

B Z. A.
Bhutto

*Architect of
New Pakistan*



By: Sayed Rasul Raza



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Sani Panhwar
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Zulfikar Ali Bhutto

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Sani H. Panhwar

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PREFACE

The reader will discover for himself in the pass of this small booklet what the creator of Pakistan People's party and the architect of the New Pakistan, Prime Minister Bhutto, has accomplished during the last four and a half years.

Few leasers have shaped events of the contemporary age to their own vision and policy more surely than Prime Minister Bhutto. The way he coped with most difficult circumstances and insurmountable difficulties and solved the trying problems of his country, made him a legend even in his life time not only in his own country but also in the international world.

He has changed the course of history in South Asia in the sense that his courageous actions and overwhelming influence saved his country from further disintegration and united it with the binding force of Islamic Socialism and wide-ranging social, political, economic, industrial, labour, educational, administrative and land reforms. Even his better critics now accept him as a great man of the modern age and his admirers consider him as a man of vision and destiny.

This great apostle of Islamic Socialism is the sworn enemy of feudalism which, no doubt, is the canker in the body politic of Pakistan. He is the high priest of the exploitation-free society and has succeeded, to a great extent, in the eradication of the parasitic exploiters of his country.

If the Supreme and Sovereign people of Pakistan choose to elect him in the coming general elections to represent them for another term, I am sure, he will do for the progress and prosperity of his country what Lenin has done for the Soviet Union and Chairman Mao has done for the People's Republic of China.

I must confess that this booklet has been written in great haste and as such full justice could not be done to the subject. But, in my opinion, even a humble and meager attempt in this direction is better than no attempt, for the subject is of paramount importance.

My thanks and acknowledgements are due to all those authors and writers from whose books and articles, I had to quote profusely for writing this booklet.

SAYED RASUL RAZA

Former Chief Editor of Pushto Weekly "AMN", Peshawar.

19, Siayal Flats,

University Town, Peshawar.

November 7, 1976.

CHAPTER I. FROM CHAOS TO STABILTIY

Public memory is short. Most of us have forgotten the last month of the bleak, fateful year of 1971. As a result of international conspiracy, Pakistan was halved. East Pakistan was separated by an armed attack. And West Pakistan was also in a bad shape. It was in the grip of political chaos and economic slump. Frustration and uncertainty loomed large over the horizon. No body knew what was in store for the defeated country. The disintegrative volcano which torn a part of Pakistan, was still seething and rumbling in the subterranean world. The nation was in desperate and demoralized mood.

No doubt, Pakistan of those dark days was thoroughly shaken by the impact of war and suffered the humiliation of defeat.

It was rotten and fallen from within as well as menaced by external aggression. It had already suffered grievously from externally inspired insurgency and subversion foreign conspiracies were still active to dismember the residual Pakistan and to Balkanise the north-west of the subcontinent.

Under the circumstances, a lesser man would have cried in despair:

“This is a job that can’t be done”.

But the Chairman of the Pakistan People’s Party, Mr.Zulfikar Ali Bhutto, was born to accomplish great deeds. Nothing daunted, he cane forward with a resolute will and addressed the nation on the cold, dark night of December 20, 1971, with the following memorable and inspiring sentences:

“Fellow Citizens, I have come very late I shall have come earliermuch earlier”.

Yet this late comer, on the national scene, inspired his nation with a new hope and proved his worth by immediately launching courageous and revolutionary political, economic, agrarian, educational, industrial, labour, administrative and social reforms and saved his war-weary and famished country from total collapse and utter ruination.

Pakistan, politically shattered and economically doomed, entered 1972, under the wise and dynamic leadership of President Bhutto, with much of the self-confidence restored and was ready to gain equilibrium.

The frustrated and the defeated nation of the 1971 war with India, now under the guidance of an energetic, intelligent, brave, industrious, patriotic and able leader, was slowly gaining momentum, power and prestige. The dawn of the new era was dimly visible and the New Pakistan of President Bhutto's conception was slowly-emerging from the ashes of the old feudal, discredited and dismembered Pakistan and was taking concrete shape.

Mr. Bhutto was struggling hard to bring order out of chaos. But this was an uphill task. He was fighting against desperate odds.

The gigantic and colossal reorganisational tasks of the New Pakistan were still further complicated by the ever present, deadly menace of deep dyed reactionary industrialists, die-hard landlords, big business and all other parasitic wealthy classes of old feudal Pakistan coupled with religious fascists, "ISLAM-PASAN" fanatics and corrupt bureaucrats. The anti-Pakistan elements joined hand with the disgruntled reactionaries for gaining their own ends.

As a matter of fact, the opposition rallied every kind of malcontent and subversive elements in a nation-wide whispering propaganda based on well-orchestrated but false slogans against the People's Government. All sorts of dissatisfied and chagrined careerists, opportunists, foreign spies, saboteurs and terrorist, flocked to the ranks of opposition and started a campaign of vilification and mud-slinging against the leader of the People's Party. For them Bhutto's progressive ideas were a foul obscenity and they were determined to crush the representative Government of the poor and toiling masses out of existence. Their mischievous and malacious campaign of virulent propaganda aimed at twisting the facts and circulating false reports to malign the new Pakistan of Mr. Bhutto's conception and sully its national as well as inter-national image.

The leaders of the opposition always equated Islam with feudalism. They wanted to keep the status-quo, namely, the society of the Exploiters intact. They could not tolerate the idea of Islamic Socialism, Islamic equality and Islamic fraternity. They were united in a foul alliance against Mr. Bhutto, who is, on all accounts, the determined and trustworthy friend of the poor and the exploited masses.

In their zeal to crush Islamic Socialism, they even started maintaining connections with foreign intelligence services and foreign embassies. In the under-world of the opposition, Pakistan's fifth column began to take shape. But Mr. Bhutto proved equal to the task and tactfully smashed the nefarious designs of the anti-people and anti-Pakistan forces. He emerged victorious from his ordeal and started in right earnest the all important, massive and stupendous

task of the reconstruction of the political, economic and social structure of the New Pakistan.

Unfortunately, feudalism is the common malady of the Muslim world and Pakistan is no exception to it. The Valley of Indus has been the strong hold of the feudalists since time immemorial. Pakistan inherited feudalism along with Islamic ideology since its very inception and became paradise for the feudal landlords and feudal capitalists. In this age-old feudal society, corruption was a way of life and the lot of the labouring masses was not better than serfs and slaves. This sorry state of affairs ultimately led to the dismemberment of the state. And Quaid-e-Awam, Mr. Zulfikar Ali Bhutto, inherited in 1971, as has already been mentioned, a demoralised and disorganised soulless nation. To revive this living corpse of a nation, his remedy was simple. He launched a vigorous campaign against feudalism. But the country was not ready to do away at a single stroke with this deep-rooted evil. He had to move slowly and cautiously. This was the only course left to him in face of the military debacle of 1971 and its after-effects of political and economic chaos. One could smell, in the beginning of 1972, the stink of disruption, corruption, demoralisation and humiliation every where in Pakistan. Ninety thousand POWs were still rotting in the Indian Camps and 5,000 Sqr. Miles of West Pakistan's territory was occupied by Indian Forces.

Problems were innumerable. It seems that nature and man both conspired to create problems for Prime Minister Bhutto. But he was not a man to be cowed down by knotty problems. He is, in fact, a dynamo of inexhaustible and boundless creative energy. He is born to solve problems. He had to tackle the problems of this shattered country by a methodical system of fixing priorities. No doubt, he is a past master in this difficult and complicated administrative art. Mr. Bhutto, the adroit politician and the astute statesman, tackled the difficult problems of his county one by one with devotion, determination and patriotic zeal and solved them successfully. To day, the people of Pakistan are on the road to democracy, social justice and economic prosperity.

Some time the reactionary opposition in Pakistan dubs Prime Minister Bhutto as a mystery man. He is exactly the opposite of it. He is an extrovert with an open mind. Of course m he is end owed with mystic intelligence and reaches his goal with intuitive correctness. But basically, his approach to problems s is logical and methodical and is the result of thought process. His deep understanding of historical processes and historical situations coupled with his vast store of accumulated knowledge, gained both from books as well as from the experience and observation of the contemporary political and socio-economic scene of the world, have gone a long way to make him a politician of unrivalled skill and Himalayan stature.

He believes passionately in the outdoor mind which is a very rare and uncommon quality in the Pakistani politicians. He does not believe in drawing-room chatter but constantly reaches out for facts into the fields. He travels, more often than not, throughout the length and breadth of Pakistan. During his tours he inspects development works, roads, factories, colleges, universities, hospitals, flood-stricken dams and bridges and inundated fields.

To fine out what is happening in the country, he often goes out and meet the people both in villages and cities. In a recent interview granted to Faribour Atapour of the Tehran Journal, he pointed out that his predecessors "did not go to the people; instead they tried to handle every thing through bureaucracy. They leaned too heavily on bureaucracy and thought that by sitting in a room and having some conferences, they could contrive to hoodwink the people into accepting formulas which were unjust and unrealistic. That was the kind of approach that led to the separation of East Pakistan. The military dictators ruled like ignorant individuals who thought that the whole thing was an army drill and all that was required was that regimental orders had to be issued and every one would fall in line as if on a regimental parade ground. Their approach to political problems and political issues was not political at al. They said: "Let us teach them a lesson". A government has had to use force when necessary. My government has had to do s when driven to the wall. But we did not forego the political processes. If we used force in Baluchistan at some places, I demonstrated by going there often that the political presence was very much there. I have gone there in winter, in summer, in heat and cold. Whatever the climate...120 degrees or even below freezing point- I have been in Baluchistan. I have been on tour there twenty days or fifteen days for shorter or longer periods. Why? To meet the people. Not only do I met the people but explained to them problems. I regard this as a process of political education- both mine and of the people". Again, immediately after assuming power and taking responsibility of making the residual Pakistan a going concern, his sixth sense guided him to undertake a marathon trip of seventeen foreign countries, hopping from one country to another in order to restore the confidence of other nations, not only in the survival of Pakistan but also in its importance, stability and capability. As an Ambassad or of good-will, he is superb. His extraordinary eloquence, his magnetic personality, his charming manners and his diplomatic skill are enough to disarm and over whelm any man of consequence on the surface of the Globe. He did his job well and returned home with flying colours from his diplomatic tour of seventeen countries.

His greatest diplomatic scoop, however, is the Simla Agreement. India was a victorious nation and the vanquished Pakistan was in no position to secure the objectives at Simla. Obviously it could not speak from the position of strength.

Mr. Bhutto had to accept the dictates of the domineering Mrs. Gandhi. But the wonders of wonder is that like, a veteran diplomat, he stooped to conquer. It seems that he outwitted Mrs. Gandhi in diplomatic bargaining. He secured the release of ninety thousand POWs and also freed 5,000 square miles of Pakistani territory from Indian clutches and gave nothing in return except the promise of normalization of relations which is more to the advantage of Pakistan than India. The right of the people of Jammu and Kashmir to self-determination still stands and Pakistan is stoutly defending it. It was, indeed, a master stroke of diplomacy, says the Listener of London dated 21st December, 1972:

“Looking back on the year, one can say that Bhutto’s outstanding achievement was the Simla Agreement. Has any other recent been ended with the victor undertaking to hand back to the vanquished 5,000 square miles of territory in return for nothing more than the promise of good neighborliness and further negotiations to settle outstanding differences!” Pakistan is fortunate in having a diplomat of Mr. Z.A. Bhutto stature whose superb diplomacy has won by now many friends for his country and strengthened her friendly relations with almost all the countries of the world. His monumental role in the emergence of a new Pakistan has won him international acclaim and he is now a well-known figure on the international scene.”

In short, since his assumption of power this great man of vision and destiny, equipped with result will, extraordinary intelligence and seething patriotic zeal has been fighting successfully against the landlords, Jagirdars, sardars, capitalists, industrialists, big business, religious fanatics, religious fascists, corrupt bureaucrats, saboteurs, terrorists, foreign intriguers and foreign spies. He stood like a rock against all odds and oddities and achieved national unity with the help of down-trodden and exploited masses. He is their beloved leader and always advocates with enthusiasm the cause of the poor, the lowliest and the lost. He works hard for the emancipation of the exploited working class and illiterate masses and his heart bleeds for their miserable plight.

In order to substantiate our appraisal of Mr. Bhutto’s achievements and his personality, we reproduce here some of the tributes paid to him by foreign dignitaries and leading personalities of contemporary international world:

Chou-En-Lai expressed his firm belief that the Pakistani people and their leaders would succeed in creating a new Pakistan with a bright future. He said that he had many direct contacts with the people and leaders of Pakistan to now that President Bhutto would succeed in his efforts to bring about a new state of independence.

(Peking, January 31, 1972)

Pakistan entered 1972 a deeply troubled and demoralised nation. Crisis and defeat in 1971 had torn apart its political structure, halved its population and shattered the established pattern of its economy. Yet President Bhutto has taken many courageous steps of political, economic and social reforms. He has restored much of the self-confidence of his countrymen.

Richard M. Nixon
President of U.S.A
Washington, May 3, 1973.

We not only look upon Mr. Bhutto as the Head of State of friendly, brotherly and allied country to which we are bound BY common ties of religion, but we have the highest regards for Mr. Bhutto personally as a statesman who under extremely difficult and exceptional circumstances, has completely dedicated himself to serving his nation. We fully realise that Mr. Bhutto assumed the guidance of the destiny of the Islamic Republic of Pakistan t a very delicate and critical juncture.

From the very start of his assumption of this responsibility he has had to face such difficulties, as rarely, beset a statesman. Mr. Bhutto has confronted all those difficulties with fortitude, faith and with unflagging spirit, and he has always been mindful of his vital responsibilities towards his people and history which devolved upon him when he accepted the Presidency.

Mohammad Raza Shah Pehlvi,
Shahinshah of Iran,
Tehran May 12, 1973.

I also greet my dear brother Zulfikar Ali Bhutto who's sincere and unrelenting efforts have made possible this Islamic gathering in this dear country. But for his profound faith and genuine understanding of the essence of Islam, not as a ritual or priesthood, but as an overall social, political and economic revolution that ultimately seeks to establish the civilization of man, but for all this we could never have been able to attend the present meeting.

Col: Muammer Gadafi,
President of Libya,
ARAB REPUBLIC,
Lahore, February 22, 1974.

President Pompidou paid tributes to President Bhutto for his dynamic external and internal policies and for his efforts to overcome problems after 1971 tragic events, President Pompidou said that President Bhutto deserved tributes for successfully facing the challenge after 1971 events in a steadfast manner.

Paris, July 26, 1973.

We fully support the efforts of President Bhutto to bring about a stable and durable peace into the region. Italy wishes to collaborate with Pakistan in making its contribution in the international and bilateral spheres.

Giovanni Leone,
President of Italy,
Rome, July 15, 1973.

Mr. Bhutto has a distinguished place among statesmen. During the recent days of crisis which Pakistan had to face, Mr. Bhutto had to act in critical moments of his country. He accomplished great service to Pakistan. I congratulate him for his services to his nation.

Ismat Anonu
Former President of Turkey,
Ankara, November 7, 1973.

King Faisal-bin Abdul Aziz of Saudi Arabia congratulated Prime Minister, Zulfikar Ali Bhutto and the people of Pakistan on the solution of "KHATAM-I-NABUWWAT" Issue. He said he had full faith and confidence in the present Government's love for Islam. He said he was aware of the sincere feelings of Pakistan towards Islam.

Riyadh, January 2, 1975.

The efforts Mr. Bhutto is making for the third world unity are (unforgettable). Mr. Bhutto is the acknowledged leader, not only of Pakistan but also of the third world. Under his leadership the people of Pakistan will progress each day.

Sarin Chak,
Premier of Cambodia

Rawalpindi, March 25, 1975.

Mr. Chirac, Prime Minister of France, praised Mr. Bhutto's dynamic leadership and the stability and progress Pakistan has been able to register under him.

Paris, October 32, 1975.

Mr. Bhutto is a statesman of international repute, his visit to Sweden well further strengthens the already well established relations between the two countries. We welcome him as a man who has guided the people of Pakistan through difficult years. Under his Government, Pakistan has embarked upon the road to an economic development which we feel confident will benefit all the people of his country.

Olof Palme,
Prime Minister of Sweden,
Stockholm, February 20, 1976.

The diplomatic skill of Pakistan's Prime Minister and the efforts of its peoples for the remarkable recovery of their country after the events of 1971 and the natural calamities in the following years are praiseworthy.

Heimut Schmidt
Chancellor of Federal Republic of Germany,
Bonn, February 22, 1976.

Premier, Mr. Bhutto, is the most articulate advocate of the third world. Pakistan under his leadership is well aware of the issues created by the international economic order.

Pierre Trudeau,
Prime Minister of Canada,
Ottawa, February 24, 1976.

Dr. Waldheim said: "Mr. Bhutto took over the leadership of the country in dramatic, difficult and challenging moments in his country's history. His leadership has enhanced the importance of Pakistan's role".

Dr. Kurt Waldheim,
Secretary General of the U.N.O;
New York, February 29, 1976.

This is my second visit here as Secretary of State and I met the Prime Minister for the first time under circumstances that were very difficult for Pakistan. I admired his wisdom in that difficult period and I could see how he had rebuilt a nation from a situation that could not have been more complex.

Dr. Henry Kissinger,
Secretary of State for U.S.A;
Rawalpindi, November 2, 1974.

On this occasion my delegation wishes to express the deepest appreciation of the Government of Indonesia for the efforts made by Prime Minister, Zulfikar Ali Bhutto, in calling and hosting this (Islamic) Conference. The relations between his country and mine since their inception as sovereign states have always been exceptionally close and fraternal.

Dr. Adam Malik,
Foreign Minister of Indonesia,
Lahore, February 22, 1971.

Prime Minister, Bhutto, and his Government are making consistent efforts for the progress of the country as well as for raising the standard of life of the people. The land, industrial and labour reforms of the Government are symbolic of the acute concern which the Prime Minister holds close to his heart for the welfare of the people of Pakistan.

Moktar Ould Daddah,
President of Mauritania,
Karachi, August 8, 1976.

Under President Bhutto's dynamic leadership the Pakistani nation has been able to turn the storm away from itself.

Sheikh Zayed Bin Sultan-Al-Nahyan
President of the U.A.E

Lahore, May 17, 1972.

The crisis now being faced by Pakistan is bound to be short lived, for the people of this country would overcome their difficulties under the sincere, able and competent leadership of President Zulfikar Ali Bhutto and his colleagues in the Government.

Sheikh Zayed Bin Sultan-Al-Nahyan
Lahore, May 18, 1972.

Highly skilled negotiator and an international statesman, he (Mr. Bhutto) secured the first oil agreement between the USSR and Pakistan. He signed an agreement with the Chinese Foreign Minister in Peking on demarcation of the Sino-Pakistan boundary and he was the chief delegate on indo-Pakistan talk on Kashmir. Under President Bhutto, Pakistan has returned to a civilian administration for the time in 13 years. He also instituted many judicial reforms including commutation of all death sentences in civilian courts and his dedication to social reforms has resulted in a programmed of better working conditions and far reaching land reforms for the people of Pakistan.

Charles J. Hitch,
President of the University of California
Berkeley, March 29, 1973.

Mr. Jong JunGi, Vice-Premier of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea, congratulated the Pakistanis on their national prosperity and independent development achieved under the dynamic leadership of Prime Minister, Zulfikar Ali Bhutto.

Rawalpindi, October 17, 1975.

CHAPTER II

CONSTITUTION

Prior to the advent of the present Government of the People's Party, which came into power on December 20, 1971, Pakistan never enjoyed a democratic constitution in the true sense of the word. Previous constitutions were framed for the country by self styled politicians, who had no basking of the masses and military dictators. Who miss ruled the country and destroyed its democratic and social structure. During their tyrannic miss rule, the country was looted by the unscrupulous industrialists and capitalists. It was, indeed, an era of loot economy in Pakistan. Corruption in ingrained in the capitalistic structure of society. It can not flourish without corruption and exploitation. The dictatorial regimes in Pakistan perpetuated this sorry state of affairs, Mr. Bhutto had to wipe out the unhealthy and corrupt socio-economic traditions of his predecessors and had to usher in an era of true democracy and the rule of law.

Now the Islamic Republic of Pakistan enjoys a modern democratic constitution. It was framed together with all the members of the Opposition and has unanimously been approved by the Parliament. It declares for the first time Islam as the State Religion but the rights of all religious minorities are fully guarded and guaranteed. It provides for a federal parliamentary system of government, with a parliament consisting of two houses, namely, the National Assembly and the Senate. The constitution guarantees fundamental rights and makes them justifiable. It also ensures maximum autonomy to the provinces, consistent with National unity, solidarity, integrity and sovereignty.

Pakistan enjoys now under its democratic constitution independent judiciary and free High Courts and Supreme Court.

Prime Minister Bhutto in an interview to the Editor of the "Egyptian Gazette" and the "Egyptian Mail" explained at length the attitude of his Government towards Opposition in the present Democratic Pakistan of the People's Party which is being run in accordance with the newly framed Constitution. The editor put a question; "What about you're Opposition". The Prime Minister replied; "Well, the Opposition here is not suppressed or victimised. It is allowed to function. There is no country in this whole region which allows the Opposition to function like we do in Pakistan. How many countries in Africa or Asia permit a multiple number of parties to function? Your county does not. One day I asked President Nassir, who was very kind to me, "Why don't you allow other political parties? And he laughed and said to me:

“You want me to allow a multiparty system”. I replied, “No, I am asking you why don’t. I don’t say you should or should not.” He said, “They will become agents of foreign countries; one party will be an agent of a third country.” He went on to mention the three countries. He said: “Why shall I invite those countries to come and function in Egypt?” So, your country does not allow a multi-party system of function; nor does Algeria no Morocco. Iran has a one party state and none of the Persian Gulf States has more than one party. Indonesia does not have a number of parties, no Burma; India now is the biggest example. For 28 years India beat the drum of democracy till she beat it to death.”

“Here in Pakistan we allow more liberties and opportunities to the Opposition than any given in many other countries..... We have got newspapers which criticise the government. But no country in the world will allow the press to incite military intervention which would destroy the country’s Constitution; which country will permit seditious material to be published in its press in order to subvert the duly constituted, elected government? If anything, I have been very philosophical about the Opposition. My fault and crime is that I have not been as strong as some others in dealing with the Opposition. I have dealt with them philosophically, in a spirit of tolerance. Looking at the condition of Asia, looking at the condition of our country, surrounded as we are by hostile forces, and knowing the weaknesses of people and of politicians__ I am a political being myself __seeing how easily they run to foreign embassies and ask for help considering all this you will have to give me some credit for my attitude towards the opposition.” “I have to think of the country first. I must think of the security of Pakistan and its well-being. Pakistan has already been dismembered by too much tolerance. I would say that in some respect if Mr.Mujibur Rahman and his six point’s campaign had been controlled at the right time by the Military Government, East Pakistan might not have separated”.

“I can not give latitude to secession. I can not allow the establishment of foreign tentacles in the body politic of Pakistan. Foreign nations have their objectives. Some of these might be in conformity with our national objectives but other might be in conflict.... We are like a ship on tempestuous sea. A ship on a tempestuous sea must not be without a rudder”.

The weekly Spectator of London, comments about Mr. Bhutto’s stature as a political leader vis-à-vis the opposition as follows:

“There would be little hope of stability in Pakistan if the Opposition parties were to succeed in dislodging Mr. Bhutto: No one in the country is equipped to replace him as Prime Minister Zulfikar Ali Bhutto is not only the accomplished political leader in Pakistan; with Chou-En-Lai he is outstanding among Eastern statesmen.

In manner and appearance, as well as intuitive skill, he has been likened to a younger Herald Macmillan. Other characteristics apart, he has something of Mr. Macmillan's relaxed, even languid wit.....

He is also a man of limitless energy. He is intellectually as well as physically tough and what is more, he is an orator, a romantic".

To sum up, it can be said without fear of contradiction or exaggeration that the Constitution of Pakistan aims at establishing a truly democratic and socialist, Islamic Society. The constitution guarantees the preservation and the propagation of a modern democratic society and it is hoped that democracy will now flourish and bloom in Pakistan.

CHPATER III

REFORMS

Mr. Zulfikar Ali Bhutto, the Chairman of the Pakistan People's Party and the Prime Minister of Pakistan, popularly known as "QUAID-I-AWAM", for the first time in the history of Pakistan launched a vigorous campaign of sweeping and constructive reforms for the betterment of the poor working class__ the peasants and the labourers.

LAND REFORMS

La Brvere, three centuries ago, wrote about the peasants of his day in France in the following graphic manner:

"You see wild animals, male and female, dotted around the countryside, with sun-baked faces, digging the soil to which they are attached, with tremendous energy. These peculiar animals have an articular voice and when they stand up, you can see they have a human face, and, in fact, these animals are neglected human beings. At night, they retire to their mud holds, where they live on black bread, water and roots; they work hard to save other men the trouble of sowing, cultivating and harvesting the fields. They are the benefactors of mankind. It is only fair that they shall no be deprived altogether of the bread which they produce for the consumption and comfort of fellow human beings".

Even today with little adjustments, this is the lot of peasants in the feudalistic societies of Asia and Africa. It is said that Richelieu called the peasants "The People's mule" and for the matter he is a willing mule, too. NO doubt, he carries the heaviest load of human society.

What was true for Richelieu in the distant past was equally true in the feudal Pakistan of the dictators even in the modern times. It is against this iniquitous agrarian system under which the tillers of the land suffered of centuries in silence like dumb, driven animals, that the Chairman of the4 People's Party started a successful campaign in the shape of land reforms. He is committed "to the eradication of the cure of feudalism and man's unjust overlord ship of the Good Earth".

Within three months of taking the rein of the Government, Prime Minister Bhutto announced wide-ranging land reforms to allow the peasantry to start a new life. He was confident that these revolutionary concessions given to the tillers of the soil will open new vistas of economic betterment for them. A series of reform measures in the shape of basic changes in rural relationships,

institutionalization of incentives for increased production and steps for adequate and timely supply of essential inputs delivered the goods. Agriculture development occupies a key position in the economy of Pakistan. The welfare of about 80% of the people living in the rural areas and the overall development of the economy itself depends, to a great extent, on the improvement in agriculture: But, apart from the vital economic considerations the Quaid-e-Awam could not tolerate the inhuman and oppressive system in which the peasants, the noblest sons of the soil, were forced to live a sub-human life. Unfortunately, they neither profited from their labour, except to negligible degree; no did they enjoy their legitimate rights as human beings.

With Seneca, the Prime Minister cried that those you call your peasants are really noble human beings. Though weak and down-trodden, nevertheless, they live under the same sky, breathe the same air and live and die just like you, who have assumed the role of the immortal Olympic gods and look down upon your peasants as poor, helpless mortals. Prime Minister Bhutto's Awami Government, both for human as well as economic considerations, has made the development of agriculture as one of its primary concerns. As a result of land reforms over 8, 9, 2,000 acres of agricultural land has been resumed and 4, 3, 2,000 acres have been distributed to 53,458 farmers. 37,000 landless tenants have been granted proprietary rights over the land distributed to them.

But as the small land holders were still suffering from the heavy burden of the land revenue and other taxes, so it was imperative to lighten their burden. The Prime Minister on November 10, 1975, announced large scale revenue exemptions. This relieved the burden of more than 7.5 million small land holders in all the four provinces. Of these 5.0 million will be benefited in the Punjab, about 1.7 million in the N.W.F.P., more than 7, 00,000 in Sind, approximately 3, and 50,000 in the Baluchistan".

With the introduction of land reforms and the largest ever funds being rightly pumped into Agricultural sector, the ground has now been prepared for a major break through and attaining self-sufficiency in food.

The basic aim of the agrarian reforms is to increase yield per acre, providing better return to farmers to which the People's Government is committed and to achieve self-sufficiency in food production.

Before the advent of the People's Government, Pakistan, despite its highly developed and sophisticated canal system in the world, had to import wheat from abroad because it could not meet its wheat requirement from the indigenous sources. To say the least, it was shameful for Pakistan to depend for its staple food on others, though it is a predominantly agricultural country. As

Pakistan could not meet its wheat requirements, it was dangerously exposed to the evil effects of the so-called Wheat Diplomacy. The foreign powers could always exploit this deplorable situation to their own advantage.

Obviously Prime Minister Bhutto, apart from other considerations, could not put up with this humiliating situation. He is fully conscious of the national objective of self-reliance as an essential pre-requisite for the development of a progressive, self-respecting and exploitation-free society. For him, self-sufficiency in food is an integral part of the national strategy for economic and political self-reliance. His People's Government has from the outset devoted its energies to the uplift of the agriculture sector which is the back-bone of the national economy.

Pakistan as a developing country with agriculture contributing more than one third of its G.N.P. the Government is doing everything possible to exploit to the full the agricultural potential in the shortest possible time. The efforts made in this direction so far have already shown results. The current year's wheat crop (1976) has set a new record and that realization of food self-sufficiency is no longer a distant dream but a concretely emerging reality.

CHAPTER IV

INDUSTRIAL REFORMS AND DEVELOPMENT PHILOSOPHY

THE ERA OF NATIONALISATION

In February 1971, as Chief Editor of the Pushto weekly "Aman", Peshawar Mr. Bhutto kindly granted me an exclusive interview at the residence of the late Mr. Hayat Mohammad Khan Sherpao Shaheed. I put a straight question to the Chairman of the People's Party: "Sir, you are aware that Pakistan is in the grip of economic slump. What is your solution for the problem? Heavy taxation or change of economic system?" Mr. Bhutto replied: "I believe in the change of economic system". I quickly put another question: "If you believe in socialism, what brand of European?" The Chairman smiled and politely said: "My own brand of socialism".

When I came out of the late Sherpao's bungalow, fellow journalists asked: "what is his solution for the economic ills of the country." I replied: "This man means business. He wants his own brand of socialism in Pakistan." This was my first and last interview with Mr. Zulfikar Ali Bhutto, the Chairman of the Pakistan People's Party. Later on I published the text of this interview in the weekly "Aman", I don't know what its impact upon the readers was, but it was an eye-opener for me. I was convinced that Islamic socialism was not a mere election slogan. The Chairman of the People's Party is keen on it.

To understand Bhutto's revolution and his social, economic and spiritual philosophy, we should have a glimpse of his inner mind.

Prime Minister Bhutto's mind is in tune with the spirit of the age. He knows that a poor developing country like Pakistan's can not make progress by sticking to feudalism and capitalism in the modern world. A new world is in the making and he is probing for the feel of the new life. The old pattern of feudalism and feudalistic values have no place in the modern scientific and technological age.

Science, the gift of the twentieth century, has shrunked the world. It is now a global village inhabited by a species of Homosapiens who are struggling hard to live a decent, progressive life. Modern man lives among the hurricanes of change and is bedeviled by the demand of a shifting environment. His mind is now associated with jets, satellites, rockets, space-crafts, hydrogen bomb, missiles, television cameras and computers. His conception of time and space has changed

as he is living in a fast changing explosive world as well as a changing universe. No wonder if along with scientific changes we are witnessing a world-wide socio-economic and political changes also.

Prime Minister Bhutto is not only the child of his age but he is also a man in advance of his age: he is also a man in disagreement of his age. He is yearning for a new international economic order based on justice and equity. His eyes are fixed on far off goal a world of socio-economic utopia of the middle class in which man, the vicegerent of God, should live a happy, progressive and comfortable life. In short, his spiritually dedicated and spiritually intoxicated mind is saturated not only with the National but also with the international mood of the age. He is worried about the future of man, who is suffering, at present, in the struggling world of inequality and injustice from the noisy headache caused by the din of machines and by the fear of mushroom clouds. Mr. Bhutto is basically a peace maker and his voice is the voice of sanity in the modern, maddening world of strife, strains and stresses.

With this background, now let us understand his special brand of socialism, popularly known as Islamic socialism.

During the last general elections Pakistan People's Party coined two slogans; firstly, the party promised "Roti, Kapra and Makan" for everyday. The second slogan enunciates the three fundamental principles of the Party, namely, "Islam is our DEEN (Religion), Democracy is our polity and Socialism is our economy". Both these slogans are not mere election slogans. They reflect an outlook a concrete philosophy of life.

Mr. Bhutto is a staunch Muslim by faith. And as a Muslim, he believes not only in the form but also in the spirit of the religion. He knows that Islam as a great revolutionary force condemns feudalism, capitalism, imperialism and even nationalism. Islam as a DEEN preaches an international outlook and stands for the unity of mankind. Islam is a way of life and as such it stands for a just and honest international society which should not be divided by the barriers of race, colour and country. Islam is deadly against the society of the exploiters and the exploited and firmly advocates equality, fraternity and democracy. Mr. Bhutto's soul is saturated with the spirit of Islam. Wittingly or unwittingly he follows the dictates of his religion.

Now let us hear from Mr. Bhutto himself the meaning of his slogans which he coned for the benefit of the masses during the last general elections. In an interview to the Editor of the "Egyptian Gazette" and the "Egyptian Mail", Prime Minister Bhutto explained the philosophy of his slogans in the following words:

“I would, therefore, like to make it clear that the concept of “ROTI, KAPRA and MAKAN” represents our ethics in terms of the socio-economic conditions of our country and our past history. In the past, no effort was made for the common man and no emphasis put on his interests. Priorities were not worked out on the basis of what is essentially good for the common man; I formed the Pakistan People's Party to change the whole emphasis... I said it was no use trying to do things which did not benefit the common man. We must go straight to the common man rather than say that we will reach the common man in the final result. The latter, you know, is capitalistic philosophy which stresses capital formation first and benefits percolating to the people at the end. That, in my opinion, is an obsolete approach... If poor countries, impoverished countries proceed on the basis of the law of supply and demand, demand will only come from the rich and the prosperous. In other words, the elements of social justice and Islamic morality must be forgotten for a long time to come. But the people are not ready or willing to wait for a long time to come. That is why I said that we must not work on the basis of these imperialistic concepts. Imperialist powers could afford to be callous and careless about the requirements of the colonies. And the lessons they taught us were the wrong ones. SO, when I talked about “ROTI, KAPRA and MAKAN”, I said that we must go for the people’s priorities. We must first think of people's stomach, their clothing and of shelter for them before we go for grandiose schemes and big projects which scarcely provide the basic necessities of life. It is essential but I did not say that I would whistle and clothes would fall from heaven; that I would sing a song and houses would be built or food provided. I told the people that they would have to work and struggle very hard to increase production. We would, of course, change the direction of our planning from building palaces and sky-scrapers and from non-essential to the basic priorities of the people. These are to try and build houses for them, increase the production of food and improve the production of clothing. Now this is the philosophy and this is what we have done in these four years. Despite many set-backs and international problems, we have changed the whole orientation of the country’s outlook. We have nationalised some big industries, banking and shipping. We have developed the public sector, we have brought about land reforms; we have given credit facilities to the farmers; we have set up literally ROTI PLANTS in the big cities like Karachi and Lahore. But nowhere in the world do things come free to the people. No body presents gifts. The People’s Republic of China is sometimes quoted as an example. I have not seen people work as hard anywhere in the world as in China. So the whole concept of Roti, Kapra and Makan is an ethical concept tied up with the practical concept of working hard and producing more. This has to be understood.

Editor; Yes, I see. Now to what extent does the Government of Pakistan believe in the policy of nationalisation?

Prime Minister; Well, the point is that every country has its own experience and its own condition. This is again connected with the first question. What is the extent of the state's responsibility in fulfilling the basic needs of its citizens? Should the state consider that to be its responsibility or should the state leave it to the citizens to meet their requirements? In our opinion, it is the state which must take responsibility of meeting the requirements of its citizens. It must not shift that responsibility. This is the basic position. At the same time we believe that the citizens must also have freedom to use their ingenuity and imagination, their hard work, their money and their efforts to contribute to the welfare of the state. So we believe in a marriage between the public sector and the private sector. We believe that the basic heavy industries must remain in the hands of the state. They must be in the hands of the people so that they are not manipulated by the market forces. At the same time, we believe that there should be considerable private enterprise.

Editor. Considerable?

Prime Minister. Yes. Considerable private enterprise in the country. Actually today in terms of percentages, seventy percent or even more of the country's industries are in the hands of the private sector. We have not nationalised the textile industry which is the biggest in the country. We have said that we do not intend to nationalise it. We have not nationalised sugar mills and we don't intend to. We have not nationalised surgical instruments, leather, sport goods and wearing apparel factories. We have not nationalised a number of other factories of medium size or even large size. But, of course, we have nationalised cement and refineries.

Editor. Basic Industries?

Prime Minister. We have nationalised basic Industries. We want to maintain a balance between the public and the private sector. We want to see to what extent the private sector is going to cooperate. The success of the mixed economy in Asia and the middle-east does not depend on the Government; it depends on the private entrepreneur. If the private entrepreneur has faith in his country and the destiny of his nation he will put the nation's money which is at his disposal into the country itself."

I have quoted at length from Prime Minister Bhutto's interview in order to throw light on his special brand of socialism. When he says socialism is our economy he does not mean to follow the philosophy of Marxism Leninism. His socialism is basically a religious concept.

Fortunately, the spirit of Islam has always been in harmony with the progressive socio-economy changes of the human society. But, unfortunately, the conservative ulema of our country, the stooges of capitalists and feudalists are opposed to the socio-economic structure of the modern progressive world. Socialism is an anathema to them. They think that Islam supports the centuries old feudalistic and capitalistic structure of society and that Islam stands for the exploitation of labour. This is an erroneous and fallacious concept. Islam is the only religion which bans the exploitation of labour in all its ramifications.

Mr. Bhutto has categorically stated that Islam is our Deen (Religion), his reliance on spiritual principles and religious beliefs is almost dogmatic. The Pakistani masses are devoutly attached to their religious beliefs and the sublime truth of religion is the governing principle and the pivot of their moral and spiritual values. In fact as a Muslim millat we believe that no matter how brilliant its progress might be, a society devoid of religious beliefs and devoid of the spiritual principles of individual and social freedoms are not worth having because such a society is not enduring and everlasting. Without religion there is no beauty and no attraction in life. Religion is the essence of human life. The absence of spiritual values is intolerable for Muslims. But all the same a society of the exploiters and the exploited is a horrible nightmare for true Muslims because it outrages the real dynamic spirit of Islam.

Mr. Bhutto's revolution is essentially a Pakistani revolution in the sense that it is compatible with the spirit and healthy traditions of the Muslim millat of Pakistan. It is not an imported revolution. He has adopted measures commensurate with Pakistani genius utilising, of course, all the useful and progressive experiences of others. Emerson writes, "every project in the history of reforms... is good when it is the dictate of a man's genius and conscious, but very dull and suspicious when adopted from others".

Premier Bhutto wants to convert the present feudal Pakistan into a progressive producer's republic based on the teachings of Islam. Also as a democrat he believes in the preservation of individual and social freedoms and wants to strengthen these freedoms in Pakistan. What he can not tolerate in his new Pakistan is the exploitation of labour and the concentration of wealth in a few hands. According to him every kind of exploitation that serves the interest of a limited, parasitic group and acts to the detriment of the majority must be discarded. This is his socialism and, for that matter, Islamic socialism.

To realize this goal, he has introduced land reforms as well as industrial and labour reforms. His aim is that relationship between the land owners and peasants as well as workers and employers should be regularized on humanistic principles so that peasants and labourers should not feel exploited.

In his interview to Fariborz Atapour of the Tehran Journal he has made it abundantly clear that he differs from Marx in his philosophy. The relevant portion of his interview runs as follows:

Question. You have said that your economic policy is based on Marxism. But surely Marxism would not apply in a rural economy like yours?

Answer. I have said that we accept in our party only the economic analysis of Marx. In the economic analysis of Marx the peasantry was not excluded. There are volumes on the peasantry, on land reforms without compensation and on land belonging to the tiller. Marx said that Communist revolution would be spearheaded by the industrial proletariat and that the first place should be given to the proletariat because it is the engine of the revolution. But what we say is that we reject Marxism in its historical interpretation of history. We reject Marxism on the ground that it denies the existence of God. Marx said that there is no God and that there is no world hereafter. We believe that there is a God and that there is a world hereafter. We reject Marx's concept of a stateless society. We believe that the structures of states are part and parcel of the scheme of things. We reject Marx even to the extent that there can be a complete withering away of what are called the upper classes. We think there will always be groups of people who are better endowed with some talent or the other than others. And this will result in class differences but what we do not want is that there should be a distinct class of exploiters or a permanent class of exploited people. But we do take a lot from Marx. We accept Marxism and its concept of economic planning. We do not leave the development of economy to the capricious market forces. Market oriented economies lead to fluctuations, lead to depressions, recessions and inflations. The better the economy is planned, and on a scientific basis and this can be done properly only by the state not by entrepreneurs the better it will be for social beings".

"But here we also say that we have not done away with the private sector. We believe that only the essential industries, the basic industries should be in the state sector as also those industries which are not really industries but are reprocessing plants like cotton ginning and rice husking mills where anti-social elements turn out sub-standard products which adversely affect the lives and health of the people. You know I gave these mill owners a chance to mend their ways. For four years I told them that they should not play with the health of the people. I told them not to mix all sorts of things in wheat flour, not to adulterate and not to export goods that are not of the same quality as their approved samples because this gives the country a bad name. But the anti-social elements among them ignored these warnings and continued their adulteration of products for sale at home and abroad. In this situation I decided that this kind of

business can not be tolerated and that is why we nationalised the wheat, rice and cotton processing units.”

In the light of the above interview we can now clearly understand the spirit and philosophy of Bhutto’s revolution.

DEEN (Religion), democracy and socialism are his fundamental principle; what Mr. Bhutto really wants is to do away with a distinct class of exploiters or a permanent class of the exploited in his new Pakistan. With Leon Walres, the nineteenth century Swiss economist of the Lausanne University, his contention is that as long as wealth is not justly distributed amongst the people its abundance in a few hands is meaningless. Before Bhutto’s revolution national wealth in Pakistan had no real meaning as it was concentrated in a few hands and the public at large gained nothing out of it.

In building a new Pakistan, Mr. Bhutto had to find ways and means most beneficial to the masses of Pakistan as well as harmony with the spirit of the age. It seems that for this purpose, he had thoroughly analysed the various philosophies, ideologies and socio-economic programmes of the progressive countries of the world. He realised that Pakistan needs a deep and fundamental revolution that should put an end to all the social inequalities and all those factors which are the real cause of injustice, tyranny and exploitation.

Fortunately, he evolved a formula based on three basic principles which must remain constant and sacred for the nation because with the help of these well-considered principles the people can now reach their high goal of achieving strong and progressive Pakistan.

Pakistan occupies a sensitive and strategically important place in the continent of Asia. Geography and history have conspired to choose it for playing a dominant role in this part of the world. In Prime Minister Bhutto Pakistan finds a great leader who is destined to play a prominent role in South Asia. Consequently, if Pakistan wants to remain in the circle of the dynamic, progressive and forward-looking countries of Asia, it has no alternative but to later the old, archaic, feudalistic pattern of society in accordance with Premier Bhutto’s formula and to build its future on a new social-economic structure, compatible with the spirit and needs of the time. Class privileges and class distinctions are now obsolete and no more acceptable to the people. In the present day world, every body condemns social injustice and advocates the necessity for class equilibrium and just distribution of wealth. In the contemporary age, even the conception of democracy had suffered a change. The outstanding pre-requisite and characteristic of our age is the achievement of economic democracy. As a matter of fact, “political democracy has no meaning

unless it is complemented by the economic democracy, under which no agent of exploitation, either private or government, or a group which defends a minority or a privileged class, is allowed to operate.”

Again when Prime Minister Bhutto says that democracy is our polity, he knows that the democratic constitution of Pakistan assures the fundamental human rights and civil liberties to Pakistani citizens. But he also supports economic democracy by saying that “socialism is our economy”. In fact “it is economic that nourishes the growth and development of the human spirit and encourages all sorts of efforts and achievements of individuals or groups but at the same time eliminates the possibility of any one group, adopting a monopolistic attitude vis-à-vis the other”.

To all intents and purposes, economic democracy ensures social justice and solves the complex and difficult problems of the production and distribution of wealth. Without economic democracy, political democracy becomes a mere farce in the hands of a few industrialists, capitalists and landlords. Political democracy of the western type in the Third World can be conveniently twisted by the big powers to serve their own objectives which run contrary to the objectives of poor developing countries. This type of political democracy in modern age can only be controlled by the backing and support of economic democracy.

Prime Minister Bhutto has rightly pointed out in his interview to Mr. Fariborz Atapour of the “Tehran Journal” that “there is democracy in Pakistan to the extent that our mental, our cultural and spiritual levels and above all our temperaments accept its institutions after thirteen years of dictatorship. After this long period, democracy will take time before it is generally recognised as such. Its essentials matter more than the patterns more familiar to observers more conversant with democracies existing in England or America or France. This acceptance by some may take time, as will the vestiges of dictatorship may take time to disappear from all sectors of our public life”.

Mr. Peter Gill of the New York Times has pointed out that Pakistan can today boast of marginally freer and more democratic institutions than its formidable neighbor and military rival India, now under Mrs. Indira Gandhi’s emergency rule... Credit for all this must go to one man Zulfikar Ali Bhutto, Pakistan’s Prime Minister. Immaculately attired in double breasted suits, beguilingly articulate... Mr. Bhutto has dragged Pakistan from despair to responsibility in less than four years... Mr. Bhutto’s international prestige is substantial and growing. His stature in the Muslim world enhanced after the Islamic leadership meeting in Lahore in 1974”.

CHAPTER V

NATIONALIZATION

The nationalization of the basic industries in Pakistan is the first step in the direction of economic democracy which really matters and is the goal of the modern progressive states.

There has been a speedy industrialisation in Pakistan since independence. Pakistan served as the industrialist's paradise in the sense that they plundered the wealth of the country without danger. "The previous governments which, working on out-moded economic models concentrated only on 'growth' in complete disregard of the requirements of social justice. The practice led to the accumulation of wealth in the hands of a small class and glaring differences in income levels. A fundamental restructuring of national economy was, therefore, one of the first tasks that the people's Government took in hand after coming to power" writes, Mr. Anwar Mahmood in Pakistan Pictorial of November/December, 1975, under the title "Nationalization: An assessment".

"A protected market, fiscal benefits like tax holiday and exemptions, the economically degenerating bonus voucher scheme, liberal credit facilities and manifold investment incentives were the hall mark of the socio-politico-economic infrastructure which existed for over tow decades and a half in Pakistan enabling rechannelization of resources from the poor masses to a handful of private industrialists and entrepreneurs. The entire public machinery for promotion of trade, commerce and industry was geared of the same goal-concentration of wealth in a few hands depriving the toiling millions of even the basic amenities of life".

"That was the state of affairs on the economic front in the country when in December, 71 the people's Government was called to duty to form a Government a task that it undertook under extremely trying conditions".

"The industrialists, completely ignoring the sense of social responsibilities, indulged in undesirable practices of hoarding and deliberate under-utilization of capacity and of creating artificial scarcity to reap abnormal profits. Labour management relations were also strained. Labour was highly dissatisfied. They were getting low remuneration, and in many class, fringe benefits were almost negligible. The labour laws created imbalance in bargaining power in favour of the management".

“The people's Government emerged as a realization of the dreams of the masses to establish a system designed to generate more employment and to take such other measures which would lead to social justices”.

“As a first step to improve the economic system, the People's Government issued the Economic Reforms Order, 1072, under which the management control of 31 industrial units under 10 categories of basic industries was taken over”.

“To assert public ownership over the basic industries, the government took over the management and later nationalized 32 industrial units under 10 basic categories, namely, iron and steel, basic metal industries, heavy engineering industries, heavy electrical industries, assembly and manufacture of motor vehicles, tractor public utilities, that is, electricity generation, transmission and distribution, gas and oil refineries”.

Later on, life insurance, vegetable oil industry, banks, shipping companies, oil companies and wheat, rice and cotton processing units were also nationalized.

“In the private sector measures include abolition of managing agency system and introduction of proportionate representation system”.

“The volume of production of nationalized industries has increased and consequently lessened the intensity of shortage of goods. The sales of all the nationalized industries managed by the Board of Industrial Management increased from Rs. 1,428 million in 1972-73 to Rs. 2,349 million in 1973-74, an increase of 64.51 percent”.

“Significant improvements in labour-management relations have also been made. The nationalized industries are fully cooperative with the government in implementing the new labour policy. They have given the labour more facilities and amenities. Employment opportunities have also increased not only due to their expansion but also through greater utilization of existing capacity”.

“During a brief period of its rule, the present Government has, to a great extent changed the old pattern of production and distribution of wealth. Concentration of wealth in a few hands is being checked and benefits of the growth are also flowing to the poverty-stricken population. The credits advanced by various financial institutions are also being nationalized to make it more productive”.

It is now clear that Mr. Bhutto had to nationalize basic industries to stabilise price structure and to stop loot and plundering in the industrial field. He has also

done way with cartels and trusts. The industrialists in Pakistan were, in fact, industrial feudalists and in collaboration with feudal landlords, subjected the working classes to a reign of terror. Feudal landlords, feudal industrialists, feudal capitalists and feudal monopolists in connivance with corrupt beaurocrats, constituted the ruling classes in Pakistan. In this tyrannic society there was no place for the toiling masses. They were the slaves of the feudal minorities. Under the circumstances the basic industries and other resources vital to the interests of all citizens had to be nationalized by the Awami Government. The industrialists the landlords, however, are still hoping against hope that the reactionary opposition leaders might succeed in putting the national economy in the reverse gear and that the factories and lands which had been acquired for the benefit of the common man and tillers of the land would be returned of them: But these seths and big zamindars are living in fool's paradise. Prime Minister Bhutto has recently declared in Abbottabad that the process of economic change for the advancement of the common man and social justice introduced though nationalization of basic industries and land reforms was irreversible.

The processing units of the cotton ginning, rice husking and flour mills were also nationalized because the middle man were playing havoc with health of the masses as well as the economy of the country. They were making fabulous profits at the expense of the public at large. They indulged in all sorts of mal-practices and corruption.

The middle man in the economy of Pakistan is the villain of the piece. The goods produced in the industrial, agricultural and other fields change hands several times before they reach the consumers are with each change the price rise. Often the prices of goods are raised two or three times before they reach the consumers. In order to minimize the profit of the middle man, corporations and co-operatives in the various branches of production, distribution and consumption are badly needed. Co-operative is in fact the basic of economic democracy.

With this end in view, the President of Pakistan has now promulgated an ordinance providing for the establishment of a Federal Bank for the co-operatives and regulation of co-operative banking in the country. The new legislative measures will help create uniformity in the co-operative structure in all the provinces and ensure adequate flow of credit to the rural community for agricultural and rural development.

CHAPTER VI

LABOUR REFORMS AND LABOUR POLICY

Recorded history shows that through the ages the labourer has been treated as the “tattered outlaw of the earth”. It is only in the modern age that in the progressive countries the working class is treated with respect and the dignity of labour is established.

The record of the past empires is the blackest and the gloomiest so far as the working class is concerned. They subjected the labouring class to untold miseries and brutalities. In Pakistan also, the history of labour is one of the saddest sagas of ruthless exploitation though Islam upholds the legitimate rights of the workers.

When Prime Minister Zulfikar Ali Bhutto took over the reins of the Government, the economic system of the nineteenth century prevailed in Pakistan. The military dictators encouraged the employers to completely ignore the social conditions and the interests of the workers. The emphasis was on the individual profit to the detriment of the labourers and the country. Free enterprise and profit motive were the only two words written in capital letters in the dictionary of the employers. They paid no attention to the interests of welfare of the workers, though the hard working labourers played a dominant role in running their monopolistic enterprises and in increasing their employers' fabulous profits. Wealth is another name for the hard labour of the labourers. The workers are the creators of wealth. They play a pivotal role in the formation of capital. But the unscrupulous, industrial tycoons in Pakistan treated their workers as slaves. As a result, the labour was highly dissatisfied and discontented. The noble and industrious labourers of Pakistan were leading a miserable life. Their rights had been usurped by the ruling classes. However, the present regime has now closed this sad chapter of ruthless exploitation for ever and the working classes are now given their due rights.

In the modern enlightened age, economic problems can not be divorced from social and moral problems. The labourer also has as good a human personality as any other citizen of a state. It is now recognized by the progressive states of the world that no privilege except that of merit and capability be admitted in the distribution of loaves and fishes. Economic laws and economic policies, therefore, should serve the higher and noble goal of social justice and should ensure better, fuller and richer life for all the citizens of a state.

In the production and distribution of wealth, moral and human laws must complement economic laws. It was full regard to these human considerations that the People's Party Government under the great leadership of the Prime Minister, Zulfikar Ali Bhutto, gave moral and legal support to the workers, the producers of wealth, and framed labour laws and Labour Policy in accordance with the spirit of the age. As a matter of fact, the present Government has effected a shift from growth-oriented strategy of development to a strategy primarily governed by social considerations. The poor and starving millions have to be fed, clothed, houses hand medi-cared even if some elegant and adored models in investment are to be abandoned.

The private entrepreneurs, whose souls are soaked with the inhuman feudalistic and capitalistic philosophy of exploitation, predicted that the labour policy of Mr. Bhutto's Government will disrupt the whole system of industrial operation and that industrial and productive enterprises would collapse but the result gave a lie to their predictions. We can say now with confidence that Labour Laws have helped to increase the production. The economy, on the whole, has made big strides and the reform of the economic structure is being backed by massive investment. Development is taking place in every walk of life and the Government is spending this year, 1976, Rs.1700 crore on developments compared to Rs. 260 crore in 1972.

Workers, the pivotal force in development are now receiving more benefits but not at the expense of the employers. In fact, the employers are not losing but they are gaining from the better relations that now exist in the industrial field. Every employer must realize that the age of exploitation is gone and dead. He should know for his own benefits that work carried on in an atmosphere of mutual suspicion, duress, oppression and lack of confidence is unprofitable as well as unpalatable, both for him and the workers. For achieving positive result in the industrial field, a congenial, human atmosphere of sincerity, co-operation and mutual trust is necessary. Efficiency comes with satisfaction and efficient and satisfied workers are the best assets of a country. Natural resources alone can not make a nation rich and great. The secret of richness as well as greatness lies in human resources. Capable, hard working and contented workers are the real national resource of a country.

Industrial growth and labour welfare are interdependent and interlinked. The aim of the Awami Government is that the people whose toil and sweat open new fields in the industrial advancement, should fully share the country's prosperity. Labour welfare, is, therefore, the corner-stone of the labour policy of the people's Government under the dynamic leadership of Quaid-e-Awam, Mr. Zulfikar Ali Bhutto.

Recently, the Awami Government observed the Labour week. It was for the first time that such a week was celebrated in Pakistan. It high-lighted the socio-economic role of the labour. While addressing the tripartite labour conference Mr. Bhutto indentified his Government totally with the working class saying that the two were joined in a common struggle for the achievement of common objectives. He emphasised that People's Government would continue to recognise the key role of the workers in the national economy.

“This statement alone reflects the proposed change in values that has come about in Pakistan in the past four years. The present Government has not only emancipated the workers from an unjust social order of the right wing politicians and the military dictators but also gave them the much needed human dignity”.

“The People’s Government came into power as a result of the sacrifices of the proletariat and progressive sections and as such it belongs in essence to the agriculture and industrial working classes, who form the majority of the Pakistani nation. It will, therefore, frame or execute only those policies which safeguard the legitimate interests of the working classes. The socio-economic order which is now in the making in Pakistan is free from exploitation. It ensures equal rights and equal opportunities for all the citizens”.

The workers in Pakistan are now much better off economically and socially. With the implementation of the Labour Laws the labourers enjoy “increased participation in the management, guaranteed power of collective bargaining, streamlined system of adjudication of disputes, increased wages and fringe benefits, promotion of trade unionism, introduction of old-age pension scheme, improvement in the compensation act and share in profits”. And this is not the end. It is just the beginning. It is a pointer towards the Government’s determination to banish socio-economic inequalities and the restore the just right to the working classes”.

In short, the People's Government has emancipated the workers of Pakistan from the clutches of the hydra-headed monster of the exploiting, ruling classes and has given them benefits and rights that can favourably be compared with any country in the world.

CHAPTER VII

THE DEVELOPMENT OF FEDERALLY ADMINISTERED AREAS

History and geography conspired to make the Federally Administered Tribal Areas (FATA) of the North-Western borderland of Pakistan an awe-inspiring enigma wrapped in a mystery. But this world famous sphinx-like enigma is not a political phenomenon. It is an economic riddle. These desolate and barren areas all put together, at best, make a huge granite bowl a wasteland which produces nothing except a virile, forthright and fierce race of Pathan highlanders. This barren land is spread over an area of 10,510 sq.miles with a population of 2.50 million. The economic life of a frontier man is hard and unbearable. He has been a soldier of fortune, through the ages, out of sheer economic necessity.

The rough and rugged region has been one of the world's busiest thoroughfares since the dawn of history and has perhaps witnessed more invasions in the course of history than any country in Asia or indeed the world.

Geographically speaking, the north-western tribal areas of Pakistan serve as "the connecting link between the basin of the Indus with the basin of the Oxus and as such this was the most convenient road that was followed from time to time by the invading hordes from the great Eurasian steppe". The resultant inhabitants of a frontier like this must inevitably bear the marks of mighty and mingling civilizations". But all the same, the inhabitants of this picturesque region are conservative by nature and they do not easily change with the changing world. They have been living in these inaccessible, snow-peaked hills since remote ages and have developed a rigid, exclusive, tribal culture of their own.

Before Islam these brave tribes were always engaged in internecine warfare. But after embracing Islam they fought holy wars or "Jihad" for the glory of their religion. Since the inception of the Islamic Republic of Pakistan they have become once more the soldiers of Islam.

The founder of Pakistan, Quaid-e-Azam Mohammad Ali Jinnah, gave them the proud title of the "Sword Arm: of Pakistan. He also stressed the need for the socio-economic development of these poverty-stricken, backward areas. Quaid-e-Azam said "Pakistan wants to help you make you as far as it lies within its power, self-reliant and self-sufficient and to help your educational, social and economic uplift".

However, the previous governments ignored the development of the tribal areas. Fortunately, now the People's Government is paying special attention to the rapid socio-economic development of these areas.

The present government is keen to provide tribal region with the same socio-economic infra-structure as is available to the rest of Pakistan.

Right from the day Prime Minister Zulfikar Ali Bhutto assumed office he has been taking extraordinary interest in the development of these most under-development areas of Pakistan. He had already undertaken tour of these hitherto neglected areas thrice and personally reviewed the development operations and ascertaining the needs and requirements of each area. The Prime Minister, when he found it imperative, gave on the spot orders for additional funds for certain schemes and also directed the concerned departments to undertake new projects yielding immediate benefits to the tribesmen. For the first time in the history of these rugged, mountainous territory, Prime Minister Bhutto had been to places so far visited by no other dignitary of Pakistan. He had addressed the tribesmen face to face and made it clear to them that henceforth his government would take good care of the common man in the tribal areas and no effort or expense would be spared in bringing the fruits of the socio-economic development of the country to their threshold.

The last and a half year have witnessed the firm and steady implementation of this policy and on all accounts the tribal areas are now on the road to progress and prosperity.

Addressing a big public meeting at Wana, South Waziristan Agency the Prime Minister pointed out that under his government long standing inter-tribal disputes between Mahsuds and Wazirs had been settled. The British created a wedge between the tribes and fanned rivalries to serve their vested interests. He also strongly criticized the previous government for criminally neglecting the tribal territory and paying no attention to the development of this part of the country. They did nothing to end the tribal disputes and even did not care to visit these far flung places. He made an impassioned appeal to the tribesmen to stop fighting among themselves and said. "You believe in Islam and Islam stands for ending mutual disputes among the Muslims".

He made it clear to the tribesmen that the reasons of the leaders of the previous government for not coming to the tribal areas were that these areas did not offer them the comforts and luxuries that Lahore and Karachi offered which they visited frequently. But he as the Prime Minister of Pakistan visited the tribes thrice in four years. He promised that he would be coming again and

again if the people chose him to continue to represent them. He stressed that it was not he alone who would be coming to them periodically. Instead he said, he had evolved a system under which those who run the administration had been made accountable to the public. In fact, with the coming of the present government in power, one finds a great and healthy change now in the legendary turbulent tribal areas of Pakistan. There is a change in outlook as well as in the socio-economic uplift of the tribesmen. The traditional soldier of fortune of the bygone days always suffering from chronic economic privation, has now become a willing creative labourer and believes only in the creative freedom of the modern civilized man. He has given up the freedom of the jungle and the law of the jungle, for good. He works hard for the economic and social uplift of this dream state of Pakistan. Gone are the days when he was in a state of perpetual war against the alien British rule. Now he feels and knows that he is an integral part of the Islamic Republic of Pakistan and has played a vital role in its establishment. He is fully conscious of his responsibilities and is whole-heartedly cooperating with the government in the monumental and colossal task of making his wasteland as productive as any other part of the country. He is no more an unchained titan or a ferocious barbarian of Rudyard Kipling's imagination. For obvious reasons the British painted him in the blackest colours.

Prime Minister Bhutto wants that these backward areas should be pulled out from the depths of economic privation and the humiliation of the grinding poverty. He has love and affection for these history making brave mountaineers and endeavours to rescue this backward region from the sea of ignorance and illiteracy to the status of a well-developed progressive areas of Pakistan. The colonial era is gone and dead. The past of these areas is mostly connected with the barbarities of the imperialism. In the past, the imperialists subjected the tribal areas to punitive military expeditions, economic privation and political slavery. But fortunately, the People Government stands for social justice and Prime Minister Bhutto is the friend of the have-nots. He is working hard for the economic emancipation of the frontier man.

During his third historic visit of the tribal areas the Prime Minister said: "Thousands of years have passed but no steps have been taken to improve the tribesman's lot. But his government has now made record development during the past four and a half year. It is easy to talk of poverty but difficult to banish it. It needs planning and will to implement the projects, besides availability of adequate funds. Without such an approach. There can be no development".

Mr. Bhutto gave out the assurance that more and more development would take place in the tribal areas with the passing of times. This, he said, was his commitment. He said he had great love for Pakhtoons and, in this respect; he was more a Pakhtoon than the pakhtoons themselves.

The Prime Minister declared he was fully aware of the struggle and sacrifices of the people of the tribal areas for Pakistan and added: "You have given blood for the preservation of its integrity and solidarity. Pakistan is your motherland. You have made tremendous sacrifices for its establishment".

Mr. Bhutto pointed out that in the past the capitalists did not invest in the tribal territory because they did not consider their capital safe here. Nor did they like the environment of this backward region. He emphasized that his government's policy was, however, motivated by the wishes and the interests of the masses.

He declared that the People's Government was determined to make Pakistan a glorious and progressive state with pride not only of Asia but also of the third world and that this would be done with the co-operation of the masses.

He reminded the tribesmen that whatever reforms were introduced they were effected by the Federal Government. He said: "The people wanted the end of the "NAWABI SYSTEM", the Federal Government abolished it. They asked for abolishing the Frontier Crimes Regulations and these regulations were done away with". He reiterated: "Democracy is functioning quite successfully in Pakistan and it has no parallel in Asia".

Mr. Bhutto pointed out that his government had a common cause with the poor people of his country and that their aspirations were his aspirations.

He told the tribesmen that whenever basic reforms for the economic and social benefits were introduced by his government, the "Thekedars" the landlords and the capitalists and other vested interests tried to instigate the poor and the innocent and attempted counter revolution because they were against the political and economic awakening of the masses. He made it clear that any attempt aimed at countering revolution would not dissuade the People's Government from retracing the steps it was taking for the welfare of the people.

Prime Minister Bhutto declared that he believed and practiced People's politics and was keen on People's co-operation instead of feeding a few maliks and khans with permits.

He said his government would continue to move on in accordance with the needs of the time and the process of wide-spread revolutionary socio-economic reforms he had set in the country during the past four years and a half were irreversible because these had benefited the masses. He said he would change the face of Pakistan, particularly the backward tribal areas during the next five

years, if the people gave him another opportunity to represent them. He also condemned those elements who were spreading the venom of parochialism and provincialism in the tribal areas and want to deprive the tribesmen from the progress and prosperity of the modern age.

As a matter of fact, the development of the backward tribal areas is an article of faith with Prime Minister Bhutto. A measure of the keen interest being taken by the People's Government in tribal areas can be had from the fact that the development allocations which stood at Rs. 8.28 million in 1971-72 increased to Rs.16 crores in 1975-76. Subsequently, Rs.2.05 crores were released as supplementary grants from the non-lapsable grant of Rs.4.00 crores approved by the government for the development of FATA (Federally Administered Tribal Areas). In addition Rs.0.15 crores were also available for two Central Road Fund Projects. Thus a total amount of Rs.18.20 crores was available with the government of N.W.F.P. for FATA during 1975-76. Against this allocation, a sum of Rs.18.414 crores was utilized up to 30-6-1976. The excess expenditure of Rs.0.214 crores was met from the unspent balance of the last financial year 1974-75. The budget of N.W.F.P. at the same time increased from Rs.6.649 million in 1976-77 to Rs.180.50 million for the provincial development programme.

The administrative machinery has also been tightened up to ensure that allocations do not lapse. In his recent tour, the Prime Minister said that it was his pledge to the people of the tribal areas that development work would continue and if any political leader or any officer failed to implement the development programme he would be punished.

The physical targets achieved during the last four years manifest the determination of the People's Government to fully utilise the vast potential of the tribal areas for the benefit of the people and extend to them all the amenities of scientific and technological advancement. In fact, roads and electricity exercise a great civilizing influence are, therefore essential for the development of the under-development areas. The People's Government therefore, has given top priority to the making of roads in the tribal region. Trade can not flourish without the existence of an efficient means of transport and communications. Consequently, the development expenditure on schemes on this important sector has increased from Rs.1.038 million in 1971-72 to Rs.76.95 million during 1975-76. Besides a sum Rs. 3.736 was spent on the making of roads under the Central Road Scheme. As a result, the total road mileage increased from 1,269 miles in 1970 to 2,000 miles in June 1974. An additional 949.52 miles of roads will be constructed or improved under 69 on going and six new schemes. Under these schemes, 233 miles of roads and three bridges were completed during 1975-76. A sum of Rs.73.636 million has been set apart for this purpose in the current year's budget. Obviously the roads are being built in tribal areas for the benefit of the

tribesmen and with their active co-operation. The endeavours in this regard have resulted in the opening up of inaccessible areas which are now connected with a net-work of good roads with the rest of the country.

Mr. Bhutto in his recent tour of the tribal region rightly ridiculed the propaganda about the roads launched by certain vested interests and said that they were the enemies of the people. They did not wish to see the tribesmen progress and prosper. They wished to keep them backward for ever and for all ages. The Prime Minister said: "the roads would help smooth and unhindered flow of trade. The tribesmen could now drive their buses, cars and other vehicles without any difficulty". He pointed out that it was not the government but the poor and hitherto neglected tribesmen who were benefiting from these roads.

The Prime Minister disclosed that more roads would be built in future because this would bring progress and prosperity to the tribal areas.

Next to roads, the second important factor for the socio-economic development of the tribal areas is electricity. Without electricity, which is the source of power, development is next to impossible. Modern is the age of electricity and electronics. In pursuance of its desire to extend modern facilities to the tribal areas, the government is making electricity available to the tribesmen not only for domestic use but also for setting up industries and for the improvement of agriculture.

During his earlier tours the Prime Minister ordered electrification schemes for Waziristan and Mohammad Agencies. A number of power programme were accordingly taken up. As a result, Bajaur, Razmak and Ladha have been provided with electricity and other agencies would also be electrified in due course. Under seven on-going and one new scheme, 133 more villages were electrified during the last financial year. A sum of Rs.15.884 million has been provided in the current financial year for the electrification of 91 villages in the tribal areas.

In his recent tour, Mr. Bhutto noted with satisfaction the installation of electric poles in Waziristan and Mohammad Agencies. "Electricity, he observed, was not only necessary for lighting up the homes of the tribesman but would also help solve the problems of drinking water and irrigation because tube wells could not function without power.

The Prime Minister said: "the tracts of fertile land were available in the tribal areas;" Only water was needed to raise good crops. With the availability of water and good crop prospects, people need not go elsewhere for earning their livelihood. They would be able to plough their own lands. Mr. Bhutto reiterated

that it was the endeavour of the present government to provide drinking and irrigation water as expeditiously as possible. Work was already progressing on the projects. He revealed that negotiations had been initiated with the Australian Government to solve the problems of water shortage. Australia had identical problems and it had overcome it. The government was trying to seek the co-operations of the Australian experts in order to solve this problem not only in the tribal areas but also other areas of the country including Baluchistan.

In accordance with the instructions of the Prime Minister, a number of schemes have been undertaken to provide drinking water in the tribal areas. During the first four years of the People's Government the development allocations for this sector increased from Rs. 1.5 million to a record of Rs. 10.731 million. Twenty five drinking water supply schemes were taken up for implementation last year. Of these, four projects located at Khar, Kulala, Jar and Loe Sam have been completed and those of Yousaf Khel, Wana and Jandola are nearing completion. A sum of Rs. 7.850 million was spent on public health engineering schemes during 1975-76. While a record allocation of Rs.13.592 million has been made for the implementation of 19 on-going and six new schemes in the annual development programme of 1976-77. Of these, 23 schemes are expected to be completed during the current financial year.

In the agriculture sector the total crop acreage in the tribal areas increased from 89.2 thousand acres in 1971-72 to 150 thousand acres by July 1975. The total production of crops has also increased to 140,300 tons. Also during the last four years, nearly 10,000 acres of land were reclaimed or developed. Besides, Rs. 9.628 million was spent on 26 schemes of agricultural development during the last fiscal year. An area of 24,280 acre was covered under the plant protection programme. Over 90,000 plants were raised and distributed among tribal farmer. In addition orchards were laid on 94 acres and 12 bulldozers were purchased for the reclamation and development of land. Besides, a sum of Rs. 13.250 million has been provided in the current financial year for the reclamation, development of horticulture and sericulture, plant protection operations and award of scholarships to post graduate education in agriculture.

Besides, People's Government, no doubt, has also increased the number of educational institutions, hospitals and dispensaries. For the first time in the long history of the tribal regions factories have come up at several places.

In this regard, Mr. Bhutto revealed that it was during the present government's tenure that the ghee match and cigarette factories had been set up in the tribal areas. Need for all this existed before but the previous governments did not bother to remove their hardships. He said that they considered the tribal areas as a closed area. They had kept the tribesmen into a "closed box".

The Prime Minister said that his government felt that the tribesmen were also citizens of Pakistan and had the same civic rights as the people living in other parts of Pakistan. They had equal right to the development as it was taking place elsewhere. Mr. Bhutto regretted that the previous governments had deprived people of the tribal areas even of the benefits of education.

He said that without education independence was meaningless. There could be no real benefits of independence, if illiteracy prevailed.

As a matter of fact, in the field of education, the People's Government has taken up a very ambitious plan for expansion of educational facilities in the backward tribal areas. The provision for scholarships to tribal students has been more than tripled and the number of scholarships for post-matric studies increased to 5,995. As a result of various programmes launched for educational expansion, the number of primary schools in the tribal areas has increased from 476 to 1,008, middle schools from 34 to 155, high schools from 27 to 86, colleges from two to eight and technical workshops from two to seven. In addition, equipment was provided to 384 educational institutions including five colleges, 30 high schools, 24 middle schools and 289 primary schools during the last fiscal year. A sum of Rs. 29.801 million was also spent on execution of 55 schemes in the education sector alone. Now a sum of Rs.30.743 million has been allocated in the current financial year for the implementation of 49 schemes.

The Prime Minister, doubtless, is taking extraordinary interest in the education of the tribesmen. During his third tour of the tribal areas, he said: "I want to see the establishment of a first class University in the Tribal Areas in which People of Pakistan, in fact, the whole of Muslim world and other countries would be educated".

Health facilities also play a vital role in the overall development of the tribal region; poverty and disease are the enemies of socio-economic development. In pursuance of the Prime Minister's directives, a programme for extending health facilities to the tribesmen has been under taken and 39 hospitals, 117 dispensaries, 13 T.B clinics and nine rural health centers have so far been established in the tribal areas. In addition a sum of Rs. 12.456 million was spent on 21 health schemes during the last fiscal year. During the current financial year, 17 projects costing Rs. 13.755 million will be completed.

On all accounts, the tribal areas are now poised for big strides. The Prime Minister declared during his recent tour of the tribal areas at Wana (South Waziristan) that he could foresee a very bright future for the tribesmen.

Mr. Bhutto said that he did not believe in running the government through telephonic and file work. He wanted to know the full facts and the correct picture through personal contacts and tours. After personally reviewing the socio-economic developments schemes in the tribal areas, he said with confidence that a good beginning had already been made. Development work was progressing in every sector and would be further speeded up because the development of the tribal areas was an article of faith with him.

About Razmak, North Waziristan, the Prime Minister said it used to be a prosperous place in the past but previous governments had not only ignored it, they had ruined this beautiful place. It was he who ordered three years back its reconstruction and the people could see the development going on for themselves. He was happy that the local tribesmen were now demanding the setting up of a Cadet College which he had already approved. Mr. Bhutto promised that the tribal areas would be development to the extent that the tribesmen who have sought employment outside Pakistan will be attracted to return home. These people were very hard working and this was the quality which was greatly appreciated in the countries they were now employed in.

The Prime Minister said that he was confident that the people of the whole of Pakistan would be happy to see the tribal areas of N.W.F.P. bloom into an economically developed region.

The targets fixed for 1976-77 for the Federally Administrated Tribal Areas envisage award of 23 scholarships to tribal students for B.Sc. (Agriculture) course, reclamation and development of 5,620 acres of land, production of 24,000 acres of cropped area against pests and fungi diseases and distribution of 1,31,000 fruit plants among the tribal cultivators. Besides, a sum of Rs.2.137 million was spent on Animal Husbandry sector last year. The schemes included extension of cattle and sheep-breeding, opening of new veterinary dispensaries, training of veterinary compounders and doctors, and development of poultry. A sum of Rs. 2.350 million has been set apart for this purpose in the current year's budget.

Two sericulture centers, each training 20 persons annually, have been established at Parachinar and Miranshah. Another such center is being opened at Kalaya. A forestation and road side plantation schemes are also under implementation in various agencies.

Equal attention is being towards the industrial development of the tribal areas. For this purpose, a sum of Rs. 0.833 million was spent during the last fiscal year. For the current year an allocation of Rs. 0.703 million has been made. Besides, the development Corporation has been entrusted with the

industrialisation of the tribal areas. Under its various programme for the current year, the corporation has put under implementation 33 schemes costing Rs.58.332 million. These include 22 schemes of irrigation, 8 schemes of industrial development and 3 of exploration and exploitation of mineral resources. The Bara River canals scheme costing Rs.52.3 million and Zeran irrigation scheme in Kurram Agency have already been completed while some other schemes are nearing completion. Besides, the Tochi Valley Match Factory at Miranshah has gone into production while cigarette and ghee factories and marble processing plant at Paundi Lalma in Khyber Agency are expected to be completed during the current financial year.

Under the People's works programme 378 out of 731 schemes were completed at a cost of Rs.6.833 million during the last fiscal year. These include 2300 miles of roads, 100 irrigation and flood protection bunds, 28 schools, 10 spurs and 7 dispensaries. A building complex for Parachinar IRDP center is almost complete and a sum of Rs.8.00 million has been provided in the current year's budget for the rural development programme.

A summary of the year-wise development allocation for the tribal areas just before and during the People's Government is attached as Annexure A (Pakistan Times, Thursday Nov.4.). The third grand successful tour of Prime Minister Bhutto to the tribal areas brought him closer to tribesmen. During his five day extensive tour he hopped across seven agencies, Mohammad, Bajaur, Kurram, North Waziristan, South Waziristan, Orakzai and Khyber and he received tremendous welcome almost a hero's welcome. He himself told the big Jirga at Wana (South Waziristan), the last meeting of his current tour, that he could say without exaggeration that the tour was most successful. The tribal Pakhtoons accorded him great hospitality for which he was grateful to them. He would always cherish the memory of this memorable tour. He said the purpose of this tour was that he wanted to come nearer to the tribal people, to have a dialogue with them, to review the development programme, to inspect the local administration, to listen to the problems of the people and to present his point of view because he was their representative. The people had elected him.

In fact, such spontaneous demonstration of affection and love and unusual gestures of good-will from the tribesmen for their beloved Prime Minister were but natural. Mr. Bhutto has increased the development expenditure in the tribal areas hundred-fold ever since the advent of the People's Government in the country. The allocation which amounted to only about Rs.60 lakhs in 1970-71 have risen to over Rs.18 crore during the current financial year, with the total of over Rs. 60 crore provided for the development of the tribal areas, since 1971-72.

Prime Minister Bhutto told the cheering gatherings of tribesmen that the massive and gigantic development programme launched in the agencies was reflective of his government's resolve to banish poverty and boost the economy of the tribal areas. Whatever had been done, however, was not enough. Much more would be done in the coming years for them. This kind of expression underlines the special bond existing between Mr. Bhutto and the tribal people. He is their popular leader and the first head of government to have taken so sustained an interest in their welfare and also furnished tangible proof of his intentions.

Mr. Bhutto freely mixed with common people in the tribal areas and heart to heart exchange of views took place between him and the common man. He ushered in a new popular and democratic era in the tribal areas. Gone are the days of the maliks and the selected tribal Jirgas of wealthy and influential Khans. Things have changed now. Mr. Bhutto's visit have given the common people in the agencies a new sense of importance and awakened them to their due rights and privileges.

Mr. Bhutto's exertions in the tribal areas have been in tune with his Awami politics as practised on a wider national canvas but their special significance lies in the fact that they are directed at the uplift of a particularly, God forsaken, backward area. The focus of feudalism of the worst type and a long victim of cross almost inhuman neglect.

Addressing a mammoth public meeting at Wana (South Waziristan) Prime Minister Bhutto made it clear to the tribesmen that he had dedicated his life to the service of Islam. His politics was the politics of the service of the poor and the down-trodden, that of fraternity, that of unity, that of progress and development. God permitting, he would perform "two or three still more outstanding acts" in this regard.

Mr. Bhutto said he did make efforts for holding the Islamic Summit which was a great success by the grace of God. But holding of the summit was not the only thing; he had done to serve the cause of Islam. He said that he had waged a struggle for removing the shackles of poverty and for uplifting the downtrodden. This country was overwhelmingly populated by Muslims and if the oppressed and hitherto exploited masses were benefited "was it a service to Kafirs... was it not a service to the Muslims and Islam" he asked.

Among other things, he had done to serve the cause of Islam; the Prime Minister recounted that under his leadership an Islamic Constitution was framed by the representatives of the people of the country. He liberalised the Hajj Policy to enable every one desiring to perform Hajj to get the Holy land. It was he, who

solved the 90 years old Qadiani problem. His government has arranged "Seerat" congresses to promote the cause of Islam. He said he opposed the capitalists and Seths and sided with the poor, the down-trodden, the oppressed, the peasants, the workers and the students.

CHAPTER VIII

THE SOCIO-ECONOMIC REVOLUTION IN N.W.F.P

Strategically, the N.W.F.P is the most important part of Pakistan. This picturesque province is a tangle of rough and rugged mountains interspersed with jewel-like delicious valleys. Peshawar is the most beautiful, fertile and the largest valley⁷ in the province.

The N.W.F.P converse an area of 28,773 sq. miles, mostly, barren and unproductive land, and at present, produces barely 50% of its food requirements, the remaining half being met with through imports from other provinces. Since the assumption of power by Prime Minister Bhutto, this long neglected province received major fillip in uplift. The socio-economic activity in this province has gained momentum with backing of liberal developmental funds, being provided by the Federal Government. The size of the Annual Development Programme has swelled from Rs.12.24 crores in 1970-71 to Rs.60 crores during the current financial year (1975-76), registering about 500 percent increase in the development allocations.

The entire Annual Development Programme ever since the advent of the People's Government is being financed by the Federal Government. It has, during the past four years, provided more that Rs.200 crores for the development of this deficit province in addition to the ambitious development projects initiated by the Provincial Government itself.

The Federal Government projects being taken up by the Federal Industries Corporation in this province, include Lowari Tunnel to provide an all weather road between Dir and Chitral at a cost Rs.136 crores; Dir Forest complex being set-up at Chakdarra at a cost of Rs.24.4 crores; Ceramics complex, Nowshera, at a cost of Rs.7.72 crores. A cement factory at Kohat (cost Rs.20 crores), expansion of the Mustehkam Cement Factory, Hazara, (cost of Rs.20 crores), Hazara Phosphate complex and a textile factory at Tarbela are the other projects, which the Federal Government proposed to launch in this province.

The Federal Government is also providing adequate funds for the implementation of the programme for combating water logging as salinity in Peshawar and Mardan districts under the SCARP.

Prime Minister Bhutto has also recently provided non-lapsable grant of Rs.2 crores, for the beautification of different cities in the province.

Under the current year's Annual Development Programme, physical planning and housing sector has been allocated the maximum amount of Rs.15 crores followed by the transport and communications sectors allocation of Rs.12.81 crores. Other allocations are: education and training Rs.7.8 crores, Industries Rs.5.7 crores, water Rs.6.7 crores, Agriculture Rs.6.1 crores and Rural Works Programme Rs.3.5 crores.

Recently the Prime Minister personally reviewed the economic activities in various districts of the province following the launching of the massive development programme. Mr. Bhutto said he had dedicated his life to the service of the poor and had undertaken the tour of the N.W.F.P and the adjoining tribal areas with a view to renewing his contact, with the people. This contact, he said, would be strengthened in future to solve expeditiously the problems of the people.

As a matter of fact, the essential requirements for the progress and prosperity of the N.W.F.P include on priority basis enhanced food production, availability of low cost and abundant electricity for industrialisation, improvement of education and health standers, making and improvement of roads and construction of bridges, availability of water, both for drinking and agriculture, exploitation of the rich forest and mineral resources. Left to its own resources, the income of the province is only 70 or 80 crore rupees including as annual subvention of Rs.10 crores from the Federal Government. If the major portion of this amount is earmarked for development, the province will be hard pressed to meet its other financial needs requirements. Hence the necessity for a generous help from the center.

“As compared to other provinces, the agriculture industry in the N.W.F.P is poor and undeveloped. The rich and the fertile soil of the province, however, has the potential of producing far more food grains to meet not only its own food requirements but supply it to other parts of the country. The Federal Government has wisely realised that this vast potential can be and needs to be developed though better management of land, water and human resources as well the application of modern methods and latest technology in agriculture. With this end in view, the Central Government has established through the Pakistan Atomic Energy Commission, a nuclear center at Tarnab for accelerating the production in agriculture sector through nuclear technology the production in agriculture sector through nuclear technology and techniques”.

The development of agriculture as well as industrialisation of the province to a maximum is not only necessary for its own needs but also for meeting the requirements of the poorly developed adjoining tribal areas. Only a highly

industrialised and agriculturally developed N.W.F.P can meet the twin requirements of its own population and the needs of the tribal highlanders.

“At present, as elsewhere in the country, the yield per acre is very low in the N.W.F.P. Moreover, the environmental conditions are favourable for breeding a rich crop of pests and insects. These destroy a large portion of food crops and fruits. The government is very keen to help the farmers to get rid of these natural enemies of agricultural production”.

The N.W.F.P is particularly suitable for fruit culture and the government is making frantic efforts to increase the fruit production of this province. “The weather and the soil in the province are suitable for all sorts of fruits, including plums, apricots, peaches, oranges, grapes, apples and melons. Besides, the soil is also suitable for growing cash crops such as tobacco, sugarcane and sugar beats, etc”.

The bulk of the population in this province, s in any other part of Pakistan, is living on agriculture. More than eighty percent of the populations live in the rural areas. The agriculture is thus the backbone of the economy of the province.

The People's Government of Prime Minister, Zulfikar Ali Bhutto, has, for the first time in the history of Pakistan, tackled the problems of the N.W.F.P sincerely and realistically. Huge allocations have been made for the agricultural and industrial development of the province to make it self-sufficient in food grains as well as other requirements. The Federal as well as Provincial Governments has given top priority to agriculture working on a comprehensive plan to make dams and canals, to provide ample water for the otherwise dry and arid lands of the province.

“Apart from Tarbela, big schemes like the Khanpur Dam, the Pehur High Level Canal, the Gomal Dam, the Chashma Right Bank Canal and a net-work of tube wells in various parts of the province would surely boost up the agricultural productions.” During his recent tour of the newly created Hazara division, where at Abbottabad, Mr. Bhutto made his historic announcement that the process of economic change for the advancement of common man and social justice introduced through nationalisation of basic industries and land reforms was irreversible. He met at Mansehra as well as at Abbottabad, a cross-section of leaders of public opinion; while reviewing with them the progress of the socio-economic projects, the progress already made in these sectors and the future development requirements of the area, pointed out that he upgraded Hazara district to divisional level so that the pace of development process was speeded up in these backward hilly areas in line with the People's wishes and their requirements.

The deputation expressed satisfaction over the construction of new roads, colleges, schools, hospitals and other praiseworthy development works by the present People's Government and said that they had never even dreamed of such facilities.

In Hazara division, Sarhad Development Authority has established vegetable ghee factory. Haripur (Rs.2.58 crores) and a cold storage at Haripur (Rs.1.65 crores). Hazara Phosphate exploration projects (cost Rs.2.16 crores) and Hazara Mining Projects (cost Rs.88.00 lacs) are under way. The Federal Government is establishing Hazara Fertilizer complex at a cost of over Rs.100 crores and Mustehkam Cement expansion is also in hand; Rs.5.55 crores have been spent on roads in the last four and half years in this division. Besides, 167 primary school buildings were constructed, while schemes for providing buildings for upgraded 56 primary schools to middle, and 13 middle schools to high standard, have been completed during the advent of the present regime.

“The biggest irrigation project in the Hazara division is the Khanpur Dam. It is a federally financed WAPDA project. Here a 167 feet high dam will be constructed on River Haro near Khanpur village. The artificial lake created by this dam will store a huge quantity of water for irrigation purposes. The Federal Government had allocated Rs.12 crores, 75 lacs during the last financial year (1974-75) for the construction of this dam. A total of Rs.56 crores will be spent on the construction of this huge dam and its water will irrigate both in the Hazara and Rawalpindi Divisions.

Dera Ismail Khan District will be provided with an elaborate system of canal irrigation by the construction of Gomal Dam. This dam, which will be built on Gomal river at Khajuri Katch in South Waziristan Agency, will irrigate 1,30,000 acres of land in Tank Kulachi tehsils of D.I. Khan District.

“The Chashma Right Bank Canal scheme, which contemplates the irrigation of 1.363 million acres of land in the districts of D.I. Khan and D.G Khan, would double the canal irrigation area in the N.W.F.P. It is a big leap forward and will irrigate 5, 70,000 acres of land. Beside, new tube wells are being sunk in the district to improve irrigation and the Small Dams Organisation has also been spending substantial amount for providing irrigation facilities”.

In D. I. Khan District, other development works are also progressing satisfactorily. A Textile Mill is going to be constructed by the Federal Government in the District as a Pak-Iran Joint Venture.

Remodeling of Paharpur Canal and Drainage-cum-seepage projects are undertaken in the year (1975-76). Drinking water schemes are also underway on large scale. As against Rs.1.07 crore spent on water supply schemes in the last 41 years, Rs.75.23 lacs has been allocated in 1976-77 under the Prime Minister's orders. Work on the construction of the Gomal University which is the creation of the present government, is also being carried on in right earnest.

Speaking at Kohat, during his recent tour of the N.W.F.P. the Prime Minister said that the government was trying to step-up the irrigation facilities for agriculture. He was hopeful that with the completion of the Chashma Right Bank Canal, the N.W.F.P would be able to meet its irrigation requirements. It would also help boost sugarcane, wheat and tobacco production, he remarked.

The hilly terrain of Kohat together with lack of irrigation facilities creates very harsh conditions for the people in this district and limits the productive capability of its people. Apart from the complex of three textile mills and restricted activity in mining and agriculture, there is no visible avenue for employment. The exploration of mineral has still not gone far enough to create immediate prospects of large scale investment. Under the circumstances, the Kohat Cement project (being set up by the Federal state Cement Corporation after its feasibility studies, had been prepared by W.P.I.D.C. is a welcome initiative. It will provide job opportunities to a large number of local people besides adding to its economic development).

The major projects which were enjoying the People's Government's attention for accelerated progress of the Kohat district included expansion of road and rail communication, improvement of irrigation facilities, development of agriculture, improvement of drinking water facilities and increase in power supply.

In communications sector, Rs.1.59 crores had been spent on construction and improvement of the road network during the last four-and-a-half years. As a consequence, 30 miles of shingled roads have been completed in addition to improvement of 41 miles of existing roads and one bridge. A sum of over Rs.80 lacs was being spent on road communication.

On execution of water supply projects, Rs.1.29 crores had been spent in the district by the People's Government since it came into power. The allocations for health and education have also increased substantially during the past four and-a-half years as is evident from the expansion of health facilities and increase in the number of educational institutions.

During the Prime Minister's recent visit to Kohat, a spokesman of students expressed the gratitude of the student community to Mr. Bhutto for introducing wide spread educational reforms and providing them various amenities of life. He also thanked the Prime Minister for the establishment of Girl's College at Kohat.

Rs.45 lacs for education and Rs.37 lacs for health have been provided in 1976-77 for this district.

Special attention is being paid by the People's Government to the economic development of the Mardan district.

Water logging, power connections for tube wells, farm marketing and urban resettlement sectors have received added attention by the government for which large allocations have been made to tackle these matters expeditiously in order to accelerate the pace of socio-economic uplift of this district.

In power sector alone, Rs.26.8 crores is being spent by WAPDA under a Federal Government Plan to install 220 KV line from Turbela to Mardan.

Besides providing large allocations for the development of communications, water supply, education, health and industries, two major projects corn complex and leather tannery at Jehangira costing Rs.10.68 crores are being executed which would go into production in 1977-78. So far over Rs.3 crores had been spent on both these projects.

The Pehur high level canal project will solve some of the irrigation problems, of the Mardan district. Mr. Bhutto during his recent visit to Mardan district said that the government had embarked on large scale programme to contain water logging and salinity and reclaimed land which had gone out of farm productions.

Peshawar district has the highest concentration of urban population in the province. Out of the eight towns and cities, in the N.W.F.P. three form part of this district.

The principal requirements of this district are:

- (a) Urban improvement;
- (b) Housing;
- (c) Land reclamation from water logging and salinity;
- (d) Provision of job opportunities through industrial projects for the unemployed of the district.

As a matter of fact Peshawar, economically speaking, is more developed than other districts of the province.

Rs.2 crores has been granted by the Prime Minister for the improvement of roads in Peshawar. This district needs well developed roads for its economic prosperity.

“In the industrial sector, the biggest achievement is the Khazana Sugar Mill (cost Rs.24.90 crores). It is one of the most important achievements of the N.W.F.P Government. “It is expected to go into trial production during sugar beet crushing season this year (1975-76). The mill, which is being established at a cost of Rs.24.90 crores including foreign exchange component, up to the tune of Rs.11.24 crores, would produce 46 thousand tons of sugar perineum. The mill would have the crushing capacity of three thousands tons of sugarcane and 2,350 tons sugar beets daily during the respective crushing season. The foreign exchange had been provided by the Belgium Government.

“A scheme for the manufacture of Industrial Alcohol is proposed to be set-up near the Khazana Mills. The feasibility study for the projects is being prepared by the National Design and Industrial Service Corporation. According to rough estimates, the project will cost about Rs.15 million with a foreign exchange component of Rs.9 million. The project will be completed in about 2 years”.

“Another project for the cattle feed is also proposed to be set-up near Khazana Sugar Mills where the peep pulp produced as a by product will be converted into cattle feed”.

“The feasibility study is under preparation by the National Design and Industrial Services Corporation. The project will be completed in about 2 years”.

“A Sheet Glass Factory of a capacity of 40 tons per day is proposed to be set-up near Nowshera. The estimated cost of the project is Rs.37.54 million with a foreign exchange component of Rs.one million. This project is being set-up in collaboration with Pakistan Police Foundation”.

“The Machinery for the project will be imported from China. In this regard, contract is under finalization with M/s. China Machinery Import and Export Corporation. This will be the first factory for Sheet Glass in the Province”.

“The project will be completed in about 30 months from the date of commencement”.

“A Soda Ash Complex is proposed to be set up near Attock on Nizampur Kohat Road which will produce 36, 3000 tons of Soda Ash and 19,800 tons of Caustic Soda per year. The project is estimated to cost Rs.379.60 million with a foreign exchange component of Rs.193 million”.

“The setting up of this complex will not only relieve the shortage of these basic raw materials but also help in the establishment of other industries using these chemicals, like Textile, Soap, Glass, Paper and Cardboard, Leather, Vegetable Ghee and Beverages, etc.”

“A solvent extraction plant is proposed to be set-up to produce 15000 tons of edible oil. The project is estimated to cost Rs.73.68 million with a foreign exchange component of Rs.38.25 million. The project will provide raw material for the Vegetable Ghee Industries in N.W.F.P and will make the province self-sufficient in edible oil requirements. The project will create a market in N.W.F.P for Soya been growers and will save a substantial amount of foreign exchange.”

“A Cement Factory near Nizampur (Attock) is proposed. It will produce 1000 tons of cement per day. The location of the project is under selection near Nizampur keeping in view the availability of huge deposits of limestone in the vicinity of the proposed site. The proposed plan will meet the increasing demand for cement in the province.”

Besides, the provincial public sector investment, the F.C.C.C. has shifted the major part of Rs.7.72 crores, Swat Ceramics Complex to Nowshera, work on which is near completion. Also the Nowshera Brick Kiln is under preparation with Sarhad Development Authority.

The S.I.D has added two training centers and one Textile sizing unit in the district during to period 1972-76. The cold storage Peshawar will add 3000 tons to the preservative capacity of the district. This project, undertaken at a cost of Rs.1.83 crore will go into operation in 1977-78. Rs.4200 lacs have already been spent on it, mostly on the machinery imported for the purpose.

“It may be noted that in the industrial sector, in order to achieve the desired objective of quick implementation, the emphasis is on setting up industries, for which raw material is locally available in abundance in the province. The Provincial Government has constituted a semi-autonomous body which has been made responsible for the development of the mineral resources and industries in the provinces. This body, which is working under the name of Sarhad Development Authority, has been allocated Rs.478 crores to chalk out its industrial and mining development programme.”

The Peshawar District, like other districts, is in need of the development of water supply scheme also. As against Rs.1.96 crores spent on water supply scheme in the last 4 years, Rs.87.96 lacs have been provided in 1976-77.

On the health side, the major achievement of the district is that the first phase of Hayat Mohammad Sherpao Shaheed Hospital with facilities for 500 beds has been completed.

Beside, on the communication side, work has been started on two major bridges at Nowshera and Attock at a cost of Rs.8.0 crores.

The two major problems of the Bannu district, like the other districts of the province, are drinking as well as irrigation water. Bannu district has an acute water supply problem. During the last 41 years, Rs.1.34 crores has been spent on water supply schemes. In the year (1975-76) Rs.74.21 lacs were spent on water supply schemes alone.

In view of acute shortage of water in this district, work on the Tochi Barran Dam will be started very soon. On the communication side, as against Rs.141 crores spent on roads in this district in the last 41 years, the allocation in 1976-77 is Rs.78.13 lacs. The Health and Education Sectors are also receiving due attention. Rs.42 lacs for education and Rs.31 lacs for health facilities have been allocated for the year 1976-77.

Besides, work on Bannu-Miranshah, Mari Indus Broad Gauge Railway Line has been approved by the Federal Government and work on it will start in near future.

During his recent visit to Bannu, the Prime Minister said that his endeavour was to accelerate the pace of development and solve the problems of the poor and needy people all over the country in order to forge total cohesion and unity in the nation. Addressing a huge public meeting at the Polo Ground in Bannu, the last of his recent extensive mass contact tour of N.W.F.P and the adjoining tribal areas, the Prime Minister said: "My Government has created a healthy balance between the Federal and the Provincial powers and functions, which has led to tremendous development in the country as a whole."

The Prime Minister referred to various development projects initiated in the N.W.F.P in general and Dera Ismail Khan Division in particular and declared amidst prolonged applause that the Government was determined to fulfill the genuine demands of the people of this area. He said his government was committed to the welfare of the poor and the down trodden and that it would

utilize its energies in full to banish poverty, want and ignorance from the country.

Pointing that the government was fully aware of the need for urgent improvement of the irrigation and drinking water facilities, the Prime Minister announced that the Tochi Baran Dam would be built. He revealed that survey for the project had already been initiated. He also told the meeting that the government had approved the construction of Darya Khan D.I Khan Bridge on the Indus.

The Malakand Agency is a class by itself. It is the only Agency which is administered by the Provincial Government. Its main development requirements are: (a) Provision of physical and social infra-structure and (b) Employment opportunities for the people.

Like other agencies, good roads are necessary for the socio-economic development and prosperity of this agency also.

To meet this urgent demand of the agency, Rs.45.05 lacs have been allocated for roads in 1976-77 as against Rs.1.44 crores spent during the last 41 years.

For meeting the demand of vegetable ghee of this Agency, the Sarhad Development Authority is constructing a vegetable Ghee Factory at Dargai a cost of Rs.2.58 crores. On education and health side, Rs.24 lacs for education and Rs.31 lacs for health facilities have been allocated to this agency in 1976-77.

The mountainous area of Swat, Dir and Chitral, now enjoys the full fledged status of an administrative division. This area is very rich in forest and mineral resources. But it has its own problems, especially of communication. The construction of a tunnel in the Lowari Pass linking Chitral with the rest of the N.W.F.P through an all weather road would go a long way in the exploitation of the mineral wealth of Chitral District, which according to the preliminary survey is one of the richest mining areas of Pakistan.

A contract was signed with M/s. Austro Mineral of Viena, Austria, in February, 1974 for the survey and exploitation of the Chitral District an estimated cost of Rs.17 million with a foreign exchange component of Rs.8.5 million.

“Work on the project started from 1st June 1974. Virtually, every inch of the Chitral District has been geologically mapped for the hitherto untapped mineral wealth. As a result, a large number of mineral deposits have been evaluated and also new deposits were discovered. The work on phase II of the project began in

May, 1975. The contractors expect to complete the remaining work during the current season of 1976.

The main problems of the Chitral District are: (a) need for an all weather road linking Chitral with rest of the province. (b) Provision of employment opportunities, (c) Electricity, Chitral is a thinly populated district. The population density is only 28 per sq. mile compared to 1,107 per sq. mile in Peshawar.

As against a population share of 1.892% Chitral received 7.267% of the allocation out of the district programmes. Roads are receiving high priority. As against Rs.2.00 crores spent in the last four years, Rs.99.75 lacs have been allocated in the year 1976-77 alone. Chitral Mineral Exploration Project, the main hope of the district for employment opportunities as well as prosperity, is continuing at a cost of Rs.1.62 crores. Electricity has been provided to the district, Irrigation schemes have been allocated Rs.36.80 lacs in the last 41 years.

The beautiful garden of Swat, once the seat of a great Buddhist civilization, is the real life Shangrila of the Frontier Province. It is emerald green and, besides, nature has bestowed upon it rich emerald mines. This district has a sizeable urban population as compared to other districts, Dir and Chitral, of the newly formed division.

In the Swat District, unfortunately, no regular source of employments has, so far, been developed since the decline of art silk industry, as a result of change in its economy following the curb imposed on irregular import of yarn.

The major problems faced by the district are (a) the creation of employment opportunities, (b) Scientific management of forest resources, and (c) productive use of the mining deposits.

For the development of roads in Swat Rs.1.76 crores has been spent in the last 41 years and Rs.50.6 lacs have been allocated in 1976-77. Provision has also been made for the construction of the Kalam-Gabral road as desired by the Prime Minister. On the water supply side, as against Rs.17.75 lacs spent on water supply schemes in the last 41 years, Rs.21.0 lacs have been allocated in 1976-77. In Swat District, work is in hand on NIPKI KHEL irrigation scheme, which is the major and significant new project.

Besides, Sarhad Development Authority is putting up a cold storage at a cost of Rs.1.66 crores. This project is scheduled for completion in 1977-78. When completed, it would provide 3,000 tons cold storage capacity for the district.

The Swat emerald mines were handed over to Sarhad Development Authority in March, 1973. The estimated cost of project is Rs.20 lacs. The total production has been 24,-341 carets with an average cost of Rs.25.42 per caret.

Dir is the only district in the province which has no urban population. Hence no urban problems.

The infrastructure problems in the district have prevented, so far, any large provincial public sector industrial investment in the area.

Dir, however, is rich in forest wealth. The P.I.D.C. has the Dir Forest Industrial Complex, Chakdarra Project, under implementation. The total cost of the projects is Rs.24.4 crores.

The main requirements of the District are (a) Early completion of Dir Forest Complex... the biggest development scheme in the district, (b) the building up of the socio-economic structure of the district, and (c) the scientific management of its rich forests. Roads in Dir district have been given high priority. As against Rs.3.10 crores spent during the last 41 years Rs.1.02 crores has been allocated in 1976-77 alone. On the education side, as against 30 primary schools buildings constructed in the last 41 years, 16 primary schools buildings would be completed in 1976-77. Work on the construction of Dir District Headquarters has also started.

CHAPTER IX

KOHISTAN DEVELOPMENT PROJECT

“A special organisation known as the Kohistan Development project was set up in March 1975, by the N.W.F.P Government for the implementation of a reconstruction programme for the earthquake hit and ravaged area of Swat and Hazara Districts. The earthquake affected 2.41 lacs of people, spread over an area of 1,100 square miles on both sides of the river Indus. The reconstruction plan, with a capital outlay of Rs.43.20 crores, is expected to be complete by June, 1978.”

“Since the means of communications are most essential for the rehabilitation and development operations, this sector has been given high priority. Preliminary survey for 312 miles of roads and three bridges has been completed which will cost Rs.17 crores.”

“In the irrigation sector, work on 50 water supply scheme, is about to begin and it is expected to be completed within six months. Preliminaries of the development schemes for Allai, Bata gram and Swat have been completed. In the field of education, primary schools damaged by the earth quake are being reconstructed. In addition, 71 new primary schools are planned. A scheme for an intermediate college at Alpuri is being prepared which is expected to be completed by June, 1978.

“Schemes are in hand for setting up a development cum-training center for carpet industry and Patti-blanket and drug get-weaving centre for the earthquake affected areas of Swat and Hazara Districts. Twenty acres of land for fruit tress and 40 acres for forest nurseries have been rented and work is in progress on the preparation of the land for sowing and planting of the nurseries. 2000 acres have been acquired for a forestation, 300 acres for terracing and 50 acres for soil conservation.

The farmers, who own these lands, have agreed to carry out improvement according to specifications laid down by the Kohistan Development Project. An area of 16 acres was covered with eucalyptus trees during the last tree-plantation week. Seeds of Walnuts, Hari, Robinia ailanthus and peach have also been collected for new plantation.”

The present Chief Minister of the N.W.F.P Nasrullah Khan Khattak, the trusted Lieutenant of the Quaid-e-Awam, Zulfikar Ali Bhutto, is taking extraordinary interest in the socio-economic uplift of the province. He claims that

he belongs to the working class and that he has devoted his life to the betterment of the labouring humanity.

To sum up, the work of the modernisation and socio-economic development of the N.W.F.P and the adjoining tribal areas has not only started in cities but also in right earnest at the grass-roots, namely, in villages and small towns. The Federal Government is keen on the development of the less developed and backward provinces like the N.W.F.P federally administered tribal areas and Baluchistan, so that the overall development of Pakistan can be balanced. The Prime Minister personally reviews, from time to time, the development activities of the backward areas and as a result the socio-economic development of the under developed areas of Pakistan is making steady and satisfactory progress.

The N.W.F.P and the adjoining tribal areas are rich in forest wealth and minerals. Once these natural resources are fully developed and usefully exploited, the frontier will be turned into a boom province."

During his recent tour of the province, the Prime Minister, addressing a mammoth meeting at Dir, said the nawabi system had been abolished on the demand of the local people made to him when he last visited this place. He declared that the People's Government was determined to improve the living conditions of the poor masses. But, he said the reactionary elements of the nawabi system, from whose clutches the People's Government had tried to liberate the poor masses, were bent on counter revolution. Amidst cheers, the Prime Minister announced, that the nation would continue marching ahead hand in hand with the modern world, despite the contrary efforts of the die-hard reactionary elements.

A summary of the year-wise development allocations as well as a sect oral comparison of Annual Development Programme, 1971-72 and 1976-77 for the North-West Frontier Province since its re-emergence as a separate province during the tenure of the People's Government is attached as Annexure "B".

CHAPTER X

THE ISLAMIC SUMMIT CONFERENCE

Pakistan is not only a name for a certain geographical entity on the map of the world. It is also another name for the dynamic movement of the Islamic Renaissance and the unity of the Muslim millat.

It may be recalled that the high priest of pan-Islamism in the nineteenth century was Sayed Jamaluddin Afghani. He awakened the Muslim countries from their century's old, deep death like slumber and inculcated in them the international outlook of Islam vis-à-vis the narrow nationalism of the western type. The objective of the British diplomacy on the other hand, in the nineteenth century as well as the first quarter of the twentieth century was to instill the spirit of nationalism in the Muslim countries and to destroy the dynamic, progressive and forward looking international outlook of Islam. Our poet-philosopher, Allama Iqbal reviewed the message of Jamaluddin Afghani in the twentieth century and became the torch bearer of the cry, "Back to Muslim unity, back to the Holy Quran, back to religion, for Islam is itself destiny and will not suffer a destiny; Islam is a panacea for all the ills of the Muslim nations of the world". He believed that the Muslim all over the world must unite together to achieve their lost glory.

"Right from Nile's banks to Kashgar's soil let Muslims all united stand guard the "Haram" and the Holy land." In a message on the 99th birth anniversary of Allama Iqbal, Prime Minister Bhutto pointed out that Allama Iqbal drew from the spiritualism of the east and pragmatism of the west in reconstructing his thought and philosophy in the light of the tenets of Islam providing guidelines for individual and national endeavours. He said although the broad territorial contours of the Muslim nation in the subcontinent, whose concept Iqbal was the first to articulate in unambiguous terms, under went certain changes, the will of the people to exercise their birth right to lead their lives as free citizens of a sovereign Muslim state visualized by the great poet-philosopher had remained "constant and immutable". Mr. Bhutto declared that in the light of Iqbal's teachings we should make a determined effort to reorder national priorities to attain the goal of synonymy of the citizen and the state."

Iqbal was pragmatic in his approach. His message of Muslim unity, from the Nile's banks to Kashgar's soil, was not a mere poetic wild goose chase. His message caught the imagination of the Muslims of the world as well as the

Muslims of the subcontinent, though the cry of the Muslim renaissance in the 19th century was some what discouraging.

This great pragmatic poet-philosopher, deeply imbued with the spirit of Islam, through his forceful and delightful poetry, made the wild cry of Sayed Jamaluddin Afghani a living reality. He knew where he stood in relation to the ages and understood the international mood of the twentieth century. He became the chief progenitor of the Muslim unity in the first third of the twentieth century because he was the only one who understood the world wide implications of the message of Islam and “infused new blood, new vigour, and new vitality in the veins of the sleeping Muslim millat.”

There is, however, a basic difference between the ideas of our theological writers and our poet-philosopher. Our theologians and our conservative ulema are worried only about the future of a Muslim in the next world at the expense of the progress of the Muslim millat in this world. Iqbal, on the other hand, is worried about the future of a Muslim in this world, as well as, the next. He ever ignored the hard reality of this matter of fact world. Explaining the aim of his poetry, he invokes SAKI to fill his cup with the moonbeams and sings:

“That I may lead home the wanderer, and imbue the idle looker on with restless impatience;

And advance hotly on a new quest,

And become known as the champion of a new spirit.”

The cry of this champion of a new spirit and the poet of tomorrow ultimately caught the imagination of the Muslim millat and it is now a universal cry of the Muslims of the twentieth century. It is, doubtless, a living force in the seventies and its aim is to establish an Islamic Common wealth of Muslim nations, “in which all Muslims, no longer divided by the barriers of race, colour and country should be one having the Kaba as its centre and knit together by love of Allah and devotion to the prophet.”

Iqbal in pursuance of his idea of Muslim unity gave birth to the conceptual form of Pakistan in the subcontinent, which Quaid-e-Azam, later on, transformed into a living reality. And Quaid-e-Azam Zulfikar Ali Bhutto, transformed Iqbal’s dream of Islamic Common wealth of Nations into the historic Islamic summit at Lahore in which the Muslim leaders endorsed this concept. The Islamic summit solemnly proclaimed “Determination of Muslim statesmen to promote solidarity among Muslim countries, to respect each other’s independence and territorial integrity, to refrain from interference in each other’s internal affairs and to resolve their difference through peaceful means in a fraternal spirit”.

In fact, the second Islamic summit at Lahore in February, 1974, was an historic event in the development of Muslim unity. 38 states participated in the Summit. The summit adopted resolutions urging the vacation of occupied Arab territories by Israel, the return of Jerusalem to the Arabs and the restitution of national rights of Palestinian people. It also adopted a declaration which seeks to make the Arab cause, the common cause of all countries opposed to aggression; identifies the interest of the Muslim countries with those of the developing countries of the third world and provides a machinery to promote and safeguard their economic and political interests. The summit was, in every respect, a great success. The successful mediatory role played by leaders of the Islamic world in bringing about the reconciliation between Pakistan and Bangladesh demonstrated the potential of the Islamic summit as a promoter of peace and co-operation. The summit also took important decisions to promote trade relations among the Muslim countries.

The second Islamic summit conferences, at Lahore, proved beyond doubt, if proof was needed, the genuineness of Pakistan as a Muslim ideological state. Also it proved that Pakistan is a movement and this glorious movement is not confined to geographical demarcations or restrictions of territory, race or caste. "It is non-racial and non-spatial and cuts at the root of nationalism which is based on the race and territorial affiliations.

Iqbal, as a pragmatic philosopher, believed that Muslim nations ought to look for strength through social ends and objectives and that territorial boundaries should not cloud the social horizons of the Muslim millat."

In other words, Iqbal believed in the collective prosperity of the Muslim millat vis-à-vis the material selfish benefits of an individual. He was a determined friend of the poor and down trodden Muslim masses.

Pakistan, to all intents and purposes, as a Muslim state is the homeland the custodian of Islamic principles, social justice and economic emancipation and as such this spirit of modernity and "Ijtihad" prevailed all along in the deliberations of the Islamic summit.

The pivot of the discussions in the second historic summit was the political and the economic problems, being faced by the entire world of Islam. Addressing the summit, Prime Minister Bhutto pointed out that "It is not spiritual but economic strength that we have lacked so far. There is no power without economic strength; unless we reorientate our outlook and try to develop the potential to meet our basic economic and security needs through co-operative endeavour, we will continue to lack the inherent strength, solidity, which is necessary for achieving our social cultural and political purpose. The Muslim

countries are so placed as to be able to play a most constructive and rewarding role for co-operation among themselves and with other countries of the third world. Not only are they possessed of a common heritage and outlook but also their economies are such as to enable them to supplement one another's development effort. It is time to promote the sentiments to Islamic unity into concrete measures of co-operation and mutual benefits. It will bring us strength in spirit and substance."

Factually speaking, Prime Minister Bhutto has infused a new life in the Muslim world. His fervent zeal and unbounded enthusiasm for the socio-economic uplift of not only the Muslim world but also the third world as a whole fired the imagination of mankind all over the world. Mr. Bhutto, on all accounts, "brought Pakistan closer to its original concept by relating the national struggle of Pakistan to the just causes of the Muslim world and by linking the destiny of the Muslim world with the third world."

With prophetic vision, Prime Minister Bhutto clearly sees the shape of things to come in the future course of history. A new world is in the making and Mr. Bhutto has already grasped its essentials. He is a practical politician. Along with Muslim unity, he aims at the unification of the third world, for without the economic emancipation of the poor, developing countries, the ultimate goal of the progressive evolution of the brotherhood of man as the basis of the everlasting peace and prosperity of the globe can not be achieved.

CHAPTER XI

FOREIGN POLICY AN ERA OF BILATERALISM

The tragic history of Pakistan during the twenty five years of its existence, before the advent of the People's Party Government is attributed to a certain extent, to the sad saga of its misguided foreign policy. This is the tragic story of "missed opportunities" unmitigated follies" and myopic leadership which ultimately led to the dismemberment of the state through the machinations of a foul international conspiracy.

Prime Minister Bhutto's recent article, "Bilateralism, New Directions", is an eye-opener, not only for those who want to understand the background of Pakistan's foreign policy but also for those who want to comprehend its failure, during the dictatorial regimes and the era of the right wing politicians who were not only in experienced" in the dynamics of world politics and the subtleties of international diplomacy" but also, it, seems their integrity was doubtful in the sense that they were more wedded to the global interests of foreign powers rather than to the interest of their own country. These "amateurish and naïve" bureaucrats and the right wing politicians had no idea of independent foreign policy.

The ruling classes of those days were composed of political entrepreneurs and corrupt bureaucrats, "who were divorced from People's urges and People's aspirations and thus unable to appreciate wherein lay the national interests". They had no principles and no scruples. "The psychology of the politicians and bureaucrats of the then Pakistan was in consonance with the colonial world out of which they arose". As a matter of fact, they were firmly attached to the apron strings of the Anglo-American world. They first served as the stooges of the British and when "the British power at that time became an append ate of the United States, the autocrats of Pakistan thought it fit to tow the line of the United States in world affairs" at the expense of the interests of their own country. The ruling classes "behaved like English Colonialists towards their own countrymen but in external affairs" behaved as most obedient servants to their foreign masters. "Not having a nationalistic motivation and patriotic zeal in their actions and international attitudes, they behaved like beggars and not choosers and "entered into unequal treaties and agreements which they compounded not as principled agreements between equals but as permanent immutable and total commitments of the subservient lackey's, and thus made a mockery of their independent sovereign state. They went beyond the limits imposed by treaty obligations and thus instead of securing the national interests. They positively harmed it. It was a uniquely incompetent performance. "The Soviet-Union was

rebuffed by the comical excuse made about the inability of Prime Minister Liaquat Ali Khan to visit Moscow. The Arab brethren were foolishly antagonized by minimizing their importance with the ill-conceived formula of "Zero plus Zero plus Zero," and even China which had lent consistent support to Pakistan on Kashmir issue was treated shabbily through the contradictory and shameful behaviour of recognizing it at home and opposing its entry into the United Nations at the behest of a friendly super-power."

In short, the smokescreen of Common wealth and the excuse of defence alliance made them more loyal than the king himself. These self-styled politicians, who, at best, were bureaucrats and, at worst, lackeys of foreign interests, had no roots in the soil of their own country. They never cared for the collective will and noble aspirations of the supreme and sovereign people of Pakistan. They had no idea of the People's politics and People's urges and aspirations, both in the national as well as international field. They had conveniently ignored the principle of good neighbourliness in conducting the foreign affairs of their country and were carried away by the glamour and strength of a far off super power for obvious reasons. They threw to the winds their own national interests and sacrificed them at the alter of foreign interests, foreign global strategy and foreign global tactics. The result was obvious. Pakistan had to pay dearly for the subservient foreign policy of a typical yes-man, first in the form of the TASHKENT declaration in the wake of the Indo-Pakistan war of 1965 and later on, the country suffered dismemberment and humiliation as a result of the Indo-Pakistan war of 1971.

"It was only after Mr. Bhutto joined the Government in 1958, that the country's foreign policy began to acquire a degree of balance, realism and a measure of independence", based on enlightened national interest, but as he was not the chief executive of the then government, obviously he could not completely mould the foreign policy of his country on the principle of bilateralism, only some glimpses and stirrings of this principle could be seen and felt by the international observers of those days. But all the same, "these were small beginnings towards a big change. They were demonstrations that Pakistan would now stand up for its rights and would no longer suffer in silence in the name of treaties and pacts any damage to its vital national interests". Unfortunately, the then Pakistani leaders were not "capable of understanding the complexities and nuances of the world politics," and as such Mr. Bhutto's advice was ignored. Finding that due importance was not being attached to his efforts to steer Pakistan along the new foreign policy course, he finally resigned in disgust as foreign Minister in 1966."

Now as the Prime Minister of Pakistan Mr. Bhutto traces the progressive evolution of the concept of bilateralism in foreign affairs, which under him has become the pivotal plank of the country's foreign policy.

Mr. Bhutto's articles on bilateralism, together with his now famous book "The Myth of Independence" are indispensable for those who are keen students of international relations, and world politics. And also for those who want to understand the phenomena of world forces that shaped Pakistan's foreign relations in the past and the currents, under currents and cross currents that are impinging on them today."

"Prime Minister Bhutto's qualities of incisive understanding of world forces, mastery of international law, grasp of historical process and historical situations and subtle comprehension of international politics make him eminently suitable to sift facts from fiction and myths from realities and to draw a vivid picture that only he can do in his dual capacity as a student as well as a master of current history. His warnings as well as his masterly analysis of the national and international scene must be taken very seriously because in the words of Dr. Henry Kissinger, "Prime Minister Bhutto, is one of the few world statesmen who has full understanding of forces that shape the modern world. It is always a rewarding experience to talk to him. He has succeeded so well in his task that he now finds time, not only to reform his own country but also to offer friendly advice to other countries. And those who had been exposed to his advice suffer from the fact that he almost invariably turns out to be right". No doubt, in his article on Pakistan's foreign policy, Prime Minister Bhutto "emerges as a statesman with rare historical perception and unique ability to put facts in correct historical perspective and draw the right conclusions from them".

Mr. Bhutto's article aims at presenting the world view in foreign affairs and only in this context he traces the development of the concept of bilateralism. "He emphasizes that bilateralism can be used as an instrument of international relations only if certain pre-requisites are fulfilled. The most important thing to remember in this connection is that it is based on principles and has an essentially moral stance. The bilateral approach is of the substance of non-alignment, for it confines itself to the limits of the common national interests of two states without injury to the interests of a third country. This makes for a consistent and integrated policy. However, a bilateral relationship cannot flourish without reciprocity. There must be mutual regard between partners for each other's interests, and most importantly, respect for each other's territorial integrity and sovereignty and non-interference in each other's internal affairs. By the same token a state has to grade its relationship with others on the basis of the sovereign equality and nature of response it gets from them".

“Prime Minister Bhutto, with his uncanny insight into the changed and ever changing realities of the second half of the twentieth century is supremely aware, both at home and abroad, not only of the sources of political powers, but how these sources are constantly changing and shifting and making enigmatic Kaleidoscopic patterns in new dimensions and new directions”. He is at pains to locate a place for Pakistan’s successful foreign policy in the context of the fast moving, international hurricanes of change and “cogently argues that in the present historical setting, the course adopted by Pakistan is the only viable and sensible course for a developing country and one by which it can maintain a dignified posture in a world situation of extremely delicate nature. To show that the concept is no subjective philosophical theorising but the only credible response to the challenges of today’s diplomacy, he discusses, at length, and with convincing logic, both the characteristics of the post-war global environment and the trends that form the warp and woof of the power-structure of the world today.” He points out that the fundamental in the progression of the concept of bilateralism is the one in which we are now living. “In essence it is a further erosion of the absolute sway of the two super-powers which seems to be the determinant of the course of history at the end of the Second World War, and which caused so many blunders in the conduct of foreign policies of small nations, including our own. The new facts and realities are:

- (1) The re-assertion of nationalism in the third world as well as in Europe.
- (2) The economic prosperity of European nations, of Japan of the socialist countries and of the Arabs, which has led to a further dispersal of power.
- (3) Détente between the two super-powers, and the emergence of the I.B.M.S. overthrowing old concept of international strategy.”

“These facts, as Mr. Bhutto has demonstrated, have created” an objective world situation in which the terrain for the exercise of bilateralism is not only smoother but which has made bilateralism essentially the ground on which a developing nation can base its contacts with great powers.”

Fortunately, we are now living in a world in which both great powers and small nations are keen on the preservation of everlasting peace and “it is now possible, to have a world free not only of want but of war.” The future world which is in the making will be more concerned with the wars against illiteracy, poverty, disease and other contemporary social evils. Gone are the days when Louis XV had inscribed on special cannon, which stood at the entrance of Versailles, “The final argument of King.” Wellington is reported to have said, “There are no manifestos like canon and musketry.” And even more recently it is said that Stalin, in answer to a proposal that he should attempt to gain the support of the Vatican during the Second World War, asked how many divisions the Pope had.” In the modern world, these attitudes and outlooks suffered a

basic change. It is an era of international co-operation and understanding. The present outlook of mankind is that final answer to problems and disputes cannot be sought through material aggressive power. Now the use of armed force to solve international disputes is quite unacceptable. The international community will not allow strong powers to use force to impose their will on the weak nations. Ultimately, disputes are resolved through peaceful solutions and political negotiations. In the present day world the lasting victories are those of peace and not of war.

In this new international setting, the bilateral relationship between small, poor and developing countries and the great powers and super-powers can be established with advantage to both. But Mr. Bhutto warns that bilateralism would degenerate into sheer opportunism if it meant a deviation from principles, not to speak of their renunciation." He declares: "What I envision as a correct stance for states with a quantum of power similar to ours is a dignified posture; not a vestige of dignity can be retained if a state were to lose its foothold on principle and led itself be buffeted by the changing expediencies. I have enjoined it as an element of policy on the practitioners of our diplomacy that a developing nation's bulwark against the pressures of the great powers is its unwavering adherence to principles and its capacity to articulate them in a given contingency. The nation is demonstrably false that a great power, 'qua' a great power, remains beyond conversion to a principle which it might not itself have espoused. In the contemporary age, when international issues arise that bear upon human destiny, the policy untenable for a nation is one of alienation from principles."

Pakistan strives hard to adhere "to the unimpeachable principles of bilateralism" as preached and practiced by Prime Minister Bhutto himself. "This has brought manifold gains to it in the shape of stabler relations with friends and allies and enhanced prestige in the Afro-Asian world where her stock was at its lowest ebb during the past regimes."

Writes Mr. Bhutto: "Prior to the adoption of bilateralism Pakistan's foreign policy was, at worst, capricious and, at best. One of pragmatism planted on a half forgotten ideology. With adoption of this principle Pakistan has steered itself through the treacherous shoals and currents that menace the passage of strategically placed states in the complex, contemporary age. Bilateralism has provided a safe chart for this kind of navigation. More importantly, it has helped Pakistan to fulfill as well as it can the Islamic injunction of integrity in international dealings. This injunction is immutable."

"Prime Minister Bhutto, the architect of bilateralism in Pakistan's foreign policy, has had to wage a long and unrelenting crusade to put it on a sound and rewarding basis. And now Pakistan's foreign policy is based on the principle of

good relations with all the countries of the world on the basis of sovereignty, equality, reciprocity and mutual benefit. This policy, for which there exists a constitutional mandate, aims at preserving and promoting fraternal relations between Muslim countries, its purpose is to support the common interest of the people of Asia, Africa and Latin America, to promote international peace and security, to foster goodwill and friendly relations among all nations and to encourage the settlement of all international disputes by peaceful means.

Pakistan's foreign policy objectives under the People's Government have been enunciated as:

1. Supporting the cause of the world Muslim community and promoting Muslim solidarity by consolidating the positive achievement of the Islamic Summit held in Lahore in February, 1974.
2. Seeking and promoting a climate of good neighbourliness, peace and understanding in South Asia.
3. Improving Pakistan's relations with all major powers of the world.
4. Linking Pakistan more closely with the countries of the third world by supporting their legitimate struggle against exploitation and discrimination.

The measure of success of Pakistan's foreign policy can be gauged from her enhanced prestige in the U.N.O. Besides, Pakistan now commands respect in the third world, particularly in the Muslim countries; also her relations with big powers registered a marked improvement.

INDO-PAK RELATIONS

The Simla accord opened the way for the normalisation of relations between Pakistan and India. Despite set backs and difficulties, appreciable progress has been made in this direction. However, Prime Minister, Zulfikar Ali Bhutto, has pointed out in his recent interview with a senior Indian journalist, Mr. Moti Ram, that no Government in Pakistan can think of surviving by accepting the present position in Jammu and Kashmir State and that he would not be a party to an unjust solution of the dispute. A solution to that dispute must come through fair and just means. That will be Pakistan's position in negotiations with India."

He made it clear that in any step to improve relations between Pakistan and India; his government will have to carry the people with it. Like Quaid-e-Azam, Mr. Bhutto, is a scientific politician. "His supreme understanding of politics, both national and international is like Quaid-e-Azam's based on the principle of the supremacy of the People's will". For him, the people are the source of all power, the masses are the masters and the people are supreme and sovereign. In the political philosophy of Mr. Bhutto, no policy is viable which is not supported by the people. To reinforce his arguments, Mr. Bhutto, pointed out to the Indian journalist in reply to a question relating to further implementation of the Simla

Agreement that “the previous government unrealistically tried to thrust decisions on the people, but as these were unacceptable to them, they inevitably failed. Mr. Bhutto emphasized that he would never take such a wrong course.”

“In short, Prime Minister Bhutto has lent support to the principle of obtaining a democratic consensus by going to the people direct and by consulting their elected representatives in parliament for a viable and successful foreign policy.”

PAK-AFGHAN RELATIONS

I was Pakistan’s Press attaché in Afghanistan for nearly sixteen years and this long association with Pak-Afghan relations had convinced me that Afghanistan would always remain in a problem Muslim country for Pakistan. But now, fortunately things have changed in a dramatic way. In view of the recent miraculous developments, I found that my appreciation was wrong.

In fact, this is Prime Minister Bhutto’s greatest achievement that for the first time in the history of Pak-Afghan relations, now both sides have given up their undesirable propaganda and as a result a friendly atmosphere has been established for the solution of the difference or differences between the two neighbouring and brotherly Muslim countries who have common religion, common history, common culture and common traditions.

In a recent interview, the Assistant Editor-in-Charge, J.G Heitink of the Amsterdam daily “de-Telegraph” put a pointed question to the Prime Minister:

Mr. Heitink. How are your relations with Afghanistan?

Prime Minister. Vastly improved. We do not know what will be the final outcome but we have had two rounds of good, valuable and useful talks and I believe that the talks have been sincere. We are still searching for a solution which we hope will be viable, permanent and which will put an end to a very old problem which has spoiled relations between our two countries since 1947. It was then that Pakistan came into existence as an independent, sovereign state and we were faced with this issue by Afghanistan. Since then, our relations have had their ups and downs; we have had strained relations; we even broke our diplomatic relations, and were almost on the verge of war on two or three occasions; but we were sensible enough not to go beyond the point of no returns. There is much in common between Pakistan and Afghanistan. Perhaps, too much in common, because that factor can also be responsible, in some situations, for the existence of strains in such relationships. Being too close in history and geography, in race and in culture, can lead to serious problems as some-times develop between two brothers or two sisters. But as of now, we think that the

future is hopeful. In the talks we have had, I can tell you that I am making every effort, and I can say the same for President Daud, for a solution. I had met President Daud before, but I had not had dealings with him before. Whatever the outcome of the talks, I have developed an immense admiration for him, for his sincerity, for his vision of history, for his clarity of thought, for his perception and I hope, at least, that whatever the outcome, this respect will remain undiminished.

Mr. Heitink. So the active hostility is no more between Pakistan and Afghanistan?

Prime Minister. That is now behind us. One of the reasons that we and Afghanistan are talking shows that we have moved away from that situation. If that had not been the case, it would not have been possible for us to have these negotiations. We have successfully, with the grace of God, and with the full support of the people, overcome the hostile stage. Yesterday, a British journalist asked me how long would our solution last. I said, how can I say because you have had an Irish problem for 700 years or 30 years but I would derive considerable satisfaction if I can see this problem through."

Prime Minister Bhutto has recently said during his tour of N.W.F.P., that Pakistan would have further talks with Afghanistan in the near future on matters of mutual interest.

"For pursuing independent and balanced foreign policy, based on bilateralism, Prime Minister Bhutto works hard, on home front, to end exploitation and to make a homogenous entity out of the various complicating strata of Pakistani society". Foreign policy, after all, can not be manufactured from the air. Its roots are deeply embedded in the socio-economic conditions prevailing in the country.

The aim of Bhutto's revolution is that the government and the machinery of the government should not be imposed on the people, but quite the reverse, it should emanate directly from them and should serve solely to further their legitimate rights and interests. For the first time in the history of Pakistan, the vast Pakistani masses, in the villages, fields, factories and elsewhere, no longer fear that threatening shadow which was once called the power of twenty one families, coupled with the tyranny of corrupt bureaucracy. No longer would the nation's internal and external policies and destiny be determined behind closed doors by a handful of capitalists, industrialists, landlords, big business, bureaucrats, conservative ulema, right wing politicians and their stage managers, and hence no foreigners would be able to utilise their agents, either overtly or

covertly, to carry out and evil designs against the basic interests of Pakistan as a sovereign and independent state.

Mr. Bhutto has transformed the government and the people into a united and coordinated organic whole. Hence he is in a position to peruse an independent of foreign policy based solely on the national interests, without fearing the interference of any foreign influence, obviously, when such an organic, coordinated and united whole of a nation bases its national and international policies on socio-economic development, social justice, peace, prosperity, eradication of illiteracy, poverty, disease and on international co-operation and understanding and peaceful co-existence, no power on earth can shake its sovereignty, solidarity and integrity.

“Mr. Bhutto on the international front is now stressing the need for the unity of the third world for attainment of a real partnership of economic co-operation between the developed and developing countries, on the lasting basis of equality and fair play. Failing the emergence of such a balanced and harmonious world order economic and political Mr. Bhutto warns that the working of the will of providence has its own logic and own reason and does not come to a stop with the devices of human ingenuity. If the issues are not judged on merit and justice and not resolved in the interest of mankind as a whole, then “the task is accomplished at much greater cost, by the movement of peoples and the operation of historical forces”. Such are the ways of the providence and the demands of the Divine justice. The warning of Mr. Bhutto, the voice of prophetic vision in the present historical situation, is a warning as well as a message of hope.”

CHAPTER XII

THE MESSAGE OF HOPE

Prime Minister Bhutto's manifesto is destined to do for the third world as Darwin's theory has done for biology, Plank's theory has done for nuclear physics and Marx's manifesto has done for the exploited, working classes of the world.

The basic idea of Marx manifesto was "that economic production and the structure of society of every historical epoch necessarily arising there from constitute the foundation for the political and intellectual historical of that epoch, that consequently, (ever since the dissolution of the primeval communal ownership of land) all history has been a history of class struggles, of struggles between exploited and exploiting, between dominated and dominating classes at various stages of social development; that this struggle has now reached a stage where the exploited and oppressed class (the proletariat) can no longer emancipate itself from the class which exploits and oppresses it (the bourgeoisie), without at the same time for ever freeing the whole of society from exploitation, oppression and class struggles." In other words, according to Marx, history is an endeavour to emancipate the oppressed, the exploited, the lowliest, the labouring classes from the bloody clutches of the hydra-headed monster of the parasitic, exploiting, domineering, bourgeoisie classes.

It must be understood that Prime Minister Bhutto is Muslim first and Muslim last. He does not believe in the historical interpretation of Marx, popularly known as the materialistic theory of history, as opposed to the idealistic theory, but he definitely believes in Marx's economic analysis. Obviously, he is not a devotee of laissez-faire. According to him, "if poor countries, impoverished countries proceed on the basis of the law of supply and demand, demand will only come from the rich and the prosperous. In other words, the elements of social justice and Islamic morality must be forgotten for a long time to come."

He emphasizes that these are Imperial concepts. He stands for the people's priorities, people's stomach, people's clothing and people's shelter. The primary instinctive needs of the people are sacred to him. He prefers welfare oriented economy to growth oriented economy and is not in favour of those grandiose schemes and big projects which scarcely provide the basic necessities of life.

His idea is that "the drawers of water and the hewers of wood" are also human beings and as such are entitled to social justice. However, he does not

confine this idea only to narrow nationalistic, geographical frontiers but goes a step further and advocates in his brilliant articles "The Third World the Imperative of Unity" that a unique historical situation of which we are witnesses, calls for nothing else but a creative dialogue between the two classes of nations (the poor and the rich). It demands the translation into international term of the same process of building equitable economic orders and resolving class conflicts in which the leadership of many nations, north or south, east or west, is currently engaged in their domestic spheres". In the present important time, Bhutto's article, in fact, serves as a blue print for the future course of human history. It is an argument and attempt to illuminate the central problem that has bedeviled the relations between the southern poor, developing countries of the third world and the highly industrialised rich countries of the north. He limelight's the all important problem of the present day world that how free, independent, sovereign countries of the globe can organise the international economic order in a rational, just and fair way for without it, the political balance of the world will always remain in serious jeopardy. He argues the need for a major reassessment of the international economic order of today, and prescribes, in cogent, rational and sometimes hard-hitting detail, the reorientations, the discarding of old reflexes, the fresh concepts that must nourish international economic order, if we are to maintain peace and break the miserable human cycle of war and want. He calls an end to the economic imperialism of the developed countries and discusses ways to dismantle the curtain of their oppressive monopolies.

He writes, as the honest, forth right man he is, to do away with the growing gap between the rich and the poor nations in time, and to face the reality of the situation in a just and honest manner.

He points out in the beginning of his article that "the primal issue in human affairs on the international plane today is the division between the poor and the rich. There are hewers of wood and drawers of water, on the one side, and those who wield mastery over the planet's resources, on the other. The reality of this division, sometimes described as the north-south polarization has been sharpened by the development of the last three years."

Obviously this is not a brand new theme of the brave, new world, but its importance lies in its re-interpretation of the shape of north-south relationship for the restoration of the economic equilibrium of the world.

In his famous book "The Discipline of Power", George W. Ball writes: "Five years ago, in a speech of rare illumination, Lord Franks pointed out that the world is split not into two segments but three. Not only is there the familiar horizontal division between east and west, which has been the constant pre-occupation of governments for the last two decade; there is also a vertical

division based on the relationship of the industrialized nations of the north to the under-developed and developing countries that lie to the south of them, whether in central or south America, in Africa or the middle East, in South Asia or in the great island Archipelagoes of the Pacific.

Mr. Ball goes on to say that for some time now, there has been more talking and writing about the second division than the first, and it has been fashionable to consider east-west or cold war relations as a somewhat *démodé* problems of less intensity and danger than relations between the north and south, the rich and poor. In "The Reds and the Blacks", former Ambassador William Attwood, a distinguished journalist and effective diplomat, has stated the central these of this school of opinion in quite categorical terms.

"... We must face the fact that the number 1 problem of our planet in the years ahead will no longer be the cold war but the war on poverty: our world could live in peace half-slave and half-free, but it cannot live in peace, not in this age of mass communications, one third rich and two thirds poor".

Mr. Bhutto's article indirectly refers to the same truth and regards this all embracing truth as humanity's present challenge and the warning he utters in this regard is not to be taken lightly.

As a matter of fact, "it has been seen in recent years how the old economic order, which emerged after World War II, has begun to crack and crumble. The imposed peace after the Second World War brought in its wake an unjust system of relationships for the benefit of victors, namely, the technically advanced countries of the world and as such its bases were quickly eroded. It is now clear that this sort of affair cannot continue and if allowed to continue unchecked, there is every likelihood that it might lead the world to disastrous and catastrophic end. Without a new and just international economic order, the political balance of the world is in serious jeopardy and we will be living in a titled and unbalanced world under the shadow of mushroom clouds. It is therefore, the duty of all the nations of the world, both poor and rich, to construct the new, just international economic order because it is to the advantage of both the developed and the developing countries."

The increasing disparity between the rich and the poor countries is gradually preparing the ground for an explosive situation. And, God forbid, if the explosion occurs, the main losers are going to be the developed countries, for the poor countries in their present, miserable economic condition "has nothing to lose but their chains of poverty". At present, we live in a sharply divided world where in more than half of the population shares only 7 percent of the world GNP. Two thirds of the populations of the third world live in conditions of

grinding poverty. There are, at present, 300 million people unemployed and their number is likely to increase up to, 1000 million. The number of illiterate people has risen from 700 million in 1960 to 760 million in this year, 1976. The third world contains only about 7 percent of the world's entire installed industry while its share of international trade fell from 14 percent in 1960 to under 12 percent in 1974.

More than 50 percent of the populations of the world earn only 12 percent of the total income, while 12 percent earn more than 50 percent of the income, while the annual per capital income of two thirds of the world is only \$150 that of the other third is between \$1500 and \$3000. More than half of mankind consumes less than a quarter of the food produced, while less than 30 percent consumes 57 percent of this food.

Can the poor countries of the world tolerate such an intolerable situation? The developed countries often lecture the developing countries on the dangers caused by flagrant class differences. Yet they themselves often seem to be unaware of the dangers caused by acute difference of wealth between the developing and developed nations of the world.

The above figures amply reflect the mass suffering of the working classes of the third world and Prime Minister Bhutto is rightly pointing out that the labour of the third world masses is constantly being devalued because of the unequal relationship between the poor and the rich countries. In other words, in the present unjust situation, the wealth of the poor countries is being flowed to the rich countries and not vice versa.

Writes Prime Minister Bhutto: "In face of all this, the these is being increasingly propagated that the growth and development of the poor must depend upon the continued rapid growth of the rich, for only then can the markets for the goods of the poor expand and the prices of their commodities hold. This is pernicious doctrine. It means that the gap between the poor and the rich must continue to expand. It means that the rich must continue to appropriate an over whelming proportion of the earth's wealth. It means that if, because of sheer saturation with goods the rich should choose to grow less rapidly, there is no hope for the poor."

In short, the rich industrialised countries of the world preach in a shameful way that the deliverance of the poor countries lies in making payment, continuously and persistently, to the rich countries, so that they should be in a position to buy the poor with their own money; for without the continuation of this process, they argue the poor will suffer because the rich are immune to economic ups and downs of the world.

But, unfortunately, there is no way out of this undesirable and cruel situation in the prevailing international economic condition.

Says Mr. Bhutto: "The irony is that, while we may justly denounce this doctrine, it merely describes an in built feature of the present international economic order. It reflects the undeniable fact that our terms of trade, our markets and our resources flows are overwhelmingly dependent upon the economic and political policies in the richer countries."

The Prime Minister naturally does not visualise an overnight change in the present economic system but advocates that something must be done to narrow the gap between the poor and the rich. He rightly argues: "while the fundamental underpinnings of this system may not be changed overnight, there is an urgent need to provide the poorer countries an insurance against disaster. The future of the less privileged can not be allowed to depend upon growing inequality. A way has to be found to improve the terms of trade for the third world to remove the iniquities of quotas and trade restrictions, in the affluent countries and to reduce the paralysing burden of external debt which is largely a result of unequal trade and exchange between the poor and the rich."

But it seems that the rich industrialised countries are not in a mood to change their wooden and unwise attitude. If past is any index to the future, we remember that "in the sixties there were theories of growth and development, and the under developed were consoled with the idea that large borrowed inputs, especially in the field of agriculture, would assist them in stemming the tide of their growing poverty, and reaching a stage where their economies could "take off". Much of that talk is now forgotten and the under developed countries are told that they should forget about self-sufficiency and that the growth of the under developed depends, on the rapid growth of the developed. On this fallacious, erroneous, foolish and childish plea, even the dribbles of assistance to "growth" and "development" programmes are being with drawn and the under developed countries are left in a quagmire of sub-human poverty."

"These unreasonable and cruel attitudes of the developed countries are likely to persist, if not checked in time and as a result these would further inhibit the growth of the economies of the third world and would lead them quickly towards an overwhelming disaster."

What if the answer? Mr. Bhutto's clarion to the countries of the third world to unite or perish. This is not a call for confrontation but an appeal for compromise and co-operation. His analysis and synthesis of the extraordinary economic situation of the world are logical and, therefore, convincing. He has

rescued the central problem from “the welter of useless verbiage and presented it as a stark challenge that it is. In his opinion, the collective will of the third world will solve the problem.”

In fact, the spirit of the third world manifesto is to avoid confrontation through the concerted efforts, of the developing countries. “Confrontation is often born of inequality and a sense of helplessness. Unity will create a self-confidence that would curb the impulse and need for confrontation and create an inherent strength that should be persuasive enough for the other side.” The industrialised world has to be disoriented from the older, unequal system, convinced that system is no longer sustainable.”

This objective can be achieved only through a summit of all the third world countries to devise a strategy for new and fairer world economic order. The summit is likely to mobilise the world’s poor against the economic exploitation of the rich. Under the circumstances, global partnership is the only alternative to disastrous confrontation.

Mr. Bhutto elucidates his point by saying that “the crisis of the mid-seventies, which originated in the developed countries, has its worst impact on us and retarded our development for many years. In a large number of Asian, African and Latin America countries, per capita income has declined. Some, like Pakistan, may have maintained and even accelerated the momentum of their development effort but this has inevitably resulted in greater indebtedness. In order to ensure self-generating growth, we all need to examine and review the external economic environment, and its integral link with our collective weaknesses, so that the global economy ceases to act like a strong current setting us back in our voyage to self-realization.”

“While all these elemental truths have been uttered at countless forums, the ironical fact remains that, instead of evoking the natural response of a sense of inter-dependence, they have caused the opposite reaction. This is visible in the growing self-righteousness among the rich. Poverty among nations is regarded as the result of inherent defect in people; one hears more and more the assertion that the less developed has none but themselves to blame for their plight. The rich are strengthening their groupings and associations and focusing their attention on the consolidation of their own gains. Thus issues of international monetary reform, trade and resource flows are largely settled amongst themselves and the influence of the developing countries is at best, peripheral.”

“It is wholly unrealistic to expect from existing international institutions the capacity to rectify this imbalance. Those concerned with aid and monetary affairs have fallen prey to a regressive trend among the rich and the powerful. The

proportion of external assistance to gross national product in the leading nations among them has been steadily declining organizations like the International Development Association and the United Nations Development Programme suffer from paucity of funds. Perennial negotiations on trade have failed to eliminate the restrictions of quotas on the exports of developing countries. Textual battles are being fought on the issue of stabilizing and improving the prices of raw material exports of developing countries. Anodynes are administered in the form of resolutions. The Paris Conference as anticipated faces a pathetic stalemate. Operating at the level that they do, such institutions cannot possibly rise to the height of the present challenge. A tepid conversation cannot be taken a creative dialogue". In his third world's message, Mr. Bhutto, has hit the nail on the head. Political sovereignty is myth without the backing of economic sovereignty; at best, it is sophistry and, at worst, mere slavery. No nation can be called independent, without having economic sovereignty. The neo-colonialists are not going to grant economic sovereignty to their former colonies, or for that matter, to the developing countries of the third world. They stick to their imperial concepts. Their mentality has not suffered any change. Imperialism is endemic and inherent in the capitalistic structure of society.

"The localised exploitation of labour in every country of the so called free world is only a part of the generalised system of exploitation, whose most pernicious aspect has been colonial exploitation in the past, and the indirect mode of exploitation called neo-colonialism, in the immediate present. This system of exploitation has been indeed "an imperial international" as Louis Althusser has termed it."

"Mr. Bhutto's article has started a new international movement. It is an international movement of the "proletarian nations". Slowly and gradually, it is catching the imagination of the world councils. The aim of this movement is the achievement of stable peace through a process of creative dialogue between the poor, developing countries and rich developed countries. In his own words, the objective of his message is "translating into international terms the process of building equitable economic orders and resolving class conflicts."

This movement, sooner or later, is bound to succeed because it is the voice of the 2,000 million people of the less developed countries and stands for irrefutable truth. To counteract this benevolent movement, the imperialists and the non-colonialists have started using their old formula of "divide and rule."

In his interview granted to Faribozz Atapour of the "Tehran Journal" Prime Minister Bhutto is reply to a question pointed out that "the industrialised countries are telling some of the oil producing countries that this conference is directed against oil producing countries. This is mischief. it is deliberate mischief,

because they have been trying to draw a wedge between non-oil producing and oil producing countries. They tell you people; what are you worried about, you are now one of us and you should not trouble about these other peoples. You cannot go on fixing the prices of bananas and eggs and of other commodities and oil. You are one of us Mediterranean and European.”

“You know what they tell us: look at these people. Are you not angry with them? We, the industrialised countries, who are not Asians and Africans, are giving more technical and other assistance to your countries than the oil rich countries. What is the point of spending and wasting their money and squandering away their wealth by buying hotels in Europe, by buying real estate in America, by acquiring arms which they do not need, by having ten to twenty reactors which they do not require, when they do not even have the man-power? If they would only share some of that wealth! Why don't you confront them? They take this line with us and surely their purpose is to break the unity of the third world.”

“My objective is that the third world conference should stop this mischief by telling the oil producing countries that the third world countries are not angry with them. On the contrary, they are grateful to them. Countries like us wish them prosperity because if they can become rich, we too will be affected. Because their possession of riches will have repercussions. As it is, our labour is employed and is being absorbed by some of them. We have the man power. We have a pool of technological experience. So, in a way, we share in their wealth.”

In fact, the third world is now the most important emerging reality of the contemporary age. The imperative of unity in the third world is now a hot topic in the international circles. Mr. Bhutto has started the ball rolling and, like a snow ball, it gathers momentum with each passing day. The common cementing force in the third world is their common suffering and common problems.

Writes Mr. Bhutto: “We in the third world are united by our common suffering and our common struggle against exploitation. Regardless of our political system or our external outlook, we have the common mandate to extricate the world's majority from a throttling economic order. We need to develop a personality of our own. Let not this personality be torn by the schizophrenia which is caused by the failure to reconcile short term interests with long term goals. Let it not be confused by our inability to review the scope and area of mutual co-operation for our economic and social development. Let it not be enfeebled by the lack of the political will to exert our combined strength for changing a system that patently discriminates against the developing countries. This political will cannot find expression except at the highest level of our collective leadership.”

The question arises what is that system which “patently discriminates against the developing countries.” The answer is that it is “the capitalistic structure of society which is still the predominant economic order in our age, despite the emergence of many socialist countries.” Unless this system is changed on a world wide scale, there is no hope of deliverance for the labouring humanity. Under the present international economic order, the outward form of human society will suffer change, but its essence, like the immutable destiny, will always remain the same.

Mr. Bhutto’s manifesto wants to secure reasonable and just adjustments in the prevailing economic system through unity of the third world. He wants to change the centuries old mentality of the industrialised nations and invites them for serious thinking on the third world economic problems. His article provides food for thought, both for the developed and developing countries. It is a message of hope for humanity at large. If it is read in this spirit, the seekers, doubtless, will find a guiding light in it.

Mr. Bhutto concludes: “The third world message must not be clothed in the jargon of a bygone age nor be tailored to the political ends of any country or group of countries. If the opulent and the powerful can combine, as they inevitably do at critical moments, to maintain their dominance on the basis of their wealth and technology, it would be perpetrating a wrong on humanity if the poor nations should dissipate their relatively limited strength in dividing their own ranks, in creating a gulf between the poor and the poor. The impoverished masses of the third world are yearning for a new focal point of their collective will. They are seeking a new bastion of power to wage the crusade for man’s final victory against inhumanity. This is the need of the hour; the priority of the poor. The conference that I envisage will have one and only one iron-clad criterion for inclusion: the non developed and oppressed community of the third world. Whether aligned or non-aligned, communist or non-communist, white or yellow or black or brown, the nations of Asia, Africa and Latin America will join in this mission and become the harbinger of one world under on law for all humanity.”

ANNEXURE "A"

	1971-72	1972-73	1973-74	1974-75	1975-76	1976-77
1. Power	0.412	1.192	5.7810	13.473	15.491	15.880
2. Agriculture (Main)	1.261	2.076	3.000	5.2592	9.628	13.250
3. Animal Husbandry	0.367	0.383	0.6490	1.1071	2.137	2.350
4. Forestry	0.015	0.100	0.1265	0.6388	1.353	1.400
5. Planning and housing:						
(i) Public Health Engineering	1.500	2.112	7.3379	7.7654	7.850	13.592
(ii) Housing	Nil	Nil	1.5750	15.5530	17.019	14.174
6. Industry	0.086	0.070	0.0730	0.5916	0.833	0.703
7. Education	1.842	2.725	11.5690	36.4535	29.801	30.743
8. Health	0.118	0.021	4.1450	13.4250	12.436	13.755
9. Communication	1.038	2.400	11.9100	54.7319	76.905	73.636
10. Rural Development		4.000	5.4500	10.0015	6.833	8.333

FEDERALLY ADMINISTERED TRIBAL AREAS AREA AND POPLULATION

Name of Agency	Area Sq. Miles	Population (1972)
Khyber Agency	... 995	3, 77,000
Mohammad Agency	... 887	3, 83,000
Kurram Agency	1,305	2, 81,000
Orakzai Agency Kohat (F.R.)	... 766	3, 28,000
Peshawar (F.R)	... 101	60,000
Bajaur Agency	... 320	3, 64,000
N. Waziristan Agency	... 1,817	2, 52,000
S. Waziristan Agency	... 2,556	3, 08,000
Bannu (F.R.)	... 337	64,000
D.I Khan (F.R.)	... 1,247	90,000
Total	<u>10331</u>	<u>25, 07,000</u>

Kurram Agency:

1. Area: 1,305 square miles.
2. Population (1972): 2, 81,000.
3. Main Crops: Wheat, rice, maize, pulses.
4. Main Language spoken: Pushto.
5. Economy: Agriculture.
6. Educational Institutions.

	1947	1970	1974	1975
Colleges	...	1	1	1
High Schools	...	10	10	13
Middle Schools	...	15	15	18
Lower Middle Schools	...	4	5	5
Primary Schools	21	74	81	146
7. Health Institutions:				
Hospitals	2	5	7	7
Dispensaries	...	6	10	13
Rural Health Centers	..	..	..	..

8. Industries: Mazri Centre, Alizai, Sericulture Centre: Peshawar, Fruit and Vegetable canning. Plant, Sadda, (a) One, (b) One under construction.
9. Important places: Parachinar, Shilozan, Alizai, Kirman, Zeran, Sadda.
10. Important Tribes: Turi and Bangash.

Mohammad Agency:

1. Area: 887 square miles.
2. Population (1972): 3, 83,000.
3. Main Languages spoken: Pushto.
4. Main Crops: Wheat, maize, barley, oil-seeds, sugarcane and tobacco.
5. Economy: Agriculture and pastoral.
6. Educational Institutions.

	1947	1970	1974	1975
Colleges	1
High Schools	..	2	2	8
Middle Schools	..	1	3	16
Lower Middle Schools	..	1	1	1
Primary Schools	..	49	59	84
7. Health Institutions:

	1947	1970	1974	1975
Hospitals	1	1	1	2
Dispensaries	..	3	4	4
8. Industries: Nil. One under construction.
9. Important Places: Warsak Dam, Ekaghund, Yousaf Khel, Miyan Mandi.
10. Important Tribes: Mohammad, Safi and Utman Khel.

North Waziristan Agency:

1. Area: 1,817 square miles.
2. Population (1972): 2, 52,000.
3. Main Crops: Wheat, barley, rice, maize and sugarcane.
4. Main Languages spoken: Pushto.
5. Economy: Agriculture.
6. Educational Institutions.

	1947	1970	1974	1975
Colleges	..	1	1	1
High Schools	..	6	8	8
Middle Schools	1	9	11	12
Lower Middle Schools	..	..	..	..
Primary Schools	8	8	96	96
7. Health Institutions:

	1947	1970	1974	1975
Hospitals	1	6	10	10
Dispensaries	5	17	21	27
8. Industries: (1) Government Metal Centre, Miranshah. (a) Three (b) one under construction. (2) Match Manufacturing Factory, Miranshah. (3) Handlooms.
9. Important Places: Miranshah, Mir Ali, Spinwam, Datta Khel and Razmak.
10. Important Tribes: Utmanzi, Wazir and Daur.

Khyber Agency:

1. Area: 995 square miles.
2. Population (1972): 3, 77,000.
3. Main Languages spoken: Pushto.
4. Main Crops: Wheat, barley, rice, maize, gram and jawar.
5. Economy: Agriculture, Industrial and Pastoral.
6. Educational Institutions.

	1947	1970	1974	1975
Colleges	..	..	1	1
High Schools	..	2	6	10
Middle Schools	2	4	6	11
Lower Middle Schools	1	3	5	5
Primary Schools	3	44	84	108
7. Health Institutions:				
Hospitals	1	2	3	4
Dispensaries	6	15	20	21
Mobile Dispensary	..	1	1	1
T.B. Dispensary	..	1	1	1
8. Industries: Cigarette manufacturing plant at Bara, Cottage Industry Chips, Marble and handloom factories, (a) Two, (b) one under construction.				
9. Important Places: Jamrud, Khyber Pass, Shagai, Ali Masjid, Landi Kotal, Tur Kham.				
10. Important Tribes: Afridi, Shinwari, Shilmani and Mullageri.				

Bajaur Agency:

(Established in 1973):

1. Area: 320 square miles.
2. Population (1972): 3, 64,000.
3. Main Crops: Wheat, maize, oil-seeds and barley.
4. Main Language spoken: Pushto.
5. Economy: Agriculture.
6. Educational Institutions.

	1947	1970	1974	1975
Colleges	1	1
High Schools	5	8
Middle Schools	8	8
Lower Middle Schools	100	125
7. Health Institutions:				
Hospitals	1
Dispensaries	..	4	10	10
Rural Health Centers
8. Industries: Nil.				
9. Important tribes: Yousaf Zai, Torkalani, Utmankhel Salazai, Mamund, Charmaag.				
10. Important Places: Khan Nawagai, Inyat Qila, Jar.				

Orakazai Agency:

(Established in December 1973):

1. Area: 766 square miles (including Kohat (F.R.))
2. Population (1972): 3, 28,000.
3. Main Crops: Wheat, maize, barley olive seeds.
4. Main Languages spoken: Pushto.
5. Economy: Agriculture and Pastoral.
6. Educational Institutions.

	1947	1970	1974	1975
High Schools	4
Middle Schools	3	7
Primary Schools	64	89
7. Health Institutions:				
Dispensaries	7	14
8. Industries: Nil.				

9. Important tribes: Sultanzai, Bahramzai, Daulatzai, Lashkarzai.
10.

EDUCATION

Total Number of Schools in Tribal Areas

	(1970)	(1975-76)
Primary Schools ...	387	1,008
Middle Schools ...	38	184
High Schools ...	27	99
Total ...	452	1,291
Total number of students ...	40,000	10, 01,330

HEALTH

Hospitals ...	32	39
Dispensaries ...	100	130

South Waziristan Agency:

1. Area: 2,556 square miles.
2. Population (1972): 3, 08,000.
3. Main Crops: Wheat, maize, rice and moong.
4. Main Languages spoken: Pushto.
5. Economy: Agriculture and Pastoral.
6. Educational Institutions.

	1947	1970	1974	1975
Colleges	..	..	2	2
High Schools	1	3	8	8
Middle Schools	7	8	12	14
Lower Middle Schools	3	2	1	1
Primary Schools	57	77	108	108
7. Health Institutions:

Hospitals	2	7	10	10
Dispensaries	8	31	32	37
8. Industries: (a) One, (b) Two under construction.
9. Important Places: Wana, Ladha, Tiarza, Narai, Sarwkai, Sararegha and Kanigurram.
10. Important tribes: Mahsud, Ahmed Zai and Wazir.

ANNEXURE "B"

ANNUAL DEVELOPMENT PROGRAMME

	Year	(Rupees in Crores)	
		Size of A.D.P.	Revised size of A.D.P
	1971-72	13.36	8.74
	1972-73	21.25	21.79
	1973-74	30.00	28.51
	1974-75	45.92	50.00
	1975-76	63.25	60.14
	1976-77	66.00	...

Sector	Allocation (19771-72)	%	(Rs. in Crores)	
			Allocation (1976-77)	%
1. Industries	0.0988	0.8	5.7694	9.67
2. Labour	0.0610	0.5	0.0405	0.07
3. Transport and Communication	1.8488	14.89	12.8114	21.47
4. Water	0.5099	4.1	6.0747	10.17
5. Agriculture	2.1662	17.48	6.1239	10.25
6. Planning and Development	0.0600	0.48	0.5775	0.97
7. Physical Planning and Housing	1.4845	11.96	14.9455	25.05
8. Education Training	3.5360	28.50	7.8953	13.24
9. Health	2.7118	21.86	8.11	13.59
10. Social Welfare	0.0583	0.47	0.0600	0.10
11. Rural Works Programme	1.1000	8.86	3.5000	5.86
12. Lump sum	...	...	0.0951	...
Gross Total	13.6353	...	66.0000	...
Less Shortfalls (9%)	1.2272		6.3300	...
Net Total	12.4081	...	59.6700	...