



Let the people

Judge

Zulfikar Ali Bhutto

Chairman
Pakistan Peoples party

Reproduced in PDF format
by

Sani H. Panhwar

**LET
THE
PEOPLE JUDGE**

**By
ZULFIKAR ALI BHUTTO**

CHAIRMAN, PAKISTAN PEOPLE'S PARTY

**Reproduced in PDF format
By
Sani H. Panhwar
Member Sindh Council PPP**

To
The Tonga Wallas, Rickshawalas, and
Laborers for Whom Governor Musa
Has Shown Contempt.

ADDRESS TO THE HYDERABAD CONVENTION

21st September, 1968.

Respected Mir Rasool Baksh, brave peasants, workers, students, and lovers of democracy!

First of all I extend my congratulations to all the workers of the Pakistan People's Party (Sindh Zone) for arranging this impressive party convention. You will, recall that on September 18 last, while addressing a press conference at the residence of Mir Sahib, I had announced that I would try to establish a national political party at the earliest. In connection with the formation of the said political party I held discussions and sought advice from all my comrades, friends, and sympathizers because I knew that in the era of lawlessness and dictatorship the establishment of any national democratic political party was a very difficult and painstaking task. But today, with the hard work of our sincere workers and energetic support of the people, we have completed this difficult task successfully.

Gentlemen!

It is my desire that I should, today throw light on those events and circumstances which compelled me to leave this government. But I shall limit myself to talk about only those events and circumstances whose description, in my opinion, is essential for the country and the nation. I want to make this clear, in explicit terms that my departure from the government and my differences with Mr. Ayub Khan were not due to any personal gains, greed, or lust for permits or licenses. Instead, the real basis of these differences was those political, economic and international problems which had been confronting the nation. From where these differences originated, that is a long story. But during the September War these differences suddenly erupted like a volcano. As members of a conscious nation you will recall that, whether it be the problem of the Kashmiri people's freedom struggle or the issue of war and peace *vis-a-vis* the Indian expansionists, or the question of the United Nations, or the Tashkent Declaration—the difference and cleavage on all these important issues between my way of thinking and theirs became slowly and, slowly wider with the passage of time. Even then I remained patient. But after the September war came the point when, for the sake of my nation, I was not prepared to suffer their policy. You would recall that on the one hand, in that difficult period I was declaring a thousand years' war against the enemy in accordance with the national aspirations, security of the motherland and the freedom of the Kashmiri people, and, on the other, despite the determination and courage of the Pakistani people and the armed forces, the war had shaken all their aims and objectives. The government's stand was weak. If that policy was followed any more it would have resulted in irreparable loss to the country and the nation. In these circumstances I was constrained to choose that I should return to my beloved and brave people. This was the call of my conscience. And you have seen that I did just that.

Brethren!



I wanted to fight Pakistan's enemies to the last but my patriotism was termed "emotionalism" by my adversaries and I was remembered by them as an "emotional young man" After the "Tashkent", wherever I went in Pakistan the people welcomed me with love and affection. Seeing tears in my eyes, what was there on earth that the people did not ask me? But how could I have told the people what had happen to me and my country? When I kept quiet, my silence was termed cowardice. I am neither a coward nor an emotional man. I was silent only because at that moment the forces of our enemies were entrenched round our borders looking for some better opportunity. I knew that sentence coming out of my mouth could spark off a civil war in, the country. That was why I kept silent. Only the enemies of Pakistan would have benefited by a civil war. But now I can't remain silent. The time for keeping quiet has passed. The time has changed and the circumstances have taken a new turn. With the passage of time the dangers which were then hovering over the country and the nation have passed over. On the other hand, much has been written in the world Press about the circumstances and events of that period. You know that there is a time limit to remain quiet otherwise nothing like the name of "history" could have ever existed. It is, therefore, my duty to narrate before the people all such events whose disclosure at the moment is in the interest of the country and nation so that people may analyse the past events from a clear point of view and be in a position to recognize the reality. In my opinion this is the biggest demand of the time.

Gentlemen !

I have the honor of having acquired my political training from the cultured and patriotic people of Pakistan. It is the people who are my real teachers. That is why people's politics and nobility run in my blood. No doubt I have made strong and conclusive speeches against the government and I have bitterly criticized the wrong policies of the government, but in the field of politics I have never gone against fairness and justice. I have always adhered to the ethics of politics and that is why I never mentioned Ayub Khan by name earlier. This is because my politics does not rest on personalities. But if somebody feels that my constructive and healthy criticism refers to his person, how can I be blamed for it. However, the fact remains that in a dictatorial system no line of demarcation can be drawn between the government and the dictator because the dictator and the government are the two views of the same picture.

Ayub Khan! you should remember that I have served this country for eight years, and if in spite of this you want to do injustice to me, I don't mind. But for heaven's sake you should do justice to the people of this country. All I have to say is that don't misrepresent the facts before them. However, if you don't care for the people, then you and your ministers are free to level false allegations against me. I leave the decision about myself and you to the people because they are the final arbiters.

Friends and colleagues!

Once, while travelling in a plane, I happened to meet the Indian envoy who requested me to exchange views about the Indo-Pakistan relations in the light of new developments. On his insistence I accepted his request. With regard to this meeting all sorts of baseless allegations were leveled against me to damage my popularity among the people. Statements were made against me that I met the Indian envoy secretly. This is false, and baseless. Why should I meet the envoy secretly? The people know that I met the Indian envoy openly at one o'clock in the afternoon. And there is no question of meeting him secretly. Who does not know that the vigilant spirits of the C.I.D. shadow me round the clock? Remember, I am not one of those who in the dark of night conspire with Pakistan's enemies for establishing a confederation of Pakistan and India. I am the same Bhutto whose mind could not be purchased by the dollars of the imperialists. How could a cup of tea from the Indian envoy undermine my integrity? I am the same person who crossed swords with a seasoned politician like Swaran Singh in the Security Council and did not allow Pakistan's honour to be compromised. I very well know what to talk and how to talk with the persons be longing to the enemy country. I am not one of those who are entrusted with the dirty job of bartering away the freedom of the Kashmiri people for friendship and co-operation with India.

Gentlemen!

I am going to tell you what those secret talks were about. The Indian envoy had asked me, if in the present circumstances exchange of delegations comprising the political leaders from both the countries could, in any way, help in improving Indo Pak relations and in seeking

solutions of various problems between them. I replied in explicit terms that so long as India was not prepared to live in peace with her neighbouring countries, as long as she followed the policy of aggression and expansionism against its neighbouring countries and did not give up her stubbornness and accepted the demand for the right of self-determination of the Kashmiri people, the people of Pakistan were not prepared to talk about any problem with India and if the government of Pakistan, showing weakness, deviates from its stand and accepts any such invitation, or request from India, the people of Pakistan will never accept it.

Brethren!

Now you decide. Does this discourse betray unpatriotic sentiments or is it based on patriotism. My opponents should understand clearly: my ideas are not so weakly based that these should change after a meeting with any individual. I am not one of those whose views and convictions undergo a change after a meeting with a Johnson or a Wilson.

Gentlemen!

Then all of a sudden it was revealed in the Press that the man who held portfolios of various ministries since 1958 till, recently and who for a long time was the Foreign Minister of Pakistan, whose name sent the Indian leaders into fits of fever is an Indian national. You doubt my nationality! Like you I have neither property in foreign countries nor have I bank balances there. And I have not betrayed my nation either that I, should desire citizenship of another country out of fear or greed for wealth. If you do not know, then know today: Bhutto was born in Sindh and is, proud of being a Pakistani national. Like my ancestors I was born here and will be buried in this land. I love the soil of my motherland.

Brothers and elders !

You will recall that recently a conference about the United Nations was organised in Yugoslavia. This conference was held for suggesting reforms in the United Nations Organization in the light of present circumstances with a view to making this organization more effective and influential in respect of international peace and freedom besides suggesting solutions to various problems and resolving differences between the nations of the world. I also was invited to participate in this conference. My adversaries were deeply chagrined at my accepting this invitation. Immediately an accusation was leveled against me that I was touring Europe at American expense. It is true that during this five-day conference, like the representatives of other countries, I was also a guest of the organizers of this conference. It was their moral obligation to discharge their duties as the hosts. If the Pakistan Government considers that accepting the invitation for participating in the conference was against the policies and stand of the government that it was a crime, then it should have condemned this conference beforehand. Anyhow, there is still time for the government to condemn it. Before making such an accusation the government should have known that even after the conclusion of this five-day conference, I toured various European countries for about six weeks. But I made tour on my own and bore the expenses myself. Who does not know that this conference was not only attended by Pakistan but also by the representatives of the Soviet Union, U.A.R., Iraq, Denmark and other countries? This conference was not

held for the purpose of any imperialist collaboration and conspiracy. What happened at this conference? What suggestions and reforms did I put forward at the conference? The speech I delivered is on the record. Did I not say in the speech that by ignoring the seventy crore Chinese and by denying membership to the People's Republic of China, the United Nations could not help us take any revolutionary steps for international peace, freedom, and development, and well-being of humanity? Did I not say that the United Nations should be free from all imperialist influences and collaboration of big powers and for that reason the United Nations headquarters should be shifted from New York to some neutral country? Did I talk about anything against Pakistan's stand? Is it against the Asian-African and Latin American peoples' freedom, security, and well being? Do those who travel at American expense make such speeches and suggestions? If not and certainly not then how could you accuse me? I pity the intelligence of my opponents. On the one hand addressing a public meeting at Rawalpindi you say that a young foreign minister had antagonized a big country (the U.S.A.) and on the other you announce that Zulfikar Ali Bhutto has toured Europe at America's expense.

I want to know where after all is the consistency in these two statements. Do these two statements not contradict each other? Don't try to raise dust to the heavens for it will only fall on your own faces. The Pakistani people very well know that imperialism bears the expenses only of its friends and agents not of an anti-imperialist like me. I went to Europe at my own expense. Money and wealth are no temptation for me. By the grace of God, I have enough with me left by my ancestors to live an honorable life. I did not take even a single penny for my person illegally from the national exchequer during the period I was in the ministry. During the land reforms my family willingly surrendered forty thousand acres of land to the people because we knew that it belonged to the people. And even now I declare that I will sacrifice everything that belongs to me if the people needed it. The government is now leveling baseless allegations of misuse of national wealth against me. I suggest that, including myself, all those persons who have remained in this government and are still in it should present an account of all their property, business, and wealth before the people and also state what they had before they got into ministries and presidencies, and also during the ministries and presidencies what has been the increase or decrease in their property, business and wealth. Only then it would be known whose hands are clean and whose besmeared with corruption.

Mr. President! let you and me take initiative in this respect and present our accounts before the nation. Kindly let us know what you possessed before your presidency and what I did not possess before my ministership. What you have acquired during the presidency and what I have lost during the ministership, the nation is well aware of. I am readily prepared to present an account of my property and wealth before the nation Are you also prepared for the same? It is better to have a look at your self before picking holes, in others. I have no lust for wealth. I have held the portfolios of industries, oil, fuel, and foreign affairs for quite a long period. I had only to give a hint for money to pile up before me. But I did not do that. If I had desired to loot the nation Mr. President! I. would have acquired nearly the same amount of wealth as you have, if not more.



Gentlemen!

Now I tell you of the last discussion that was held between Ayub Khan and myself. This was my farewell meeting with him. It was evening. I was in that particular room of the President's House where the walls are painted green and about which it is known that Ayub Khan holds important parleys there. It was of this room that Fazal-ul-Qadir Chaudhri had said to me, "Bhutto you and I have even seen that room and now there is nothing to fear". What sort of important matters are decided in that room and what sort of political talks are held you will be able to appreciate through the description of the discussion between Ayub Khan and myself. Initiating the talks Ayub Khan said, "Look, now a great gulf exists between your policy and mine. I made several efforts to make you understand that you should desist from taking a line which is against my wishes. But you are acting against my wishes." He pointed towards the 'Urdu Digest' which contained the following quotation from one of my statements:

"We would resist with all force if we had to face India again to achieve the right of self-determination and liberation of the Kashmiri Peoples."

"What is all this", he said: "You are compelling me to relieve you of the job". I told him that I had already requested him thrice for this. It was correct that a great difference had come about in our views. I therefore wished to leave the government. On this he changed the

course of his talk and said, “You have served this country very well. I do not wish to remove you from the office. I had told you the same thing in Larkana.”

Dear brethren!

I told him, “I cannot sacrifice my views for short-lived power. I do not want power. I cherish my views. It is better to beg leave now.” There was silence for a while. Then he said, “If you are relieved in this manner perhaps there would be trouble in the country. Go on leave for a few days and then I shall think about it”. I was myself fed up with the government; therefore I readily accepted his suggestion. But Ayub Khan did not stop at it and said, “Remember one thing more. Don’t indulge in politics in future.” I could not tolerate his threat I replied that no power on earth could keep me away from my people. If the nation required my services at any time and the people looked towards me for help then I would come to their rescue at all costs. Whether I should participate in politics or not, neither he nor I could decide about it. Only the people would decide about it. Because the future of those who happen to be in the political field rested on the people’s wishes. If the people decided that I should take part in politics he could not stop me from acting according to people’s wishes.

My dear brethren!

Seeing me firm in my resolve he tempted me with ambassadorial assignment and monetary benefits He said, “Bhutto! we are prepared to give you whatever you want”. I asked him to recall the talk held at Larkana and told him in explicit terms that I had no lust for power and offices. I am a man of principles and am not prepared to work in the government at the cost of my beliefs and principles. I have won the regard of my people because of these very beliefs and I am not prepared to sacrifice these at any cost.

Friends!

You know power always changes hands. Eras of despotic rulers like Alexander, the Pharaohs, Chengiz Khan also had an end. Only those who served the people and did justice to them, only those who were patriotic and sacrificed their all for the people were remembered. History never pays tribute to any oppressor. And it does not ignore the sacrifices of the oppressed friends of mankind. Ministers come and go, but the nation remembers only those who serve the people. Faziul Haq lived for eighty years. He remained in the ministry for only two. The nation gave him the title of “Sher-e-Bengal” for his services, not for his years of ministry.

The Quaid-e-Azam ruled Pakistan hardly for a year, but the people can never forget their benefactor. The Quaid never gave priority to power, government or ministry over his principles. You may recall the Congress offer that if he gave up the demand for Pakistan it would be prepared to make him the Prime Minister or the President of undivided India. However, the Quaid-e-Azam did not give up the demand for Pakistan. He did not care for ministry and presidency. Mountbatten, at the instance of the British Government, had told him not to insist on the division of the sub-continent and offered to make him the Governor-General of the country. The Quaid said he did not want the office of Governor-General, he

wanted Pakistan. This is the very difference between a man of principles and those who sacrifice their principles for sticking to their chairs in their lust for power.

When I had rejected all his offers, he said, “Bhutto, your attitude has become arrogant, that is why you have talked to me in this manner Anyway I still have pity for you. You were born in luxury. You are still unaware of hardships and troubles. Remember! I am the President of this country. You know how I deal with, my opponents. I warn you for the last time that if on return you take part in politics I will ruin you. Don’t forget that you belong to the Sindh where one of my tehsildars or S.H.O’s is sufficient for all the big Pir Pagaros.”

I said, “It is your great kindness that you have talked so admiringly about Sindh and its people. But you should remember that I don’t believe in colour, race or regionalism and I don’t believe in the old imperialist philosophy that a people can be termed great or small, brave or coward on the basis of colour, race and region. In my view all men are equal, the black Africans or Chinese or Japanese, short-statured Vietnamese or tall Americans. This is my belief and ideology. You should not try, to bully me for being a Sindhi or non-Sindhi. You’ don’t know the people of this desert. You have no right to call them cowards. If you want to ruin me and say that you will not spare me till the grave, then you should remember that everyone has to go to the grave.” On this reply from me he said, “All right. Spend your vacations and the rest will be seen later on.”

My dear brethren!

I am constrained to tell you some of these things so that in the coming situations you can reach the correct conclusion and know that from the side of the government a false propaganda campaign is going on against me. Now you have to decide who is in the right and who is in the wrong.

Ayub Khan and his advisers have decided that one or two false cases be instituted against me and I be declared ineligible to clear the way for Ayub Khan in the coming elections.

Friends and elders!

I am also a human being and I can also commit mistakes. God above me, I tell you, no such sin was committed by me of which these people are accusing me of. During my ministry I never misused authority. I never appropriated national wealth. I have however, committed one sin; I have remained associated with this government for eight years, although then also I have served the country and the nation to the best of my capacity.

When the government failed to get any solid material against me it accused me of using official tractors by paying subsidized charges. This is a ridiculous allegation because you are aware of the fact that I have not only remained the country’s Foreign Minister but also Minister for Oil, Fuel, and Industry. If I had desired it, like other ministers, I would have also acquired mills, factories and business, and had balances in foreign banks. By God’s grace my conscience has always been clear. If I had the lust for wealth it would not have been, difficult for me to attain it. But I did not do that.

Once a representative of a great power had held my hand and said, “Bhutto, if you keep out of our way in Pakistan, we are prepared to give you whatever you desire. I had angrily taken my hand away from him saying, “Don’t dare tell me that again. If you have bought over a few traitors then you should not think that every person in Pakistan is a Mir Jafar and Mir Sadiq. I am not Shoaib who in return for his treachery has accumulated money in Washington and Switzerland.”



When on return I told the President about this incident who was in Swat, at that time, he said; “Bravo.” Is it the same praise that is being showered on me in the form of allegations now?

I have tried a lot, while I was in office, to stop black-marketing, bribery, smuggling and nepotism; but the traitors did not stop their nefarious activities because inside the government itself there was a strong group of them.

What had happened to this country and is happening is a tragic story. When the time comes, I will tell you more about it and expose the traitors and those who wanted to sell this country.

Dear brethren!

Pakistan People’s Party is a party with principals and ideology and has high objectives before it. But unfortunately the ruling class instead of having a debate on principals and ideology stoops to the personal level.

When we talk of principles they say “institute tractors case.” When we talk of socialism, they say “detain them under the DPR”. When we talk of equality between East and West Pakistan, they say “institute Agartala Conspiracy case”. When we demand justice for the people of Baluchistan they order that Akbar Bugti should be sent behind the bars. When we say that “Islam is our Faith”, they reply that they have monopoly of the Faith as well. We say that people want democracy and their answer is that only Basic Democracy is sufficient for them. We demand bread and clothes for the people, but they, give them lathis and bullets. Respected Khan Sahib! for heaven sake, tell us whether we have crushed democracy or you. Under your regime there is hunger, poverty and tyranny, illiteracy in every field and there are restrictions on the people under Section 144, the DPR and the black laws. Today, right f the Khyber Pass to Karachi and from Karachi to East Pakistan wailing cries are coming from hungry peasants, naked workers, penniless students and down-trodden people but there is

none to listen to them. If these conditions continue to persist the day is not far off when the people will raise the banner of rebellion to defend their rights and then there would be civil war and bloodshed in the country. It is not, my prophecy, it is just common sense. It will be said, I am spreading rebellion. If need be, I may do so. I am not afraid of it. So far as I am concerned I believe in solving the people's problems through peaceful and democratic means. But if you are unable to understand the language of democracy then you should tell us what means we should adopt for achieving the rights of the people. If the need arose I would be the first person come out in the field. We are not afraid of revolution, we are not afraid of bloodshed.

I am not a coward that I should be afraid of Section 144 and the DPR. I am not scared of the power of your guns either. Bring your guns, the people of Pakistan are with me and the people are more powerful than the atom bomb. You will see that for democracy and socialism I would come out with the people, with the shroud around my head. You must also know that I have already burnt my boats. You are responsible for the miseries of the people and your comforts will also be snatched away. The government has antagonized the twelve crore people for the gratification of the twenty families who are sucking the blood of the people. This will be a very costly bargain for the government. Do not judge the nation from its silence and think that the people are cowardly. This nation is not cowardly; its so-called leaders are cowards. This brave nation has faced its four times bigger enemy at that time when its so-called great leaders were sitting horrified in their homes. So far this nation has faced the imperialists and their Indian agents, now this nation is ready to combat all kinds of tyranny.

Dear colleagues!

In every democratic and progressive country its administration is run according to its constitution and law, therefore it is the primary responsibility and duty of the administration in such countries to take every step in the light of its constitution and law and run the country accordingly. But it is sad that in our country everything is done in contravention of it. Here the constitution does not guide the executive but the executive guides the constitution. The executive does not function within the framework of the constitution but the constitution works according to the wishes of the executive. You know that in a country where the supremacy or the constitution and law is sacrificed justice and fairplay vanish.

Today, I want to say something about the class called administrators, bureaucracy or "*kamora shahi*" in Sindhi. This, class is very powerful and prosperous in Pakistan. These are the people who hold the reins of this country today and this is the class which is all-powerful and which does not know that the constitution has given full protection to the administration in view of its responsibilities so as to serve the people while remaining free from political differences and groupings. That is why regimes come and go, the governments are formed and collapse but administration remains established because it is free from political struggle. But this is shameful that our administration has only become a tool of the rulers who are bent upon furthering their interests. We concede that it is their duty to implement the orders of the government, but they should not put on political spectacles to follow every right and wrong order of the government. They should first of all weigh every order on the scales of



constitution and law. If the orders of the government are against the constitution and law they should reject all such illegal and unjustified orders fearlessly. There is no need of being afraid. You should keep the example of Mr. J. A. Rahim before you. This “Mujahid” during his tenure of service never acted upon illegal and unconstitutional orders. The government stopped his pension, but he refused to desist from upholding truth, and today he has joined our

ranks and is present among us.

The administration is the defender and servant of the people but in Pakistan the purpose of the administration is something else. Here its important duty is to arrange the welcome of the rulers, to arrange their meetings and processions despite the imposition of Section 144, and to hire the slogan-raisers at the cheapest rates to raise “long live” slogans for the rulers and “down with” slogans for the Opposition. It remains, busy day and night praising the ministers and the rulers, disrupting the meetings of the opposition parties and lathi-charging their processions, protecting the goonda elements and detaining good people under the Goonda Act, patronizing the dens of prostitution and gambling and arranging for the bogus voters during the elections, seeing to it that the slogans of democracy, socialism and liberty are not raised from any quarter. I warn the administration of this country that it should immediately change its unconstitutional and undemocratic behavior. Of whom are you afraid? The man who tells you that you are the personal servants of one individual tells a lie. You are not the slaves of an individual or dictator. You are only the servants of the people and your salary is not paid from the pocket of an individual. Your salary is paid from the public purse and the taxes paid by the people. If you have to fear, then why not fear the people? If it is the question of loyalty, then you should be loyal to the people from whose money you get your pay. You should act with courage and, self respect and follow into the footsteps of those who instead of doing a wrong thing throw their resignations in the face of the government. I ask the bureaucracy of this country to change its behavior. We have in our mind the record of the doings of every official from Section Officers to the Secretaries. Remember, one day you have to appear before the court of the people.

How can I overlook the tyranny of the administration? How can I forget the cruelties that were let loose upon the students of Hyderabad? Tyrants! you cannot hide your crimes. The sacred waters of the Indus and the silent pillars of Guddu Barrage are telling the story of how you rained lathis and bullets on the defenseless students after encircling the barrage from all

sides. You perpetrated all sorts of cruelties upon the arrested students and compelled them to give evidence that Zulfikar Ali Bhutto and other leaders of the opposition had instigated them to strike and demonstrate. The arrested students said: “You can murder us but we are not prepared to name any innocent person. We are struggling for our demands and will continue the struggle.” Seekers of knowledge! If they are prepared to release you on this condition, you do give my name.

Slaves of the tyrants, subverters, murderers of the people! What right you have to construct memorials for the brave soldiers of the September War? We will construct the memorials for the freedom-fighters and martyrs of the September War. We will construct the memorial for the sacrifices offered by the students of Sindh and Hyderabad.

Miraj Mohammad Khan! we will raise befitting memorials to the sacrifices of the people and the students who with their blood, kept the flame of liberty burning who faced the bullets, lathis and imprisonment and gave their blood confronting imperialism, fighting for the end of oppression for restoration of democracy, for safeguard of people’s rights and in support of the freedom struggle of the peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America.

We will erect memorials at Lahore and Multan to those students of the Punjab whose bodies were pierced with bullets while demonstrating against the Tashkent Declaration. We will erect memorials to those leaders and men from Baluchistan who had risen in arms for the rights of the people of Baluchistan. We will erect memorials to those proud Pathans whose homes were bombed. We will erect memorials to pay homage to the students, workers and peasants of East Pakistan for their great democratic struggle. We will build the tower of democracy.

Murderers of Mohajirs in Karachi! The mohajirs have not forgotten that victory dance during which you butchered people in Lalukhet and Nazimabad and burnt their houses. You made those mohajirs the target of your cruelty and violence without whose sacrifices the creation of Pakistan was impossible. Now you clamour about friendship with mohajirs. Recall! During the last elections you had observed about these very mohajirs that if you had not given shelter to them in Karachi they would have had to drown themselves in the Arabian Sea. Now your sons armed with pistols have come out to “solve” the problems of the mohajirs. Last time they had appeared at Nazimabad and Lalukhet to “solve” some of the problems of those people during last elections. Which problems have you come to solve now?

Let them come in the field! Let them bring all their money and wealth; let them bring their licenses and permits; let them also bring their police. Use your radio, television and newspapers. We don’t have anything; Our hands are empty; You have got the government and power. But remember! We have seen this “powerful” paper tiger from inside. Come out in the field! We don’t believe in attacking the enemy when he is asleep. I warn you beforehand that in the forthcoming elections this government has to face the people. This is not a party of the past. This is not the army of Mohammed Shah Rangeela. You have to fight against a revolutionary party armed with a people’s revolutionary programme. Come out in the field! The hands of this government are steeped in bribery, black-marketing, loot, tyranny

and, the blood of the people. But remember that our hands are not coloured with the blood of the people. These hands have been strengthened by the people's friendship. Think again! These are not the hands of any tyrant. These are the hands of the people who pull down the biggest dictators from the seat of power.

Brethren! I am very happy today because in the short period of one year our revolutionary party has been organised on strong foundations and is working in the people. The party branches are opening in every corner of Pakistan, and the most significant thing is that our party has the following and support of the people. But the path is difficult and we have to cover it with utmost patience, courage and fortitude. There are many difficulties, but we will face these difficulties with manly courage.



Our goal is distant, therefore, prepare for the long voyage. Country's poor folk, workers, peasants, and students are calling you for help. Go and help them. I call upon you to consider serving the people as your foremost duty. I am proud that there is no dearth of such workers in our party, who are more valuable than all wealth, and I am confident that though unknown today one day they will rise on the political horizon like the sun and the moon. I assert that our party is not in need of big names. This party would itself produce big names. But great names are earned through great deeds. You should always analyze your work and continue the practice of criticism and self-criticism in the party because this practice cleans the party and makes it organised and strong. The government goes on announcing that I am all alone, I have no friend or colleague. This is a lie. You are with me and above all the people of Pakistan are with me.

Respected Mir Sahib! I request you to consider every single moment as valuable. The time has come when we shall have to work day and night. The enthusiasm should not spend itself in two or three days and the sentiments should not cool down finding us sitting in our homes.

I admit that we have this weakness that we become very enthusiastic for a moment and then, our enthusiasm cools down. If both mind and passion: are kept alert then enthusiasm never diminishes. The days of frustration have gone. Therefore you should start the work of the party with untiring will and enthusiasm. Your party possesses a complete, well-defined programme. Therefore carry this programme, after understanding it properly, to every village and town of the country. Prepare the nation for a people's struggle. This is a people's programme. Therefore take this programme to the people. This programme is the voice of liberation of all the exploited classes. Therefore take it to workers, peasants, labourers, students and all the poor and the helpless. This programme would end the monopolies and the robbery of the twenty families Therefore this programme is the voice from the heart of all patriotic elements. You should unite and organize these patriotic elements, leaving aside the twenty families, and on its basis establish a broad national revolutionary democratic united

front It is necessary that in order to implement this programme you bring together everyone—everyone from a worker to a poor vendor and from a shopkeeper to a national bourgeois, from a field labourer to a middle peasant and from a middle peasant to a patriotic landlord. You have a people’s programme with you. It is this sort of programme and manifesto that bring about popular changes and launch political and economic revolutions. The struggle that is conducted on the basis of a solid programme and definite ideology and the political and economic changes that are brought about by them remain stable. Tell us! what could be a better manifesto than this: “Islam is our Faith; Democracy is our Polity; Socialism is our Economy; and All Power to the People”. This manifesto is the flag-bearer of your success. Certainly, the people will succeed. Reach the people soon. Organize public meetings and give the message of struggle to the people. The people are ready for welcoming you. This is my wish that I should be able to participate shoulder to shoulder with you in the revolutionary struggle, but you know how many responsibilities have fallen upon my shoulders. I have to work not only in a region, but in the whole of Pakistan. I have to look after the organizational work at every place. Then you know that I have many other responsibilities and engagements. You should, therefore, continue your work without feeling about my absence.

I am aware that the people wanted to listen to my views in this convention but I am sorry that this pandal is insufficient for the people of Hyderabad. Insha-Allah very soon I shall call a public meeting so that we might be able to exchange views with each other. Similar public meetings have also to be arranged at Karachi, Peshawar, Quetta, Multan and East Pakistan. I have also promised the people of Lahore to address them at a public meeting. But that public meeting will be held on some better occasion because it would be of great national significance. In that public meeting I would deliver a speech on the topic of War and the Tashkent Declaration. That would be at Lahore, because it was the first city to be attacked by the enemy, and because it was this city which gave its blood in opposition to the Tashkent Declaration.

Tyrants! I have tolerated with patience every kind of nastiness to which I have been subjected for two years and four months. But there is a limit to patience. Now my patience has been exhausted. You have been so blinded by your tyranny that you now do not care about the honour of Pakistan. After all I was this country’s Foreign Minister, that Foreign Minister who had exposed the enemy’s conspiracies during the War and had faced him on all fronts. Even the enemies with all their intelligence and firmness were compelled to lament that there was not even one Zulfikar Ali Bhutto among their forty crores, the same Zulfikar Au Bhutto who during the War had presented Pakistan’s case regarding the Kashmiri people’s right of self-determination and India’s aggression an Pakistan. Now you are preparing to present the same representative of the nation as a criminal before the court. Just think about it, how happy the enemies of Pakistan would be with this action of yours. I am the same Bhutto whose name even today upsets the imperialists and Indian expansionists. Recall! I am the same man whom you had sent to the People’s Republic of China on a very sensitive mission at a very difficult juncture. On my successful return you had embraced me and had said that nobody else could have done that job and the nation would remain indebted to me. Is it the same gratitude you are giving me back in the form of allegations? Who was that person on whose plea the great son of Indonesia Soekarno, had sent all Indonesian

submarines and ships for the support of Pakistan. Now, not to talk of the submarines, I challenge you that you cannot even get a screw from Indonesia. You have betrayed not only me but all the people of friendly countries. You had said that you were now able to distinguish between friends and enemies. This is a lie. You are still shaking hands with the enemies of the nation and are busy betraying the friendly countries. That is why you have lost the sympathy of the patriotic people. The Zulfikar Ali Bhutto you had embraced yesterday, you are now trying to humiliate through tehsildars. I am not afraid of your tehsildars, I am not afraid of you, I am only afraid of God.

My dear brethren!

The country has to face a very dangerous situation. There are indications of a severe political struggle which has become significant. You know my effort has always been and will always be to try for unity among the opposition parties on some minimum political and economic programme. We are always prepared for having a unity of principles on minimum programme. We invite all the opposition parties to unite on issues



like restoration of democracy, establishment of socialism, civil liberties, fundamental rights of the people adult franchise, independent foreign policy, independence of judiciary, freedom of press, etc. We, the adherents of socialism, think that without economic freedom it is impossible to establish political freedom and real democracy. Therefore in this minimum programme important economic problems should also be included. In this programme problems like ending of feudalism, safeguarding the rights of the peasants, rights of the workers, proper payment of wages, security of employment, restoration of the workers' right to strike, nationalization of all the key industries, nationalization of the means of communication and transport, stopping the commerce in education and provision of education to all can be included. In any case, we are prepared for national democratic unity at any time.

Friends !

It is said about me that I am a rich man and a capitalist, therefore, I no right to struggle for socialism until I give away all my wealth and property to the people. I want to tell them that socialism cannot be established through the distribution of an individual's wealth amongst the people. The establishment of socialism is not, possible until all the sources of production and resources of wealth, all the fields and factories are nationalized by snatching them from the feudal lords and the capitalists. Nevertheless, I announce that if the nation required my wealth I would place all my, property at the disposal of the nation. But I am not so foolish that in the presence of capitalism and feudalism I should give away money and place it at the

disposal of capitalists and feudal rulers so that they should further augment their personal property and luxury. If the government has the courage, it should establish a socialist set-up. It should announce the end of feudalism and capitalism and then I

would readily offer my property for nationalization. You cannot deceive the people by your meaningless verbiage. I am a believer in socialism, that is why, leaving my class and the government, I have come back to workers, peasants, students, and poor people. What can I get from my deprived people except love? I am the follower of socialism because I know that only in this economic system lies the salvation, progress and well being of the people. No power on earth can prevent the establishment of this system of truth and justice, equality and human dignity, in Pakistan. This is the call of time and history. Come and see. Bearing the great revolutionary flag of socialism, I have come in the field to serve the people I have no greed or lust for gain. I am a socialist and as an honest socialist I would fight for the revolution of the poor till my last breath. When I raise the slogan of socialism some people try to make fun of me. But I don't care about them at all because my conscience is clear. It is true that socialism cannot be established unless the leadership of this great movement is in the hands of workers, peasants and the exploited people. But I want to tell those people who wish to make fun of me, that in the history of socialist revolutions there have been innumerable persons in spite of being wealthy gave up the interests of their class,-joined the people's ranks and raised the banner of struggle against their own class to safeguard the interests of workers, peasants and the exploited classes. Such persons were there at the time of the French Revolution, who raised the slogans of liberty and equality along with the poor folk against the feudal tyrants. Such persons were also there in the great October Revolution, of Russia, and for the first time in the world's history established the rule of the working and exploited classes after overthrowing the Czarist regime. Such revolutionaries were there in China too where after defeating feudalism, capitalism and imperialism, they helped in bringing about a great revolution of the dignity of man, equality and liberty unparalleled in history. I am like those "*Quraish*" who gave up their wealth and status and supported the Holy Prophet (peace be upon him) and launched an Islamic revolution which gave the message of love, equality and peace to the humanity. I want to launch such a revolution in Pakistan.

My effort is to achieve the establishment of a peoples democratic front. I don't want power and it is wrong to say that I lust after power. I know that dictatorship cannot be ended through elections. The dictatorship can only be ended through revolution. The importance of vote and ballot is only in democracy. In dictatorship it is all of no avail. But it does not mean that there should be no participation in the coming elections, and no challenge to dictatorship. The Madar-e-Millat challenged this dictatorship. The people were with her, but even then the dictatorship prevailed. But if the Madar-e-Millat had not participated in the elections then what a great loss this nation would have to suffer! From where the present enthusiasm and the present consciousness would have come? It is true that in the coming elections the government would let loose all kind of terror and tyranny upon the people. But in spite of this, we would certainly contest the elections in order to unite and organize the people. They should be prepared for a struggle against the dictatorship. It is a principle of socialism that with every struggle the dictatorship gets weakened. We will fight the elections because the forthcoming elections would create another breach in the fortress of dictatorship, and the

dictatorship would be further weakened. We have to overwhelm dictatorship step by step. You are aware that when it gave up the War, one part of it was cut off and fell down. The Tashkent Declaration cut off another part, and the dictatorship was further weakened. The death of Kalabagh paralyzed one of its arms. With my departure it weakened still further. Now the people should throw out this mutilated dead body from the government house.

My dear brethren! my whole effort is that a united front should be formed amongst all the opposition parties on the basis of socialism and democracy. But if some people feel upset at the word socialism, then I suggest that in the coming elections a united front be formed on the basis of democracy and economic programme only. Myself and party are prepared for forming such a united front at all times. I would consider it a matter of good-luck if a suitable candidate from East Pakistan contests the coming elections, because we owe much to the people of East Pakistan. If the people unanimously agree on such a person it would be a deeply gratifying occasion for me. I would work for that candidate like a soldier. But if no proper candidate appears from East Pakistan on whom the people agree, then someone from West Pakistan commanding the confidence and respect of the people should come up. If such a person comes out in the field then for him too I am prepared to work as an ordinary, worker with all my ability. But if both from East and West Pakistan no popular person comes into the field (then reciting the Kalima) "*La-ilaha-il-Allaho-Mohammadur -asul Ullah*", I would myself jump into the field. Here, the people of Hyderabad! I swear to God that whatever tyranny and torture I may have to suffer I would confront this dictatorship myself.

Victory will surely be ours.
Pakistan Zindabad!

REJOINDER TO GOVERNOR MUSA

On Saturday the 21st September this year a convention of the Pakistan People's Party was held at Hyderabad. The spontaneous enthusiasm of the people, who accorded me a triumphal welcome, was remarkable. The convention was a great success. It was whichever way one looks at it, an important event taking place on the soil of Pakistan. And yet, except for Nawa-i-Waqt of Lahore, the Press, a large part of which is directly controlled by government, brought out no news of the convention.

What I said at the convention must have been of some importance, or else why does Governor Musa go to the trouble of attacking me, without mentioning me by name, in a long diatribe on the 11th October, published in full in all the news papers? Thousands of people in Pakistan learn in this manner, for the first time, that I ever made at Hyderabad, several weeks ago a speech that has greatly agitated government—so greatly as to incite the Governor of West Pakistan to give vent to his tardy eloquence. The public, however have not been permitted to learn from the newspapers what I really said at Hyderabad, because if they were they would give Mr. Musa the lie.

He complains that I attack my political adversary behind his back. It is amazing that he should say this about me. To us who are in the opposition, especially to the Pakistan People's Party, the Press is denied; the radio is denied all forms of publicity are denied. What we say is not published, but all attacks upon us, all abuses showered upon us are given prominent publicity. Mr. Musa's own speech bears testimony to this invidious discrimination. I would certainly welcome the opportunity of open discussion. Let Mr. Musa address the public from the same dais as myself and so prove that he can face his adversary on equal terms in a democratic spirit. The only favour I would request is that he should not mind my removing my coat if the day is hot as it was at Hyderabad. He is free to keep his on, and I would not mind if he wore an overcoat as well.

The Governor of a province of this Islamic Republic says contemptuously that the audience I addressed at Hyderabad consisted of tongawallas, rickshawallas and labourers. Most certainly the working classes and the peasantry were well represented, and I am proud and happy that they were. The common man for whom the Governor has shown such contempt is my mainstay, the source of my strength. To me the life of one poor man is more precious than all the wealth of the famous twenty families. The people of this country support me because my Party's economic aims are egalitarian and addressed to all classes of the population.

Of course, the gathering at the convention was very different from the select company of government officials, policemen in plain clothes, persons described as intellectuals, and the unfortunate ones who have to come on order, willy-nilly, which Mr. Musa addressed at Hyderabad to have the excuse far getting his spate of nonsense published in the occupied press.

He has certainly not been sparing of abusive epithets. He has talked of political outcasts, meaning the leaders of the opposition, perhaps me most especially. Does he mean by political outcasts persons who, are hated by the people, who oppose the restoration of political rights, who rule, by force and oppression? Of course not, for he would then be condemning the ranks of government. No, by political outcasts he means those who are fighting for political rights, for the freedom of speech and assembly, for human dignity, and are also fighting against corruption and misuse of power. The political outcasts, according to him, are those men who enjoy the confidence and affection of the people and are being victimized by government for that reason.

Mr. Musa says there are people who have no other objective than that of attaining power. About whom is he talking? Are not those then who today cling to power not the same as those who hankered after power and having attained it at gun point would like to hold on to it at all costs against wishes of the whole nation? They have now the effrontery to celebrate the decade of their oppression and misrule. O! People of Pakistan weep for your lost years!

The lovers of power are not those men who left office, adhering to principle, for the sake of national interest, but those who having seized power would rather the Nation perished than that they should give it up.

It is shocking to hear a spokesman of the regime that has no principles, expatiate on the theme of principles. The men of the regime have no ideology, though that word is often in their mouths, having abandoned even principles handed down to them. Thus the substance of democracy has been destroyed in Pakistan, and even the word itself is deliberately misused in the regime's invention Basic Democracies. They have compromised national sovereignty and the right of self-determination. Having buried the ideology of, Pakistan, they rule for the, sake of amassing wealth.

We on, the other hand have unambiguous principles. The doctrine of the Pakistan People's Party has been clearly enunciated It has stated in a nutshell in the words:—

Islam is our Faith
Democracy is our Polity
Socialism is our Economy.

While we have a political programme, democratic and socialist in character, the regime's vague philosophy is centered on loot, exploitation and the shocking concentration of wealth in a few favored hands.

Not devilish schemers, as Mr. Musa might like to say, but the regime's own actions and policies are creating internal divisions. They have, for instance, caused tribal polarization. They have re-opened the language question, which seemed until recently settled for good and all. Now it has again become active, kindling passions that may not abate readily again.

The regime's way of looking at things is racially prejudiced, for there are people in it who consider themselves destined to rule. It is they who are responsible for weakening national unity, by inciting the reaction of regionalism, by exacerbating the differences between the two wings. There was no question of the six points demand before they came to office, nor of Jiay Sind slogans either. Before they came to power there was no talk of Greater Baluchistan, and no revival of the Pakhtunistan demand. Their ten years of power have brought disillusionment to the Punjab and frustration to Karachi where, like Karbala, sometimes water is not available, and sometimes essential commodities like sugar disappear. Sindh and Baluchistan are in agony, Bengal estranged and the Frontier ravaged by oligarchic excesses. Their domination has divided the people of Pakistan, creating internal resentments and animosities. Since the regime does not believe in equal participation, but rather in privileges, it cannot bring about understanding and harmony in a nation whose population speak different languages, are of many races and are attached to local traditions and customs.

Mr. Musa thinks it most reprehensible that I as a socialist should try to promote unity among the ranks of the opposition, for that is in truth what I have been trying to do. But in this effort of mine I am not alone. I am not the only person seeking to bring opposition parties together so that they might be united on a common platform against the regime. I have openly stated that all opposition parties can work together on the basis of a common denominator, which is the restoration of adult franchise, fundamental rights and democracy. My Party's principles are in no way compromised—in any case Mr. Musa is not their guardian.

My concept of a United Front of opposition parties has been put in practice in many countries particularly against dictatorships, and is a common-place of political life. In Pakistan's twenty years of history a United Front was formed in Bengal in 1954 and again more recently during the last presidential elections. I consider it my duty toward the people of Pakistan to form an alliance with other parties for the common purpose of restoring the people's sovereignty.

As for my contacts with "feudal lords", which Mr. Musa thinks contradicts my political principles, I can tell him a fact, which he ought to know himself being Governor of the Province, that several of them hold very progressive political views. Some have suffered for them at the hands of this regime. It is not their fault that they were born in feudal houses. Not everybody can have the luck of being born in a humble family and acquiring wealth and more than feudal power under this regime. Incidentally, I should like to draw the attention of Governor Musa to the usurpation of titles as Prince and Nawab, not to speak of Sardar, which the government is permitting as an act of policy. There is a definite, marked tendency in this regime towards the creation of a new class of feudal lords.

Mr. Musa has stated in his speech that my —

"latest mentor is a great intellectual of this area whom the High Court has dubbed as a traitor to the cause of Pakistan."

Assuming that Mr. Musa understands the meaning of the word mentor, I can tell him that I have no need of a mentor. I have around me devoted party workers, whom I regard as my,

colleagues, sharing the same ideas and ideals. Socialists have no need for grey eminences and mentors. The men of the regime may have their Rasputins, for all we know.

Why should the spokesmen of this regime find my associating with certain people reprehensible? What has this regime done in the fine choice of its supporters recently? When the regime came to power it called politicians villains, proclaimed their corruption and other sins, and banned many of them from public life under EBDO. In the first broadcast to the Nation made on October 8th, 1958, President Ayub had this to say: —

“These chaotic conditions, as you know, have been brought about by self-seekers, who in the garb of political leaders have ravaged the country or tried to barter it away for personal gains. Some have done it as a matter of right because they professed to have created Pakistan, and others who were against the very idea of Pakistan openly worked for its dissolution or in any case did all they could to aggravate its problems. Their aim is nothing but self-aggrandizement or thirst for power.....”

“A word for the disruptionists, political opportunists, smugglers, black-marketers and other such social vermin, sharks and leeches. The soldiers and the people are sick of the sight of you. So it will be good for your health to turn a new leaf and begin to behave, otherwise retribution will be swift and sure. At any rate they have no cause to feel neglected. We shall be making desperate efforts to catch up with them as soon as possible.”

But what a change with the years! The regime has been taking into favour or placing in high office Ebdoed politicians. One Ebdoed politician against whom the most terrible charges of heinous crimes were leveled is now a Minister in Mr. Musa’s government.

Whomever this regime dislikes, it dubs a traitor forthwith. The men who were behind the scene pulling the strings and are now in the regime today, called Fazlul Huq a traitor, but later on made him Minister. Suhrawardy was called an Indian national and a traitor but made Prime Minister. The Khan of Kalat was imprisoned by this regime for anti-State activities but now he is Mr. Musa’s Adviser.

In the vocabulary of this regime its sycophants are patriots and its opponents traitors. The vast majority of the people of Pakistan, we know well, are against this regime. Are they all traitors?

Mr. Musa has said about me the following:

“he associates himself with, and has even offered to defend, those who are accused of hatching a plot for the secession of East Pakistan and those who are now under — trial.”

With this reference to Mr. Mujibur Rahman and others accused in the so-called Agartala Conspiracy Trial, Mr. Musa has clearly committed Contempt of the Court and is gravely prejudicing the course of justice. He must know the elementary principle of law, that a man is

presumed innocent unless found guilty, but he deliberately violates it. My appearance, in my capacity as a lawyer, in court does not contradict in the slightest my belief in confrontation with India. This is so elementary that perhaps only Mr. Musa cannot understand it.

What Mr. Musa has said about me in connection with the Kennedy Market is entirely incorrect. But as the matter is *sub judice* in the High Court, I am at present debarred from commenting upon it. This is another instance of Mr. Musa's improper attitude towards Courts of Justice.

On the question of One Unit I have not taken an inconsistent position. I have stated quite clearly that like other constitutional issues, this one has also to be resolved democratically by the people and not by the fiat of a dictator. If this regime claims to be a great custodian of One Unit, it should have the moral courage to tell the people with what purpose it appointed a high-powered Committee under General K. M. Shaikh in 1961? The spokesmen of the regime, who have built a massive glass-house round the seat of power, should think twice before throwing stones at others.

Mr. Musa's government which has shackled the students by the University Ordinances cannot claim that it is treating them as future leaders of the country. I have always maintained that the youth of our country are our most precious asset. The right way to equip them for future leadership is to trust them instead of repressing them. The youth of the country know how to distinguish between their supporters and their oppressors. They will not be misled by Mr. Musa's slanders.

Mr. Musa asks where I was in 1965 and why I was not in the front-line. I was of course where I belonged, at my post of Foreign Minister, engaged in trying to get international support for Pakistan, which had become my principal task in the hour of crisis. I was in charge of urgent negotiations with China, Indonesia, Iran and Turkey. I am not a professional soldier I was doing the job entrusted to me and for which I was responsible.

Was Mr. Musa firing a machine-gun or throwing hand-grenades at the enemy? He is a professional soldier, but being the Commander-in-Chief he was at the place where the Commander-in-Chief has to be, which is not at the front-line I was at the place where I was expected to be as Foreign Minister. As Foreign Minister it was my duty to muster international support and this was done to such an extent that Prime Minister Shastri bemoaned during the war that India stood, isolated. In unmistakable terms nation has expressed its generous appreciation of my services during Pakistan's gravest hour of crisis. My contribution during the war of 1965 can be determined by a glance at the international press and foreign broadcasts.

He complains about my not attending meetings of a certain committee established by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. This committee of which he speaks was at Secretary-level. The Secretary attended it as was fit and proper, and General Musa from the Defence side because he was Commander-in-Chief and not Minister. It was not my business as Minister to attend meetings of a committee of Secretaries whose recommendations were to be sent to the Cabinet of which I was a member. As the Minister of Foreign Affairs I had the opportunity of

having his confused recommendations overruled in Cabinet. After having remained in government for so many years Mr. Musa should be better acquainted with the Rules of Business applicable to the functions of government. If he is still not clear on this point, he should ask his secretariat to enlighten him.

His allegation that I dissociated myself from the Kashmir issue is so patently absurd that it requires no answer. On the Kashmir dispute, the record of this regime is so deplorable and its position so vulnerable that it can not afford to point a finger at a person who took an uncompromising position on the right of self-determination of the people of Jammu and Kashmir and pursued vigorously the policy of confrontation which this regime abandoned in its weakness the moment I left government.

Governor Musa says that I shunned General Iskander Mirza after he fell from power. I never shunned him when I was a Minister; indeed, often when I passed through London I would meet him to pay my respects, and I was the only Minister to do so. Mr. Musa should ask General Iskander Mirza himself whether I let him down or Mr. Musa and others let him down.

Talking about gratitude and loyalty, I can say quite a few things about Mr. Musa in that connexion, especially of the occasions when he used to come to me to request me to intercede on his behalf for an extension as Commander-in-Chief. Mr. Musa should also remember the bitterness with which he spoke at the time when instead of getting the extension he was appointed as an ambassador. I am saying this much only because he leaves me no option, but I would not like to say more on this unpleasant subject.

Mr. Musa accuses me of revealing some defence secrets. I have revealed none. If I have, he should have the courage to say which specific defence secret I have revealed. It is revealing no defence secret to say that, on my return from a mission to China, the President, jumped up from his chair when I reported the result, and embracing me said that the nation would always remain grateful to me. How can this be called a defence secret? As if the people of Pakistan do not know that I ever went to China!

When the government's spokesmen want to attack and slander me, they have no qualms about laying open government secrets, as Mr. Musa has done repeatedly in his speech at Hyderabad. But to me they will acknowledge no right to defend my position and honour. When I expose such people they complain that I have revealed a defence secret.

If he must talk about the danger of revealing secrets to the enemy, let him remember that President's Finance Minister was an employee of a foreign power. He remained in high favour during the most critical days, the man who ought to have been treated, according to all rules and commonsense, as a security risk of the first order. And there is more to it than that, but I shall refrain from saying more now.

I have broken no oath of office. But Mr. Musa, who accuses me of doing so, ought to know who the people are who in 1958 not only broke their oath of office but destroyed the very Constitution they were bound by oath to defend.

In any case one should understand what is at the bottom of accusations of revealing secrets and breaking oath of office. The preservation of secrets and the oath of office should not give licence to government to use them as a cloak of darkness under the cover of which they can break commitments and violate the people's rights. Protest against, and exposure of the abuse of power and excesses of office, are not a violation of official secrecy.

The regime's idea of defence secrets and oath of office is the sealing of the lips, of its own people, whilst its leaders revel in giving foreigners information on all sorts of intriguing devices for solving unresolved disputes with India.

Even without revealing any state secrets, nearly three years ago when I left office I could have made disclosures which would have shaken the foundations of the regime. I remained silent only because at that time Pakistan's adversaries would have greatly profited in the circumstances prevailing. Three years have passed and the situation has changed. Now it is in public interest that certain disclosures should be made as no foreign power will now gain by those disclosures. There would be no writing of history if there was such a thing as a perpetual secret.

There is a world of difference between speaking about Tashkent and revealing the inner secrets about that affair. At the Hyderabad convention I said that I would speak on Tashkent and on the ramifications of that agreement. It is Mr. Musa who has violated secrecy by falsely alleging that I drafted the Tashkent Declaration. It is well known that, in the way it is normal at such conferences, those who offered to mediate—in this case the Soviet Union under whose aegis the Tashkent Conference took place—presented the draft to form the basis of negotiations. I have not yet made any public statement on what my reactions were to that draft and nor have I spoken on the manner in which negotiations were conducted and how the agreement was reached.

Is it government's intention to open the Pandora's Box of Tashkent? Khwaja Shahabuddin started the controversy at Dacca in February 1967. He left me with no alternative but to accept his challenge to debate the issues threadbare, but he backed out, realizing how vulnerable the regime's position was. Has the government in its unenviable wisdom decided to reopen the wounds inflicted by that agreement? It must hold itself exclusively responsible for the consequences if it seeks to reopen this issue.

I reveal no secrets when I assert that in my opinion our Nation's interests suffered at Tashkent. In the three years that have elapsed sufficient information has become available for people to come to their own conclusions. Much has been written on the subject, not only in India but elsewhere.

Those people who read the foreign press will have learnt that I was opposed to the Declaration. Our countrymen know that on my return from Tashkent I went to my home for three weeks, while President Ayub Khan went about explaining the Declaration to the people.

Mr. Musa ought to know the circumstances why I did not quit and go away at once. Now the fact is that I offered my resignation three times, once before the signing of the Declaration and twice after it, but was told that my leaving office would amount to desertion at a time when Pakistan was in the throes of a serious crisis and foreign troops were on our soil, and that solidarity was essential in the hour of crisis. I then acquiesced to speak in the National Assembly at Dacca under certain conditions from which the government resiled but which I cannot yet reveal.

After accusing me of revealing secrets, Mr. Musa reveals the secret, exposing and embarrassing the government, that India had begged for a cease “three or four days before it came into being”. He says that we agreed to the cease-fire in order to satisfy world opinion. He means to say that we sacrificed the blood of our gallant soldiers and forsook national interest for illusory, world opinion, something that no other nation has done so far. Mr. Musa’s admission is of historical importance and the people of Pakistan will hold the regime accountable for what was done.

There was at that time no such thing as a unanimous body of world, opinion. Most countries had openly taken our side. One Great Power, China, took the step of delivering an ultimatum to our advantage. France, another Great Power, refused to allow the Security Council to pass a resolution on sanctions. While the war itself was on we received not only moral but also material help from several countries. Only the few countries unsympathetic to our cause pressed us to accept the cease-fire. In effect, therefore, we bowed to the wishes of a few of our opponents and took our supporters unawares. This is how we sacrificed our vital interests and shed blood in vain to please world opinion.

At one place the Governor says that I agreed with my colleagues that it was a wise policy to accept the cease-fire. “Had he been against it”, Mr. Musa continues, “he should have, declared his intention at that time and should have dissented openly.”

A little before this passage Mr. Musa states that I apprised the Secretary-General of the United Nations only half an hour before the dead-line, of Pakistan’s decision to stop fighting.

There is no doubt, of course, about, what happened at the United Nations. So much is true that I was there at that time. If I was admittedly there, how could I join with my colleagues to approve the decision or protest against it? How was it possible for me to be present at New York and Rawalpindi at the same time? Mr. Musa says that I ought to have dissented openly. He cannot mean seriously that I ought to have expressed my dissent publicly in America or anywhere outside Pakistan or even in Pakistan itself in time of war.

Among the number of lies Mr. Musa has told the most atrocious and shameless is the one that I protected Indian saboteurs.

I received at New York a frantic message from a prominent Hindu member of the Provincial Assembly from Tharparkar that his life was in danger and that his community was, threatened with genocide. He appealed to me as Foreign Minister to safeguard their lives as they were loyal Pakistanis. It is a constitutional obligation to protect, our nationals of every

community. It is al an obligation imposed upon us by our religion to protect non-Muslims who live in a Muslim State. On receiving that message I contacted the Commissioner of Hyderabad and asked him to see to it that law and order was maintained and no injustice done. If Hindus in Pakistan were attacked the slaughter of millions of Muslims in India would have followed.

In a lesser emergency, in 1948, when riots broke out in Karachi, Sir Zafrullah Khan, who was then Foreign Minister, sent a telegram to Quaid-e-Azam saying that if riots continued to take place our case before the Security Council would be damaged. In 1965 when I acted upon the appeal of a member of the Provincial Assembly albeit a Pakistani Hindu from Tharparkar far more was at stake than in 1948.

Whosoever did commit sabotage were prosecuted and convicted. The fact that the Hindu member of the Provincial Assembly was not prosecuted and still sits on the Treasury Benches shows plainly that government did not consider him guilty. The touch of irony in this absurd charge is that when I arrived, in Karachi during the war I was informed that extra ordinary security precautions were necessary for my protection as there was information that the Indians had planned to send commandos from the Rajisthan front to assassinate me. Now I on whom the Indians let loose their whole barrage of fury, am being accused of protecting Indian saboteurs.

The regime is nervous and. would like to conceal its misdeeds. The people know more than the regime thinks they do. The press in our country can be controlled by the regime but it cannot control the media of information in other countries. A great deal has been written abroad on matters about which the government is sensitive. Much of that keeps trickling into Pakistan all the time. The misdeeds of the regime cannot remain secret from the people.

I want to ask the simple question why I was not confronted at the time I left government with the charges that Mr. Musa now makes. Why were not the provisions of Article 121 of the Constitution applied against me? Instead, the President showered praises on me and was anxious to conceal from the nation the real reasons for my departure from government. I should like to be told by Mr. Musa why so much was done by the government, to keep the people in the dark at that time about what was going on; why I was begged to take leave and go out of the country; and why unprecedented demonstrations took place in my favour.

My grievance is not over the treatment I received, but over the treatment my country then received and is receiving now. My grievance is that the regime has betrayed the nation. I have indeed, often criticized government's policy, which I am perfectly entitled to as a citizen. But now, on the one hand, Mr. Musa accuses me of violating official secrecy and, on the other, of not explaining how the nation has been betrayed.

Mr. Musa says that when I went to the Indian High Commissioner's house, I entered it by the back-door. It is a silly lie. I went there in broad daylight, at one o'clock in the afternoon, in my motor car, and entered by the front door. How could I go there surreptitiously when every movement of mine is watched day and night by the CID?

Let me also say that I did not go to see the Indian High Commissioner in order to sign an Indus Basin Treaty or to propose a treaty for joint defence. It was the Indian High Commissioner who had sought the interview for discussing with me, as a former Foreign Minister, Indo relations and whether a goodwill mission of non-officials led by Mr. Khaliqzaman would promote a better understanding between the two countries.

Those who are opposed to this regime are being called unpatriotic. Now does this regime come to lay claim to patriotism? By acquiring a monopoly, as its favourite businessmen are allowed to do? This regime has no title to being called patriotic. Who is it who signed the Tashkent Agreement? Who wanted joint defence with India? Who talked about the danger from the North? Who signed the Indus Basin Treaty and is now retreating before India's insistence upon building the Farakka Barrage? Who has allowed India to retain her illegal possession on Berubari? Who resented my raising the question of our claims to Assam? Who gave Baraber on lease to a foreign power and compromised Pakistan's sovereignty?

Pakistan's enemies sympathize with this government, which is not ashamed of publishing testimonials in its favour from all sorts of quarters. It is easy to obtain praise of that kind by surrendering national interest. Far from defending Pakistan's national interest this regime has, been failing to do it under threats and inducements from foreign powers. The regime blusters loudly but talks meekly abroad.

I categorically deny the propaganda of the regime's men that Pakistan has grown stronger. In foreign affairs Pakistan is in a weaker position than before, virtually isolated and unable to inspire confidence. The regime claims to entertain good relations with all countries. If this is true, it can be only because of the policy of surrender on account of weakness. The regime has now descended to desiring disputes with India settled in a package deal, in which the right of self-determination of the people of Jammu and, Kashmir finds no place. On October 11, 1968, only a day after Mr. Musa's putrid tirade against me, the latest position of government was stated by Mr. Arshad Husain in the General Assembly Session of the United Nations. He said:—

“On behalf of my Government I reaffirm the readiness of Pakistan to take up all outstanding disputes, including Kashmir, either as a package deal or according to a step by step procedure, provided India clearly affirms its agreement that at an appropriate and specified stage, it will negotiate on Kashmir in sincerity and with a view to finding a solution of the dispute.”

If this is not imploring India to come to a settlement, whenever it pleases her, on her own terms, I should like to know what better diplomatic language can be used to express abject surrender of the right of self-determination?

Foreign debts are piling up high and will soon become a millstone round our neck to drown us unless we, radically reform our economy. The international Monetary Fund has been asked to provide Pakistan with a standby emergency loan. So bankrupt, have we become that in concluding a recent credit agreement with France, the ten per cent down payment on the repayment of the loan was deducted from the credit itself. Now we have reached the critical

point where twenty per cent of the country's foreign exchange is committed for the servicing of foreign loans. Never before has corruption been so rampant and so open and the incidence of crime so high. Honour, life and property have become so insecure that millions of people live in constant dread of what might happen to them any time. To this state of affairs the government has directly contributed by misusing the executive and administrative machinery. If everything was in good shape in the Country, the secessionist plot alleged by Mr. Musa could not have been hatched nor would Baluchistan be in the grip of violence.

At one place Mr. Musa says that. I was picked up from oblivion and at another that I was a representative of Pakistan at the United Nations before Martial Law. In fact, I was a member of the Pakistan Delegation to the United Nations in 1957 and in February 1958 I led Pakistan's Delegation to the United Nations Conference on the Law of the Sea at Geneva and I was then only twenty-nine years old. It is nonsense to speak of a young man's being raised from oblivion when he is entrusted with the leadership of his country's interests at an important international conference in his twenties. May I ask what eminent position did Mr. Musa hold when he was in his twenties? The destiny of every individual is in the hands of Allah, and the Holy Quran' says:—

Man's respect or disrespect lies in the hands of God.

Now, alas! Mr. Kirmani, Minister for Information in West Pakistan, has jumped into the fray with some more frivolous slanders against me. The Indian propaganda about my nationality dutifully picked up by this regime, I answered, point by point in a press statement issued on the 4th Jul 1967 at Karachi. If the government's, controlled press prevented the truth from reaching the people of Pakistan, Mr. Kirmani must hold his own Ministry and the regime responsible for it. How does Mr. Kirmani assume that I will not take him and others to court for defamatory statements? He should know that, criminal proceedings can be instituted at any time. Mr. Kirmani will certainly know this when the curtain of dictatorship is lifted from the national scene.

I who originate from Sindh and whose family has belonged to this region for generations do not have to establish my nationality. It would be more appropriate for Mr. Kirmani to ask the question of nationality from some new recruits in the ranks of the coterie.

I do not lay claims to infallibility. If I am a sinner, the biggest sin I committed was to be associated with this regime. If in the fever of an election campaign Miss Jinnah attacked me did not she attack the President more scathingly? I should not like to mention the remarks the President made about Mr. Kirmani's personal life when, yielding to his insistent pleading, I recommended his name for some office and patronage. I would therefore advise this shabby "bulbul" not to sing his hoary sonnets any more.

The Government has done everything in its power to slander and malign me but it has failed miserably because the people of Pakistan cannot be deceived. Nothing can escape the scrutiny of history. The future will show who has bartered away national interests and who has defended them unswervingly. In the wake of its ten years of misrule government's contradictions and opportunist policies have brought shame and ridicule to its name. This

oligarchy of oppressive mediocrity, insults the intelligence of the people of Pakistan if it thinks that its puerile and destructive propaganda exercises any influence on them. Let me tell Governor Musa that the wheel of fortune has turned a full circle and the hour of reckoning is drawing nearer with the passage of each day.

GOVERNOR MUSA'S ALLEGATIONS

Hyderabad, Oct. 11: The West Pakistan Governor, Mr. Mohammad Musa yesterday lashed out at former Foreign Minister, Mr. Z. A. Bhutto, almost thrice with a “cat-of-nine tails” and charged him with extending fullest protection to Indian saboteurs during the critical days when Pakistan was locked in a life-and-death struggle with New Delhi’s bellicosity. Addressing a large gathering of the intelligentsia, he made the following 21 points against Mr. Bhutto, without explicitly naming him in order to expose “this man” and “tear off the chauvinistic veneer from his face”

1. This man has committed the heinous crime of divulging vital defence secrets which might help Pakistan’s potential enemies.
2. He has preached open violence.
3. He wants bloodshed but never showed any willingness to shed blood when there was need for it in the fields of battle.
4. While professing Socialism, he enters into contract with feudal lords and his latest mentor is one whom the High Court has dubbed a traitor to Pakistan.
5. He preaches aggressive confrontation with India but associates himself with those accused of secessionist plots.
6. He has become swollen-headed owing to the high status he suddenly came to enjoy.
7. He has not taken the trouble of substantiating his wild charge that the nation has been betrayed.
8. In the name of Islam, he supports persons like Akbar Bugti who have been a menace to citizens.
9. He is trying to create confusion over the Tashkent Declaration and keeps people tenterhooks by suggesting that he has something up his sleeve. He changes colour whenever it suits his selfish purpose.
10. If he was opposed to Pakistan’s decision to bow to world opinion about acceptance of cease-fire in September 1965 war, why did he not dare to dissent openly?
11. He betrayed a guilty conscience when he went to meet the Indian High Commissioner from the backdoor.

12. He feels he is the one person in Pakistan who can frighten India.
13. He has proudly named after Kennedy a market in his hometown for the construction of which he got Rs. 3 lakh from the USA. But forgot all about the aid given by his own country.
14. He gave maximum protection to Indian saboteurs in Rajasthan in September 1965 and was unhappy when the army ordered counter-moves.
15. Divested of office he has started condemning the very B. D. system which he lauded while in office.
16. He bites the hand that feeds him.
17. He has done great disservice to Pakistan in certain countries he has visited.
18. Rather than before the enemy he tried to display his courage to a Lahore audience comprising tongawallas, rickshawwallas and some laborers.
19. On One-Unit issue, he can dupe the people by remaining vague.
20. Despite his professed solicitude for Kashmir, he dissociated himself from a committee set up by the Foreign Affairs Ministry to deliberate the issue.
21. He talks of building monuments to innocent boys misled by selfish persons, but gives no thought whatsoever to raising monuments to those who made the supreme sacrifice to defend Pakistan.

Following is the full text of these allegations:

We are witness to a new set of political outcasts whose only aim is to attain political power in the country. For them adherence to principles, maintenance of political integrity and keeping the interest of the country above self are not matters of deep considerations. For this purpose, these elements sometimes promote regionalism sometimes preach supremacy of one language or, the other; sometimes indulge in personal attacks on their opponents and more often remain vague on their political manifestoes and economic programmes, so as to keep the people confused and uncertain.

I need not elaborate on the tendency to use abusive language against anyone in his absence. You will agree that it is the height of meanness, because the victim can't hit back. Airing of political differences is different. No one can object to it. Politically, it is acceptable. If I use unsavory language against my political adversary, I must have the guts to do so in his presence, so that he gets a chance to answer my abuses. Only cowards launch personal attacks on people when, they are not present.

One of them was here a few days back:

He did not mind revealing some of the defence secrets of the State. And he was under oath not to divulge any official matter. He did not mind breaking his Oath to promote his own self interest. The disclosure of our defence secret is not only a heinous crime, it is also be of the nation. Those who do not refrain from divulging it cannot, by any stretch of imagination, be called patriots. On the contrary, their conduct shows that for their own sake, they are even prepared to hand over to our potential enemies the secrets on which our security depends. Our potential enemies would be willing to pay any price for these secrets.

He has taken the trouble of coming out of his air-conditioned house in Karachi to Hyderabad and has preached *open violence*.

He wants bloodshed says he is not afraid of bloodshed. You better ask him where was he when the country was attacked in 1965 and a lot, of young blood flowed on the battle-fields of the Rann of Kutch, Lahore, Sialkot and in this region? Did he show any willingness to shed any blood along with those who did?

This man, who calls himself a socialist, is prepared, on the one hand, to enter into pacts with tribal and feudal lords in West Pakistan and, on the other, with extreme Leftist elements in East Pakistan. I ask you, why is he seeking these alliances? His latest mentor is a great intellectual of this area whom the High Court” has dubbed as a traitor to the cause of Pakistan.

He wants an aggressive confrontation with India, and yet associates himself with, and has even offered to defend, those who are accused of hatching a plot for the secession of East Pakistan and those who are now under trial.

His grievance is that great injustice has been done to him. Perhaps he thinks he was unjustly treated by being relieved of the office he held in the Government. I think his exit was justifiable for, many reasons, some of which I will explain later on. From oblivion he got a sudden lift. The rise for him was too much and sudden. Although he spent most of his time in flattery, he got swollen-headed and began to think that without him our affairs would suffer a serious setback.

He alleges that the nation has been betrayed. How has this betrayal taken place, he has not taken the trouble to explain. He has not explained, it because he cannot justify the charge. People will not accept mere abstract statements of a disgruntled man. In any case, has not Pakistan become stronger, more stable and prosperous and established cordial relations with many more nations since he left the Government? If we have achieved all these, and we undeniably have, how does the country stand betrayed?

He shouts that when people proclaim Islam as their religion, action is taken by the Government against Akbar Bugti. I fail to see any connection between these two themes. By now, the whole country should know that the President took a magnanimous view of the situation in Baluchistan and released all the so-called Baluch tribal leaders and other detenus almost unconditionally about 18 months ago. Instead of helping the Government to develop

their areas and raise the standard of living of their miserable people, for whose uplift large sums of money have been allocated, they started indulging in subversive activities immediately they were out of jail. Akbar Bugti is one of them. Apart from his other nefarious activities, he became a menace to the law-abiding tribes of Jacobabad, like the Jakhranis and Khosas. These are the type of men that this person supports. Actually, he is not their true well-wisher. He merely wants to exploit their dissatisfaction at their cost.

In the last 18 months, this man has been saying that he would disclose the secrets about the Tashkent Declaration. Here also, he repeated the same theme. Why has he kept silent over this vital issue for so long is a mystery? Perhaps, his intention is to keep people guessing and make them feel that something terrible happened to our interests there. If he has anything up his sleeve, the people would like to know what it is.

He drafted the communiqué of the Tashkent Declaration and vehemently and eloquently supported it in the National Assembly, for which he got applause from the Members. If this document was prejudicial to our interests, he should have had the courage to dissociate himself from it from the very beginning. He should have returned home and refrained from standing by it in the Assembly. Does not the fact that he did not do so show that he moves with the wind, and changes colour whenever it suits his selfish purpose?

The Tashkent meeting was held after the cease-fire with India. We did not ask for a cease-fire. India asked for it three or four days before it came into being. This fact is now well known. The person concerned knows better than anyone else, because he apprised the Secretary-General of the United Nations, only about half an hour before the deadline, of Pakistan's decision to abide by world opinion and stop fighting. Till then, the Supreme Commander's direction to the Armed Forces was not to relent and to continue to hammer at the enemy. By then, the aggressor's designs on Pakistan had been foiled and his undeclared attack had been blunted. In many places, the Pakistan Forces had entered his territory and were fighting there. Pakistan, therefore, did not want a cease-fire. It merely bowed to world opinion. She had to adopt this policy, because it would not have been in our long-term interest to flout the views of practically the whole world, who wanted that the two sides should stop fighting. The person concerned did not object to our decision to abide by world opinion. He agreed with his other colleagues that it was a wise policy. Had he been against it, he should have declared his intention at that time and should have dissented openly.

He has said here that he contacted the Indian High Commissioner in Karachi. The latter wanted to see him in order to discuss with him his views on India, because India was shivering due to his ideas about that country. If this statement is correct, why did he enter the Indian High Commissioner's house like a thief from the backdoor? He cannot deny that he entered that house in the manner I have described, it shows that his conscience was guilty and that he wanted to hide from the people of Pakistan the fact that he was in touch with India's representative in this country.

Do you believe that over 500 million souls in India are afraid of one man in Pakistan? Is this contention at all acceptable to anyone in his senses? If only one person in Pakistan can

frighten India, we are fortunate to have him. The remaining 100 million of us can sit back and relax.

He built a market in his home town by getting money (Rs. 3-lakh) from the United States and named it as Kennedy Market. The Government of Pakistan and the West Pakistan Administration also contributed to the construction of this market. This man himself did not pay a single penny towards its construction, nor did any member of his family. He felt very proud of the name given to the market, yet wherever he could, he decried it to show that he was not in favour of the place known as such.

He did whatever he could to protect the Indian saboteurs during the War of 1965 who were sent behind our troops on the Rajasthan Front. I know it, because I had to order the Commander concerned to be aware of these moves. He was most unhappy over my action, because he felt that Hindu friends on this side of the border were not being allowed to harbour their co-religionists from across the border who were sabotaging our war efforts.

He claims that the Opposition wants democracy in the country but they have, been given Basic Democracy. This was one of the reforms which the present regime introduced. This man was connected with all the reforms at all stages. Not only did he agree that these reforms were beneficial to Pakistan but also supported them. If he was against Basic Democracy, he should have had the guts to oppose it when it was being introduced. Is it not too late for him to cry that this kind of democracy is unsuitable for us? He says for obvious reason—the reason is that he no, longer wields the power—he agreed: that there was nothing wrong with the system.

Before the Martial Law, he was one of our representatives in the United Nations. When Martial Law was declared, we searched some of the archives in certain places. From one of them we found a letter written by him to Iskander Mirza in which he stated that his father, before his death, had been telling him to serve Iskander Mirza, as the latter was the friend of the family.

In this letter, this man assured Iskander Mirza in a flattering language that he could count on his support at any time, as he had to carry out the mission entrusted to him by his father. When Iskander Mirza left the country, he started to abuse him and kept on doing so for seven years. He is repeating the same tactics now, in other words, showing ungratefulness to the person who trusted him, raised him to dizzying heights and looked after him like his own son. Does this act not show that he bites the hand that feeds him?

In certain countries he visited, he did a great disservice to Pakistan for reasons I would not like to disclose as I would have to stoop down too low to explain it, which I find difficult to do while I am holding my present office. In others, he was received courteously, because he represented Pakistan. Nobody would have taken notice of him in his personal capacity. To give my own example, I recently visited the USSR. The generosity and hospitality extended to me there are indescribable. They showed such kindness to me because of the friendly relationship between the leaders and the peoples of the two countries and the respect they

have for Pakistan. I don't think they would have taken notice of me if I had gone there in my personal capacity.

I believe, he removed his, coat and tie while speaking to people here and rolled up his sleeves. I don't think either the timing of this action or the occasion called for it. He acted in this manner in order to show off. The place to take his coat off was the frontline in 1965 where bitter fighting was going on. I suggest you ask him where he was at that time. I know where he was. The audience in front of which he so acted consisted of tongawallas, rickshawallas and some laborers.

His views on the One Unit issue vary from place to place. In Sindh, secretly, he supports it. In the Punjab he decries it. In other places, he adopts different tactics. So far, he has refrained from committing himself one way or the other openly. Why don't you ask him to disclose his mind about this issue? He thinks he can befool the people by remaining vague and changing his tactics. Our people are shrewd enough to see through his game. He is merely deceiving himself.

Like all other departments of the Government, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs also established a kind of committee to review the Kashmir issue from international and other aspects. Despite my repeated invitations, verbal and written, this man dissociated himself from this, committee altogether. He openly remarked that he had nothing to do with Kashmir and should not be worried about it. I brought his views to the notice of the President, as I felt he was playing a dangerous game.

Outwardly, he used to say publicly that we should not hesitate to go to war with India to settle it. Behind the scenes he adopted a docile attitude and even refrained, as I have said, from facing the problem. He did not attend a single meeting of the Committee.

He talks of building monuments honour of those students who were killed in Lahore and Multan. I am certain, these innocent boys were misled by selfish, persons, who used them for their own motives and they themselves kept away, when clashes occurred with the police. We are all very sorry for them, as they were like our own children. They lost their lives due to the machinations of other people. No one would mind if he builds monuments in their memory. However, why does he not think of those who gave their lives in battles to save us and our motherland, including himself, who managed to keep as far away as he could from the scene of fighting? Our *shuhada* also deserve sympathetic consideration, if he is genuinely thinking of building monuments.

He has ridiculed the Government's contention that the students are our future leaders. It seems he does not believe in this concept or does not consider the students fit to take on such responsibilities. Is the Government wrong in its intention to bring the students up so that they can replace those who retire from service? The question needs an answer.

You must, therefore consider his motives and analyze his actions. He is doing it with only one purpose and that is to come to power whether by hook or crook by fair means or foul.

This man plays on the weaknesses of some of for the dramatic and sensational. A few of us mistake the emotional for the ideal. You must ensure that your vision is not clouded, by jugglery of words and slogan because these cannot solve our problems. Our problems will be overcome only by bard and honest endeavor and never if we are divided amongst ourselves. I appeal to you for unity not as an abstract concept nor as a political slogan but as the only practical course of action that will ensure our survival.

(The Pakistan Times, October 12, 1968)

Letter to the Quaid-e-Azam

Charleville Hotel,
Mussoorie.
26th April, 1945.

Dear Sir,

The political situation which has taken place in the Frontier has made me so wild and angry that I have found courage to write to my leader. It seems that the Mussulmans of today are losing their fighting and martial spirits. Mussulmans should realize that the Hindus can never and will never unite with us, they are the deadliest enemies of our Holy Koran and the Holy Prophet (May peace of Allah be upon him). We should realize that you are our leader You Sir, have brought us under one platform and on flag and the cry of every Mussulman should be “onward to Pakistan.” Our destiny is Pakistan, our aim is Pakistan. We have a capable leader in you, and nobody can stop us; we are a nation by our-selves and India is a sub-continent Therefore, we must have our rights.

Being still at school I am unable to help in the establishment of our sacred land. But the time will come when I will even sacrifice my life for Pakistan. I belong to the province of Sindh, undoubtedly Sindh is, another province which is causing trouble but “Insha Allah” the day will dawn when Sindh will turn for the better and play a vital part in our Pakistan.

Sir, I fully realize that you are a very busy person and you might not even have the time to read a letter of a school boy, leave alone replying to it.

If you think that I am being very foolish then please forgive me but I simply had to write to you after reading those ignorant speeches of unpractical men.

I am,

Your follower,
(Sd.) ZULFIKAR ALI BHUTTO

Letter to Mr. M. A. H. Ispahani

3421, South Flower Street,
Los Angeles 7, California.
11th September, 1948

My dear Sir,

I begin this letter with a sincere and ineffable expression of my grief. The gruesome stroke of Fate has been most unkind to us at this critical stage of our lives. But then who are we to question the will of Providence?

It has been most unfortunate that we have been orphaned at this crucial moment when we needed more than any other force, the torrential magnanimity of our Beloved Leader. Our survival lies in building up an unbounding determination and zeal in order to face the vicissitudes of life. I am confident that we can confront all obstacles that lie ahead of us because of the inspiring training that our Quaid inculcated into our very veins. We must remember and bear in mind that though the Quaid is no longer with us, yet his pure and virgin spirit will remain forever fertile in our mind.

May God Almighty have mercy on his sacred soul. He has at last found, rest after so long and tiresome a duty. His entire life was a struggle for the betterment and emancipation of his people.

Sir, the responsibility that has befallen you and the other leaders of Pakistan has become all the greater, and we are all confident that you shall perform your grave duty honorably and victoriously. Amen.

Yours sincerely,

(Sd.) ZIJLFIKAR ALL BHUTTO