

The briefing by Mr. Asghar Khan was a departure from the norm, for so far none of the

nine stars of the PNA except the three negotiators have briefed the Press in course of the Government-PNA negotiations.

Going by the intransigence he brought into sharp focus earlier this morning, this change is indicative of the hawks not only being in full cry in the PNA's Council but gaining ascendancy over their colleagues. Mr. Asghar Khan said he was not unhappy over the Central Council's decisions arrived at this evening.

Lawyers disagree

After the first session of the PNA Council early this morning, Mr. Asghar Khan had clarified that he was speaking for himself and had said it would be a mistake to consider that an accord had been reached. He had indicated that lawyers representing diverse components of the Alliance were in disagreement over the settlement arrived at between the two negotiating teams. He had added that Tehrik-istiqal lawyer Mian Mahmud Ali Kasuri had explained to the Council that the draft accord hammered out between the Government and the PNA's negotiating teams, bestowed more powers upon the Prime Minister than were available to him under the Constitution. However, he had argued later, in reply to questions, that the accord agreed to by the PNA's negotiators had no constitutional sanctity and hence in effect was no more than a scrap of paper. He was not asked by his questioners to reconcile the obvious anomaly between the two statements.

Mr Asghar Khan had also claimed in the morning that there had been basic changes in the PNA's draft discussed at the last marathon meeting of the Government-PNA negotiating teams. He had explained that the new draft accord

evolved by the two sides had reduced the Government's Council to a mere advisory body. Stating that there was a vast gap between the agreed draft and the PNA's draft, Mr Asghar Khan had indicated the possibility of one more round of Government-PNA negotiations. He, however, declared enigmatically later in the evening that his views should not be confused with the point of view of the PNA Council but that the stand taken by the Council was not unacceptable to him.

After the second meeting late this evening, Mr. Asghar Khan claimed that the PNA Central Council which alone could approve or disapprove the settlement between the Government-PNA negotiating teams, was unanimous in its comments to be conveyed to the Government tonight. However, the unanimity claimed by Mr. Asghar Khan seemed to be an offspring of the earlier sharp division within the Council. Mr. Asghar Khan and his followers are understood to have mounted a sharp attack on the PNA negotiators. Thus the unanimity was reached only after the negotiators and their supporters agreed to throw morality overboard and go along with the backtracking on the settlement.

Awkward position

Going overboard is also the PNA's moral pretensions, for going by the Alliance's professed high democratic, moral standards, the three negotiators—the Alliance's President, Vice President and Secretary General—are ignoring their awkward position. Mr Asghar Khan, in reply to a question firmly contradicted a questioner who had asked if it was correct that the three negotiators had been asked to

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(Continued from page 1, col 5) The differences within the special council would be referred to the Implementation Council. A special list of the constitutional amendments to be repealed was also agreed to. It was further agreed that emergency would be withdrawn as soon as the accord was signed and also that all remaining political prisoners would be released. Apart from relief and assistance to those who suffered losses during the agitation, the accord also provided for free political activity and agreement not to use Section 144 to ban the use of loudspeakers except under provision of a mutually agreed code of ethics. The accord also provided for freedom of Press, including release of journalists, if any still in detention, free issuing of declarations and lifting of restrictions on awarding of advertisements.

Mr Asghar Khan claimed that it was the PNA's desire to wrap up the whole affair as early as possible. He could not say if the PNA Council members would be here day after tomorrow, but added that they would be in the City tomorrow.

He refused to disclose when the next meetings of the Central Council and General Council were scheduled to be held. Asked if it meant that he expected the Government to invite his side for yet another round of talks, Mr. Asghar Khan replied that if there were an invitation, the PNA Council would judge first if such negotiations would prove fruitful.

Asked to explain the morality of slapping down by the Council of its own negotiating team, Mr. Asghar Khan said it was in fact indicative of the democratic character of the PNA—the difference of opinion and eventual consensus arrived at was indicative of the PNA's strength. He declined to answer a question if the PNA would now issue a call to its supporters.

Beyond doubt

It is now beyond doubt that last night's meeting proved injurious to the accord. Last night, Mufti Mahmud had said half way through the meeting that the settlement he and his fellow negotiators of the PNA had reached with the Government was not a basic departure from the Alliance's own proposals. He had also implied that the basic demands of the PNA had been met.

Mufti Mahmud's assessment was as close to the truth as possible, for apart from the basic demand of re-election almost all the important demands of the Alliance seemed to have been met. It was agreed that the Defence of Pakistan Order would be repealed upon the signing of the accord, the tribunals would be wound up, the DPR prisoners would be released and the cases of those not released within two weeks would be sorted out by a special council comprising one representative from each side.

Fair treatment

The accord further provided for fair treatment to both sides by official mass media. The Election Commission was to be strengthened and allowed to impose punishment on its defaulting appointees. The Commission was to be empowered to call upon the Armed Forces to provide assistance in the holding of elections. It was specifically provided that the FSF and Rangers would not be used for any duty on the polling day. Another provision of the accord was that the election results would not be announced by any of the mass media except under the written authority of the Election Commission.

The accord further provided that all election petitions, now under adjudication, would abate and all those who had not filed election returns would not have to account for the failure.

Under the accord, the Government had agreed to examine the list of officials the Opposition accuses of meddling in the electoral processes. It also agreed to place the FSF under the Ministry of Defence and not to ban any political party until the conclusion of the elections. It also agreed not to make any constitutional amendment except those agreed to between the two sides for implementing the accord.

The accord also provided for the setting up of an implementation council. With a membership of 10, the Council was to meet on each Tuesday and remain in session until its agenda was disposed of. Unresolved disputes in the Council and cases undiscussed due to lack of quorum were to stand automatically referred to a bench comprising the three senior-most judges of the Supreme Court.

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JUN 1977



Prime Minister Bhutto flanked by Mr. Pirzada and Maulana Kausar Niazi talking to news- men in his chamber at the National Assembly on Tuesday.—APP photo.

October poll manifesto to be more radical than '70 document

PPP will skin the hide off capitalists, feudals

From Our Islamabad Bureau

JUNE 28: According to the Prime Minister, the manifesto of the PPP for the October elections would pledge to skin the hide off capitalists and feudals.

Replying to reporters questions after making a statement this evening, the Prime Minister amply indicated that the next PPP manifesto would be more radical than the document the party had put up for the March polls. The new manifesto, he said, would go far beyond the party's manifesto of 1970. About the anti-capitalist and anti-feudal program he added: "Manifesto or no manifesto, I shall deal with them in a manner that will be remembered by their coming generations".

The Prime Minister's attention was drawn to the PNA's election campaign already underway. He said that his party was not perturbed. Some launched their campaign early and some did so later, he

added, but asked how there could be elections if there was no accord. If there was no accord, he further asked, how would the PNA's lust for power find fulfilment.

One correspondent asked the dispute right now centred on the powers of the council proposed by the Government for ensuring free polls. The Prime Minister said that there was no dispute as such. The trouble had arisen because the PNA had stretched the scope of operation of the council to an unreasonable length.

In reply to another question about the PNA's demand for extending the scope of the council's operations, the Prime Minister said that there was no room in the constitution for an organisation of the kind envisaged by the PNA. The PPP had made all the sacrifices for preserving the constitution and these sacrifices would be for preserving the constitution itself was subverted. The

Government was quite willing to let the council deal with all legitimate electoral grievances.

A reporter asked as to when during the PNA-PPP negotiations, the Prime Minister had

asked the Alliance to take over from him, Mr. Bhutto replied that he could not tell the exact date off hand. But he had told the PNA that if it could find a constitutional way of doing so, he was willing to let it take over the Government and run it. Of course they could not give an answer because there was none.

Asked when the troops would be sent to barracks in Baluchistan, the Prime Minister said that it was one of the contradictory demands of the PNA. On one hand it wished the troops to supervise conduct of the polls and on the other, wanted the troops to be confined to barracks in Baluchistan. The Government, however, had already conceded the demand. He had pointed out to the PNA, all the same, that it was a professional issue on which the Alliance should hear the Army Chief of Staff. If the Army Chief could effect the withdrawal in minutes,

the Government would be quite happy to see him do so. The Government itself could merely agree in principle. The precise time table could only

(Continued on back page col 7)

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... politics but it needed to be understood as to what was re-
be drawn by the Army itself. volution. Locally, even a coup
The Government and the PNA d'etat was confused with revo-
could be discussing those de- lution and that was an insult
tails right now had not the Al- to revolution. He asked How
liance issued the ultimatum. can reactionaries, big business
But for the ultimatum, there and other vested interest bring
could have been a meeting to- about a revolution.
day and instead of addressing A correspondent wanted to
the reporters he would have know what will happen if there
been talking to the PNA lea- is a deadlock. The Prime Min-
ders in his office, the Prime ster replied: Then be prepared
Minister pointed out. for anything. Everything shall
One questioner argued that be in a melting pot. Who knows
the PNA's effort upto now had where the ball thus hit shall
been to remove him through come to stop. Perhaps in that
civil commotion but that it case matters may go out of
was his duty to meet his con- the politicians' hands. And
stitutional obligation all the then if anyone of us survives,
same. The Prime Minister he shall certainly go to lay a
snapped that the new wreath.
he had fully accepted the lastly, a reporter wanted
constitutional responsibility to comment on the statement
so far. He had succeeded in issued today by a renegade
coping with the abnormal PPP member. The questioner
situation and God willing the obviously meant Sardar Shau-
same could happen in future kat Havat but did not name
also. him. The Prime Minister re-
The Prime Minister then lied: "Is he the kind of per-
went on to add that revolu- sonality for whom I shall
tion had an important role in waste my time?"

GOVERNMENT OF PAKISTAN
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PAKISTAN PRESS

30

**PNA to 'wage war'
around P.M. House
Movement
from Sunday if
draft rejected**

By a Staff Reporter

Mr. Ashraf Khan, Chief of the PNA, announced today that the PNA will resume its movement from Sunday next if its demand for a draft accord is not accepted by the Government.

"If the nation is to be spared destruction", he said, "the Government must accept it".

Addressing a meeting arranged by local branch of the Punjab Students Council at the Press Club, he criticised the speech by Mr. Ghulam Mustafa Khar, Political Adviser to the Prime Minister in Rawalpindi a few days ago and said: "The war will not be fought now on the streets and mohallas but around the Prime Minister's House".

In the next breath, he said the PNA's objective was not to make Mr. Asghar Khan or Maulana Mufti Mahmud rulers of the country. Its aim was to introduce the Islamic system, he asserted.

He continued: "We will not be killed like goats and sheep. We will defend ourselves. We will reply to club with club and bullet with bullet. Those who insult us will not be safe in their homes".

Mian Tufail Mohammad, Jamaat-Islami Chief, speaking earlier, said PNA's demand was only for holding of fair and impartial elections. He said PNA had demanded establishment of a national government in which it would have at least 50 per cent share. The Government, instead, proposed the establishment of a "super power committee" to ensure against malpractices in elections.

PDP President Nawabzada Nasrullah Khan, expressed confidence that the October elections would not be rigged. He said the PNA had agreed to talks only after the Government had conveyed through the Saudi Arabian Ambassador its willingness to dissolve the Assemblies and hold fresh election.

He disclosed that the Government had offered five or six posts in the federal cabinet which PNA had rejected.

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GOVERNMENT OF PAKISTAN
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PAKISTAN TODAY

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Agitation from Friday if no accord today

—ASGHAR

TAXILA, June 28: The Chief of Tehrik-Istiqal, Air Marshal (retd.) Asghar Khan, here today said that the PNA would revive its movement from next Friday if the Government side did not sign the agreement tomorrow.

Addressing a public meeting, he said after tomorrow no more talks would be held with the Government.

The Tehrik chief was taken into

PNA: NEW TUNE
Leading Article on page 4

Taxila in a procession from Margalla Pass on G.T. road.
Mr. Asghar Khan said the PNA in its draft had tried to accommodate the Government's point of view as far as possible, and it only wanted to ensure the holding of free and fair elections, but he added the People's Party leaders had declined even to go through the draft of the agreement. In fact, he alleged, the Government was never sincere in resolving the crisis through a dialogue.—APP.

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قومی اتحاد نے مذاکرات کی نئی پیش کش بھی مسترد کر دی

پاکستانی عوام اور عالمی رائے کو گمراہ کرنے کی کوشش کی گئی ہے

دعا مذہبیوں کا آغاز مولانا عباسی کے اغوا دہی سے ہو گیا تھا۔۔۔ فریاد نذر اللہ خان

نائب ذمہ نذر اللہ خان نے کہا کہ وزیر
میں قومی اتحاد کے رہنماؤں کے خطوط وصول
بیانات بھی کی ہیں انہوں نے غیر منظم کی تقریر
انہوں نے کہا کہ برسوں میں وہ جہاں جہاں
کو بھیجے ہیں اس لئے ہم نے اپنی مقبولیت کے
لئے ناپاؤں کے سوا اور کسی اور طریقے سے
کے بدعنوانی میں اس کے سوا اور کسی اور
کے ایسٹ کے سلسلے میں اور دیگر پانچ کو
ہے وہ کس جیسے اور انہوں نے کہا کہ
انجمنوں میں اس طرح کے پرائیویٹوں کی

وہاں مذہبیوں اور ان کے حقوق احتجاج کا آغاز
ہو گیا ہے جب مولانا عباسی کو اغوا کر لیا گیا تو وہ وزیر اعظم
کے ساتھ ہیں کاغذات نامزدگی داخل کر کے اس طرح تمام
کا کارروائی میں اس کے ذریعہ جو دہی کے خلاف بھی ختم ہو
ہوا وہ وہاں کے انتخابی معلقوں میں دیگر دو درخواستیں
کی ہیں انہوں نے انتخابات سے قبل بیگز اور نامزدگان کو اغوا
کرنے اور دیگر واقعات کی تعمیل میں انہوں نے ان کا ڈرامہ
تیار کیا اور انہیں کانفرنسوں میں کرتے رہے ہیں چاہے اس وقت
نے انہوں نے کئی کئی بار دہی کے خلاف اسے اسٹیمپ کے خلاف
آگے لیا گیا۔

۱۹۹۹ مارچ ۲۰ تا ۲۵ خصوصی قومی اتحاد کے تمام تمام
مدیر فریاد نذر اللہ خان نے وزیر اعظم کی ہائی سے مذاکرات
کی پیش کش کر دی اور کہا ہے کہ قومی اتحاد کی حکومت سے
خاکستری ہتھیاروں کو روکی کر کے ہے بیگز کا آغاز نہیں کر سکتے
آنہوں نے ہائی کے ذریعے ایک پریس کانفرنس میں انہوں نے فریاد
سے کہا کہ وہ انتخابات کے بارے میں قوم کے لیے کوئی شرط نہیں
قبول کریں اور قوم کو سزا دینا اور آجائش کے دہی کے
سے اجازت کریں یا انہوں نے اتحاد کی جانب سے ۱۷ مارچ کو
پیش کردہ صفحہ ۱۱ اور ۱۲ کا جواب دیا کہ ان پر عمل کیا جائے
ایک سوال کے جواب میں انہوں نے کہا کہ ہم اس پر سوچ رہے
ہیں کہ ہمیں کیا کرنا ہے۔ انہوں نے کہا کہ ہمیں سوچنے کے
وقت انتخابات میں دہی کے لئے کوئی شرط نہیں ہے۔

انہوں نے، بلکہ ان کے انتخابات میں دہی کے لئے
وہاں مذہبیوں کا انہوں نے کہا کہ ان تمام درخواستوں کے
باجرور کوئی حکمہ کامیاب نہیں ہو سکتا، اکثریت انتخابات میں
کا جواب دہی ہے، انہوں نے انہوں نے انہوں نے انہوں نے انہوں نے
کے ذریعے بیگز لگانے کے لئے اور اس وقت کے لئے انہوں نے
کہا، انہوں نے کہا کہ ہم نے انہوں نے انہوں نے انہوں نے انہوں نے
کا نہیں بلکہ ایک سوچے سمجھے منصوبے کے تحت ہائی کے خلاف
کو تبدیل کرنے کا ہے۔

انہوں نے کہا کہ ہمیں یہی ہے کہ ہمیں یہی ہے کہ ہمیں یہی ہے کہ
ذہنی تنظیم اور کامیابی ہے، انہوں نے کہا کہ ہمیں یہی ہے کہ
ہے، انہوں نے انہوں نے انہوں نے انہوں نے انہوں نے انہوں نے
نے پاکستان میں عوام اور عالمی رائے کو گمراہ کرنے کی کوشش کی ہے
انتخابات میں قومی اتحاد کے لئے دہی کے لئے دہی کے لئے دہی کے لئے
سب سے پہلی صورت حال کو یہ ناقابل تردید حقیقت ہے کہ

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NAWA-I-WAQT, Rawalpindi

دہاندلی سے حکومتی پارٹی کی جیت کو کسی صُوت میں قبول نہیں کیا جائے گا



شاہ احمد نورانی

میں احمد شکر کے لئے کہ اس وقت یہاں وہاں آباد جدید آبادیوں پر مشتمل
گروہ ہندسی ہے شاید پاکستان کے کسی شہر میں بھی نہیں ہندسی انہوں نے
ادام لکھا کہ چھپڑ پائی کے امیدوار اب انتخابات میں حصہ لینے کی بجائے
دن بھر دفتروں اور انتظامیہ کے ساتھ سازش کر رہے ہیں۔ ہندسیوں نے
ہے کہ انہوں نے گورنر کو قتل کرنے کی فریفتیں توڑ دی ہیں، ریڈیو پریس
نے کہا کہ انہوں نے گورنر کے لئے ڈیفنس کی بنائی گئی ہے، اس مسئلے
میں تاغی مزید بند کیٹ سے رابطہ قائم کیا جائے۔ جلسہ میں کاچی
کے حاجی جاوید اختر نے کہا کہ انہوں نے حاضرین سے پارلیمینٹ کی توجیہ میں
نصرے گولہ لگائے۔ لیکن ہندیوں کی توجیہ میں کیا گیا۔

ہماری مروجہ جہد و عبادت کی حیثیت حاصل ہے: نورانی
اس وقت ملک میں ۲۸ ہزار سیاسی کارکن جیسوے میں بند ہیں

سیاسی کارکنوں کو ہاتھیں پائی گئیں انہوں نے کوئی مل ڈن اور بیرونی
کے ٹیکوں سے جلتے ہیں لیکن ان کا مٹی کے پھانچ پر گرام نہیں کئے
جائے، انہوں نے ہا کہ ہندی جہد و عبادت جہاد ہے اور یہ
لیک عبادت ہے جو وہ حکومت نے ملک کا معیشت کو تباہ کر دیا
ہے، امید آباد اور لاپی میں کئی مین بند پڑی ہیں مزیدوں کو بر طرف
کر دیا گیا ہے، حکومت نے سیاسی استحکام کو ختم کیا ہے اور وہ اس
کے ذمہ دار ہیں اس کے علاوہ اس وقت ۲۸ ہزار سیاسی کارکن جیلوں
میں بند ہیں۔

ظہور الہن جہد پالی ہے کہ انہوں نے فیصلہ کیا ہے کہ برسرِ اقتدار اگر
دلوں کو بے نقاب کیا جائے گا۔ جنہوں نے مٹھرتی پاکستان سے علیحدہ
کیا ذریعہ نظرتے کہا تھا کہ انہوں نے تہمتیں بڑھائی، لیکن ہم نے ایسا کر
دیکھا ہے انہوں نے مزید کہا کہ ہندیوں نے ڈن اور ریڈیو پر انتخابات کے

تیسرا آباد ہندو ہندو (زمانہ خصوصی) قومی اتحاد کے مرکزی
دہاندلی شاہ احمد نورانی نے ملک چار کی ایک شاندار جلسہ سے خطاب
کرتے ہوئے کہا ہے کہ اگر اس ملک میں برائے منصفانہ اور آزادانہ
بیکوش ہوئے تو مایہ نوری قوم اس کے نتائج کو تسلیم کرے گی لیکن
جیلوں میں کے تھکن کر پال کیا گیا اور دھاندلی اور بے ایمانی سے
نتائج کا اعلان کیا گیا تو ہم اس قدر جسبت کو کسی صورت میں تسلیم نہیں کریں
گے۔ یہ تو قومی اتحاد کے شہر پر گرام ہے انہوں نے کہا کہ پاکستان میں
کس قدر دینے و چھینے یا تھا، ہندوستان کے مسافروں نے سرحد کے
خیرو چھاؤں نے پنجاب اور سندھ کے جیلوں نے پاکستان کے حق
میں فیصلہ دیا تھا۔ اور جو حکومت بیٹھ سیکول کے دینے فیصلہ کر لیج
دیکھ حکومت ہے کہ انہوں نے کہا کہ نام نہا اور قومی حکومت نے پانچ سال
ملک حرام کر دئے رکھ لے لیکن اب یہ لادہ اب چھوٹ چکا ہے عوام
کے سلیب کو تشدد سے نہیں روکا جا سکتا اور یہ شاہی تہم بزرگ رہے
گئے اور عوام کا سبب ہوں گے، انہوں نے کہا کہ یہ کتنے امروں کی بات ہے
کہ پاکستان کے دنگ میں یہ عام ہاڑ ہے کہ اگر پاکستان کا گھر خراب سننا
چاہتے ہو تو بی بی سی سنو اور غلطی نہیں سننا چاہتے تو پاکستان کا
ریڈیو سنو حکومت نے پاکستان کے ریڈیو، اعلیٰ ڈن اور ڈن تو
غیب ہوا ہے انہوں نے کہا کہ ریڈیو بی بی سی ڈن پر لوگوں کے اخلاق کو
بگاڑ رہا ہے، ہندوستان نے جب ایشین کا اعان کیا تو وہاں دوسرے
دھندہ تمام سیاسی کارکنوں کو ہا کر دیا گیا، لیکن اس ملک میں اب تک

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// *Jehangir Khan's disclosure...*

Bhutto planned to raise Lashkar to plunder cities

From Our Peshawar Bureau

SEPT. 29: Malik Jehangir Khan, a former member of the National Assembly from the tribal areas, alleged that he had been asked by former Prime Minister Bhutto during the PNA agitation to prepare a Lashkar of 20,000 tribesmen to kill and loot PNA supporters in cities and towns.

He claimed at a Press conference at the Press Club here that he had been picked up for the job because he had raised Lashkars for Jihad in Kashmir and during the Indian aggression in 1965. In return, he said, the former Prime Minister had offered him the "Go-vernmentship of NWFP or a post country".

in the Federal Cabinet. He charged the Political Authorities with having threatened him with dire consequences if he failed to execute the plan in accordance with the wishes of Mr. Bhutto.

But, Malik Jehangir Khan said, instead of executing the sinister plan which would have caused shedding of the blood of innocent Muslim brethren, he went underground. He reappeared on Aug. 16 as by that time Martial Law had been imposed but to his utter surprise he was told by certain responsible Government functionaries that it was a blotter inspired Martial Law, the for-mer MNA said. "Out of fear I went into hiding again. But the arrest of Bhutto restored my confidence in the Martial Law and I considered it my moral obligation to disclose Bhutto's plan to start a civil war in the country".

Replying to a question, he said the process of accountability must be completed before elections and for that purpose the elections could be postponed. Accountability, he observed, was more important than the elections.

APP adds: Malik Jehangir Khan said the former Prime Minister had unfolded his plan during a meeting with him on the night between March 14 and 15 in the presence of the former NWFP Governor.

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صدر پاکستان موجودہ عبوری حکومت کو سب طرف کریں

انتخابات کی نگرانی کے لئے فوج متعین کی جائے۔ شیراز مزاری

بھارت خود چوکی سرحدوں سے لے کر کشمیر تک گرجی ہیں ان پر سیز فائر کی تعداد سب سے زیادہ ہے اور کہا گیا ہے کہ انہوں نے آج پریس کانفرنس کی تھی جسے کراچی کے اخبارات نے مکمل طور پر پبلیک آؤٹ کیا ہے۔ حکومت نے ان کے مطالبے کو تسلیم نہیں کیا ہے۔ انہوں نے کہا کہ اگر کراچی میں ان کے جوش بھول گیا گیا جس سے ایک سو چوبیس چوکی انہوں نے لگا کر کراچی میں فائرنگوں سے ان کے کارکن بھی ہو گئے ان میں سے چار شدید زخمی تھے جب کہ آٹھ لوگوں کے زخم آئے۔ انہوں نے سکس اور بیکیب آباد میں بھی پینل پارٹی کی جہاز سے تشدد کے واقعات کا ذکر کیا اپنے حالیہ دورہ سندھ کی مدتی میں کہا کہ تمام آئندہ پابجا کہے کہ پنجاب کے مختلف علاقوں میں پینل پارٹی کے فوجی فوجت فوجت ہے اور سندھ کے تمام پینل پارٹی کے ساتھ ہیں کیونکہ سندھ میں جیسے اور جلوسوں کے بعد اندازہ ہوا ہے کہ پورے پاکستان کے لوگ پینل پارٹی سے نفرت کرتے ہیں اور جھٹکا حاصل کرنا چاہتے ہیں انہوں نے کہا کہ اگر پینل پارٹی کی عبوری حکومت برسر اقتدار نہ ہوتی تو انتخابات میں جو ان جماعت کو پانچ سے سائے نشستیں حاصل نہ ہوتیں انہوں نے اعلان کیا کہ ملتان بلاتمنیات اور بلوچستان کا چننا ہمارے برسر اقتدار آنے کے بعد لاکھم قرار سے دیتے جائیں گے اور ان کی جگہ منصفانہ اور غیر جانبدارانہ انتخابات از سر نو کرانے چاہیں گے سر وزیر شیراز مزاری نے فوج کی جانب سے پرنٹنگ سٹیشنوں کے تحفظ کے حاسمہ کا ذکر کرتے ہوئے کہا کہ کراچی میں خانہ جنگی کا خدشہ نہیں ہے چونکہ ایک طرف تمام پاکستانی عوام ہیں اور دوسری طرف سرحدوں اور ان کے مفاد پرست عابوں کا ٹولہ ہے تو یہی اتحاد کے جھلنے کو کراچی میں ہو رہے ہیں سندھ کے گورنر میجر جنرل ایف بی خان یاہر کے پختونوں سے حالیہ خطاب پر کڑی تکیہ چینی کی اور کہا کہ بطور آئینی گورنر ہونے کے ساتھ ساتھ انہوں نے کہا کہ انہوں نے اپنے جیسے بیعت الیکشن کسٹروں کو چاہئے کہ وہ صدر پاکستان سے کہیں کہ گورنر سندھ کو سب طرف کیا جائے سر وزیر مزاری نے تمام مابہرہہ کہ خاص بدایات جاری کی گئی ہیں کہ اصف خان اور وہ کسی صورت راجی سے انتخابات میں کامیاب نہ ہوں انہوں نے دہلی کی کہا کہ انہوں نے تو ہی پہلی کی کراچی سے گیارہ کی گیارہ نشستوں پر کامیاب ہو گئی

لاہور یکم مارچ، نامہ نگار خصوصی، پاکستان قومی اتحاد کے رہنما سردار شیراز مزاری نے جیت الیکشن کسٹروں سے مطالبہ کیا ہے کہ وہ صدر پاکستان کو یہ مشورہ دیں کہ عبوری حکومت کو عبوری حکومت کو سب طرف کریں۔ سردار شیراز مزاری نے آج کہاں پریس کانفرنس سے خطاب کرتے ہوئے کہا کہ ایسا کرنا اس لئے ضروری ہے کیونکہ موجودہ حکومت کے تحت غیر جانبدارانہ اور منصفانہ انتخابات کے انعقاد کی توقع جوش ہے۔ انہوں نے کہا کہ حکومت تشدد اور فوجی گروہ کے ذریعے ایسی فضا قائم کر رہی ہے کہ انتخابات کو ملتی کرانے کا حجاز پیدایا جائے۔ بالخصوص حالات پیدائے جائیں کہ غیر منصفانہ پرنٹنگ اسٹیشن شرم ہوا ہے۔ اس ضمن میں سردار شیراز مزاری نے متعدد واقعات کا حوالہ دیا، اور انکشاف کیا کہ بددیانتی فون انہیں اطلاع دی گئی ہے کہ کراچی میں ان کی جماعت کے دو سو کارکن گرفتار کر لئے گئے ہیں جس کی بنا پر ان کا مرکزی دفتر بند ہے۔ شیراز مزاری نے مطالبہ کیا کہ صدر پاکستان فوج کو پولنگ کی نگرانی کرنے کا حکم دیں تاکہ پولنگ منصفانہ ہو۔ شیراز مزاری نے کہا کہ انکشاف کیا گیا ہے کہ انہوں نے انکشاف کیا کہ آج صبح وہ سکھر سے بددیانتی گارڈی راجسٹری سے تھے۔ تو لاہور اور ساہیوال کے درمیان ان کے کوپے میں کسی نامعلوم شخص نے ڈھائی فٹ لمبا سائب چھوڑ دیا اس وقت سائے لڑتے تھے اور وہ غسٹھانے میں بیٹھنا لڑتے تھے۔ اور وہی خان کے سرورہ ساڑھن اڑے جو ان کے ہزاروں گروہ کر رہے تھے۔ نے کوپے کا دروازہ کھول کر سائب کو کو باہر نکالا۔ شیراز مزاری نے متذکرہ واقعہ کی مذمت کرتے ہوئے کہا کہ وہ مزاحیہ بھی نہیں سکتے۔ حکومت اتنے اچھے چمکھڑوں پر اتنے ہی شیراز مزاری نے پریس کانفرنس میں کراچی حیدر آباد اور سکھر میں تشدد کے حالیہ واقعات کا بھی ذکر کیا اور کہا کہ انہوں نے جیت الیکشن کسٹروں سے استعفیاء میں نہیں آئے گئے۔ تمام حکومت کے گئے۔ دہلی میں بھی کہا گیا ہے کہ انہوں نے تیار کیا اور کسٹروں کے ذریعہ ان کی تیار کیا اور ان کے ذریعہ ان کے

Public Information Department
GOVERNMENT OF PAKISTAN

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Asghar insists PNA has won the polls

PESHAWAR, March 1: Tehrik-i-Istiqlal chief, Asghar Khan told a public meeting at Chowk Yadgar here last night said that the nation had already pronounced its verdict in favour of the PNA. He based his claim on the "mammoth" public meetings and processions of the PNA throughout the country.

Mr. Asghar Khan, however, stated that the PNA would not accept any decision of the elections announced over radio, which was contrary to the facts. He asked the people to boldly go to the polling stations on the polling day and determindly foil any attempts aimed at rigging the elections. No irregularities should be tolerated, he said.

Mr. Asghar Khan claimed that official vehicles were being put to use for the PNA election campaign and threatened "we will burn those vehicles" because no party had the monopoly over them being national property.

He denied allegations that he was a Quarian.

Mr. Asghar Khan said that all promises being made by the PNA would be fulfilled when it comes to power. It was his commitment to the people that those who had harmed the country would be punished, he said.

Mr. Asghar Khan, however, said that the ballot was the question of life and death for them and therefore asked the people not to spare anyone found indulging in irregularities. He also asked them to support the PNA for the nation's survival.

Begum Wali Khan also addressed the meeting.—ArP.

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ANG, Durnalindl.

وزیر اعظم کے اعلانات میں تسلیم نہیں، بیگم نسیم کا بیان
حالات سے گھبرائے حکومتی عوام کی تو وہ اصل مسائل سے طمانے کیلئے یہ اعلانات کیے گئے ہیں



نسیم ولی خان

کی کوشش کریں کہ اسٹور ہے یہ دیوانوں کی باتیں اور جھوٹی فریٹ کے سوسے تسلیم نہیں کرے گی قوم جو آج ہے وہ دیوانے اور سیاسی دشمنوں کا سلسلہ بند کیا جائے۔ انہوں نے کہا کہ جھوٹے مشورے خور ہیں جو فریڈ کی بات کیے کر لے گئے انہوں نے کہا کہ قیامت آگیاں سو متا ہی کسی کی نہیں یا کسی کی تسلیم نہیں کرے گا

پشاور، 18 اپریل (فائنل)۔ حکومتی اعلانوں کے خلاف وزیر اعظم کے اعلان میں وزیر اعظم کی لاہور میں ہونے والی پری کانفرنس میں کیے گئے اعلانات پر تبصرہ کرتے ہوئے کہا کہ وزیر اعظم نے اسلامی شریعت کے نفاذ کے لئے جو کمیشن مقرر کر کے کہا ہے یہ اس لئے نہیں مانتے۔ یہ اعلان تاہم کی تو اصل مسئلہ سے جھٹکے لئے گئے ہیں انہوں نے کہا کہ قاری شراب نوشی پر پیلے ہی پابندی ہے، برصغیر کے غیر شراب نہیں منج، قاری قادیانہ جرم ہے۔ ہمارا مطالبہ صرف یہ ہے کہ وزیر اعظم جو مستحق ہو جائیں، انہیں کبھی استعفیٰ دے دے۔ فرقہ اور مذہب کی نگرانی میں انتخابات کو لے کر ہمیں انہوں نے کہا کہ وزیر اعظم جو جھوٹے لیکن حالات سے گھبرائے ہوئے ہیں، بنیادی مسائل سے جانے کے لئے پروگرام بنانے شروع کر دیا ہے۔ حکومتی اعلانوں کے خلاف ہیں انہیں کے متذکرہ اعلانوں نے کہا کہ وزیر اعظم کو روٹی اور اعلانات کیے ہیں یہ بالکل اس بات کے مترادف ہے کہ کوئی روٹی مانجے تو اسے شراب دی جائے تو کر دھوکہ دینے کا ایک نیا طریقہ ہے لیکن ہم نے یہ قدم سے دھڑکیا ہے اس سے فطرتاً ہی نہیں کریں گے ہم نے یہ بات عملی اعلان نہیں ہے کہ جھوٹا اور جھوٹا ہے۔ استغنیٰ دے اور قریبی آہلی کے انتخابات دو ماہ کے عرصے میں ہوں گے۔ حکومتی اعلانوں کے دوبارہ انتخابات کا تعلق ہے قریبی انتخابات کے بعد وہاں اسمبلی کے دوبارہ انتخابات کا تعلق ہے قریبی انتخابات سے تسلیم کرنے کو تیار نہیں، سب سے پہلے قومی اسمبلی کے انتخابات کو کاہدم قرار دیا جائے پہلے اس سیدھی ساڑھی بات کو تسلیم کیا جائے۔ جیٹو ماہی حساب بننے سے فارغ ہوئے ہیں کہ یہی ہم نے جو استغنیٰ فارغ لائے ہیں کیلئے اس کے مطابق وہ پہلے جا رہا ہے تو اس سے کوئی انزوائی سے بچھڑا۔ مگر سرور اعلان کے ہا کہ وہ حکومتی فریب ہے

Public Information Department
GOVERNMENT OF PAKISTAN



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JUN 1977

**Mazari accuses
Govt. of
delaying accord**

LAHORE, June 26: Sardar Sher Baz Mazari, Pakistan National Alliance leader and President of the National Democratic Party, said here today the PNA would be "forced to launch a fresh movement against the Government" if it continued its "delaying tactics" in finalising the agreement with the Alliance.

Addressing a meeting he said that in view of the Government's "attitude", the PNA leaders might give a final date for agreement because they could not allow the other side to prolong the matter.

Speaking on the occasion, Begum Nasim Wali Khan urged the people not to be disheartened by the delay in the final agreement between the PPP and the PNA. She said they would get their legal, constitutional political rights "very soon."

Begum Nasim Wali Khan said the PNA was holding talks with the Government because it desired to settle matters peacefully. She said the PNA would under no circumstances compromise on its 32-point formula otherwise the people would again come on the roads and launch a fresh movement with greater vigour and determination. "We will not sell the blood of the martyrs of the recent agitation", she added.

Mr. Mazari, and Begum Nasim Wali Khan arrived here this morning from Rawalpindi on a two-day visit to attend the NDP central committee meeting.—APP.

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پاکستان کو سلام اور جمہوریت کا نمونہ بنا دیا جائے گا

حکمران طبقے کی مجبلائی اسی میں ہے کہ وہ مستعفی ہو جائے۔ یہاں طفیل محمد

۱۰ ستمبر ۱۹۷۳ء مارچ و ماہنامہ خصوصی جماعت اسلامی کے املا اور قومی اتحاد کے مرکزی قائد میاں طفیل محمد نے کہا ہے کہ پاکستان کو اسلام اور جمہوریت کا نمونہ بنا دیں گے اور اس پہلو کو نظر میں رکھ کر ۱۹ ستمبر کو کیا گیا تھا وہ گزشتہ روز ایک مقامی پول میں ایڈیٹر زین العابدین کی زیر سربراہی ایک تقریب کی صدارت کر رہے تھے تقریب سے پاکستان قومی اتحاد کے سیکرٹری جنرل بروہیہ غفور احمد اور مولانا گلزار احمد و مظاہر نے بھی خطاب کیا میاں طفیل محمد نے انتخابت میں وسیع پیمانے پر دھاندلیاں کرنے کا الزام عائد کیا اور کہا کہ حکمران طبقے کی مجبلائی اسی میں ہے کہ استغفار اور ملک میں از سر نو علم انتخابت کرنے انہوں نے قائد اعظم کو قراچہ حقیقت پیش کیا اور کہا کہ قائد اعظم اور مسلمانوں کی خواہش تھی کہ پاکستان میں

قانون و سنت کے مطابق حکمرانی ہو اور یہاں اسی جمہوریت اور مسلمانوں کے مطابق انصاف نافذ کیا جائے جو اسلام کے مطابق ہو۔ انہوں نے کہا کہ کوئی فرد اس قوم کو راستے سے نہیں ہٹا سکتا موجودہ حکمران طبقے کی کوئی اخلاقی اور قانونی حیثیت نہیں ہے وہ جبری طور پر اقتدار پر قابض ہے۔ انہوں نے حکمران طبقے کی جانب سے مذاکرات کی دعوت کا حوالہ دیا اور سوال کیا کہ آپ کس حیثیت سے ہم سے بات کرنا چاہتے ہیں۔ آپ کیا قوم کے منتخب نمائندہ ہیں؟

گزشتہ انتخابات میں آپ نے ہر صوبہ سے انتخاب لڑا تھا اگر آپ واقعی اپنے آپ کو عوام کا نمائندہ سمجھتے تھے تو اپنی نشست ہی سے انتخاب میں حصہ لیا ہوتا۔ انہوں نے وزیر اعظم سے قومی اتحاد کی بات چیت کا ذکر کرتے ہوئے کہا کہ اگر کوئی بات کی جائے تو انتخاب کو کالعدم قرار دینے اور نئے انتخابات کے بارے میں بات کریں کہ کس مشنری اور انتظامیہ کے تحت انتخابات کرانے جائیں۔ انہوں نے عوام کو یقین دلایا کہ ملک میں اسلامی نظام کے نفاذ کی جدوجہد تکمیل تک جاری رہے گی۔ انہوں نے دعویٰ کیا کہ اگر انتخابات میں وسیع پیمانے پر دھاندلیاں نہ کی جائیں تو حکمران پارٹی وں فیصد سے نائنٹھ فیصد حاصل نہیں کر سکتی۔ انہوں نے کہا کہ آج ۲۳ مارچ کا قومی دن ہے لیکن یہ بات دل شکن اور افسوسناک ہے کہ ہم چار دہائیوں کے باہر صحیح حکمران طبقے جذبات و خیالات کا اظہار نہیں کر سکتے۔

Public Information Department
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Mufti wants Army to oversee polls

MULTAN, March 4: PNA President Mufti Mahmud today demanded that the Election Commissioner should seek the assistance of Pakistan Army for supervising elections at every polling station in the country.

Addressing a hurriedly called Press conference at Multan airport on his arrival this afternoon from Dera Ismail Khan, Mufti Mahmud said under Section 245 of the Constitution the Chief Election Commissioner could request the President of Pakistan for such an assistance.

He said the nation had full faith in the Army and their presence at the polling stations would ensure that the people would be able to exercise their right to vote freely and without any fear of harassment or goondaism.

Replying to a question, the PNA chief said there was no contradiction in their demand for handing over polling arrangements to the Army and the boycott of election in Baluchistan on the basis of presence of Army there. He said in Baluchistan the Army had been imposed on the people for the last four years while its use in the elections would only be for providing protection to the people.

—APP.

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غیر قانونی اسمبلی جاسی رکھی گئی تو
بیرونی مداخلت کا خطرہ ہے: پروفیسر غفور احمد
لاہور، ۱۰ مارچ (سٹاف رپورٹر) جماعت اسلامی کے
رہنما اور قومی اسمبلی کے منتخب رکن پروفیسر غفور احمد نے
سٹاف رپورٹر کو کہا ہے کہ فوج کی زیر نگرانی ملک میں نئی نگران حکومت
بنائی جائے۔ جو دوبارہ عام انتخابات کرائے اور عمران
انتخابات کے نتائج کو تسلیم کر لیں گے۔ انہوں نے آج
لاہور میں اخباری نمائندوں سے بات چیت کرتے ہوئے
کہا کہ پاکستان قومی اتحاد نے قومی اسمبلی کے انتخابی
نتائج کو تسلیم نہیں کیا، اور موربانی اسمبلیوں
کے انتخابات کا بائیکاٹ کر دیا ہے اس سے جو کہ نئی نگران
سیاست ہے اس کا واحد حل یہ ہے کہ نئی نگران حکومت
تیار کی جائے اور انتخابات دوبارہ کرائے جائیں۔
جماعت اسلامی کے رہنمائے کہا کہ اتحاد نے
انتخابات کے نتائج کو تسلیم نہیں کیا اور نہ ہی وہ حکومت
سے مذاکرات کے لئے تیار ہے اگر غیر قانونی اسمبلی
کو ملک پر مسلط کیا گیا اور حکومت چلانے کے لئے
حکومت استعمال کی گئی تو بیرونی مداخلت کا خطرہ موجود ہے
انہوں نے پھر اعلان کیا کہ توہی تھا۔
کے منتخب ارکان اسمبلی، حلف نہیں لیں گے اور نہ ہی اسمبلی
کی کارروائی میں شرکت کریں گے۔