

Z. A. Bhutto January – March 1973

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***Message of greetings to El-Hadji Ahmadou Ahidjo,  
President of the United Republic of Cameroon on  
January 1, 1973***

The Government and the people of Pakistan join me in extending to Your Excellency the Government and the brotherly people of the United Republic of Cameroon warm greetings and felicitations on the occasion of the National Day of Cameroon.

Please accept, Excellency, the assurances of my highest consideration.

***Message of felicitations to Mr. Jeon Claude Devalier,  
President of Haiti on January 1, 1973***

I have great pleasure in extending to Your Excellency the Government and the people of Haiti warm greetings and sincere felicitations on the occasion of the National Day of Haiti.

Please accept, Excellency, the assurances of my highest consideration.

***Message of greetings to Dr. Osvaldo Dorticos Torrado,  
President of the Republic of Cuba on January 1, 1973***

On behalf of the Government and the people of Pakistan and on my own behalf, I have great pleasure in extending to Your Excellency, the Government and the people of Cuba our sincere felicitations and good wishes on the auspicious occasions of the National Day of Cuba.

Please accept, Excellency, the assurances of my highest consideration.

***Message of felicitations to Major General Gaafar Mohammed Nimeri, President of the Republic of Sudan on January1, 1973***

It gives me great pleasure to convey to Your Excellency on my behalf and on behalf of the Government and the people of Pakistan our warmest greetings and good wishes on the happy occasion of the Independence Anniversary of the Sudan.

I am confident that the brotherly relations and the close co-operation to happily existing between the Sudan and Pakistan shall continue to grow in the years ahead.

I avail myself of this opportunity to wish health and happiness to your Excellency and progress and prosperity to the brotherly people of the Sudan.

***Message of greetings to Mr. Kim 11 Sung, Chairman of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea on January 2, 1973***

Excellency, I have great pleasure in extending to you, on behalf of the Government and the people of Pakistan and on my own behalf our warmest felicitations on your election as Chairman of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea.

I also take this opportunity express our best wishes for your health and long life and for the ever greater prosperity of your people.

***Speech at a public meeting in Karachi  
On January 3, 1973***

President Zulfikar Ali Bhutto declared that he would not recognise Bangla Desh until such time as the people of Pakistan approved of the decision.

The people of Muslim Bengal and those of Pakistan could decide what kind of relationship they are going to have in future . and this decision would be taken without any outside interference or pressure, Mr. Bhutto said.

He was addressing a mammoth public meeting at Nistar Park full one year after he had held a similar meeting in the city and had received a massive mandate from the crowd to release Sheikh Mujibur Rahman unconditionally.

However, at the meeting a section of the crowd reacted in the negative when the President put it to them whether or not Pakistan should recognize Bangladesh.

Responding to their reaction, the President said if the people disagreed with the proposition, he would also say "Na Manzoor, Na Manzoor, Na Manzoor."

The crowd spontaneously broke out into slogans of "Jiye Bhutto" And "Pakistan Zindabad" as Mr. Bhutto repeated that he would not recognize Bangladesh without the consent of the people.

This decision, he reiterated would be taken by the elected representatives of the people in the National Assembly.

But, he pointed out, Pakistan was shelling out Rs. 90 crore a year as debt servicing charges for the loans which had been invested in East Pakistan and this payment would Continue till Pakistan recognized Bangladesh.

He said, Mr. Mujib had categorically said that if Pakistan did not accord recognition to his administration, Bangladesh would not accept liability even worth a cent.

"By all means, don't recognize Bagladesh if you don't want to But also, don't blame me when the prices of sugar and wheat flour

register an increase and there is an overall shortage of commodities of daily use, With heavy expenditure on defence and an annual burden of Rs. 90 crore on account of Bangladesh, we can't spare a great deal of resources for development and the country's needs." He added.

The President said, if Pakistan could save this huge expenditure it was incurring on account of not recognizing Bangladesh , the country could establish a number of sugar mills and meet the sugar shortage through increased production. It could also meet the deficit in wheat and other essential commodities.

The President expressed the view that the recognition of Bangladesh was still in the best interests of Pakistan and the repercussions of not recognizing the new state would be serious for Pakistan.

He, therefore, considered it his duty to forewarn the people of the complications that might arise should Pakistan decide not to recognize Bangladesh.

For one thing, it would put the question of the return of Pakistani POWs in jeopardy. For the other, it would help India tighten its strangle hold on Muslim Bengal.

The President said, Pakistan came into being with the objective of forging close and friendly relations with all the Muslim countries. How could it leave the 75 million people of Muslim Bengal to drift like a rudderless ship on the choppy waters of international politics, he asked.

Referring to his talks with Mrs. Indira Gandhi at Simla, he said the India Premier had told him plainly that India would not release Pakistani POWs until such time as Pakistan accorded formal recognition to Bangladesh. This, Mrs. Gandhi said, was the commitment she had made to Mr. Mujib and India could not go back on it.

It is for this reason alone that the Indian leaders, including Foreign Minister Swaran Singh, said time and again that Pakistan should recognize Bangladesh to facilitate the return of POWs.

But, the President said, Mr. Swaran Singh or any other leader had no business interfering in a matter which was strictly between the people of Pakistan and the Muslims of Bengal.



"Neither India nor Russia nor the United States nor any other country can pressurize Pakistan into taking this decision. This would be taken by the people of Pakistan and those of Muslim Bengal after mutual consultations and consent," the president told a cheering crowd.

He also referred to the example of East and West Germanies who constituted part of one and the same country until World War II and were divided in the aftermath of the War.

The President said after almost 30 years of separation, the two Germanies were now normalizing their relations on the basic understanding that they were two separate countries and would like to stay as such.

He said he could never forget the first public meeting he had addressed in Karachi on this very date last year.

He said that some people were now saying that the decision to release Mr. Mujib was a wrong one and that he (Mujib) should have been kept as a "hostage."

But, he said, history would prove that the decision was completely right. The people should not think that it had been incorrect, he added.

He said that much had happened in the past one year, and the position of this country today was substantially different from that obtaining when his Government came to power.

He recalled that one year ago Pakistan was still suffering from the shock of the tearing away of half of Pakistan through foreign aggression. President Bhutto said that at that time, Indian forces were in occupation of parts of Sindh and Punjab provinces.

He recalled that one year ago some persons were saying that there was no alternative but to recognize Bangla Desh at once.

But it had been the policy of his Government to ensure that others did not take advantage of the difficult times the country was then passing through, he added.

He said, now after a period of one year, Pakistan was full of life and vibrant once again, and the people were saying that while they

were prepared to accept certain things they would not swallow everything.

This, he remark, was a sign of life and, therefore, welcome.

The greatest service his Government had so far been able to perform for Pakistan was to bring about the revival of the spirits of the people, and the country, he added.

He said, today public meetings and demonstrations were taking place and this was a sign of life and vigour.

He said the time had now come to decide what sort of relationship would be desirable with the people "living in what they call Bangaldesh."

It was up to the people to decide this question, as he alone was not competent to do so, he remarked.

He said, if the younger generation wants to take such decisions, it should also shoulder the responsibility.

Referring to the Simla meeting the President said that he went there to hold talks with Mr. Gandhi. He explained to her Pakistan's point of view and listened to Indian viewpoint.

Now it was the Indian Prime Minister's turn to come to Pakistan and hold discussions on issues which were yet to be settled, he said.

However, now they say that she would not come because Pakistan had not recognized Banladesh.

He said he had extended this invitation to Mrs. Gandhi in all sincerity and it was for her to respond.

The President said, he knew Sardar Swaran Singh and added the Sardar's threats would be of no use. He said India's high-handedness (Sikha Shahi) would not cow down Pakistan.

Addressing himself to Sardar Swaran Singh the President said "you cannot threaten Pakistan. The decisions are to be taken by our nation. You have nothing to do with it."

He said, Pakistan was created to safeguard the interests of the Muslims of the world, and if Bangladesh is not recognized, the Pakistanis will be answerable to God as to why the Muslims of East Pakistan were left in misery.

The President assured the students that their problems of transport and hostels were receiving due attention of the Government. He further assured them that more medical colleges and technical institutions would be opened for them.

The President disclosed that the provision in the draft Constitution calling for two-thirds majority to pass a vote of no-confidence against the Prime Minister was included in last October's all-party constitutional accord at the instance of the Opposition including NAP, JUI, Council Muslim League, Jamaat-i-Islami and Jamiatul Ulema-i-Pakistan.

"This wasn't our proposal and we had not insisted upon this being incorporated in the constitutional accord," he told the public at Nishtar Park.

The President chided the Opposition for trying to wriggle out of the accord and insisting upon having it amended.

"What kind of politics is this? First you sign an accord willingly. Then you praise it sky high in your public statements. And finally you try to wriggle out of it on second thoughts," he added.

The President said he had invited all the political party leaders represented in the National Assembly for talks on the future constitutional set-up of the country with the express intention of having a national consensus on the fundamentals of the Constitution.

"We were not under any obligation to invite them. We have a clear majority in the House. But we thought since the Constitution was a basic documents, it would be better to associate all parties which are represented in the National assembly," he said.

The President asked the Opposition not to indulge in the same kind of politics as they had done during the last 25 years, for it would only harm the broader national interests.

Referring to Tuesday's uproar in the National Assembly, the President said, an Opposition leader had told one of the Central

Ministers on the floor of the House: "I will shoot you and I will shoot your leader."

"This is the love they have for democracy. This is the kind of democracy they believe in, "the President said and asked the leader concerned not to hold threats of shooting this or that person down.

"If you know how to shoot, the nation also knows how to pull the trigger. If you can strike me, the nation also knows how to strike you down," the President said and bared his chest saying: "Who is it that wants to shoot me. Let him come and take a shot. I am not scared."

The Opposition leaders' efforts to topple his Government were a dangerous symptom which could lead to dictatorship and chaos in the country.

Dwelling at length upon the inconsistency of the Opposition leaders, Mr. Bhutto told his public meeting at Nishtar Park that he NAP chief, Khan Abdul Wali Khan, and his father, Khan Abdul Ghaffar Khan, were speaking the language of violence and disruption while they preached democracy.

Their statements were full of contradictions and the people should take note of them, the President added.

He declared that the roots of the people's Government were among the people, and it would fight the evil designs of these gentlemen with the might of the people.

Criticizing the role of the Opposition leaders, he declared that the country was today blessed with true democracy for the first time after 25 years. He said that ever since the death of Quaid-i-Azam and the Quaid-i-Millat, the democracy was never allowed to flourish in this country by these very leaders whose caliber and real intentions today stood exposed before the people.

The President said, that politics was a science and meant for those who were qualified and not for novices.

The President also referred to the statements of Sardar Akbar Khan Bugti, and said that the people should take note of what this Baluchi Sardar was saying. He said that all these facts were coming from him, only after an in-fight among themselves had taken place. And look at the record of the NAP in Baluchistan where all the jails

were full of their political rivals. These people had one code for the Government and another one for themselves.

The President spoke in a bitter and hurt tone about his critics' double standard, broken promises and blind opposition.

Without mentioning NAP's Wali Khan, he said a party chief, who had propounded parliamentary democracy, now wanted the Senate to have more powers than the Prime Minister. This demand he said, was against the principles of parliamentary democracy and suggested the Presidential system.

But again did not they oppose the Presidential system tooth and nail and accused him (President Bhutto) of wanting to impose himself on the nation, he said, "how could I become a President under the new Constitution when the required age for that office is 45 and I will turn 44 after two months?"

"Also a former colleague of us, who propagated the Presidential system, is today crying for parliamentary form," he said.

President Bhutto also ridiculed an editorial, "Mountains don't cry," by a person who had always seen things from a bureaucrat's chair.

"Look at the impoverished faces of the peasants of the Punjab and Sindh. If mountains don't cry, how their tears come flowing down the rivers', he said in a sentimental voice and added: "Of course, you (the editor) could not see the misery of our people and our land from your high perch."

There was another editor, he said, who came showering praise on him but wanted to continue "a bit of criticism of the Government" in his newspaper.

Against all the mud-slingings on him and his Government in the newspapers, when a Rawalpindi journalist, wrote critically about the Opposition, a hurt leader created scenes in the National assembly.

"We are not foreigners. We are also Pakistanis and have the same temperament." the President said.

The President said that he could not accept Khan Abdul Ghaffar Khan's offer of co-operation because Mr. Ghaffar Khan had equated

the provinces of Pakistan with sovereign, independent states of Afghanistan and Iran.

“After returning from your self-imposed eight-year exile you dare to speak of co-operation with us in foreign friendship between Afghanistan, India, Iran, Punjab, NWFP, Baluchistan, and Sindh!” The President said during his public speech.

“I am a politician”, he reminded Mr. Ghaffar Khan and said he could see what the red-shirt leader meant when he equated the provinces of Pakistan with the sovereign states.”

The President invited all his opponents “from Khyber to Karachi” to join hands in opposing him. “But we won’t be shaken because we rely on the people, the masses.”

“What if we have to make sacrifices. But we will save the country,” the President declared.

He said he wondered what Mr. Ghaffar Khan had been doing in Kabul during the wars with India in 1965 and 1971. Instead of doing any service to the country, the red-shirt leader had been making speeches from Kabul Radio.

The President said he could see through the game of the red-shirt leader and was absolutely unwilling to fall in to his trap.

***Message of greetings to General Agga Maha Thiri Thudhamma ne win, chairman and Prime Minister of the Union of Burma, on January 4, 1973***

On behalf of the Government and the people of Pakistan as well as on my own behalf I have great pleasure in extending to Your Excellency the Government and the friendly people of the Union of Burma our warmest greetings and sincere felicitations on the auspicious occasion of the 25<sup>th</sup> Anniversary of Independence Day of Burma.

I am confident that the friendly relations and co-operation between Burma and Pakistan will continue to grow further in the years to come.

I take this opportunity to wish health and happiness to Your Excellency and progress and prosperity to the friendly people of the Union of Burma.

## ***Speech at the distribution ceremony of land-transfer deeds at Nau Dero on January 5, 1973***

Speaking at a simple but impressive land-transfer deeds distribution ceremony held at Nau Dero, President Zulfikar Ali Bhutto said that poverty and inadequate production of food grains in the country had posed a challenge to all of us and we must meet it.

He said that the intention behind the distribution of free lands and the philosophy behind the introduction of land reforms in the country was to induce the farmers to produce more and thus increase the agricultural wealth. This, he thought, could be possible only when the lot of the farmers is improved and they are given a feeling of possession over a piece of land. He said that the reforms were designed to better the economic condition of the farmers who had remained neglected and to increase the agricultural output.

Referring to the land reforms of the Ayub regime, the President disclosed that they were incomplete because some of the lands resumed at that time were uncultivable and were given to farmers on payment. He said that due to lack of sincerity on the part of the then Government, the lands could not be resumed properly and no headway could be made to create real impact on the economic front. The President said that the present Government which was aware of the miserable economic condition of the poor farmers decided to give lands free. He said, during the Ayub regime reforms, the land-lords were compensated and the reason why they are not compensated now, is that the Government is left with no money.

He said that the present Government was determined to make this country not only self-sufficient in food grains but able to export it abroad, and earn badly needed foreign exchange, the President assured the farmers that all the necessary facilities including fertilizers, pesticides and tractors would be made available to them so that they could boost up the agricultural produce. He said that the present Government believed in action rather than words and that the proof of this was the presence of the Chairman of Agriculture Bank of Pakistan among them. The President told audience that he had instructed the Agricultural Bank Chairman to keep on touring the country instead of sitting in his office in order to know who needed the agricultural loans and to see that they were profitably used. He further said that the loans procedure had been made easier and necessary changes had been made in the loan rules so that the poor and un-educated farmer did not face any problem.



Stating that wheat requirements were not being met from inside the country, the President said that the result was that it was being imported from outside at the cost of our hard-earned foreign exchange which otherwise could be utilized on purchase of other necessary equipment.

Giving the instances of a number of foreign countries, where the joint farming system is operative, the President pleaded for the introduction and adoption of co-operative and collective farming by the small landholders. He opined that this would enable the farmers to utilize modern methods of agriculture without much difficulty. The president regarded selflessness and the spirit of sacrifice as the basic requirements of development of the country.

The President turned to the critics of the present Government who alleged that the People's Party would not implement its manifesto. He referred to the reforms introduced by his Government in various fields and said that the very fact if reforms in one years time had falsified the opposition's allegations. He reiterated that the Pakistan People's Party Government was determined to fulfill its pledges and implement its manifesto in letter and spirit.

Referring to the role being played by the opposition parties on the question of Constitution, the President said that the opposition parties were accusing the present Government of not being sincere in implementing their manifesto, while they were refusing to remain loyal to what they had agreed in the form of Constitutional Accord. The President said that it was not so easy for opposition parties to go back on their signed stand. They would have to stick to it or be prepared for the situation in which the present Government would have no other alternative but to give the country a Constitution based on its own manifesto.

Later, the President distributed land-transfer deeds among 105 landless farmers of Sindh, ten from each District except Karachi from where five recipients had come. Touching scenes were witnessed at Nau Dero at this function. Some of the joyous farmers had tears in their eyes on receiving lands and other danced with joy.

***Speech at the banquet given in honour of Mr. Nicolae Ceausescu, President of the Socialist Republic of Romania on January 8, 1973***

Excellencies, Ladies and Gentlemen,

On behalf of the Government and the people of Pakistan I would like to welcome most warmly our distinguished and honoured guests from Romania. We have had discussions this afternoon but even before the discussions were held we knew that we would make progress in our meeting for the simple reason that the foreign policy of Romania and the foreign policy of Pakistan are in conformity with established and recognized international principles. These are based on the norms of justice and equity. We have seen over the years, since our Independence, from the time we established diplomatic relations, whenever there has been a crisis, whenever there has been a problem, whether it is in Asia or in Europe or in Latin America or in Africa or in the United Nations, the Governments of Romania and Pakistan have shared in most of these matters a common approach.

This is because, as I said earlier, that our foreign policies stem from certain recognized irreversible international principles. Obviously sometimes set-backs take place but finally principles triumph. And we hope that with this approach most objectives can be achieved which are fair and just. Although Mr. President, your great country is in Europe and we are in Asia and vast land and high mountains separate us, nevertheless there is an affinity and prominent understanding which we feel with you, which perhaps sometimes one does not feel with those closest. So we look forward to a productive, constructive and co-operative relationship between Romania and Pakistan in spheres, whether they are economic, cultural, social or any other. And, I can assure you on behalf of our people that we will welcome our country is short. We hope that in these three days we can show you a little bit of Pakistan.

We hope that there will be more exchange of delegations at all level and in all spheres between our two countries. And we look forward again to your visit to our country where you can stay a little longer, see a little more of the people and of the places and return back to your country with a feeling that there is warmth, affection and regard and, sincere feelings for you, the role you have played in your own country, in Europe and on the world scene and for your people. But even on this occasion I have no doubt that when you go from

place to place whether it is in Tarbela or in Lahore or in Karachi, if you look into the eyes of the people you will find a radiance in them and you will find in their smiles warmth and affection for you. We are happy that you came, we are delighted you took the trouble, we know that your visit to our country will further promote and consolidate our mutual relationship. I, therefore Ladies and Gentlemen, request you to join me in dinking a toast to H.E. the President of Romania and Medame Ceausescu.

***Reply to the address of welcome by Mr. Nicolae Ceausescu, President of the Socialist Republic of Romania, at the State banquet on January 9, 1973***

Mr. President, Excellencies, Ladies and Gentlemen,

In one word I would like to thank you Sir, for what you have said this evening; we are overwhelmed not only by the words but by the sincerity with which you spoke. You have been with us for two days, and in the course of two days we have held discussions. You have visited another Province of our country where you have seen our humble efforts to bring about economic salvation for our people and tomorrow you will be visiting another Province of Pakistan and the day after that the third one. Our regret is that you could not go to our fourth Province in the short period of time; to see that wherever you go, whichever {province you visit, whomsoever you meet, you will find the same warmth and the same affection and applause for you and for your distinguished friends.

Your visit to Pakistan is a memorable one and one which would be remembered by as for along time to come. Why, because you have come to us at a time of great stress and great difficulties, when we have passed through a tragic and traumatic experience in our national life. Why, because you are here on our soil to see for yourself the efforts we are making to rehabilitate our country and to chalk out the course of peace in the war-tattered subcontinent. Today we have concluded an important agreement which not only signifies the importance by the name of the Declaration but more by the intent and contents of the Declaration. It should be asked why this agreement was concluded, this agreement of fundamental nature within three hours of our discussions. I say this because in contrast we have held negotiations, puerile and futile, for thirty years and three hundred years with others and not moved an inch forward. The simple reasons that because there is a desire for collaboration; the simple reason is that because there is no outside element to compel the two of us to come to and agreement; the simple reason is that there is not an iota of compulsion or threat in the agreement that we have concluded. It has been concluded by voluntary aspirations of the people of Romania and the people of Pakistan and articulated by their Governments.

That is why it is my abiding faith that it shall live and it shall outlast all the vicissitudes and all the threats that may come in its way. And for this reason we look forward optimistically and hopefully. When you return to your country Mr. President you must convey to your people our sincere appreciation and our sincere thanks for your understanding and co-operation in our difficult time. Although we have concluded our basic agreements, Nevertheless, for the reasons, I have stated I am accompanying you tomorrow to Lahore, And we shall continue our frank, cordial and fruitful discussions. But, the foreign Office must not take it as a precedent which is being established because this is a special matter. In the old day when Rome was the center of Western Civilization, there is an old saying. "In Rome do as the Romans do." When I bid you farewell tomorrow at Lahore I might be tempted to say in future "In Rome do as the Romanians do."

Ladies and Gentlemen, it gives me great pleasure to request you all to join me in a toast to the heroic people of Romania, to the everlasting friendship between the people of Romania and the people of Pakistan wishing them well in their mutual efforts for the cause of world peace, to President of Romania and Madame Ceausescu and all our distinguished friends from Romania.

***Message to the Sixteenth Session of the Ministerial Council  
Of R.C.D. on January 11, 1973***

On behalf of the people of Pakistan and on my own behalf, I extend a hearty welcome to our brothers from Iran and Turkey, the distinguished Foreign Ministers and other delegations. I have been closely associated with R.C.D. from its very inception and have ever since watched its progress with keen interest.

The demand of our times is speedy economic development and a just distribution of its products leading to increased welfare and higher standard of living for the millions. The task of economic development is so stupendous that national effort alone would not suffice unless countries co-operate mutually with a view to supplement and complement their resources.

Iran, Turkey and Pakistan have decided to co-operate in the gigantic task of developing their economies in close association with each other under the aegis of R.C.D. it is, however, not merely an economic arrangement:-it is, at the same time, a symbol of the unity and friendship of the peoples of the three countries reflecting a common past, a common heritage, a common culture and common religion. It is an instrument for strengthening further the centuries. To me it holds a great promise for the future.

I am pleased to note that useful work has been done under R.C.D. in a wide range of fields encompassing economic, social and technical collaboration. An institutional framework has been established and basic infrastructure facilities including communications are being improved. The peoples of the three countries have been brought more and more in contact with one another through the R.C.D. technical and cultural co-operation programmers. A number of industrial joint ventures have been set up and have commenced production. Steps to increase intra-regional trade are constantly under review. A sound and hopeful beginning has, thus, been made. We have now to bring R.C.D. activities to a stage when its benefits should be made available to the common man. The expansion of trade and industrial co-operation should have a high priority with us as these are basic to the success of any regional arrangement. The size of the market of the region provides opportunities for the establishment of large, sophisticated and inter-dependent industries in the three countries. This potential has not yet been fully explored and exploited. So far as trade is concerned, the time has come when we should

seriously consider the establishment of a preferential trade arrangement for promoting intra-regional trade. I am confident that a preferential trade arrangement would be able to effectively simulate the trade within the region.

It is a matter of great satisfaction for us in Pakistan to see our brothers in Iran and Turkey prosper under the dynamic leadership of His Imperial Majesty the Shahinshah Aryamehr and His Excellency President Cevdet Sunay. Pakistan has recently passed through a serious crisis from the disastrous effects of which we have still to recover ourselves fully. It was heartening to see that our brethren in Iran and Turkey were with us in this hour of trial and tribulation. I take this opportunity to express our sincere gratitude to the Governments and peoples of Iran and Turkey for their generous support.

I hope you will enjoy your stay in Pakistan. I am confident that this Session will prove yet another step forward towards greater co-operation among us. I wish the Council all success in its deliberations. I wish the great peoples of Iran and Turkey a happy and glorious future.

***Message of greetings to Nice-President of Tanzania  
On January 12, 1973***

On behalf of the Government and the people of Pakistan and on my own behalf, I extend to Your Excellency warm greetings and felicitations on the happy occasion of the 9<sup>th</sup> Anniversary of the Zanaibar Revolution Day.

Please accept, Excellency, the assurances of my highest consideration.



***Message of felicitations to the Prime Minister of the Arab Republic of Yemen on January 12, 1973***

On behalf of the Government and the people of Pakistan I have great pleasure in extending to Your Excellency our warmest felicitations and best wishes on your assumption of the office of the Prime Minister of the Arab Republic of Yemen.

I am confident that the brotherly relationship which so happily exists between our two countries shall be strengthened further in the years to come. Please accept, Excellency, the assurances of my highest consideration.

***Message of felicitations to Colonel I.K. Acheampong,  
Chairman of the National Redemption Council of Ghana  
On January 13, 1973***

On my own behalf and on behalf of the Government and people of Pakistan I have great pleasure in extending to Your Excellency the Government and the friendly people of Ghana our warmest greetings and felicitations on the first anniversary of the January 13 revolution of Ghana. I am confident that the bonds of friendship and co-operation so happily existing between Ghana and Pakistan shall be strengthened further in the years to come.

I take this opportunity to wish health and happiness to Your Excellency and progress and prosperity to the friendly people of Ghana.

***Message of condolence to the bereaved family of  
Mr. Amanullah Khan on January 14, 1973***

I would like to express to you our deep shock and sorrow at the tragic death of Mr. Amanullah Khan, our Charge d Affaires in Nairobi and that of two of his sons. With his untimely death we lose a selfless worker who had devoted himself towards furthering the interests of Pakistan in the countries of his posting.

We share in the grief of the bereaved family and relatives and would request you to convey our heartfelt condolences to them.

***Eid-ul-Azha message to POWs on January 15, 1973***

My brave officers, jawans, brothers and sisters, in your courage and sacrifices you have displayed the true spirit of "Sunnat-i-Ibrahim." I am sure that your sacrifices will be fruitful.

On the occasion of this "Eid-ul-Azha" I send you on my behalf and on behalf of the whole nation my heartiest greetings.

### ***Eid-ul-Azha message to the nation on January 16, 1973***

This third Eid after the tragic events of 1971 serves as a reminder to us that only through supreme sacrifice which Eid-ul-Azha symbolizes can the sacred cause of Islam be vindicated. The dismemberment of Pakistan, the anguish suffered by our nation and the incarceration of our prisoners of war were doubtless due to a conspiracy against Pakistan. There can be little doubt, however, that so conspiracy against Pakistan would have succeeded if we had not strayed from the noble ideals which inspired the movement for Pakistan led by Quaid-I-Azam Mahomed Ali Jinnah. The ideal of supreme sacrifice for collective good which Eid-ul-Azha symbolizes was abandoned. Personal aggrandizement and greed were unhappily rampant in Pakistan during the first 25 years of its existence, and the high principles and ideals of our faith were forgotten.

Our thoughts today are with all those who are suffering for Pakistan. Many thousands languish in jails. Our hearts bleed for the prisoners, both military and civilian, detained in India in inhuman conditions in flagrant violation of international law and morality. There can be no joy in any home in Pakistan until these people return to their homeland and are re-united with their kith and kin.

Our nation owes it to Islam and also to Pakistan to revive the spirit of sacrifice for the betterment of our troubled nation's spirit and environment. This is the message of Eid-ul-Azha. Let not this day be just another feast or ritual. We must remember that Pakistan is today on the crossroads of crisis. If we choose the path of sacrifice and unity as enjoined by Islam, success surely awaits us. After what happened to our country in 1971, the perils of our failure are no longer hidden from us. Let us, therefore, pray to Allah for bringing happiness to our people in conformity with the spirit which brought this holy day on to the calendar of Islam.

## ***Address at Shikarpur on January 20, 1973***

President Zulfikar Ali Bhutto declared at Shikarpur, that his Government would deal sternly with the thieves, law-breakers, smugglers and anti-State people, whosoever they might be.

The President was addressing a huge crowd that had assembled at Lakhigate taxi-stand during his drive round the Shaikarpur town.

The President told his audience that when his Government caught hold of any thief or anti0people or anti-State Person, some critics made the allegation that the government was taking political revenge. "But that is not a fact. We will not take any political revenge. What we do, we do in the best interests of the people and the country." President Bhutto declared amidst loud cheers and thunderous applause from the crowd.

Someone from the audience requested the President not to yield to the pressure of such critics. The President replied. "Yes, we will never yield to pressures of any kind while dealing with thieves, law-breakers, anti-people and anti-State elements and smugglers."

He reminded his audience that certain people had created trouble on the language issue some time back. The Government tool action against them "but now that the situation has become normal, we have released them. All of those detained due to the language controversy have been released."

The President reminded the people of Shikarpur that in this very town children had been murdered and thrown in wells, and said the Government could not remain indifferent to such incidents.

He said that when the Government dealt with such heinous crimes with an icon hand, the critics made the charge against the Government that it was ending democracy. He asked: "why should we end democracy?" adding: "in fact, we have struggled for it."

He said that he held the poor, workers and Haris, very dear to his heart because in his opinion "the poor are always good friends."

He said that it was with the object of knowing the problems of the common people, the poor and down-trodden people, that he had undertaken the current tour of Sindh.

The President said that the Sindh Governor, the Sindh Chief Minister and the entire Cabinet were with him to know the people's problems and find solutions. "we wish that all your sufferings should end. We have all your hardships in mind. We are conscious of them", he declared.

He said that he was fully aware of the need for improving the law and order situation. For that purpose, better police arrangements were being made. The police force as well as number of police stations were being increased in Jacobabad and Shikarpur.

He said that he had asked the superintendent of Police, Sukkur to clear the area of criminals and had characters within a month. "if there is the will, this objective can be achieved" he observed.

The President said he felt sorry that during the past 25 years, no attention was paid to the historic town of Shikarpur. Many Governments, including civil and military governments came and went during this period but they did not pay any attention to Shikarpur with the result that Shikarpur now had turned into another "Moen-jo-Daro" from the evil effects of seepage and water logging.

He said that Shikarpur was an ancient town. Once it had trade routes upto Samarkand and Bukhara but now it could not trade even with Sukkur.

The President declared that he had sanctioned Rs. 12 lakh to be spent till June 1973 to counteract seepage and water logging, which was eating into the vitals of Shikarpur, once a happy and prosperous town of Sindh.

He said that there was also a drainage scheme for Shikarpur. Besides, eight tubewells would also be installed in the town.

He said that in previous years, in all 120 villages of Sindh had been electrified, but during the last one year alone, under his régime, 200 villages had been electrified. He assured the audience that roads would also be improve.

He also told the audience that the People's Rural Development Programme launched by his Government would open avenues for employment of greater number of people.

The president reminded his audience that his Government had inherited a country with a shattered economy, and with everything in a bad shape. "I tell you, when we came to power the country had no fertilizer at all, but you can question me if you find any difficulty in respect of fertilizers next years. We will import more fertilizers, urea and phosphates," he added.

He said that the rates of paddy cotton and sugarcane had been increased to provide incentive to the growers. "With greater agricultural production, we intend to make the country self-sufficient in its requirements."

The President referred to the devaluation of Pakistani currency and pointed out that this "economic decision" had been taken because of necessity. It was not a personal decision. Devaluation had also caused dearness but when the country becomes self-sufficient, the prices would fall.

He declared that his Government wished that black marketing and the system of rationing should end for ever.

He made a fervent appeal to the people to co-operate with the Government in curbing smuggling.

He told his audience that he had found that not only smuggled Bharati 'pans' were available in Sukkur market but smuggled cigarettes were also being sold in Sukkur. In return for these items, the country's wheat and sugar were smuggled out, he explained.

He declared that the smugglers would be heavily punished but observed that in its anti-smuggling campaign, the Government needed people's co-operation.

The President assured the people of Shikarpur that the local college could be raised to higher standard and it would be able to start higher science classes.



***Address at meeting of the workers of the Pakistan People's Party in Sukkur on January 21, 1973***

President Zulfikar Ali Bhutto said that after the constitutional accord it was for the National Assembly to finalise and approve a permanent Constitution for the country.

Addressing a meeting of citizens and PPP workers at the Circuit House he said that the Opposition had initiated, signed and publicly applauded the accord. If any amendments are to be made in the constitutional provisions, they could use the forum of the National Assembly, he added.

The President said, the Constitution of the country would be framed by the Constituent Assembly in the light of the constitutional accord reached between leaders of various parliamentary groups. "The matter is now in the hands of the National Assembly, which is a sovereign body. Time for any escape from the constitutional accord has elapsed. The hands of the clock cannot be turned back now."

The President explained in detail how the constitutional accord was reached. He said that leaders of various parliamentary groups were invited to take part in the deliberations. The talks were held for five days. The provisions which were being opposed now, were suggested by the leaders of other parties, not the PPP, said.

He said that the signatories to the accord put their signatures on behalf of their respective parties. There was no misunderstanding about it then. Those who were out of the country, in London, were consulted on telephone and their approval received.

The President said that the constitutional accord was very much in existence as a law passed by an Assembly remained a law. Afterwards some people might oppose that law.

He said that those who wanted any amendments in the constitutional provisions could use the forum of the National Assembly. If they can muster majority support, they can bring about amendments in it, added.

The President referred to the threat of boycott of the National Assembly by some of the signatories to the constitutional accord and described it and "uncalled for decision." He added "even we did not talk of boycott when one party of East Pakistan wanted to thrust its

own Constitution on West Pakistan at a time when the country was one.

“What we demanded then was that the majority party in the Assembly should give us an assurance that our point of view would be given due consideration in the Assembly at the time of framing of the country’s Constitution. We did the same thing now when we invited other party leader for consultations on constitutional matters outside the Assembly.”

The President said that if some members or parties boycotted the Assembly meetings, “we do not mind. We will frame the Constitution in accordance with the constitutional accord.

“The Qayyum League is the second biggest parliamentary group in the Assembly. It has ten Members. Then there are others, too. We enjoy their support.”

The President referred to the demand for fresh elections and said, “we are not afraid of elections. In fact, we are the product of elections.”

He, however, said that the decision to hold elections would be taken by the Government. That was the practice all over the world. The Opposition parties did not have any say in this matter. Elections in Britain, France or America are held when the Government in power decides to hold them, he explained.

The President also said that nowhere in the world there was the practice of handing over Government to the Supreme Court. “The Supreme Court has to run the law,” he observed.

The President advised the defeated politicians to wait and learn lessons of politics for at least five years. The Government, he said, would decide about holding of elections at the appropriate time, when the interests of the people and the nation demanded, when the Constitution would have been framed, when the prisoners of war would have returned home and when other more pressing matters would have been settled.

The President told his audience that more wireless sets and jeeps were planned to be imported for the use of Police force. We will also open more police stations in “kacha” tracts and in Pat Feeder area, he added.

“You will soon notice an improvement in the law and order situation in the Sukkur, Khairpur and Jacobabad areas,” he said.

The President declared that his Government would take stern measures to check smuggling across the borders and said that if need arose the borders would be sealed.

He said that it was a matter of regret that wheat and other things were smuggled out of Pakistan and cigarettes, cloth and other valuable things were being smuggled into the country from Bharat through the Pak-Bharat borders.

He asked the people to co-operate with the Government in the effort to check smuggling along the borders.

He said that three-and-a-half lakh tons of rice produced in West Pakistan, which was previously sent to East Pakistan, was now being exported to Ceylon, Indonesia, Persian Gulf States, Arab States, and Europe. That has helped us earn much foreign exchange.

The President referred to his Government’s decision to devalue Pakistani currency and said that this was overdue. If the previous Governments had taken the decision at a time when it was needed most, the country would have benefited much.

He explained that the devaluation decision had been taken when the value of Pak rupee had to be fixed at the rate of one dollar to 11 Pak rupees. This decision could have been taken earlier when the rate could have been fixed at one dollar to six Pak rupees or seven Pak rupees.

The President said that the philosophy of his Government and that of previous Governments was quite different. “We do not believe that because we have bureaucracy, a police force and army, we can run the Government. Our philosophy is that the People are the real force. We have to run the Government for the people, and with their help.”

***Address to the workers of the Pakistan People's Party at Hyderabad on January 23, 1973***

President Zulfikar Ali Bhutto said that the validity of the all party constitutional accord was final and could not be altered by the opposition leaders on second thought.

Addressing a meeting of the party. Workers he said that the National Assembly, when it meets as the Constitution-making body, was the proper forum for making any amendment in the draft Constitution.

He said that if the Opposition was able to muster enough support in the House, the Government would happily accept the necessary amendments.

The President pointed out that the Government was determined to give speedily a progressive Constitution to the people.

He emphasized that Pakistan had come to stay as a united and indivisible entity, and nobody would be allowed to harm this unity. He said there was no truth in the claim that two provinces belonged to one party and the rest to the other party, as the opposition parties did not have an absolute majority there.

The President said that the People's Party had accommodated the Opposition's viewpoint to the maximum limit.

They were for a parliamentary system and the People's Party accepted that principle, he said, adding they wanted the procedure of removing the Prime Minister by two-thirds majority and we agreed to that provision.

"On every occasion, the majority had accommodated the Opposition's viewpoint, but there was always a limit to such a give and take principle." We had always given, we cannot give any thing more," he asserted.

Today the Opposition leaders were saying that they were ready to sit and talk on the Constitutional differences. But what was the guarantee if tomorrow the might again sign another accord and then back out of it the next day.

The nation, the President said could not afford to remain without a Constitution any longer. During the last 25 years the nation had seen enough upheavals because of being without a basic political structure for this country.

The People's Party, he said, did not want abnormal conditions to continue in the country any more.

The Majority party was committed to the nation to give it a Constitution, and it would fulfil its responsibilities.

He said that the People's Party was a majority party and it was giving a federal system. It was not for a confederal system as Sheikh Mujib wanted. The People's Party was not thinking in terms of half Pakistan.

He said: The Opposition leaders say that the Constitutional accord is not a Quranic law. Sheikh Mujib also used to say that his Six Points were not Quranic law, but the nation knew that his uncompromising attitude continued till the end. Today the Opposition parties were following in the footsteps of Sheikh Mujib, he added.

He said that the People's Party had saved the rest of the country from disaster and would continue its struggle to make it stronger and prosperous.

The President said that despite the Opposition's provocative attitude, the ruling party would not allow any one to create chaos and disruption in the country. Because the enemies of the country wanted to weaken Pakistan and destroy it, to meet this challenge, it was of utmost importance that the nation should have its own democratic Constitution like all other civilized nations, he emphasized.

The President said that the seeds of the break-up of Pakistan were sown firstly at a time when the status of the four provinces was dissolved and One Unit of West Pakistan was created, and secondly when the formula of parity was accepted by the then Government, giving equal status to two wings although the Bengalis were in majority.

As such for the first time instead of federation of five provinces, two entities were made against the wishes of the people.

Those leader who shed tears for Bengalis should reply by Dacca was not the capita of Pakistan when it was the capital of majority province, he asked.

The Pakistan Industrial Development Corporation was divided but its head office was not taken to Dacca and why Railways was divided when it had always remained a Central subject.

He said that the administrative division took place when only Bengali officers were appointed in East Pakistan. Then the concentration of wealth in West Pakistan brought the economic break-up of the country.

In 1958 political parties were dissolved, and no link remained between the two parts of the country as the political power was concentrated in the hands of West Pakistan. That was the political division of Pakistan, he said.

All these factors were responsible for the break-up yet the Opposition parties said, that Pakistan was divided because the People's Party did not go in the Assembly.

He said that the Opposition could not do anything except leveling accusations a against the Pakistan People's Party.

He said that the Pakistan People's Party opposed Awami League because they were giving a Constitution which was neither unitary nor federal. It was, in fact, a confederal Constitution with a label of federal form on it.

The Six-point formula was also aimed at creating a confederal system, by having special relationship between two separate states, he said. "We told Sheikh Mujib that we are ready to sit in the Opposition if you give a federal form of Constitution."

The President warned India that she could not exploit the issue of POWs to gain any political benefit. "if they retained our POWs, it could not help in setting the issue of Kashmir, and reiterated his demand for relase of Pakistani POWs under the Geneva Conventions.

He recalled that the Simla Accord had nothing which interlinked the recognition of Bangladesh with the release of POWs. He also warned that Pakistan would not repay the foreign debts of Bangladesh after June next.

“Our Country is poor. We have to do something for bettering the lot of the people. We need not pay the debts of Bangladesh. ” he added.

About law and order situation in the country, he said it would be maintained at all cost. But he regretted that “when we take measures to keep the peace undisturbed, the Opposition describes it as suppression on the part of the Government. Some time, force has to be used to maintain law and order”, he said.

He said that people who criticize the Government of Sindh and the Punjab should also review the situation in Balochistan and NWFP when NAP ruled.

The president said “the first and last sin” we had done was that we did our best to save Pakistan. But people knew who committed injustices in East Pakistan at the instance of Yahya Khan.

***Message of condolence to Mr. Richard Nixon, President  
Of U.S.A. on Mr. Lyndon b. Jaohnson's death  
on January 23, 1973***

On the sad demise of former President of the United States  
Mr. Lyndon B. Johnson I offer to you Mr. President our condolences.

May I also request you to kindly convey our sympathies to Mrs.  
Johnson and other members of the bereaved family.



## ***Statement on Vietnam Peace Agreement on January 24, 1973***

The people of Pakistan hail the Agreement which has brought to an end the war in Vietnam.

It honours an epic struggle lasting for three decades and crowning a whole series of glorious national movements.

No people have struggled so long, so consistently and against such overwhelming odds as have the brave people of Vietnam. No country has been so ravaged by war as Vietnam. No war has been more devastating than the war of liberation in Vietnam. It has indeed been a struggle without parallel.

Today the war has ended. The Government and people of Pakistan share in the rejoicing of the people of Vietnam. Their struggle has not only some honour to their nation but has restored Asia's pride and rehabilitated Asia's self-respect, which suffered much from long years of colonial rule.

The Agreement on Vietnam also reflects the vision and statesmanship of the leadership of the United States, not only has it brought to an end a war of staggering proportions, but, in addition, promises to usher in a new era of relations between the United States and Asia. The relationship can now blossom into one of mutual benefit.

The world will look back with satisfaction on this monumental Agreement as a turning point in modern history.

***Address at an open Katchery in Karachi  
On January 25, 1973***

President Zulfikar Ali Bhutto said that the people of Pakistan were the fountain head of power and he wanted greater contacts with them at all levels individually as well as collectively.

Speaking at first-ever open "kutchery" held in Karachi he said the idea of open kutcheries was also aimed at developing more contacts with the people so that their problems could be understood and solved to their satisfaction.

He said that he was planning to spare one day a week to meet the people in Rawalpindi for this purpose.

He said that he was from amongst the masses and he knew their difficulties. It was his duty to look into them and solve them.

He said that he was confident the system of open kutcheries would be a success. On the one hand, it would help achieve the objective of greater contacts with the people and on the other, it would go a long way in speedy solution of the people's problems.

The President said that he could have asked all the people to come and give their complaints, but that would not have produced the desired results. So the people had been invited in the form of delegations to voice their grievances.

He said that the entire Sindh Cabinet including the Governor, the Chief Minister and Provincial Ministers and other senior officers were also here in the court of the people. The people were free to voice their complaints and grievances and they would be given satisfactory answers.

The previous rulers, President Bhutto said, had also held "Derbar-e-Aam and Darba-e-Khas", But these "Darbars" were only of officials and bureaucrats.

This was so because these rulers had no connection with the masses.

He assured the people that his Government would do everything to mitigate the sufferings of the masses. The people were free to put

forward their complaints to the concerned ministries and they would be dealt with speedily.

The President asked the Sindh Ministers to attend to party workers problems at the Pakistan People's Party secretariat more regularly.

***Statement on the open Kutchery at Baldia Town, Karachi  
On January 26, 1973***

President Zulfikar Ali Bhutto categorically stated that the Government had no intentions of revaluing the rupee and asked the people not to lend ear to rumours in this connection. He said such rumours were spread by vested interests.

The President said that the rupee was already under heavy pressure and there was absolutely no ground for revaluation. "it is not German mark or Japanese yen," he added.

He made it clear that the Government would maintain the present parity of the rupee.

On his attention being drawn to the adverse effect of rumours on investment climate in the country. Mr. Bhutto affirmed that his Government's policy had already been outlined and would be strictly followed.

"This policy is based on firm grounds, on an established doctrine and we would not deviate from it." He emphasized.

He said that his Government would pursue its policies in the light of the PPP manifesto, although the Opposition had been vociferously clamouring that " we are deviating from the manifesto."

An industries wanted that the Government should order rescheduling of loans taken by businessmen and industrialists from the Industrial Development Bank of Pakistan.

The President said that it was not possible unless Pakistan got rescheduling of its foreign debts from donor countries. He said that rescheduling was not forthcoming in spite of the fact that Pakistan had devalued its currency.

Negotiations with the donor countries were, however, in progress for the purpose, he added.

When pressed by the industrialists for rescheduling of IDBP loans, the President said; "We will look into the small loans."

The Chamber's chief and other members of the two deputations who met the President invited his attention to certain official statements which they said were hindering restoration of confidence in the business community.

The President said that he had clearly stated the policies of his Government and there was no reason for any scare. He said these policies were well known. The pattern, which was being followed for economic development, had been explained several times.

He reminded them that he had already said that there would be no change in this pattern till the next elections in the country.

The President felt that this was enough for the restoration of confidence and if even after this somebody wanted to be disturbed by statements, then he (President) could not help.

The President referred to the state of economy at the time he took over and said that since then his Government had taken a number of steps to put the economy on a sound footing.

He said that the Government had given a number of incentives and facilities to industrialists and businessmen to enable them to play their role effectively in the national economy. It was now their duty to go ahead and try to increase production.

He said that they should realize that the times had changed and times would continue to change. It was, therefore, necessary that they should try to keep up with the changing times.

They should not be "unnecessarily disturbed" as "we are doing everything within our limits." he added.

He said that since his Government assumed office, "We have turned the corner. An era of consolidation and an era of progress has started."

Referring to the question of industrial peace, the President said the his Government had taken a number of steps to improve the lot of our workers and more steps would be taken in that direction. He said that it was now necessary that the workers should put in hard labour and increase production.

He said that as in the past the workers had been suppressed and denied their rights, they had taken resort to strikes etc. the Government was taking all steps to bring about industrial peace.

But it did not mean that the industrialists should try to suppress workers and deny them their due rights.

He referred to the complaints of retrenchments in industrial units and asked Provincial Labour Minister Abdul Sattar Gabol to depute staff to enquire into the problem.

To a suggestion that a high powered commission should be set up, consisting of representatives of loan giving agencies and other organizations, responsible for allotment of land, supply of water, electricity, gas and for sanctioning new industrial projects, the President said that it would be examined by the concerned Ministers.

He also asked the Ministry of Finance to make turnkey arrangements for sanctioning industrial projects.

Referring to a suggestion made by an industrialist for allowing more facilities to attract foreign capital for investment in Pakistan, the President said that the Government had taken a number of steps in that direction. He also referred to the setting up of an office of the Industrial Development Bank of Pakistan in London.

To a demand that the Government should consult businessmen and industrialists before concluding barter trade agreements, the President said that the Ministry of Commerce would look into it.

The deputationists also complained about the self-assessment scheme of income-tax and requested the President to order simplification of the procedure.

The President said that the scheme of self-assessment, which was introduced by the then Finance Minister, Mr. Mohammad Sohaib, could only serve the purpose if it was properly and honestly followed. But tax evasion was still taking place. He recalled that at the time when he was Minister, he had taken a random sampling under this scheme and 50 to 60 per cent people gave wrong statements. If such a situation continued, how things would improve, he asked.

***Message of greetings to Sir Paul Hasluck, Governor-General  
Of Australia on January 26, 1973***

The Government and the people of Pakistan join me in extending to your Excellency, the Government and the people of Australia our warmest greetings and sincere felicitations on the occasion of the National Day of Australia. I take this opportunity to express the hope that the ties of friendship and co-operation between our two countries will be further strengthened and reinforced in the coming days.

Please accept Excellency my best wishes for your personal health and happiness and for the ever increasing prosperity of the people of Australia.

***Advice e to student's deputation at Lahore  
On January 27, 1973***

President Zulfikar Ali Bhutto received a deputation of students at the Governor's House.

During the meeting which lasted over an hour, the President told the students that the cause of their community was always uppermost in his mind. That is why, he said, he met and wanted to meet as many deputations from students as possible so that he could know their problems in depth and find solution of the same.

The President, however, advised them to devote themselves to their studies instead of coming out on the streets with unnecessary demonstrations. Such demonstrations, he pointed out, were harmful and poisonous for the nation's prosperity and existence of democracy.

The President assured the students that his Government would sincerely try to solve the problems of the student community. He told the students that whatever their political affiliations, hi Government stood for the welfare of their community.

The President told the students that he would discuss with the Central Education Minister their problems which they had pointed out in the meeting and would see that their genuine demands were met as far as possible.



***Address to Pakistan People's Party official at Lahore  
on January 28, 1973***

President Zulfikar Ali Bhutto said that Governors and Ministers would soon be relieved of their party offices and party workers would be given this responsibility.

Addressing a large number of unit Presidents and Secretaries of the Lahore People's Party at the Governor's House the President said that the decision, which was taken at the party convention in December at Rawalpindi, would be implemented shortly. A meeting of the Central Working Committee would be held in February to decide the matter, he added.

The President told the workers, who greeted the announcement with loud cheers that the step was necessary so that the Governors and Ministers could devote their whole attention to their official responsibilities. It was also the safeguard the party interest by making the workers responsible to the organizational matters.

He said that the Governors and Ministers, who also held party offices, were not in a position to discharge their national and international obligations squarely as they had to look after the party interests as well at the same time. Their full and undivided attention to their official duties was essential to make the Government work successfully. By having dual charge, they could not be expected to do justice to any of them, he said.

The President said that judicious division of offices would set happy and noble democratic traditions.

He said that after independence, Quaid-i-Millat Liaquat Ali Khan also retained the President ship of the Muslim League but after some time he felt that party offices should be separated which, in fact, he did. But later, neither the Muslim League, nor other parties, followed these democratic principles.

We have the resources, we have the means. National honour can vindicated in a variety of ways. One way to vindicate national honour is by a triumph in peace. There are so many people sleeping in the streets of Calcutta. There are so many people who are starving in India. There are so many problems, our problems of poverty, our problems of misery, if we can give employment to our people's

satisfaction, good education and if the world can see well, this is the part of the subcontinent which is really ticking.

We must make our land tick, we must make our land move, make our society move. That itself, will be a great achievement which can be made in all fields but if the foundation is hollow you cannot build an edifice on it. But unfortunately India is building an edifice on hollow foundation and she wants to become a great power.

The great powers are not made in that way. America is a great power, the Soviet Union is a great power. China is a great power because of the progress they have achieved, the technological progress, the per capita income and the way they have resolved their economic and social problems. That is what made them great. So also we can make our country great in that way and I think within three to four years you will see the difference, whatever the Government in power, we are doing our best according to our ability, and our conscience.

You might not be happy with everything. Nobody can be happy with everything but we are doing our best and I am quite sure and I am quite sanguine that we will attain those high standards, those great standards which would wipe out the stigma that befell us in 1971.

The stigma must be wiped out and night can turn into day and day can turn into night. That makes no difference but we must wipe it out.

It is our bounden duty and I have said that there are many ways of wiping it out. It need not be through clash of arms, it can be through a triumph of peace and the triumph of progress. So each one of us has a responsibility, each one of us has a role to play.

Nobody can say that I am not concerned it does not bother me, that I am not interested because there is too much at stake, far too much is at stake and there is no personal approach to a national injury. We have gone through a national injury and when the country goes through a national injury, human beings endowed with thinking, sensitive to good and bad, must think in terms of the future and all our eyes are directed to the future.

I want to assure you, gentlemen of the armed forces, that although there is a civilian Government in office your requirements

and needs are still in our eyes the supermost. Because the defence of the country is supermost and you should have no fears. Please do not entertain any fears. We are painstakingly making efforts to improve the quality of armed forces, the standards of fortifications, our defence, our strategy for integration between the three services, modern techniques, modern methods. The lesson we have learnt from the last war, all these things are being given the highest attention and your respective Chiefs of Staff will tell you that we have held more meetings with the armed forces in the last one year on defence matters than had been held in the last 25 years, whether there were civilian Governments or military governments.

And we have been going deep into these problems, not superficially, not following the shortcuts, not reading the summaries, but going through the whole text-book from A to Z because one must approach these fundamental problems fundamentally. And to the ladies, I would like to tell them that what makes a good home, a good soldier, is a happy home, a contented home. If the soldier or the officer feels that he has nothing to worry about, that he has nothing to worry about, that he has no problems of his children, of his family, of his wife, of his mother, then he will not bother about other things. So the domestic problem is very important, and your cost of living, your standard of living or the salaries, your children's education, all these are not your problems.

For a good and decent Government those are the problems of the Government and that is why a Government which is dedicated to the common weal, social weal must morally accept the responsibility of assuring its citizens, of assuring the children, the man, the woman, the family, proper security, a sure future. These are our objectives. These are our efforts and we are moving in that direction. I can tell you with all the difficulties and ups and downs and the drawbacks, willy nilly we are jogging along, we went through a bad year, 1972 was very bad year.

It was a nightmare but I don't say that 1973 is going to be very good. 1973 is also going to be a very difficult year because we are still going through the transition and there will be upheavals, there will be tensions and problems but we are seized of the problems. We are vigilant. There are international intrigues, there are internal matters, internal forces, so this year is also going to be a difficult year. Why should I conceal things from my friends and my brothers and sisters? I want to tell you that this one year is also going to be a difficult year - inflationary pressures before we can attain self-sufficiency in sugar and

in wheat and before we can bring about again a reactivation on the proper lines in our industrialization and make the necessary readjustments. So we will have to work harder, we have to toil a little more. I think we have already turned the corner and by the next year this time when we meet again to have our dinner in Lahore I can tell you by that time, that we would have not only turned the corner but we would have been galloping forward and "Insha-Allah" this is not a false prediction.

This is a correct scientific evaluation that I am giving you because political matters are a science as much a military matters are science and I would like you to bear with us, with our difficulties for this temporary transition which has been brought about by a very nasty and painful dislocation as a result of the dismemberment of our country and I am quite confident that we will keep on marching forward to greater heights.

***Address to the officers of the Armed Forces of Pakistan at  
Lahore on January 28, 1973***

The object of meeting with you this evening is not to make a speech. The purpose is to get to know your problems, to get to know your feelings, your difficulties because whether we fail or succeed, we are making earnest efforts to bring about a wholesome integration in your society. For long we have been thinking in different terms in different interests. Actually, there are no different terms and different interests. The interests are once and there is no conflict in interest provided the interest is understood and it is a national interest.

So believe me, I am determined to make every endeavour and very search for a proper understanding between all segments of our society and since I have assumed office I have tried to do this, I travel a great deal, I meet our people. All problems cannot be solved by these contacts but a good number of problems, if not solved are at least understood and there is a better appreciation of the mutual difficulties. One gets to see the other side of the coin. I troubled you from many different parts of the country. Some of you have come from Peshawar and I am sorry to hear you are going back tonight. This has not been fair to Lahore but all the same next time we will try to make up for this discrepancy.

The armed forces by the grace of God are good enough, strong enough, large enough, and we cannot make arrangements for all of us to meet in one evening. There are officers of different ranks and I would like to meet officers and men of our armed forces whether they are from the Navy, Air Force or the Army, at levels, the jawans, young officers, the colonels, brigadiers, and the generals, so that we really achieve our objective. And what is our objective? Our objective firstly is to make our country the most prosperous, the most progressive, and the happiest land in the subcontinent and I think we can do this and I am quite convinced that we can do this if we are sensible, if we are rational and if we are a little patient.

He said that the People's Party had perforce adopted the same pattern as the country was passing through a grave crisis and the party could not give much time to its organization. But there was a difference between other parties and the People's Party which was a revolutionary organization and had its roots in the masses. Its basic and primary aim was to serve the masses. It could not give up its manifesto and principles.

The President said that time had come to take a decision about this basic issue which the party convention had also recommended. This decision had to be taken, and it was now proper time to give it a concrete shape.

The President said that the party had a large number of trusted, dedicated and honest workers in its rank who were ready to assume their new responsibilities. The decision, he said, would infuse new spirit among the workers who had made sacrifice in the past and would not hesitate to make more for the sake of the party and the country.

He said that the party, with the passage of time, had grown as its manifesto and principles had attracted more workers. He said all genuine workers who wanted to serve the party selflessly were welcome in its fold. But they would have to go through "trials and tests" to prove their honesty because, he said, the party could not forget its genuine workers who were with it in the time of trial and tribulation.

The President asked the workers to spread out in villages, towns and cities to maintain their contact with the masses. He said direct contact with the people was necessary so that the party continued to have solid roots in the masses which had supported in the past.

The President said that he had planned to tour major districts of Punjab in February. But now he had decided to put off this programme till the light of the attitude of the new Government there.

Before embarking upon the tour, the President added, he would meet party workers and exchange views with them on national issues as well as organisational matter of the party.

Referring to the rising prices, the President said it was a natural outcome of the devaluation of the national currency and owing to a fall in overall production following war with India. The people had to face the effects of devaluation for some time keeping in view the larger national interests as in the long run it would prove beneficial to the country's economy.

The national currency, the President said, ought to have devalued as early as 1965, but the Ayub and the Yahya regimes did not respond to the call of the time with the result that the present

regime had to reduce the value of the rupee to a greater extent than it would have been six or seven years ago.

Comparing the devaluation of the national currency to surgical treatment of a man, the President said the country's economy was sick and needed this operation. As a man suffered pain for some time after having undergone an operation, the national economy would also suffer some temporary set-backs resulting from devaluation which in the long run would be conducive to its health.

The President said as men fell ill, similarly the countries suffered from economic or political ailments. Once Turkey used to be called "Sick man of Europe." After the separation of East Pakistan, a section of the European Press described Pakistan as "Sick man of Asia."

With diligent effort, and perseverance, he added, the people should cure the nation's economic and social ailments.

The President said that when the People's Party took the reins of the country it had been cut to half. There were no stocks of fertilisers. It had no diesel and oil left as a result of the enemy's bombing on oil dumps in Karachi. His Government had got over many such problems, an efforts were afoot to tackle the remaining ones.

The solution of the problem of the rising prices, he said, lay in increased production and self-sufficiency in the commodities of daily use. The present regime would do whatever possible to achieve these ends, he asserted.

The President said he had told a deputation of industrialists earlier in the morning that they would get all facilities from the Government for installing new industries. Besides, he said, the Government had decided to set up a big refinery at Multan. The country, he hope, would be self-sufficient in sugar within a year's time.

The President regretted that smuggling of foodgrains was still going on through land and sea routes from Sindh, Baluchistan and the NWFP, and it was also one of the causes of the shortage of wheat in the country.

The Government, he said, was contemplating further measures to check this heinous crime. To deal with the smugglers sternly he said, the co-operation of the people was a must.

Despite various difficulties and the crisis in the recent past, the country, during the last one year, earned as much foreign exchange as it did before the separation of East Pakistan, and that Pakistan's foreign exchange earning during the year was almost half the earning of India at the same time.

The President said, the People's Party would never to back on promises made to the people. It would implement its manifesto in full. The people should rest assured that his Government would make Pakistan "one of the greatest countries of the world."

The President asked the Ministers, MNAs and MPAs to keep close contact with the workers to know their problems and solve their genuine difficulties.

The President, who took notice of the complaints of the workers against the attitude of the Ministers and party Legislators, said that they could not ignore or avoid them (the workers).

He said it was their duty to keep themselves aware of the workers' problems and find their solution. If they did not respond to their genuine difficulties, they (the workers) would loose heart and become disillusioned.

He said the Ministers, MNAs and PMAs "must seek the co-operation of the workers" in solving the problems of the people.

The President reminded the Ministers and representative of the people that they could not loose sight of the fact that if they lost confidence of the people, they might face the possibility of rejection by voters during the next elections.

He, however, said the Ministers, MNAs and MPAs had also some complaints against the workers, he said they quite often told him that party workers brought undue pressure on them ad the Government officials to get work done.

This attitude, Mr. Bhutto, said should be given up in the larger national interest, as the Government was responsible to the whole nation to solve its difficulties and not the party workers alone.

The President listened to workers' grievances individually and also received a large number of written complaints from them. He



asked the concerned Ministers to take prompt notice of these complaints and solve them as soon as possible.

### ***Address at Shakargarh on January 29, 1973***

President Zulfikar Ali Bhutto assured that no Power on earth would be able to commit aggression on Pakistan in future, and the displaced persons, who returned to their war-battered homes, would live for generations in peace without harbouring fear of aggression.

The President was addressing the displaced persons at a local relief centre.

The president said that whatever happened to the country in the past was the result of incompetence of the previous regimes, but now all out efforts were being made to repair the damage and build Pakistan into a strong country.

He said that no country could have a strong defence without having a sound economy, and the present Government was making every effort to strengthen the country economically.

The President said that the people who returned to their places following the withdrawal of Indian troops had suffered a heavy loss.

The Government was providing all kinds of facilities to the DPs for rehabilitating them, he said.

He said that some DPs had complained that the financial assistance to be given to them was not adequate, he said that he had ordered this assistance enhanced.

The President said that he was very keen on having the Shakargarh area vacated by the Indian troops before the Rabi sowing season.

The Government, he pointed out, was providing various facilities to the peasants. It would also provide them tractors to ensure better yield. The President regretted that the United Nations, which rushed its relief teams to every calamity affected area had not done anything concrete to help rehabilitate our DPs.

He said, while the UN teams were sent to other calamity affected areas, Pakistan was only asked to submit papers regarding the "magnitude of our damage."

He said, we had declined to submit such papers to the world body as "we do not want to go with a begging bowl before anybody"

He said, the extent of damage done to Pakistan as a result of the Indian aggression was known the world over, and it could be ascertained by anyone anxious to help Pakistan.

The declared that Pakistan wanted to live as a self-respecting country and it was determined to realize its destiny "no matter what odds cone our way."

He said, there were countries which submitted exaggerated claims of damage to the world body to seek assistance, but Pakistan had decided to rely on its own meager resources instead of making appeals for help.

Later, the President visited other war-hit areas in the Shakargarh sector.

He urged the people to co-operate with him in enabling him to make Pakistan impregnable so that no enemy in future dared to commit aggression against Pakistan.

He said Pakistan could become impregnable only when its economy becomes strong, the people were well provided for and there was self-reliance in the field of defence and food.

He wanted the co-operation and support of everyone to make Pakistan according to the ideals for which it was achieved. He wanted to make Pakistan strong and prosperous. Banish poverty, distress and exploitation so that although Pakistan had ceased to be the largest Muslim state, it should emerge as the most powerful Muslim state in the world.

The president said that Pakistan had been the victim of an international conspiracy and had been cut into two. India had repeatedly committed aggression and interfered in the internal affairs of Pakistan. On the other hand, Pakistan had never interfered in the affairs of India because Pakistan wanted peace. In spite of these events, some elements still blamed Pakistan.

He said it was India that had been guilty of aggression. She had occupied Kashmir and resiled from the commitment to hold plebiscite.

In the past, Pakistan had suffered because of certain mistakes. "These mistakes will not be repeated, " he said, and added. "The welfare of the people will henceforth be the primary task of this Government."

If the people were satisfied, it was the best defence, because then they were bound to make greater sacrifices for their country.

He also regretted the lack of private help within Pakistan for the displaced person in the war-affected zones. There were people who came out with high sounding words and tall promises, but they had nothing practical to offer. In other countries, in such eventualities, relief committees were formed and individual charity was pooled for such cause.

At Shakargarh, the President addressed those who had come from Pasrur and were waving placards, demanding the location of a sugar factory there. He promised them that Punjab would be allocated another sugar factory and this would be located at Pasrur.

The President made a reference to the devastation of the area when he said that the Indians had spelled ruin. There were no trees. The upper crust of fertile land had turned hard because it had remained uncultivated.

All the houses needed rebuilding and all the roads and pathways similarly would have to be repaved. "The Government, most certainly will do this job," he assured the returnees.

## ***Meeting with Labour deputation at Lahore On January 30, 1973***

President Zulfikar Ali Bhutto said that the cause of the working class was always dear to him and the proof of this was that the people's Government had and was keeping regular contact with this class to better their lot in every possible manner.

The President was talking to a deputation of labouring classes who called on him at the Governor's House. The deputation expressed their gratitude to the President for introducing Labour Reforms of far-reaching importance in the country and assured him of their fullest co-operation in its implementation. They told the President that they stood for industrial peace and were anxious to raise the production level which was the need of the hour.

The deputation, however, pointed out that there were some lacunae in the Labour Laws and submitted a representation in this respect. The President told them that their representation would be considered in depth by the authorities concerned.

The amended Labour Laws, they also pointed out, were in English language and it was necessary to print them in Urdu language also so that they could be understood by the average worker in their true perspective. The President told the deputation that this would be done soon and they would have Urdu copies of the same in the near future.

The President also removed the fears expressed by some deputationists that certain industries, which had been taken under state-control by the Government, would be returned to their owners.

The President said, this will not happen.

On his attention being drawn that the Labour Laws were not being implemented in case of workers of brick kilns (Bhatta Mazdoor), the President directed that these should be implemented immediately.

***Meeting with peasants' deputatuion at Lahore  
On January 30, 1973***

President Zulfikar Ali Bhutto said that his Government would take every possible step to safeguard the interests of peasants and would see to it that the country achieved self-sufficiency in food in the shortest possible time.

The President was taking to a deputation of peasants who called on him at the Governor's House. The President told the deputation the procedure for distribution of fertilizers was being streamlined so that the peasants did not face any difficulty in the procurement of this essential requirement for food production.

The Provincial Government has drawn up a scheme under which co-operative Societies at village level and federations of co-operative societies at district level would be set up for equitable distribution of fertilizers among the peasants. The peasants will have effective participation in these societies so that the bottle-necks in the system are removed satisfactorily and the fertilizers reach the door-steps of the peasants without any let or hinderance.

On complaints that there had been instances of over billing by WAPDA in respect of tubewell electricity charges, the President assured the deputation that their genuine grievances would be looked into and a satisfactory way would be found out in consultation with WAPDA authorities in the matter.

On his attention being drawn to the wastage of fruit, particularly that of citrus fruit and to the suggestion that a plant should be set up at Sargodha for packing and grading of the same, the President said that the Government would give priority to this matte.

The President agreed with a suggestion that production and climate of an area should be kept in view while setting up agro based industries in the province.

On his attention being drawn to the plight of the war affected cultivators in the mine areas of the border districts of the Punjab, the President told the deputation that land revenue in respect of such areas would be exempted.

The President told the deputation that their complaint regarding bank loans would also be looked into and where necessary steps would be taken to simplify the procedure.

The President also agreed with the delegation on the need to improve poultry and livestock farming and asked the Chief Minister to take measures to simplify the procedure.

He told the peasants that problems facing them were uppermost in his mind and every thing possible would be done to ameliorate their lot. He told them that many more decisions would be taken by the Government in the field of rural uplift to the satisfaction of the peasantry. He exhorted them to work with more dedication for the realization of the goal of self-sufficiency, to which the Government was committed.

The peasants expressed their deep sense of gratitude to the President for giving them an opportunity to exchange view with him on matters concerning their welfare and said that the entire class of peasantry fully supported him in the implementation of the Land Reforms which, they said, had opened a new chapter in their history and brought them nearer to progress and prosperity.

***Address to Pakistan Bar Council, Lahore  
on January 30, 1973***

Mr. Chief Justice of the Supreme Court of Pakistan, Chief Justice of the High Court, Chairman, Pakistan Bar Council, Judges and friend:

It is a great pleasure for me to be present with you this afternoon. I confess that I am here without a prepared text. Although the speech you delivered, Sir, just now was sent to me yesterday, however, since I had gone to Shakargarh and had a number of unexpected matters to attend to, it was not possible for me to come here with prepared text. Nevertheless, I did find time to go through your speech and I believe I am in position to answer some of the points you have raise. I am not trying to avoid the others. I would have certainly answered each and everyone of them, if had the opportunity of consulting the relevant departments. But let me tell you straightway that the Government s sympathetic to your needs and requirements, and I am happy to inform you that this much-sought-after plot of land that you need, which is adjacent to Shah Chiragh Mosque, will be transferred to you immediately. The Punjab Government has embarked on a number f housing schemes and I had directed the Provincial Government to make a suitable allotment of plots to the legal fraternity so that they can set up nice, decent and modern residential quarters in these plots of land which will be available to them. And, of course, this will make it easier for you living next door to another to steal each other's law books as well. I would like to inform you that in the provincial budget for this year two lakhs of rupees have been allocated for the extension of the existing building of the Lahore High Court Bar Association.

You also raised the question of a suitable amendment in the companies' Act and the Partnership Act, making it obligatory for the companies to employ or engage lawyers. I think this is a pre-eminently sensible suggestion, and I will direct to Central Government to study it, and as far as I am concerned, I see no reason why it should not be implemented.

Now, I am aware of your difficulties. I am acutely aware of many of difficulties. And I know one of the main frustrations that is faced both here and in Karachi, and I dare say even in Peshawar, is that cases have been in arrears, cases have been pending not only for years but for decades. And I know the bitterness and resentment it entail not only to the legal profession but also the litigants and especially those who are involved in criminal case. This has been the



problem which we should have talked and solved years ago. I do not know whether we will be able to solve it in the near future but it needs to be solved. I know that there are many other demands on the exchequer, there are many priorities, but it is essential to weigh the conflicting equities and to take some radical steps to improve the situation. The situation is crying for improvement.

I can announce straightway that we are going to increase the strength of the Lahore High Court by two to three judges but you will turn on and tell me that this is not enough, this is hardly sufficient that, as you have mentioned, there are thirty thousand or more cases pending and you cannot dispose of expeditiously and with justice, so many cases by increasing two or three judges. I believe the present strength of Lahore High Court is about 20 judges. You need about forty or so, double the strength, in order to tackle this problem in such a way that you can sweep the desk and it is not possible to double the strength of the judiciary at this time not only for financial reasons, even the High Court premise, will not be sufficient. You will have to have more facilities. These will take some time. But I hope that we can tackle the problem seriously and earnestly, and within the next few years we will break the back of this problem. Because it is about time we solve some of our problems, it is about time we get some of the problems out of our way. So far, problems on top of problems have been heaped up and this has been a tragic trend. It's about time that we grapple with problems seriously, see to it that some of the burdens are reduce. And I hope that with the co-operation of my colleagues in the Provincial Governments as well as from all of you, from the legal profession, from the judiciary, we will be able to move profoundly forward in trying to resolve this unfortunate problem. But in the first instance, we will increase the strength of the judiciary. But with increase of strength, as time passes, without casting reflection on the legal profession, we will also have to raise our standards, and this does not apply only to legal profession. Unfortunately, I think, you will all agree with me that our educational standard has deteriorated in every field, whether it is engineering, science or the arts, this problem really dismays me.

It is going to reach alarming proportions if the standards keep failing. Whereas in the rest of the world people's standards are rising. Everywhere the competitive spirit is casing societies to meet the challenges of our times. Somehow or the other, we have become insular isolated in the realm of educational norms, and I think, here each of us can play a role and those outside Government are better equipped to play this role. Because those who are in Government the

student community or those incharge of the educational institutions might think that the Government has its own angle, and in the name of discipline wants to curb the spirit of the students or the freedom of the students. Far be from us, we need that spirit. By raising the standard of our education we don't intend or we don't want the spirit of the student community to be in any way, deflated. On the contrary, with higher education, with better performances, the spirit, the positive aspects and characteristics of the student community will keep on rising. But I think, by and large, you will have to agree with me that there are certain minimum standards which need to be maintained. If we don't for forward, if we don't make our standards rise, they should not fall and we should arrest this deterioration, and it is essential that we should arrest this deterioration otherwise it will affect the totality of our life in every sphere of activity. And I think you will agree with me that correspondingly with increase in strength of judges there will be more need for lawyers to be elevated to the Bench. For the judges of the subordinate courts and especially in the legal profession, it is essential that we maintain our high standards. You have, by and large for variety of reasons, been able to maintain some standards better than in other institutions.

I do not think the credit entirely goes to you for doing it. But for a variety of reasons and partly the credit goes to you. Whereas there has been more marked deterioration in the other institutions, by and large, thank God, we have been able to maintain comparatively a standard in the legal profession and in the judiciary of which we can be truly proud of. So we want this to be maintained. We do not want standards here to fall, and in this respect the Government will do every thing in its power, and in its authority to maintain a liaison with you, to have frequent contacts. If you had not invited me today, the day would have come when I would have invited myself and come to the High Court to met you because we must maintain these contacts and it does not matter if differences develop. These differences do develop and differences develop in our society very easily. Misunderstandings are cause, we are a sensitive people and therefore there are times when the relationship goes through a strain or misunderstanding leads to certain differences and it is no use turning our backs on each other and say, well, the Executive has become arrogant and the Executive has become deaf to the protestation of the people, and the Executive says, well, our difficulties are not being understood and our point of view has not been appreciated; and the gulf grows wider and wider. That should not happen and we did not want that to happen. There have been matters which you have raised here today in your address about the unfortunate incident that took

place in the city of Lahore when a procession of lawyers was attacked. And I can tell you quite plainly, whether you believe it or not, that it hurt me and I was pained when I heard about it and condemned it. I immediately got in touch with the local authorities and found out as to what had happened. I will repeat here again that how can we tolerate or not feel unhappy about such incidents. They do cause us anguish and we don't want such things to happen. After a great struggle, many sacrifices, a Government comes into authority. It does not come into authority to alienate its people and to treat, in this fashion, its elite, its intellectuals, its thinkers. And today, as I was telling our Honourable Judges the other day when we had tea together and informal discussion, the situation is that these days unfortunately every one has got a pistol in his pocket or a gun somewhere hidden. And in these processions, in these surcharge situations, incidents like that are happening and they do take place. It should be our effort to see that these are reduced and we go back to normal times. For over five years, we have been seeing abnormal conditions, and it is about time that Pakistan made earnest efforts to bring back normalcy, bring back normal conditions. In this connection, I can assure you that here again the lawyers can play an extremely important part to restore normal life in the country.

There was a phase when the whole world was affected by upheavals and changes and tensions. The root cause of it, one way or the other, lay in the Vietnam war which took a very great toll of human life. It was a struggle unparalleled in history. It caused so many social tensions. And everywhere people found methods of protest. The student community, the phenomenon of 1967 and 1968, when it became a world-wide phenomenon where students in their disgust and in their anger showed their resentment of the youth against that barbaric and savage war. It had its economic ramifications. It had international ramifications. As matter of fact, almost every important issue in the world was, in one way or the other, traceable to that unfortunate and tragic war. And so we saw in Europe and the United States, everywhere people on the streets, demonstrations, youth in an agitated state of mind, workers, labourers marching on the street of Paris, and in other capitals and metropolises of the world. Somehow or the other, in those countries which grappled with the problems, And everywhere else, you can see, relative normality coming and the international scene moving into a state of détente and dialogue. The two Germanies have broken their barriers and they are now locked in dialogue. Profound movements have taken place in Western Europe. United Kingdom has now joined the Common Market. There are efforts being made to bring about a European conference for European

security to be attended by states of Eastern and Western Europe. So these great changes are taking place in both Europes, they are taking place in Northern America. Many important developments are taking place in Africa. Asia and, here. We in the subcontinent, are still mounting one tension on top of another. I am not entering into Indo-Pak relations but let us first of all talk about our own internal tensions. I think many of these internal tensions can be resolved in a spirit of accommodation and understand. And that is why I is essential for Pakistan to bring about or make an effort to bring about normal conditions. In this connection, we have had series of discussions on the fundamental law, on the constitution. You all know on the 20<sup>th</sup> of October, all parties, represented in the National Assembly, including leaders of the independents or the spokesmen of the independents, were invited to a conference to find a consensus on the fundamental principles of the constitution. And we held long discussions for over five days and in the spirit of understanding and accommodation. We arrived at the Constitutional Accord. Before the Accord was reached, some people said that the Government wanted a Presidential system- that we wanted constitution of France based on General de Gaulle's pattern and that under no circumstances would they permit a presidential form of Government and that it was essential for Pakistan to have parliamentary form of Government. That only a parliamentary form of Government could work in Pakistan.

When we met at this conference, I told m friends that they had attributed to the Government its propensity towards the presidential form of Government, more precisely based upon the pattern of France which was evolved by General de Gaulle. I told them that they were wrong. Either they were misled or basing their views on some wrong information or for political reasons, this was being said. I told them quite clearly that we want to see some fundamental decisions taken which would last, which would remain permanent in the sense of permanence in the historical context. And I told them that it was my view that whether we have a Presidential system or a Parliamentary system it is for the people to make it work. If the people are not prepared to make a system work it will not work. If the people are not prepared to make the democracy work, if the people are not prepared to safeguard democracy, neither a presidential nor a parliamentary system can work. We can have a parliamentary system but unless that system is defended by the broad masses of the people, unless they believe this is a system in which their lives are interlocked, unless they, with al their devotion, work to defend it, it will suffer, it will not last. And so also with the presidential system. You can have a democracy. As you know better than any one else, in a presidential

system you can have a democracy. In a parliamentary system, there are some built-in devices but basically it is for the people to make that system work to protect it. So I told them I leave the choice to them because all of us will have to work to protect it. All of us will have to safeguard that system. If they want a parliamentary system let us have a parliamentary system. But we must have a parliamentary system which should work. We must take into account our past history. We must take into account our past experience. We must look back at the first ten years of Pakistan, and we must consider all the tensions through which the first and the second Assemblies had to pass before the second Assembly was dissolved and Martial Law came to the country. We must not forget eh period. We must not forget even the period before Independence, and, therefore, now we are going to restore democracy, let us err on the side of caution, let us put this delicate plant into our soil, let us nurture it, let it grow, let the people's consciousness, their enlightenment, their personal attachment to the system grow, and with that, with the passage of time, this will be the way to safeguard democracy. But we must take a realistic built-in stability to overcome this acutely tense period, this highly abnormal period of transition where the country has been dislocated, dismembered and with all the other problems that we face.

So, in principle, we must find some arrangement whereby this parliamentary system will last, spread and take roots. And then if time passes and we have done the right things, well, already 25 years have passed, a little more period will pass. So in principle, we said that there was need to take into account our past experience; not only our past experience, Gentlemen, but also the current forces that are work, those forces which contributed to the events of December, 1971. How active they are? How vigilant they are? And all with the other international factors involved in the situation, it was necessary for us to have, in principle, an agreement whereby there can be some democratic element of stability in the system, whether it is parliamentary or presidential. And once this was agreed to by every one, all of them agreed. Yes. This is true we have had a sad experience in the past. We have seen how democracy was destroyed within 10 years of creation of Pakistan and how difficult it has been again to bring back democracy. So, therefore, we must be realistic, we must work in a spirit of accommodation and agree to certain temporary, transitory arrangements for the temporary, transitory period through which the country is passing. So as far as we are concerned, we agreed to the system. They said it should be the parliamentary system. We said all right we respect the parliamentary

system. We will have the parliamentary system but on the condition of this principle to which all agreed.

Now we suggested certain other methods of bringing about safeguards, the necessary democratic safeguard. That was also not accepted by our other friends. They rejected that and we said all right, you offer us an alternative, we are prepared to accept your alternative but you have agreed to the principle. Now that they have agreed to the principle, they should accept their own suggestion. They made a suggestion relating to the vote of no confidence. It was a suggestion, made by our friends, and it was their suggestion. We said to them the same thing which, perhaps, they are saying today. When we said that our suggestion should be accepted they raised certain objections. We dropped our suggestion and we accepted the suggestion which they made and afterwards every one felt very happy that there was an Accord after 25 years on the constitution and the man in the street, I think, heaved a sigh of relief, felt that we have learnt some lessons from the cataclysm of the past and that at least people have responded to the call of the crisis and arrived at a just and equitable compromise in the higher national interests. But subsequently there were certain second thoughts. You must not believe anything that comes in the papers. We have nevertheless been in touch with one another. We have been talking even before coming here. We were holding discussions on this matter because there is no question of personal pride involved in national issues. And so when we have had some discussion I can't say where this discussion will lead us. But you, I think, will appreciate that we haven't closed the doors in the sense that we said that we are not prepared to talk more. We are prepared to talk and must talk. That is our duty. We must talk. We are going to talk and we have been talking. In this connection the opposition parties have boycotted the National Assembly session and they have given two conditions. One is that the Ministers must behave themselves, they must respect the opposition; and the other one is relating to privilege motion. Now, I would like to tell you, I think, this is the best gathering where could make my views known to break this little deadlock. As far as the last point is concerned, it is assumed, it goes without saying, and I am not in any way prejudicing the issue, whether Ministers behaved or did not behave or whether the opposition behaved or did not behave because I was not present in the House. I was in Karachi and I would assume without prejudice to what really happened on that day and this is what is expected of civilized people. Civilized people claim to democracy and want to make the country strong and prosperous again. So I accept the first point because I can never reject the first point. It can never dream of

rejecting such a contention. So I think there is no controversy over this point. Ministers should not misbehave; they should not lose their temper. The opposition should not misbehave; they should not lose their temper as we expect the opposition to behave. And, I am sure, the opposition will also behave, and I can fully understand the need for the Ministers to behave. And, therefore, I don't see any difficulty in accepting the first point. I think that is resolved. There was never a controversy over it in the first place. I don't think it is controversial point. So the question of its resolution does not arise. But suppose you say the question of resolution does arise. I say it is resolved.

The second point is regarding the privilege. As far as the privilege is concerned, that is for the Speaker of the NA to decide it. If I were to make any comment on it, it will be a reflection on his high office. It is a ruling which the Speaker has to give. I can't assure my client, as a lawyer, the ruling that a judge will give. I can tell him that I expect the judge to give a judgment which I think would be according to my own reading of the case. That, I think he was he was going to lose his case. But I can't say he was going to win it. It is for the Speaker to give his ruling and in this connection whatever ruling the Speaker would give we would welcome and we would welcome always the ruling the Speaker would give, not only in this case, but also in any other matter. But we can't challenge the ruling of the Speaker, we can't challenge the umpire. We can't hope to make democracy function. So, that, I think, really resolves the problem that we accept the ruling of the Speaker, they accept the ruling of the speaker. If the ruling of the Speaker goes in their favour, well, we don't make a long face, and if the ruling of the Speaker goes against them they must show the spirit of accommodation and they must enter the House and come and participate in law-making and on February 2 when the constitution Bill is presented. But since these unfortunate differences have arisen over the Constitutional Accord I like to make one or two submission for your consideration, not as an edict or a last word from me but for you to know whether my thinking is right or wrong because I might be wrong: But I believe that the more I look on the problem, the more I think over it, I believe that we are on the right side.

Now, in this connection, first of all, on the Accord itself, as far as the Accord is concerned, all the correct procedures were followed by us in bringing about the Accord. There was no irregularity in procures. In other words, al the members of the NA, who were leaders of parties and who were the spokesmen of the independent, all of them were invited. Not a single party was omitted; not a single party was left

out. That means the House was fully reflected and represented in the discussions that took place on the Constitutional Accord. And if any one was left out it was the duty of the gentlemen who attended the meeting to say that this is not a complete forum, that there are certain lacunae in this forum; such and such gentlemen, who represents such and such party, or by such and such criteria, is entitled to participate in this conference, should be invited, and that without his participation any discussion or agreement between us would be incomplete. This position was not taken, of the simple reason that all formalities were complied with; each and every formality was complied with. Every one came there with proper credentials; no one came there without proper credentials; no one with proper credentials was left out of the meeting. And the discussions were held in a free and voluntary atmosphere and it goes without saying that it was. How can the opposition claim that they met under duress; they did not and they cannot. So there were free discussions, fair discussions; there was give and take and there was more take than give, as I have said. They said we want a parliamentary system. We said take the parliamentary system. We sent our method of having the built-in democratic device. Because we were interested in an agreement on fundamentals, we were interested in the agreement on the constitution, and we were in search for consensus. This is the position which my party took long long ago, that for a constitution it is desirable to have a consensus.

And here again please consider that that was entirely a different situation, that was a situation in which there was not only a constitution but a constitution which was for two parts of the country. One part known as West Pakistan, the other part known as East Pakistan and separated by a thousand miles. And that being the case, not only a consensus was desirable, but a consensus was imperative because there was one wing which represented only one provinces and there was the other wing which represented and one province, and they were divided not only into four provinces and one province but they were divided into two separate wings. That means if One Unit had not been broken it would have been West Pakistan province and East Pakistan province where the majority of the people of West Pakistan said that they should at least be heard and if they are fair and reasonable their point of view must be accepted. That much assurance was sought for and at that time it was told that no, the majority party has a right to frame the constitution. I say all right even if you, accept that position, that the majority party has a right to frame a constitution .it has to be a unitary or a federal constitution and not a confederal constitution The six points were nothing but a confederation. How can the one province, the one party, the one party



form that side, could say that for the whole country there should be a confederal constitution because the majority party wants it.

Same conditions don't obtain now. In three out of the four contiguous provinces, there is representation even if the Constitutional Accord is Broken because People's Party in Punjab and Sindh has the majority and in frontier also Khan Qayyum Khan's Muslim League has majority in the National Assembly, leaving the provinces of Baluchistan alone, wanting to exercise the veto. Well then, there are other ways of determining the wishes of the people of Baluchistan or of the country as well. There is a known method of a referendum also. So these doors are not closed. But, nevertheless, we will still say that we prefer to have a consensus. But, in our search for something which is desirable how can we indefinitely hold up something which is reparative especially when the essence of that imperativeness has been met democratically and according to the norms of constitution-making. So there is nothing which is wrong with the Accord itself if some members afterwards happen to have after thoughts. The validity of the Accord is not in any way affected by the after thoughts of some of its signatories. For instance, in the Parliament when the bill is presented and the bill becomes law that we don't regard it as law. It is law, it does become law even if some of the members of the legislature don't like that law afterwards. But that is not the way then to remove that law. There is a proper procedure and a forum for the removal of the law i.e., they go back to the legislature and have it either amended or annulled. So there is another forum where the Accord's validity can be changed without affecting their position and that is the Assembly itself. Because one forum has become 'functus officio' and now the valid forum in the National Assembly.

The trouble with you, Gentlemen, is that none of you have understood the little old man called Hans Kelsen. This is not a contempt of court, Our former Chief Justice gave a ruling in Dosso's case based on Hans Kelsen. Now the Supreme Court has given its Judgment again recently in Jilani's case. Again poor Hans Kelsen has been dragged into it, both of the Chief Justices have dragged in Hans Kelsen but the purity of Hans Kelsen's thoughts, is pure theory of law and state, is something which is the last word of logic in law. And I say I have the honour of studying three years under Hans Kelsen. So I fall back on Hans Kelsen and tell you the validity of the Accord is in no way affected by the second thought that some of the members might have on having made the Accord. Its efficiency and validity remains unimpaired. But then there is something else as well. What are the

points that have been raised subsequently. One point that has been raised in the TV broadcasts is that they want checks and balances.

Now here again there is another fallacy. What kind of checks and balances? If they are talking about constitutional checks and balances then they should have opted for a President system. Because the juridical system of checks and balances is to be found in a presidential system and not in a parliamentary system. It is in the presidential system that was evolved by the Americans. In that system they worked out the theory of the legislature being separate, the executive being separate, the judiciary being separate and one being a check on the other. And if the American country would not have been such a prosperous country full of so many natural resources, the American constitution was not working properly in the beginning. And it took a long time for the American constitution, by convention and tradition, to find its roots really not in the checks and balances which were evolved in the American constitution by Montesquieu's writings. They found those checks and balances in the electorate and also in the parliamentary system, not talking in juridical terms. The check and balances in the people, because the parliamentary system accepts the supremacy of the legislature and the executive merely flows from the legislature. There is no question of checks and balances in the parliamentary system. The parliamentary system recognizes the preponderance and supremacy of the legislature and, therefore, the executive flows out of legislature. On the contrary, the advantage of the British system or the parliamentary system is that it is not given to hinderances and impediments which are known in American or Presidential system as checks and balances. That the three organs of the state are not in confrontation of conflict all the time with the legislature, the executive going to the legislature, legislature again not talking cognizance of it, then the 2/3<sup>rd</sup>, the presidential veto, then presidential veto going to 2/3<sup>rd</sup> of the Congress. All these checks and balances in the American system are there because it is the presidential system where the three organs are supposed to be separate. Then if they want checks and balances I am again prepared to discuss with them, if they want the presidential system. And if they want a parliamentary system then they need not talk about those checks and balances. Because in a democracy there is only one check and there is only one balance i.e. the willingness of the people to work that system. That is the only guarantee for the system. There can be no other guarantee for that system. So, much for the question of checks and balances which they have been again and again propounding on the TV with an authoritative ignorance. The other question is that they say, when there are elections, for the pendency

of which there should be a national Government. Now gentlemen, here again this is an important question. In the first place, I won't take much of your time.

That nowhere in the world you have a National Government during the elections. Nowhere in the world you have either a national Government of hand over the executive branch of the Government to some other agency or authority. Because it is neither fair to the executive branch nor is it fair to the judiciary nor to any other branch which is then told to trespass and opt out of its own functions and go into an alien function. Why do we oppose military intervention in Government? You can say judge of the Supreme Court why not say General of the Armed Forces, because if you accept the principle that the executive must vacate itself for a certain period of time, for a certain contingency, which is not met by the formula suggested, then it need not be a judge. Then the principle you have accepted that some other elements must be injected into the executive, and that need not be a judge, that can be, as I said, a General of the Army. So the question here is this that among other reasons, nowhere in the world they have this. You give me one example where they have this. I will say well, it merits some consideration. You might say the Turkish constitution. Well the remarkable thing of the Turkish constitution is that they have not implemented it yet, and especially as far as this provision is concerned. So the point is that in India they have had elections. Mrs. Gandhi was Prime Minister. Before that Pandit Jawahar Lal Nehru was Prime Minister when elections were held. In England Mr. Heath, will hold elections, he will be Prime Minister. Before him, Mr. Wilson was Prime Minister. In Canada they recently had elections, Mr. Trudeau remained Prime Minister. They had elections in US, President Nixon remained President. Always that would be the position. In Germany, Willy Brandt got elected and he remained Chancellor. Similarly Pompidou in France, and why must you always make Pakistan a guinea pig. The question is this, that a party has been defeated in elections. Suppose a party that has been miserably defeated by the electorate, rejected whole-heartedly, fully rejected, seeks to come into Government after its rejection by this method because it can find no other method of coming into Government. Because the only method by which it can come democratically into Government is through the people. But the people have rejected the party. Perhaps, they have got only even one member or not even one member in the Assembly yet, although they have been squarely rejected and the ruling party might have the overwhelming confidence of the people, for those crucial months, for which they attribute mala fides, they want to get into office. Is that the democratic method of

getting into office? Then why not say better get us into office whether we win or lose, because we want to get into office. So this is a negation of democracy. That those who have been rejected wholly and squarely by the people insist that despite the fact that they have been rejected they should be brought into office at this crucial time because they want to rig the elections, because they know there is no other way they can be elected, because they have seen they cannot get elected. Therefore, bring them in so that they can get elected by irregular means.

Thirdly, it is again a negation of democracy. That means, you don't believe that you will operate democratically. Either you believe in democracy and that it will be operated democratically, or you don't believe that democracy can function in this country. And if you don't believe that democracy can function in this country whatever checks and balances you have, or even if you come into a government, into a hotchpotch, for the purpose of election, you cannot allow democracy to remain in the land. Because then democracy will not function, because you don't trust democracy. That is why you say. At this crucial period, you must be in the government because you don't trust the people. You don't trust the institutions. Therefore, it is a negation of democracy, it is saying that people are not fit to run a democracy. So this in itself is, I think, a biggest insult to democracy.

If you trust democracy, and you ask them to trust democracy and the democratic processes. And if the Government in power rigged the elections, the electorate will not allow that for the electorate will see to it that they are then thrown out. Then why don't you trust democracy and why do you want a built-in device for a transitional period of time? I want to answer that because I anticipate, that you might ask the question. Then all right, if they are to trust democracy, then they should trust democracy and not as for a transitional provision. In the first place, as far as the transitional provision is concerned, it is transitional but trust in democracy is not transitional. But even that is not transitional. But even that is not important, there is another reason for it. The provision is theirs, it is not ours. But even if I say the provision is ours there are other reasons for it. That is because, as far as their claim for sharing Government is concerned, that means they don't trust the people at large. They don't trust the broad masses of people, that they will not allow malpractice, and if malpractices take place they will throw out the Government which indulges in malpractices. That is a vote of non-confidence against the masses, against the people, against the electorate, by saying that we must come into office to ensure that we get elected although we have been

defeated. This is fear safeguarding a rising institution but this does not go to the heart of the basic factor of the trust of the people. This goes to the interest of the institution which needs to be built, and for that, you need, for a given period of time, some method to allow that institution to grow, Institutions are not directly concerned with the people. The judiciary is not directly concerned with the people.

The people are beneficiary of the judiciary. The people have their contact. But they don't bring the judiciary into being in the sense they bring the Government into being in an election. So, the legislature, the parliament, the people are concerned with it. But in order to see that the parliament does not fall to the caprices and the whims of members and other factors, you give it a period of time to make that institution grow. That is not the same thing as distrusting the whole community. This is taking a cautious position of the building of an institution. So these are, gentlemen, the causes and the factors which are involved in the present situation. Whatever happens the country must have a constitution. It must have a democratic progressive constitution, rooted in the people, calling for periodical elections, strengthening the institutions which have been battered and destroyed in the past. It is our solemn duty, it is our moral obligation to see and to ensure that no longer such battering and bashing again takes place in the history of Pakistan. And for that reason we are making every endeavour to promote the cause of democracy, the cause of the people, and the pledge and the promise we made to the people of Pakistan, to make our country into the most formidable and powerful country in the subcontinent, and come what may you will see the dawn of that day.

***Message of greetings to Mr. Leopold Sedar Senghor,  
President of the Republic of Senegal on February 1, 1973***

On behalf of the Government and the people of Pakistan and on my own behalf. I extend to your Excellency our warmest congratulations and best wishes on your re-election as the President of the Republic of Senegal. I am confident that the friendly relations which so happily exist between Senegal and Pakistan shall be further strengthened in the years to come.

Please accept, Excellency, the assurances of my highest consideration.

***Message of felicitations to Mr. Abdul Rahman Osman,  
Governor-General of Mauritius on February 1, 1973***

On behalf of the Government and the people of Pakistan and on my own behalf I extend to Your Excellency our warmest congratulations and best wishes on your assumption of the Office of the Governor-General of Mauritius.

I wish Your Excellency every success in your new office. I am confident that the friendly relations which so happily exist between our two countries shall be further strengthened during your Excellency's tenure of office.

Please accept, Excellency, the assurances of my highest consideration.

***Message of greeting to Sir Denis Blundell, Governor-General of New Zealand on February 6, 1973***

As you celebrate the National Day of New Zealand, I, on behalf of the Government and the people of Pakistan and on my own behalf, extend to Your Excellency, the Government and the friendly people of New Zealand, our warmest greetings and felicitations.

On this occasion I express my sincere hope that the friendly relations that so happily exist between our two countries would be further strengthened in the days ahead.

Please accept, Excellency, the assurances of my highest consideration.



***Interview with Mr. Reggie Michael, Editor of Times of Ceylon on February 8, 1973***

President Zulfikar Ali Bhutto said this Pakistan will welcome any initiative that Ceylon may take for the repatriation of Pakistani prisoners of war and resolution of other problems between Pakistan and India.

He was going an interview in Karachi to the Editor of the "Times of Ceylon," Mr. Reggie Michael.

The President said that an initiative coming from the Prime Minister of Ceylon, whom we have known for a long time, would be particularly welcome because she was a friend of both Pakistan and India. The people of Pakistan, moreover, had high regard for the people of Ceylon and they would be only too happy if the people of Ceylon lent a hand in the resolution of their problems with India.

But he was rather skeptical about the outcome of these initiatives not only from Ceylon but also from other quarter in view of the stand taken by India that she will consider repatriating Pakistani POWs provided Bangladesh agreed to it. He said essentially speaking the return of POWs was not connected with any Pakistani decision on the recognition of Bangladesh. If the Geneva Conventions were to be complied with, there was no justification for keeping over 90,000 prisoners of war, of which 20,000 were civilians including women and children, after a cease-fire had taken place and after the territories occupied during the war had been vacated by the troops of the two countries.

The President referred to the cease-fire in Vietnam and said the first thing they saw to after the cease-fire was that the American POWs were to be returned. This is as it should be. We were happy that the American POWs were returning to their country. Similarly, we would like to see our prisoners of war coming back to Pakistan. But India had without justification linked up their with the recognition of Bangladesh.

Today, he said India had linked it up with Bangladesh, tomorrow she might link it up with something else.

The President said that continued detention of Pakistani prisoners of war is not going to contribute to the resolution of problems between the two countries. If they look at the future and Pakistan looks at it hopefully. It would be better if the POWs were now returned.

Replying to a question the President said the POWs issue was the main issue in terms of the aftermath of the last war but the hurdle of hurdles was the Kashmir dispute. It had to be resolved before India and Pakistan could hope for a lasting peace and live together in mutual trust in the same subcontinent and co-operate with one another in as many fields as possible.

The President pointed out that continued tension between Pakistan and India was not at all conducive to their progress. He regretted that whereas in other countries people were moving forward in improving their conditions. They, in this sub-continent, were going backwards. Non-productive expenditure on defence of both India and Pakistan had reached alarming proportions. There was more poverty now than it was a decade ago.

The President said that it was no use saying there were Great Powers, who would like to see things boil in this area because it suited them to keep the two countries apart. Why should they play in the hands of others? If they know these things were happening and if they realised the damage they would do to their national interests and to the interests of peace in the whole region, they should fall back on their own commonsense and intelligence and have frequent bilateral discussions, more contacts between themselves, more dialogues in depth and dimension.

Replying to a question the President said Pakistan would support the Ceylonese resolution at the United Nations that the Indian Ocean should be made a peace zone. He said out only there should be peace is the territorial part of the subcontinent but also the Indian Ocean because cockpit of international interests. In that event, the subcontinent itself could not escape from those activities.

Asked about his attitude towards regional co-operations on the lines of European Common Market, the President said that in principle, Pakistan would like to work for a Common Market in Asia but, in practical terms a region had to attain a certain level of technological development before its economy could become complementary. Unfortunately, in Asia they had not so far reached that level of

economic development where they could pool their resources for the collective benefit of all countries. In reality, development was so uneven that pooling would not be equitably beneficial but would tend to pull in the direction of one country on the other.

He said that basically they were producers of primary commodities though some of them were getting into semi-manufacturing and manufacturing fields. Mostly their economies were parallel and, therefore, he believed they would first have to bring about a sufficient progress in their own internal economies before they could think in terms of a common market. They were also short of so many things which had to be imported. They must, therefore, wait for sometime to reach a level of economic development where they are self-sufficient at least in their basic requirements.

***Letter to a Pakistani soldier held prisoner in India  
on February 10, 1973***

I was most touched, indeed overwhelmed, by your gift. I will treasure it as a reminder of the devotion and valour of our soldiers, their loyalty to their dear country and their fortitude in adversity. You can be sure that the cause of our brave soldiers who have endured suffering and captivity for so long is close to my heart.

I will not forget it for a moment until you return to your home and families.

***Proclamation, removing Council of Ministers in Baluchistan on February 15, 1973***

Whereas I, Zulfikar Ali Bhutto, on the basis of the reports reaching me, am satisfied

- (i) that contrary to the direction given to it in that behalf, the Government of the Province of Baluchistan has failed to take effective measures to check the large scale disturbances in different parts of the Province resulting in loss of life and property on a massive scale and causing a growing feeling of insecurity among the inhabitants and grave menace to the peace and tranquility in the Province;
- (ii) that a situation has arisen in which the Government of the Province cannot be carried on in accordance with the provisions of the Interim Constitution of the Islamic Republic of Pakistan, hereinafter referred to as the Constitution; and
- (iii) that the national interests so require;

Now therefore, in exercise of the powers conferred by Article 136 of the Constitution and of all other powers enabling me in that behalf, I hereby----

- (a) direct the Governor of the Province to assume on my behalf all functions and powers of the Government of that Province and all or any of the powers vested in or exercisable by any body or authority in that Province other than the Provincial Legislature;
- (b) make the following incidental and consequential provisions which I consider are necessary and desirable for giving effect to the objects of this Proclamation:
- (c)
  - (i) The Governor's Council of Ministers headed by the Chief Minister of that Province are hereby removed and shall forthwith cease to hold office;
  - (ii) In the exercise of the functions which the Governor has been directed to assume hereunder, the Governor shall act

to such extent and subject to such conditions as I shall,  
from time to time, deem fit to give or impose.

This order unless revoked earlier shall remain in force for a period of  
30 days.

***Message of greetings to General Alfredo Stroessner,  
President of Paraguay on February 16, 1973***

The Government and the people of Pakistan join me in extending us your Excellency the Government and the friendly people of Paraguay our sincere felicitations and best wishes on your re-election as President of Paraguay.

I am confident that the friendly ties to happily existing between Paraguay and Pakistan shall be strengthened further in the years ahead.

***Message of greetings to His Majesty Birendra Bir Bikram Shah Deva, King of Nepal on February 18, 1973***

The Government and the people of Pakistan join me in extending to Your Majesty, the Government and the friendly people of Nepal our warmest greetings and best wishes on the auspicious occasion of the National Day of Nepal. I am confident that the friendly ties so happily existing between Nepal and Pakistan will be further strengthened in the years ahead.

I take this opportunity to wish the best of health and happiness to Your Majesty and continued peace and prosperity to the friendly people of Nepal.



***Message of greetings to Sir Dawda K. Jawara  
President of Gambia on February 18, 1973***

It gives me great pleasure to extend in Your Excellency, the Government and the friendly people of the Republic of Gambia, on behalf of the Government and the people of Pakistan and on my own behalf, warmest felicitations and best wishes on the happy occasion of the National Day of Gambia.

Please accept, Excellency, the assurances of my highest consideration.

***Interview with Mr. John Bierman, B.B.C. Correspondent  
On February 21, 1973***

President Zulfikar Ali Bhutto said that his Government is aware of its responsibilities towards the integrity of the country and will discharge them with thoroughness.

The President said that what happened in East Pakistan in 1971 did not happen even once in a life-time. These were freaks, rather extraordinary developments which could no be repeated again and again. He said in no circumstances will this country be dismembered again and it is not so simple to do it. It would not have been possible even in 1971 if it did not have an imbecile running this country.

The President said that it was a mistake to over-simplify matters. There was a qualitative difference between East Pakistan and the situation here. In East Pakistan, where they spoke a different language and were ethnically a different people, they had come to feel that they were under colonial domination from 1,000 miles away. Besides, the people there had somehow or the other gathered around a cause. This was not the position here.

The President pointed out that the NAP did not have a workable coalition. If they had, they would not have pleaded for their own Governors. Actually it was only their Governors that kept them afloat. In one case he said the merits of the situation required that the Government should also go with the Governor. In the other case they felt there was a difference and it would not be necessary to take action against the Government.

But the Government resigned and they tried to make a virtue out of their resignation knowing fully well that they will be defeated on the floor of the House when the Assembly meets. He said in any case within 30 days, the Assembly will meet in Baluchistan and the new government will be formed. The NAP had only eight members out of a total of 22 in the Baluchistan Assembly.

The President strongly repudiated ex-Governor Bizenjo's allegation the troops were pouring into Baluchistan. He said that after the withdrawal of the armies of Pakistan and India it was only natural that the army should go into different parts of the country where there were cantonments. The troops were there in Sindh and in the Punjab and they did not feel that this was something unusual or abnormal. There have been troops in Baluchistan, there have been troops in the

Frontier also. In any case he said, there had been no use of force in Baluchistan. Not a single bullet had been fired and not a single person had been killed. No one had even been arrested in Baluchistan to far. But he added the Government had to take certain precautionary measures.

The President asked the BBC Correspondent to go to Baluchistan and see things for himself. He said if he was honest to himself he would see that there was nothing at fire.

Asked whether he was sure that the arms seized in the Iraqi Embassy were really meant to be used in Pakistan and not against Iran the President said as the time passed, there was move and move evidence to justify their initial apprehensions. But leaving that aside, bringing arms in this unusual fashion to a friendly country was in itself an unfriendly act. Why should a friendly country consider it necessary to see Pakistan as a base for the dissemination of arms to any other country?

The President said that Iraq and Iran had a common border and Iraq did not have to hop in Pakistan to get to Iran, they had been using that border for centuries. There was also a wide open sea and it was not that they could not get to Iran from any other source but Pakistan.

The President said that although they wanted to continue to have good relations with Iraq and did not want to heighten the tension that had arisen, they had, at the same time, to take cognizance of new developments that had takes place. There was a treaty Iraq had with the Soviet Union just as there was a treaty that India had with the Soviet Union.

Commenting on the suggestion that Iraq might be working for third power in sending arms into Pakistan the President said that it was wrong for Iraq to be used by a third power like this, but even if it is for a third power, whichever that third power is, they are quite determined to take matters to their logical conclusion, if the circumstances so demanded.

***Message to Mr. N. Padgorny, President of U.S.S.R,  
On February 22, 1973***

We were deeply shocked to learn of the crash of an Aeroflot plane at Prague airport in which many lives were lost.

On behalf of the Government and the people of Pakistan and on my own behalf I convey our deepest sympathies and heartfelt condolences to Your Excellency and the members of the bereaved families.

***Message of greetings to Shaikh Khalifah Bin Hamad  
Al-Thani, Amir of Qatar on February 22, 1973***

On behalf of the Government and the people of Pakistan and on my own behalf I have great pleasure in conveying to Your Highness our cordial greetings and heartiest felicitations on the auspicious occasion of the First Anniversary of the assumption of office by Your Highness as the Amir of Qatar.

I am confident that the manifold ties of friendship and brotherhood so happily existing between Qatar and Pakistan will be further strengthened in the years ahead. May God grant you long life to guide the destiny of the fraternal people of Qatar to greater progress and prosperity.

I avail myself of this opportunity to wish health and happiness to Your Highness and increasing progress and prosperity in the brotherly people of Qatar.

***Address to members of National Assembly  
On February 22, 1973***

Addressing to members of the National Assembly. President Zulfikar Ali Bhutto said that they had a tryst with destiny and they must keep it so that the coming generations should not blame as that they were not given a chance. He stressed that this Assembly of the people's elected representatives must fulfill its trust and confidence which the people had reposed in it because stability and prosperity would come to the nation only when it had a permanent Constitution.

Referring to the threats of certain Opposition Parties, the President said that he had been and was still prepared to resolve all political issues through. Negotiations he emphasized that he had instructed the Law Minister to accept reasonable amendments moved by the Opposition, but warned that if anyone resorted to violence, as it was being threatened, he would not let it go unchecked and that violence would recoil on them and finish them off for ever. "This must be clearly understood."

The president emphasized that he was not threatening anyone but wanted to caution those who spoke the language of violence that if they persisted in their designs then it would spell disaster for them.

The President repeatedly emphasized that he did not want violence in the country. He did not want haired in the country. He did not want tension I the country. He had been and was still prepared to negotiate and find solution of political problems through political negotiation, but "if you think that the story of East Pakistan will be allowed to be repeated here then you are sadly mistakes," because the situation is not the same. The Government was fully aware of their plans and has everything under control.

The President said the present Government was not the usurper Government like Yakya Khan's but one which derived its strength from the people.

Referring to Mr. Bizenjo's remarks that Baluchistan was on fire, the President said there was no fire in Baluchistan but the fact was that only. Mr.. Bizenjo's geart was on fire because instead of a Governor now he was an ex-Governor.

Recalling the developments leading to the dismissal of the Governor of the NWFP and Baluchistan and the Cabinet of Baluchistan.

The President pointed out that from the day he had lifted the ban on the NAP he took every possible measures to win over their co-operation and confidence. He pointed out that he took the unusual step of agreeing to their request to give them their own party Governors. He had left it to them to form their own coalition Government and did not in any way interfere in their administration not did he criticize them. On the other hand, day in and day out they have not only been criticizing the Central Government but also conspiring against the Central authority. He said that the two Governors were removed because as agents of the President they persistently ignored the directives of the Central Government and flouted federal laws.

He said that for the first time a representative Government was formed in Baluchistan and it was expected of them to run the Government in the interest of the people. Instead they embarked on tribal vendetta and went to the extent of not only killing but also taking calculated measures to starve the Baluchis in Lasbela. In this connection, he said that he took the consitutional steps in removing the two Governors and in dismissing the Baluchistan Provincial Government but even then he did not impose a bureaucrat or a military Governor but even then he did not impose a bureaucrat or a military Governor in the two Provinces, Mr. Mohammad Akbar Bugti is a Baluch and Mr. Mohammad Aslam Khatak is a Pathan. The two Provincial Assemblies were in tact and would continue to function. The governments in the two Provinces would be formed soon through their elected assemblies.

Referring to the discovery of veritable arsenal at the Iraqi Embassy, the President said that some people say that these armaments were not to be used against Pakistan but were means for a third country which could that third country be? After all, God has given us brains and it is not difficult to understand that the third country could be none but Iran. Certainly, this was not going to be used against India. The question that arises is why Iraq could not send those armaments to Iran through its own borders or even through the Persian Gulf, the Arabian Sea or other routes open to them? Why at this critical juncture in our history, they had to choose Pakistan as a base for the transshipment of arms against a brotherly, neighbouring country. "what kind of friendship is this "? The fact is that these arms were meant to be used in Pakistan and against us.

If these arms were to be used in the Frontier or Baluchistan, they why they were brought to Islamabad. We are aware of the fact

that they have also distributed these arms in those two Provinces too. We also know to whom and where they have been sent. He pointed out that the purpose of sending these arms was that after 25 years, Pakistan was now at the verge of having a Constitution through its elected representatives and they wanted to subvert that possibility.

Because once a permanent Constitution through the representative body was given to the nation, it would bring peace, stability and prosperity. Hence, they were waiting for the signal to create chaos not only in Baluchistan and the Frontier Province but also in Sindh and the Punjab and particularly in Islamabad so that the attention of the entire world was focused on Pakistan as a nation locked in fratricidal conflict. Taking advantage of this situation, they would have declared that now they were independent.

The President said, give it any name but the fact is that this was a definite and well thought out plan. The president said that it was his faith that so long as the revolutionary Government was in power, no one would be able to damage the country. "This is my faith and I will continue to struggle for it till my last breath. I will fight for the integrity and solidarity of Pakistan even if I have to do it alone."

Referring to the hostile attitude of some neighbouring radio stations, the President pointed out that his should serve as an eye opener that they were expecting definite foreign help when such a situation was allowed to be created by them.

While referring to foreign relations, he said that he wanted to make it clear that "we would not allow any interference in Pakistan's internal affairs." He stressed that the Government had taken necessary steps to see that no foreign power would be able to interfere in our internal affairs. He said, if Yahya Khan was a fool, it did not mean that the same was true of other Governments of Pakistan.

Referring to India and the Simla Agreement, the President said that Pakistan wanted not only to implement the Simla Agreement in letter and spirit but hoped to make further progress in her relations with India. However if India tried to interfere in our internal affairs, then the Simla Agreement would go.

Pakistan, he said, had friendly relations with Afghanistan. We want these relations to further improve. However, we will not tolerate any interference in our internal matters. With the Soviet Union too, our relations will further improve. The President decried the attitude of the



British Press and hoped that it would avoid exaggeration in reporting about even in Pakistan.

***Message of greetings to Mr. Arthur Chung, President of  
The Republic of Guyana on February 23, 1973***

The Government and the people of Pakistan join me in extending to Your Excellency, the Government and the friendly people of Guyana our sincere felicitations and best wishes on the National Day of Guyana. I am confident that the friendly ties so happily existing between Guyana and Pakistan shall be strengthened further in the years ahead.

Please accept Excellency, the assurances of my highest consideration.

***Message to Colonel Muammar El Qaddafi, President of the  
Libyan Arab Republic on February 23, 1973***

We are shocked and grieved at the shooting down of a Libyan civilian airliner by the Israelis which has resulted in the lost of precious lives.

The Government and the people of Pakistan condemn this barbarous act. We extend one heartfelt sympathies and condolence to Your Excellency and to the grieved families.

***Inaugural address at the international Symposium on Moenjodaro on February 23, 1973***

Your Imperial Highness, Excellencies, Ladies and Gentlemen,

I am happy to welcome you to this international symposium on Moenjodaro which has been organized in collaboration with UNESCO to mark the fiftieth anniversary of the archaeological excavations of the site, this place where you are assembled today enshrines a unique piece of history. Moenjodaro is a very important land-mark in the panorama of the evolution of human civilization. It portrays with remarkable vividness the life of man as it was lived about five thousand years ago.

Whatever their Physical location, monuments of such historical significance are in fact the common cultural heritage of the entire mankind. It was, therefore, highly appropriate for UNESCO to revive its interest in the preservation of Moenjodaro. Concrete steps are contemplated now to save this site of universal human importance through international help and co-operation. The present state of excavated remains of Moenjodaro has already attracted world attention. By adopting a resolution in its last General Conference, UNESCO has indeed highlighted the urgent need for its preservation.

On our part, we are firmly determined to save this ancient site. For us, it is not only a relic of our own past but also one of those embodiments of human cultures which must be preserved to enrich the reservoirs of man's knowledge and culture. The limitations of a developing country like Pakistan in meeting the technological and material requirements of the maintenance of a site like Moenjodaro which is faced with the twin menace of water logging and salinity are obvious, But I feel confident that under the auspices of UNESCO, the nations of the world will not hesitate to meet the challenge of a situation where the skill and resources of man have got to rescue and preserve what 5,000 years of time and oblivion have failed to destroy. The response of the international Community to the UNESCO call for saving Abu Simbel in Egypt, Venice in Italy and Borobudur in Indonesia is indeed a source of great hope and encouragement to us.

In retrospect, Moenjodaro is one of the earliest spots which witnessed the germination of the seeds of human civilization and urbanity. In prospect, it offers a creative channel for international co-operation. We in Pakistan shall look upon this International Symposium on Moenjodaro as the beginning of a new era of understanding and

assistance among the nations of the world in a cause dedicated to the preservation of a cultural heritage which is of equal value to all of them. The remains of Moenjodaro signify the importance of human talent in collective well-being and its triumph over the destructive phenomena of time and nature. The international endeavour to save the site from the dangers of water-logging and salinity will no doubt become by itself a monument to the spirit of goodwill and co-operation displayed by the man of today in the cause of protecting the richness of human history and civilization.

I have great pleasure in inaugurating the International Symposium on Moenjodaro on the occasion of the 50<sup>th</sup> anniversary of the excavations of the site and wish its deliberations all success.

***Message of sympathy to Mr. Anwar EI Sadat, President  
Of Arab Republic of Egypt on February 24, 1973***

President Zulfikar Ali Bhutto sent a message to President Anwar EI Sadar of the Arab Republic of Egypt, expressing his shock and grief at the shooting down of a Libyan Civilian airliner by Israel recently which had resulted in the loss of precious lives.

In his message the President said: "The Government and the people of Pakistan condemn this barbarous act."

***Message of greetings to Shaikh Sabah As-Salem As Sabah,  
Amir of Kuwait on February 25, 1973***

The Government and the people of Pakistan join me in extending to Your Highness, the Government and the brotherly people of Kuwait our warmest greetings and heartiest felicitations on the auspicious occasion of the National festival of Kuwait. I am confident that the brotherly relations and mutual co-operating which so happily exist between our two countries shall be strengthened further in the years ahead.

I take this opportunity to wish best of health and happiness to Your Highness and continued progress and prosperity to the brotherly people of Kuwait.

***Message of greetings to Dr. Jooquin Balaguer, President  
Of the Dominican Republic on February 27, 1973***

It gives me great pleasure to extend to Your Excellency on my own behalf as well as on behalf of the Government and the people of Pakistan warm greetings and felicitations on the happy occasion of the National Day of the Dominican Republic.

Please accept, Excellency, the assurance of my highest consideration.



### ***Address at the Quetta Airport on February 27, 1973***

President Zulfikar Ali Bhutto said that those elements, who were opposed to the creation of Pakistan, were planning hold a convention in Rawalpindi, but the people of Pakistan and their Government were determined to frustrate their evil designs against the national interests.

Addressing a huge gathering at Samungal airport, the President said that such elements as the United Muslim League, Maulana Maudood's Jamaat-I-Islami and former Republicans had ganged up to conspire against the integrity of Pakistan.

The President told a cheering crowd that although the NAP Government in Baluchistan was indulging in various illegal acts, he did not interfere in the affairs of the Province because he felt that the people of the newly created Province should enjoy the same amount of autonomy as was enjoyed by those of other provinces.

These elements were threatening that if their Government was dismissed, a major crisis would engulf the country. But, he said, there was no crisis whatsoever.

The President said that the NAP was claiming that they were ruling half of Pakistan and said he failed to understand the logic behind this argument as the NAP never commanded a clear majority in the Province.

The President said that going by all cannons of the federal form of government throughout the world, the Governor of a province was the agent of the Centre and the President.

"I granted them this concession and appointed the Governor of the party", he added.

As regards democracy, the President said that a permanent Constitution was the only guarantee for democracy, but the NAP did not want that it should be framed.

The President said he had been compelled to change the NAP/JUI Government as it had failed to fulfil its obligations to the Province and in people.

He said a Baluch Governor had been replaced by another Baluch of this area. Indeed, Mr. Akbar Khan Bugti was neither a foreigner nor an outsider, he remarked.

He said not a bullet had been fired, no one had been arrested and no restrictions were imposed on the freedom of speech or Press.

President Bhutto paid tributes to the people of Baluchistan for preserving the territorial integrity and solidarity of Pakistan and for striving and getting full-fledged provincial status for Baluchistan. He said the demand for this status was justified as it was the only Province to Pakistan which did not enjoy the provincial status.

The President sold his audience amidst loud cheers that he was fully aware of the conditions obtaining in Baluchistan and was very much interested that it should develop and make progress and that its people should run their own affairs.

The President referred to the speech he had made at the airport during his last visit to Quetta. He had then sought the permission of the former Governor, Mir Ghaus Bakhsh Bizenjo to deliver the speech.

The President pointed out that the Governor was his nominee and his agent in the Province. He had done it to create confidence and remove suspicions.

The President regretted that his gesture of trust was not reciprocated and both the former Governor and the Chief Minister started talking against him in public.

Referring to the number of seats the NAP has in the National and Province Assemblies of Baluchistan and the NWFP, the President said that this party could not be restrained because they did not depend on their inherent strength, but had their eyes across the borders.

He declared amidst loud applause that the people would never allow them to succeed in their designs.

Immediately on assuming office, he said, he lifted the ban from the NAP and sought its co-operation in running the country on democratic lines. He even provided liberal financial assistance to accelerate the development work in the two deficit provinces. But, he lamented, his generous co-operation provoked only rebuffs.

Elaborating his point, the President said that when Pakistan achieved independence, while all other provinces had democratically elected Governments, Baluchistan was ruled by agent to the Governor-General. The People of Baluchistan started struggle to secure democratic rights which other provinces enjoyed. All the agents to the Governor-General appointed after independence were non-Baluchis.

The President said that by Bauchi he meant all those who reside in the province, whether they were Baluch, Pathans or settlers.

Immediately after assuming office, he said that he appointed Mr. G.B. Raisani, who belonged to Baluchistan, as Governor of the Province, but strong objection was taken to his appointment, and those now out of power insisted that they should have a right to nominate the Governor. He said that he told then that it was an unfair demand contrary to practices followed by the Federal Government in other parts of the world. The Governor is invariably a nominee of the Central Government.

But, any how, he said, he accepted even that demand and agreed to appoint their nominees as Governors in Baluchistan and NWFP. Now, he said, they had their own Governor and their own government. What more democracy they needed, he asked.

He said that power went to their head, and he started receiving complaints of serious discriminations against Pathans. Brohis and even some sections of Baluch population. He did not like to interfere and advised all those who came to him with complaints to go and seek conciliation with the Provincial Government. They did approach the former Government to seek reconciliation, but he added, all such approaches were spurned arrogantly and the former provincial Chief Minister instead of reciprocating by extending co-operation to the Centre began to make speeches against him (President).

He said that the problems were created by their ultimate objective which was not provincial autonomy but something beyond it. The autonomy they had achieved was for the them only the temporary goal.

The President said that during the struggle for provincial autonomy all the Baluch leaders had joined hands. Nawab Bugti was also one of them. But when he found that those saddled in power had an objective beyond provincial autonomy. He parted company with them. He said he was now their new Governor and they should extend

full co-operation to him to form a representative government in the Province. The president was confident of having such a government in the province soon.

He said National Awami Party had always been opposed to the creation of Pakistan. So were the Jamat-i-Islami and the JamiatulUlema-e-Islam. They had all joined hands to call a convention in Rawalpindi. They were also being supported by the so-called United Muslim league, But this United Muslim league, he said, consisted mostly of former members of the Republication Party organized by General Iskandar Mirza.

Most of these Republicans were Unionists who were also opposed to the creation of Pakistan. The real Muslim League is that of Khan Abdul Qayyum Khan who is a member of the Central Cabinet. The other Muslim League is that of Mian Mumtaz Mohammad Khan Daultana who is Pakistan's Ambassador in London and as such with the present regime.

He said that another group calling itself Tehrik-e-Istiqlal was also joining the convention called by the Opposition. But its leader did not know even the ABC of politics. The independent member from DeraGiazi Khan, who is also attending the convention was also opposed to the Pakistan movement. Therefore, this convention, he added, consisted mainly of all such elements who are opposed to Pakistan and their main objective was to delay and obstruct the task of Constitution-making, People Know them and, therefore, they would never succeed in their design, he asserted.

He said that Pakistan had come to stay and those who were threatening to create conditions similar to those obtainable in East Pakistan in 1971 were mistaken. Such conditions would never be allowed to be created and attempts at subversion or creating internal dissention would be put down by the people.

He said the constitutional accord had been signed by all the Opposition leaders. But now they had gone back on their commitments made in black and white. The former Governor of Baluchistan, who was himself a signatory, had said that it was not a Constitution but a "camel." He said he could understand if a British had made that remark. It was strange it had come from a Baluch because the people of Baluchistan and Sindh know how to tame a camel. The President once again warned that all attempts to block the way of Constitution-making would be foiled.

He said, "during the election of lady members to the Assembly from Baluchistan and Frontier, the Centre did not interfere at all. The difference in voting in Baluchistan was of only one vote i.e. 11 to 10."

### ***Speech at a banquet held in Quetta, on February 27, 1973.***

President Zulfikar Ali Bhutto declared that a thorough inquiry was being made into the smuggling of arms into Pakistan and as soon as it had been completed, full facts would be placed before the public.

Speaking at a banquet held in his honour by the citizens of Quetta, the President said that at this stage he did not want to take names of the persons involved. But, he added, the Government had prior knowledge that arms were being brought in through the Mekran coast into Baluchistan; it also knew how and where they were being smuggled into NWFP, but full details would be made public only after the inquiry had been completed. He said it would be left to the public to decide the action to be taken against the culprits.

The president said, it was being said that arms had been found in Islamabad and they could not have been meant for Baluchistan or Frontier. Of course they were found in Islamabad, he said, and added some people wanted to create disturbances in Sindh and Punjab also so that the people in the outside world came to the conclusion that Pakistanis could not hold together and destructionists in Baluchistan and NWFP could declare themselves independent.

He said, it was also being suggested in certain quarters that these arms were meant not for use in Pakistan but in Iran. He asked why the arms meant for Iran should come to Islamabad. Iran and Iraq had a common border and arms meant for Iran could have been smuggled more easily there from other sources.

He said, Pakistan could not have a Constitution for 25 years and that was one of the reasons why East Pakistan was lost. Certain elements, he said, were bent on fermenting internal trouble so that the present Constitution Assembly was not able to frame a Constitution and the country remained engrossed in internal troubles and its dismemberment was facilitated.

He said that much of the trouble was also directed against his own person because God Almighty had given him the strength to sever the country. But, he added, the people were behind him and all conspiracies against Pakistan or against his own person were bound to fail.

### ***Speech at a garden party in Sibi on February 28, 1973***

President Zulfikar Ali Bhutto assured that gradually all out-dated laws will be repealed and replaced by more progressive laws conforming to the conditions and needs of the time.

He was speaking at a garden party held in his honour at the lawns of the Governor's House. The party was hosted by the Governor of Baluchistan, Sardar Mohammad Akbar Khan Bugti.

The President declared that the "Criminal Laws Special Provisions Ordinance which was reinforced on Quetta city by the outgoing Provincial Government, has been repealed with immediate effect.

The President said that the British rulers had enforced these unjust laws to suit their imperialist interests. Since the British were "whites" and had enforced these laws upon the "blacks" these laws came to be known as "black laws."

What the former rulers had termed as "black laws" were in fact the imperialists' instruments of exploitation and were inhuman in character. As such, he said they cannot fit in under the independent set-up of Pakistan.

As regards the FCR, he said, it shall also be considered. He regretted that what was more deplorable was that those who called themselves independent, held consultations for full five days to arrive at a consensus on the basic framework of the Constitution.

The consensus was not only agreed, but was signed by the leaders of the parties. However, only a short time later they went back on the undertaking.

"Now, we know why they did it. They do not want stability in the country. If there is stability they cannot succeed in their designs for disintegrating the country."

The President said that first a virulent propaganda went on that the PPP wanted a Presidential form of government and the only argument advanced in support of this contention was that work was going on the construction of the President Palace in Islamabad.

He said, he did not order the construction of the Presidential Palace, it was Ayub Khan who had started its construction and later on Yahya Khan had visited it to see the progress of construction work.

The President said, after the enforcement of permanent Constitution he would become the Prime Minister and come other President would occupy that building. He had come to serve the people and the Pakistan Government could not afford a Prime Minister's house. He would love to stay in a one-roomed quarter, declared President Bhutto.

He said, if they had only gone through the PPP manifesto they would have discovered that it stood for a parliamentary and federal type of Constitution.

He said, when the Constitution Accord provided for a parliamentary form of Government, they began to shout that it would mean a "one-man rule."

The President said that even in the United States one individual is elected as the President. In Britain, the Prime Minister was all powerful. But, he asked could United State or Britain be said as being ruled by one man. This was how democracy worked, he said, when a person was democratically elected he had to rule and rule properly for the good of the people.

The President while talking about economic development, said that as accord would soon be signed between Sindh and Baluchistan Government for a just distribution of the Indus waters.

President Bhutto assured that Baluchistan would continue to get the same cusecs of water that it was getting before, even after the construction of 'Kubba branch' of the Indus.

Henceforth, he said, the 'Kubba branch' will be known as 'Saifullah Magsi Branch.' Saifullah magsi is held as one of the great freedom fighters of Baluchistan.

The President assured that he was determined to do justice to all the provinces of Pakistan in all respects as their wholesome development would lead to the overall prosperity of the people of Pakistan.



More detailed discussions on economic development projects would be held at the Governors' conference being held in Rawalpindi on March 5 which would be attended by all the four Governors, he added.

As regards scarcity of power in the province, he said that when Governor Bugti talked to him about its shortage in Baluchistan, he immediately asked the Sindh Chief Minister on telephone to spare at least one power generator from Kotri Barrage for the immediate need of Baluchistan.

The President further held out an assurance that he would provide increased funds for development in the next financial year for stepping up the tempo of economic developments. During the current fiscal year, a sum of Rs. 12 crore was allocated to the province under development sector on addition to another amount of Rs.6 crore which would be increased next year.

Regarding the demand of the people of Baluchistan to export rice from this province as it is being exported from the Punjab and Sindh, President announced amidst cheers to accept this demand of the public.

He further assured that his party was committed to redeem all the pre-election pledges and promises to the people and in fact in a short span since their coming into power had already introduced a series of reforms which shall have far-reaching effect on the life and living of the people.

In this context he cited the agricultural, labour and health reforms.

The President said, since the inception of Pakistan, 25 years ago, the country passed through three stages in politics. First was when the politics was confined to "palace intrigues", second was the "Shamiana Siasat" and now we have introduced "people's politics."

The President said, he firmly believed in open and heart to heart discussion with his people on the national affairs to ascertain their wishes.

Pakistan People's Party being in majority could have easily got the sanction of the National Assembly on the recognition of "Bangladesh" but instead the President recalled, he toured extensively

Sindh and the NWFP to ascertain the wishes of the people on it. The president said that he wanted to tour Punjab and Baluchistan as well for the same purpose but the elections began in Bangladesh which would end on March 7 and after that "we would see what should be done next," he added.

THE president said that when the proper time came the matter regarding the recognition or otherwise of Bangladesh would be taken to the National Assembly.

The President, however, made it clear that his policies was not confined to the National Assembly only.

***Interview with Mr. Hasnain Heykal Editor-in-Chief  
Of Al-Ahram on March 2, 1973***

President Zulfikar Ali Bhutto said that President wants a comprehensive settlement of the Prisoners of War problem and all other major issues before it can move towards recognition of Bangladesh.

Such a settlement, he said, was necessary to ensure that new tensions did not arise between them. Peace was imperative for both of them and therefore Pakistan wanted real improvement in the atmosphere.

The President was discussing the implications of the recognition of Bangladesh with Mr. Hasnain Heykal, Editor-in-Chief of "Al-Ahram" in Rawalpindi.

The President said that he wanted to meet Mr. Mujibur Rehman because he wanted to settle all the major problems once and for all these included war trials, prisoners of war, treatment of Biharis and others, and the question of so-called collaboration. There was also the question of assets that after they recognize Bangladesh, Mr. Mujibur Rehman did not take up some other major problem, which was not unexpected from him.

The President said apart from every other consideration, it was Pakistan's interest to have links again with Muslim Bengal and these links he realized, could only come by recognition. They must swallow the bitter pill in order to move on the next stage. Pakistan was therefore prepared to negotiate and come to a settlement with them and the sooner it is done the better.

Replying to a question the President said both China and the Soviet Union have interest in the subcontinent. The Soviet Union has given a lot of military and economic assistance to India. They have also got new interest in Bangladesh. They have set up a base more or less in Chittagong and the Bangladesh is the back door of China.

The President said Pakistan wanted to maintain good relations with China as well as with the Soviet Union, because both of them were Pakistan's direct neighbours. Of course with China, over a period of times, they had developed special relations. With the Soviet Union too, their relations had improved considerably. But, he added, Pakistan wanted to keep away from the being interests of China and Russia.

The President said Pakistan wanted to normalise her relations with India. China also wanted to see a normalization of the situation in the subcontinent, whatever the Indians might say. So from that point of view he did not envisage any tension arising between Pakistan and the Soviet Union. But if the Soviet Union tried to revive and press for the Asian Security Pact, Pakistan was not going to succumb to it, Pakistan had suffered a lot from pacts. They were supposed to give security but Pakistan lost half of the country while a member of two pacts Pakistan was, therefore, allergic to pacts and did not want to get involved in another pact. Moreover, the deeper question is: Asian security against whom?

Turning to the Middle East the President said Pakistan was vitally interested in what happened in the Middle East. The deadlock there affected them directly. The present stalemate of no peace no war must be broken, whether it is done through direct negotiations or indirect negotiations, because it will eat into the very vitals of the Arabs. He assured Mr. Heykal that whatever the Arabs decided and whatever position they took and this principally pertained to Egypt, Pakistan shall be with them. He said that the Middle East situation had a strong bearing on their own situation. If they were not going to resolve their problem in the Middle East, he feared great convulsions in the subcontinent also. India, of poverty and rising expectations. So also Pakistan could not continue in the present position with rising defence budget.

The President said Pakistan supported the Arab cause on Palestine on merit and for objective considerations, not simply because the Arabs were Muslims. Their's was a just and right cause. Pakistan he said had suffered a lot for her support to the Arabs. Israel had actually masterminded the dismemberment campaign against Pakistan and was still active, But Pakistan would back up the Arab cause to the bitter end, come what may.

***Message of condolence to the Heads of State of Poland  
And Czechoslovakia on March 2, 1973***

In his message to the President of Czechoslovakia, Gen. Ludvik Svoboda, the President said:

“We have been deeply shocked to learn of the air crash near Czczecin which resulted in the loss of many precious lives including Mr. Radko Baska, Czechoslovak interior Minister, on behalf of the Government and the people of Pakistan and on my own behalf I convey to Your Excellency and to the members of the bereaved family our heartfelt sympathies and condolences on this tragic accident.”

A similar message was addressed to the President of Poland, His Excellency Mr. Henryk Jablonski.

### ***Address at the Peshawar Airport on March 2, 1973***

President Zulfikar Ali Bhutto told a mammoth airport crowd that he wanted the Opposition to co-operate in the supreme task of giving to the country a Constitution without which it could neither develop democratic institutions nor achieve political stability.

He said a constitution was the basic law round which the structure of state revolved and any willful obstruction in its framing was doing no good to the country.

It was for this reason, he said, that the constitutional accord was reached last October, primarily with a view to seeing that there was no hitch or delay in the fulfillment of this prime task.

Amid cheers, he told the large crowd that democracy was the main aim of the PPP and for democracy the party had launched a struggle against dictatorial regimes of the past.

He said his party's prime purpose was to see peace and prosperity come to the country. "We will succeed in this as you will see," he said.

Turning to Afghanistan, he said he wanted to have the best of relations with that country.

"Friendship with that country is to be unqualified and enduring, more because she is our nearest neighbour. We have borders with them for hundreds of miles and even otherwise, too, our interests interact."

Continuing, he said good relations with Afghanistan had always been uppermost in his mind. When in 1964 he agreed to take the portfolio of Foreign Minister his one pre-condition was total normalization of relations with Afghanistan at a time when there had prevailed complete estrangement between the two countries.

In pursuance of this objective, he went to Teheran and, thanks to the good offices of the Shahanshah, normalcy was restored. He said the happiness of Afghans was our happiness and their misfortunes were our sorrow.

The President said that he did not totally disagree with those who cried for “unalloyed democracy” in the country. His only qualification to this was that such a democracy should be established within the four corners of that which ensured the integrity of the country. Subject to this qualification, he was all out for bringing in a system running through which, all along, would be the will of the people.

The President said agreement had been reached on the principles of the Constitution which could now be framed speedily. The question of provincial autonomy had also been decided and nothing had been left to hinder the process of Constitution-making.

He said they wanted pure democracy in the country, but at the same time the integrity of the country should not suffer.

The President said the steps taken by the Central Government were in no way undemocratic. He had asked the NWFP Governor to ensure peace in the Province so that it could progress. The people were the real source of their strength.

He said that the destiny of the nation was in the hands of the people and any conspiracy against the country would be crushed with the power of the people.

He said that the objective for which great sacrifices had been made and for the realization of which this country was established would be achieved.

The President said that for too long the country had been faced with crises. He said his Government was capable of crushing all conspiracies because it had the support of the people. No one would be able to harm the country as it existed today. In fact, it would march forward towards progress and prosperity. “This is our last decision,” he told the cheering crowd.

***Speech at a reception given by the People's Students Federation, Peshawar on March 2, 1973***

President Zulfikar Ali Bhutto reiterated that he was prepared to resolve political issues through negotiations, but warned that no one would be permitted to undermine the national integrity.

Speaking at reception held in his honour at the services grounds by the People's Students Federation, he said that his doors were open for constitutional and democratic negotiations. At the same time, he would not allow internal or external forces to cast an evil eye on the national solidarity and unity, the President declared amidst thunderous applause.

The President said "If you want to work for integrity, prosperity and progress of Pakistan, please come on .... Jet us work together and build up a strong and prosperous Pakistan."

He took exception to the wild speculations in the foreign Press every now and then about Pakistan, and declared that no one could harm the country any more, such speculations were insult to the people of Pakistan and he was determined to end them once for all.

The President also criticized the Opposition political parties' 12-point charter of demands formulated at their Rawalpindi convention, and said those were on the pattern of Mr. Mujib's Six-Point programme.

Referring to the policy of confrontation adopted by the NAP against the PPP, President Bhutto said the fundamental cause for it was not any personal or ideological differences. The basis of this confrontation was the integrity of Pakistan. "We want to ensure the unity and solidarity of the country, while they are averse to it", he added.

He also discussed the background of co-operation between the NAP and Jamaat-i-Islami in spite of their fundamental ideological differences and said the basis of this co-operation was opposition to Pakistan's creation. Both the NAP and Jamaat-i-Islami were also opposed to the integrity of Pakistan, he said.



He, however, declared his party was not afraid of such co-operation. In the past too, Combined Opposition Parties, Round Table Conference, Democratic Action Committee, and Jugtu Fronts were formed, but the People's Party had successfully faced them. He had always told the Opposition to come out unitedly because then it was easier for the People's Party to deal with them, he said.

He said he had removed the ban on the NAP "unilaterally and unconditionally" on the very first day he took over as President of Pakistan. He allowed them to form their Governments in spite of the fragile majority in NWFP and Baluchistan. He had gone so far as to allow them to have their own Governors as well. But he regretted, they spared no opportunity to flout his directives and malign the Central Government.

He said that they entered into negotiations and signed agreements with him time and again but they always wriggled out of them on one pretext or the other.

The President said he had no personal enmity with them. Had there been any such thing, he would not have given them the Governments and the Governors and he would not have entered into any negotiations with them. His main objective was to create a democratic atmosphere, in the country so that the country could be rebuilt but, he regretted they always failed to reciprocate his positive gestures, although he had gone out of the way to accommodate them.

Referring to the removal of the Governors, President Bhutto said it was not an unconstitutional step taken by him. He said wherever parliamentary form of democracy existed, Governors were agents of the President and could stay in their offices at his pleasure.

He said the NAP was overacting to the removal of the Governor of NWFP and said that Arabab Sikander had not carried out any directives of the Central Government.

The new Governor, Mr. Aslam Khattak, was one of their coalition partners. He was also a Pakhtoon then what was the cause of such a furor he asked.

He said the real cause for it was due to the fact that they had realized that the Government had come to know their "real game."

He regretted that while he repeatedly sought their co-operation, he was threatened with talk of guns, bullets and bloodshed. Was it a service to the Pakhtoons to shed their blood for selfish motives, he asked. Referring to Khan Abdul Ghaffar Khan's assertion that the Pakhtoons had no self-respect. President Bhutto said self-respect came into play only for high ideals and cause. The determination of the people of the NWFP to maintain the national unity should not be misconstrued as lack of self-respect, in fact this was self-respect in the real sense.

He said the NAP chief had different faces at the conference table and before the public and said that he (Wali Khan) told him at Lahore during his meeting with him that in view of the grave dangers facing the country his (Bhutto's) services were necessary. But when he came out, the NAP President called for his (Bhutto's) removal.

The President said the NAP President had also told him that democracy was nothing, because he (Wali Khan) was a feudal lord. He talked of undiluted democracy only to hoodwink the people of Pakistan. "One who is the enemy of the land of the pure cannot be upholder of undiluted democracy," President Bhutto added.

He, however, declared that no amount of internal or external intrigues could harm the country. "You may take as much assistance from anywhere you like, you will find us ready to face you."

The President said the NAP had got the inspiration from the situation in East Pakistan. Firstly, the constitutional struggle and in the event of its failure to resort to other steps as was done by Mr. Mujibur Rahman.

He traced the developments in East Pakistan after the 1970 general elections and said Mr. Mujib had insisted on the framing of the Constitution on the basis of Six Points because he wanted to cut at the roots of the country. As the Prime Minister of Pakistan, he would have shifted the Secretariat, State Bank of Pakistan and other things to Dacca and would have ordered the Army to withdraw from East Pakistan under the pretext of agreement with India, and would have ultimately said good bye to West Pakistan.

The President said that when he exposed Mr. Mujib's plan and it was frustrated, the second phase of the plan came into play.

Referring to the activities of Red Shirt leader Khan Abdul Ghaffar Khan, President Bhutto traced the history of Pakistan Movement and said that the Red Shirts were the "militant hard core" of the Indian Congress and had not cased their opposition to Pakistan, even after its creation. They had only changed their tactics, he said.

He said the Quaid-i-Azam had tried to make the Government of Dr. Khan Sahib a success. But they could not run the Government, and it had to be dissolved ultimately.

The President reminded his audience of the venomous speeches against Pakistan, made by Khan Abdul Ghaffar Khan during the 1965 Indo-Pakistan war and Press interviews given to the Indian Newspapers. Again in 1971 while the patriotic Pakistan, living abroad, were offering themselves for the defence of the country, what was the Khan doing in Kabul? He asked.

He said that Khan Abdul Ghaffar Khan had now returned to Pakistan with some special motives.

He said he had asked the then Governor and Chief Minister of NWFP to delay the return of the Khan to Pakistan, because the Government was busy with resolving other pressing issues of the nation, such as withdrawal of troops from the Pakistan territory and repatriation of the prisoners of war from India. He had told them that he had never interfered with the provincial spheres, but was making a "reasonable request" to delay his return for sometime. But he regretted that they insisted on bringing him according to their programme.

This, he said, was a signal for him. The other signal he got was the wriggling out of the Constitutional Accord, although all matters including bicameral legislature, provincial autonomy, independent judiciary, etc. had been decided. Even their own proposals had been accepted by him. Their attitude had made their game clear to him,

### ***Speech at a civic reception at Peshawar on March 3, 1973***

President Zulfikar Ali Butto debunked the twelve points of the Opposition and asked them not to resort to obstructionism.

Speaking at a civic reception held on Gymkhana grounds, he gave a point by point rejoinder to the Opposition parties and urged them to be consistent in the interest of peace and harmony in the country.

The President said that his party was not afraid of elections which would be held at the proper time.

Those advocating elections should know that his party would emerge stronger and then they should be prepared for further drastic reforms, including complete nationalization, when textile and sugar mills would also not be spared.

Replying to the first point of "brotherhood", he said if they wanted brotherhood they should also live like brothers. If on the one hand they preached hatred and violence and on the other wanted brotherhood, it became incompatible.

He said that first the polluted the atmosphere of cordiality and then started crying hoarse for amity and brotherhood. "We have always been prepared to meet you as brothers and will always respect you," he added.

The President said that he had always met them whenever they had requested and was prepared to do so in future also to ensure peace and harmony.

Coming to the next point, "exploitation of poor", he lashed out at these parties and blamed them for being the real "exploiters" who had sucked the blood out of the poor, down-trodden masses of Pakistan.

He said they had exploited the nation so ruthlessly that no precedent would be available. He referred to palace intrigues and drawing room politics and said why no one ever raised the cry against exploitation of the people then.

The President said it was the People's Party that brought the politics of drawing-rooms into the streets and spoke for the rights of the poor. "But when we raised voice for them, we were dubbed as 'Kafirs' and "fatwas' were proclaimed against us," he added.

He described these parties as agents of capitalists, servants of industrialists and moneyed men and said that only recently in the NWFP the previous Government invited big industrialists to suck the blood of the people of the frontier.

Referring to the point about fascism, he said his party was strictly against this evil but if democracy and socialism were considered fascism by the Opposition, he could not help it.

He said the Opposition parties had decided not to rest until fascism was eliminated from the country, and added amidst cheers that they do not need a rest. They don't deserve it. "No one will let you rest."

He said the provincial autonomy was the basic reason for which his party had struggled against the One Unit of West Pakistan. The issue, he said, had been decided democratically at the Constitutional conference and each and every subject had been discussed threadbare. All the three lists came under discussion and the decision was hailed by all the parties. This issue thus had also been settled, he said.

About the Press freedom, he said the Government wanted it honestly but the Press should also remain within the limits of law and respect it.

He referred to some reports about the seizure of gold, devaluation of rupee and demonetisations of currency notes and said such lies were against the interests of the entire country and its economy.

He said that if the Press did not indulge in creating undue harassment among the people by publishing tendentious news, his Government had no reason to take action against it.

The President said that he stood for complete Press freedom and added the newspapers were free to write anything they liked, but within the boundaries of law.

Coming to the point about the release of Pakistan POWs, he said the Government was doing everything possible in this regard, but he expressed surprise how these people (Opposition) could secure their release.

He said jokingly: "Even if they were Indian agents, their masters would not accept their plea and allow the POWs' release themselves blocked their repatriation by raising "Na Manzoor" slogans.

He said that India had repeatedly stated that unless we took a correct decision and recognized the reality, the POWs would not come back. The key to their jail was our decision regarding, BD recognition and these people (Opposition) wanted to break that key.

He said if the National Assembly gave him the required permission, the POWs would certainly come back.

He said their opposition to BD recognition was not unexpected because they had also opposed the creation of Pakistan by raising "No Pakistan" slogans. They always went against the interest of Pakistan, he added.

He said the real test at the moment was whether democracy could succeed in this country and whatever the system, if people wanted democracy to succeed, they could get it in any form.

The President also repeated that the suggestion of two-thirds majority came from the Opposition and added his party had suggested the alternative of re-election for the member who wanted to vote against his party, but had accepted the former on the insistence by the Opposition.

He said that in the Bangladesh Constitution more strict clauses had been included against a member voting against his party.

Stressing that democracy did not mean jungle law in the country, he said it could only be allowed to function within the limits of laws and discipline.

Even in foreign countries if anyone spoke against the state and resorted to violence, he was penalized for it, and that was strictly in accordance with democratic principles. Democracy should not mean destruction for the country.

He stressed that tolerance was the mainstay of functioning and if they wanted that even after losing elections they should be inducted into power, it was no democracy.

The President also discussed in detail the events before the East Pakistan breakup and the army action in that Wing. "The political stand taken by us there was in line with the national integrity and solidarity," he maintained.

He asked the Opposition why they had absolutely abandoned the theme of majority party now which they used to beat about so frequently for Mr. Mujib's party.

He rejected the Opposition demand for lifting of the emergency in the country and stressed that the need for keeping it was never so pressing as in the present conditions.

He said if in India, which claimed to have won great victories in the last war and which was keeping 90,000 POWs and had a Constitution as well as democracy for 25 years, the need for lifting the emergency was not felt, how could it be in Pakistan which had suffered much.

He said that in the presence of grave internal and external conspiracies against Pakistan, the slogans of four nationalities, the smuggling of arms into the country, the guerilla training imparted to people for disruption and the losses suffered during the war : no patriotic person could demand lifting of the emergency.

He said that no poor man, Mazdoor or Kissan had been sent behind the bars under the Defence of Pakistan Rules but only those who violated the law and preached violence were penalized.

He referred to the speech of Mian Tufail in Mochi Gate and said those who invited the army to take over the country were made the official guests.

He declared that the army was a professional one and would do its duty of defending the country's border.

He said the country was gripped by flames from all sides and the enemies were at work both within and outside. In these circumstances

only those who did not have the good of the country at heart could make such a demand.

He said the flag of Pakistan would never be allowed to go down. It would fly high with the blessings of God and people, he added.

He described the slogan of four nationalities as a medium to oppose the integrity of Pakistan.

He said such slogans were being raised in the country only to harm its peace and create hurdles in its march towards progress and prosperity.

He asked why only Pakistan was chosen to be the homeland of four nationalities. "Why do they not speak about India where numerous such nations were living?"

He said the examples of Russia and China advanced by the protagonists of this theory were, in fact, absurd and totally wrong. These countries could not be compared with Pakistan because they had absolutely different history, separate ideological perspective and totally different constitutions.

He said Pakistan had various cultures in its regions and they were duly respected by this Government. "We will safeguard these cultures and want them to spread to every nook and corner of the country. We want every Pakistani to speak Urdu, Pashto, Punjabi, Sindhi and Baluchi." he said.

But the slogans raised to emphasize the existence of four nationalities were only to mislead the people and disturb their peace, harmony and unity.

He said justice would be done to the people of Hashtanagar, Charsadda Tehsil, which was the centre of peasant-landlord problems.

He said that he had directed the Governor of the NWFP to see that justice was done to the people there.

He said that he was keen to hold public meetings at different places in the NWFP, and added, public meetings were essential because they provided opportunity for renewing the contact with the masses.



He said that he would also hold a public meeting at Chowk Yadgar. In fact, he was anxious to do so.

***Address to teachers of Peshawar University  
On March 3, 1973***

President Zulfikar Ali Bhutto called upon the teaching community to remain in the vanguard to make Pakistan strong and prosperous.

Addressing over 1,500 Peshawar University teachers and heads of educational institutions from all over the North West Frontier Province on the lawns of the Governor's House, he said he expected them to encourage the new generation in intellectual curiosity and rightful thinking.

The President said he considered investment in education as the highest priority and said his Government was determined to provide all necessary facilities to students and teachers in the educational institutions. "I assure you that I am fully aware of your problems and difficulties," he told the teachers.

The President said the Government would give the teachers their rightful status in society because they were "true builders of the nation." Calling the teachers the "most highly educated and best qualified group" in the community, he said while this entitled them to certain privileges, it also put on their shoulders "very heavy and onerous responsibilities."

The President urged the teachers to make the students realize that in order to equip themselves fully for their future careers, they must work hard and concentrate their full attention on the acquisition of knowledge.

It was in the schools, colleges and universities that the habit of hard work can be inculcated. "No country can or ever will become prosperous become prosperous without hard work."

President Bhutto said that his Government was opening the door to every one to have equal opportunities of learning and "it is for you to show them that the way demands honest work."

"I so not mean by this that you should attempt to curb their enthusiasm, to mould them into identical patterns, to turn them into dim bookworms repeating ideas without testing them. They are individuals and that unique and precious quality must never be forgotten. They must experiment, try out new ideas, under you

stimulous and live a full and significant existence in their student days.”

The President emphasized the role of teachers in developing the country and putting it on the road to progress and prosperity and they formed a link in the chain.

“You have the youth of the country entrusted to you---a precious trust---for this is the most critical and sensitive period of their lives, and your responsibility is not only to give them formal education, but to teach them how to live and how to work for your dear homeland Pakistan and build a land which will match the aspirations of its founders---secure, united and ideologically sound.

This, according to the President, could be best done through the teachers’ own example. “I am stressing this because the age of adolescence is the age of hero-worship, even in this era when the youth of the world are suffering from great tensions and there is a tendency to react violently against the established order, there is still the desire for an ideal to follow and in most cases students are influenced consciously or subconsciously for good or ill by their teachers.

***Message of greeting to King Hassan of Morocco on March 3, 1973***

On behalf of the Government and the people of Pakistan and on my own behalf I have great pleasure in extending to Your Majesty the Government and the brotherly people of Morocco our warmest greetings and cordial felicitations on the auspicious occasion of the National Day of Morocco.

I am confident that the close bonds of friendship and brotherhood which so happily exist between Morocco and Pakistan shall be strengthened further in the years ahead.

I avail myself of this opportunity to wish health and happiness to Your Majesty and continued progress and prosperity to the fraternal people of Morocco under Your Majesty's inspiring leadership.

***Message of greetings to Major-General Gaafar  
Mohammad Nimeri, President of the Democratic Republic  
of Sudan on March 3, 1973***

On behalf of the Government and the people of Pakistan and on my own behalf I have great pleasure in extending to Your Excellency our sincere greetings and cordial felicitations on the auspicious occasion of the National Unity Day of the Sudan.

I am confident that the brotherly relations which so happily exist between our two countries shall grow further in the years ahead. May God grant Your Excellency long life to guide the destiny of the brotherly people of the Democratic Republic of the Sudan to greater progress and prosperity.

I avail myself of this opportunity to wish health and happiness to Your Excellency and progress and prosperity to the brotherly people of the Sudan.

***Interview with Japanese T.V. representative  
On March 4, 1973***

Welcoming closer Pak-Japanese economic links, President Zulfikar Ali Bhutto said that there exists a wide open scope for economic collaboration between Pakistan and Japan and the two countries can undertake joint ventures in industrial sector to their mutual benefit.

In an interview with the Japanese TV, he said Japan now possessed tremendous economic resources. It had built up foreign exchange re-serves of 25 billion dollars, enabling her to make substantial investments abroad. Pakistan offers great scope for such investments, he said.

Identifying some of the fields in which the two countries could collaborate, the President said apart from undertaking joint industrial ventures Japan could set up labour-intensive industries in Pakistan, which were being closed down in that country because of the soaring labour costs. Besides, they could get intermediary products from Pakistan for their own economic use.

The President said economic collaboration between the two countries had been gradually increasing during the past 25 years. During this period, Japan had advanced to Pakistan credits worth 334 million dollars, out of which 92 million dollars had been repaid. Two thirds of the remaining 243 million dollars were spent in East Pakistan factories. As such, the credits given to West Pakistan in fact amounted to 100 million dollars, he added.

Comparing this amount with the big loans advanced by Japan to other developing countries, the President told his interviewer that there was great scope for greater economic collaboration between the two countries and for this they could negotiate very good terms to their mutual benefit.

In reply to a question the President said Japan could play an important role in maintaining peace and equilibrium in the world, particularly in Asia.

He said Asia had been troubled by so many conflicts, wars and internal upheavals that a country like Japan which had economic resources and power, and political wisdom and sagacity could have its

voice felt and beard in the name of peace. He was confident that her voice would be respected in this regard.

The President said that Japan could play this role both inside and outside the United Nations. Japan had recently taken many constructive steps outside the United Nations such as the opening of a dialogue with China and reactivation of her Policy in South East Asia. He hoped that the future relations between Pakistan and Japan would also acquire more depth and substance.

Like Japan, he said, China had also a role to play in Asia, there could be no international disarmament without her participation and even the United Nations could not play its full role without her participation. "Now that China is in the United Nations, you can already see the difference. There is a growing difference," he observed.

The President said with Pakistan the relations of China "have been those of traditional friendship and we never had any cause of complaint in this friendship. It has been of mutual benefit."

Referring to the role of Big Powers during the 1971 crisis, the President told his interview that there had always been power politics in the world, but big Power politics was something even bigger. "Naturally we came under all sorts of compulsions and conflicting interests of the Great Powers and as a result of it you saw what happened. The situation in the subcontinent had become very critical."

However, the President said, "we want to try to forget the past as we want to open a new chapter in our country's history." Pakistan he said, did not want to maintain any bitterness. Although the way this country was treated in 1971 was unprecedented in the history of the world, yet "we want to embark on a new chapter."

He said that the people of Bengal and West Pakistan had been in a common struggle for centuries. Pakistan did not come into being all of a sudden. It was created "because for centuries we have had the same objectives and same aims and people from that side and this side struggled together for the creation of Pakistan."

He said that many sacrifices were made for the creation of Pakistan. But it for our reason or the other "our friends and brothers from the other side" have separated we could not help remembering our past associations.

The President said that if in centuries a link had been broken, that could be restored on the basis of what the people of East Pakistan want, On our part, we want to get together again, but if they do not want to do so we could, at least, have the best of relations with them.

“We want them to have success. We want them to overcome their difficulties because such historical associations rooted in religion, culture and in a so many common factors cannot vanish so easily.”

In reply to another question, the President regretted that India was still holding on to our 92 thousand prisoners of war including over 20 thousand civilians, women and children, in utter violation of the Geneva Conventions and the UN Resolution which clearly stated that they must be returned to Pakistan. This, he said, was completely against the International Law.

The President said that the United Nations could certainly help in the solution of this problem. “it can play a role and on our part we are quite willing to co-operate with the United Nations for them to make a contribution for the solution of this problem. That is why we welcomed the visit of the Secretary-General of the United Nations to Pakistan.” The President said.

Replying to a question as to how Pakistan could contribute to the maintenance of world peace, the President said, we could do so firstly by bringing about “stability in our own country because we are in charge of sixty million people and we want to improve their condition. If we can bring about stability in our own country that will be a contribution.”

Besides, Pakistan could further the cause of peace in the South Asia Continent if her relations were improved with Muslim Bengal, India, Afghanistan and other countries of the region. He said this big area was very important strategically and if Pakistan could make some contribution to bring peace to this “tormented lad,” that would be a big contribution.

In reply to another question concerning the framing of the Permanent Constitution for the country, the President remarked that here had been a long and tragic history in Pakistan over the question of autonomy for the Provinces, he said for the long 25 years, this remained the most important problem and was one of the reasons of the 1971 crisis. He said the demand of East Pakistan for more autonomy was in fact a demand for confederation and not for



autonomy. But this problem had now been resolved and he hoped that within about eight weeks time a democratic popular and acceptable constitution would be framed for the country.

Visualizing the future of Pakistan, the President said that given time and opportunity, and co-operation and sympathy, which she so richly deserved after the way she had been treated, this country could make tremendous economic progress. Strengthen her institutions and make her contribution in international affairs. He was confident that the hardworking people of this nation who had made major contributions in the history of the subcontinent would re-assert their importance and position for peace, not for war.

He said; "Our victory would lie in improving the conditions of one people, in showing the world that this part of the subcontinent is the most advanced, most progressive and most prosperous."

Already he said, Pakistan had become self-sufficient in rice which was being exported, and within a year the country was going to be self-sufficient in sugar and wheat. Similarly, very good progress was being made in the field of industrialization.

But, he said, no matter how much industrial progress was made, people would not feel safe psychologically unless self-sufficiency in food was achieved. This is what is happening in India and Bangladesh where they are facing much shortage of food.

### ***Interview to the Time Magazine of March 5, 1973***

President Zulfikar Ali Bhutto said, that the question of the recognition of Bangladesh by Pakistan will follow the release of Pakistani prisoners of war.

In an interview with the American weekly Time, Mr. Zulfikar Ali Bhutto said that besides the return of Pakistani prisoners of war, there must not be any war crimes trial and persecution of the so-called collaboration. The principles for a settlement of financial problem between the two sides must also be worked out.

The President expressed the behalf that the present stalemate would be broken after next month's election in Bangladesh and the framing of a new Constitution in Pakistan. He said; "Let us begin with a clean slate,"

He said; "I don't harbour anti-Indian feelings. I speak more in sorrow. You see, they (the Indians) think they succeeded in East Pakistan, They have not realized that they put their fingers in the furnace of Bengal. And their fingers are going go burn badly."

"Pakistan wants India's friendship, but not her leadership. We want equality. India should not have pretensions of becoming a world power. There are more people in India sleeping in the streets than any place else in the world. A dominant power is dominant inherently." The President said.

"On relations with Bangladesh, the President said; "We are determined to recognize them provided there is a machinery whereby we get our prisoners of war. Once bitten, twice shy." He said.

"But first there must be machinery for the return of our prisoners of war. There must be on war crimes trials, no persecution of accused collaborations and the principle for settlement of our financial problems must be worked out. Let's really begin with a clear slate," the President urged.

Referring to the United States role in the subcontinent, the President advised the Americans; "Much will depend on the US attitude in dealing with the Chinese and the Russians."

“If you put a visionary Wilsonian content into your policy without seeking immediate benefit, then I see a much bigger role for the United States. If you see the problems of the subcontinent from a narrow point of view, then, of course; the Russians will take full advantage. The Chinese will not be able to do anything effective for some time to come.”

Asked about a US “tilt” toward Pakistan, as reported in secret Whit House papers published by the columnist Jack Anderson, Mr. Bhutto asked: “What tilt?”

He said US Secretary of State William Roger’s public statement that the US would not interfere if there was a war in the sub-continent gave India the necessary assurance.

## ***Statement on Kashmir on March 5, 1973***

It appears from press reports that some talks are being held in New Delhi between the emissaries of the Prime Minister of India and some Kashmiri politicians for opening what is called a new chapter in relations between India and Kashmir”.

Pakistan’s attitude with regard to these talks as to any other development concerning the future status of the State of Jammu and Kashmir is governed by the position which it has steadfastly maintained through the existence in the resolution of the United Nation on the question. It is a principle which was recognized by India as well.

The basic principle is that the question of the accession of the Sate of Jammu and Kashmir to India or Pakistan shall be determined in accordance with the will of the people of the State through the democratic method of a free and impartial plebiscite. If follows that no action or arrangement which attempts to determine the future shape and affiliation of the State, or any part thereof, without an impartial ascertainment of popular will would constitute a disposition of the State in Accordance with this principle.

The inescapable corollary of the principle of self-determination is universally recognized and, in the case of Jammu and Kashmir, has been expressly affirmed in resolutions of the Security Council unanimously adopted on 30<sup>th</sup>. March 1951 and 14<sup>th</sup> January 1957.

It is evident from the Security Council resolutions. As indeed from the nature and history of the dispute, that there are three parties to it; India, Pakistan and, above all, the people of Kashmir. No settlement of this dispute which attempt to by pass one of the parties, or is not acceptable to all the three, can be final or enduring. Pakistan will continue to stand by its commitment to the right of self determination of the people of Kashmir because the question is not of territory nor of frontiers but one Which involves a people’s integrity, life and historic destiny.

This is the recognized position of Pakistan which has been explicitly safe, uarded by the Simla Agreement.

The Government of Pakistan is acutely conscious of the sufferings of the people of Kashmir under Indian occupation. It is one of the functions of alien occupation that the occupying power, driven

by its search for some local support, installs in power a small native coterie which exploits the situation to its own advantage. While Pakistan would welcome any development which would ease the hardship of the people of Kashmir under the regimes foisted on them by India, it is firmly convinced that no settlement which compromised the principle of self-determination can be of any lasting benefit to them. At best, it can lead only to a temporary superficial amelioration of their condition but at the grievous cost of the consolidation of the alien stranglehold.

***Message of felicitations to the Chairman of the National Redemption Council of Ghana on March 6, 1973***

I have great pleasure in extending to Your Excellency our warmest felicitations and sincere good wishes on the happy occasion of the National Day of Ghana.

I am confident that the friendly relations existing between Ghana and Pakistan will be strengthened further in the years to come, please accept, Excellency, my best wishes for your personal well-being and the continued prosperity of the friendly people of Ghana.

***Message of greetings to Mr. A.R. Osman.  
Governor-General of Mauritius on March 12, 1973***

It gives me great pleasure to convey to Your Excellency, the Government and the people of Mauritius on behalf of the Government and the people of Pakistan and on my own behalf our warm greetings and best wishes on the happy occasion of the 5<sup>th</sup> Anniversary of the Independence of Mauritius. I am confident that the friendly ties to happily existing between our two countries will continue to grow in the years ahead.

Please accept Excellency the assurances of my highest consideration.

***Message of felicitations to Mr. Liam Cosgrave, Prime Minister of Ireland on March 14, 1973***

Please accept my sincere felicitations on your success in the elections and your assumption of the office of the Prime Minister of Ireland. It is my sincere hope that under your leadership the Republic of Ireland will make progress and friendly relations which so happily exist between our two countries and people will be further strengthened.

Please accept, Excellency, the assurances of my highest consideration.



***Address at he Police training College, Sihala  
On March 15, 1973***

I have been very impressed to review your parade today. I am conscious of the fact that you have come from long distances and had short time at your disposal for joining in this parade. That rain and thunder and damp living under canvas did not affect your smartness and proficiency on the parade ground augurs well for the future of police organization. I congratulate those who have secured positions of merit in the various courses at this training institution and also those who are successfully passing out today. You are going out to meet a big challenge and, although your training here must have equipped you with the wherewithal to discharge your professional duties soundly, I expect of you to analyst the challenge and to meet it squarely no only as a policemen but as a citizen, Unless you put yourself in the position of the citizen in the discharge of your duty. You cannot really redress his complaints and grievances and cannot be an effective enforcer of law. You must be just, impartial, painstaking compassionate, even-tempered and accessible.

As you are aware, I am conscious of your limitations which in many cases are colossal. You are also aware that I have taken important steps and introduction far-reaching reforms to overcome the shortcomings but no reform can be fruitful unless those for whom they are made fully participate therein. From what I have seen of you today. I feel confident that your participation shall be profound and perfect. I wish you al, who are passing out today, success in your career; and to those who are staying on in the this institution I emphasize that they should take their courses more seriously than before and apply their mind not with a view to passing the standard examinations but equipping themselves with a spirit and devotion hitherto unmatched.

***Message of felicitation to Dr. Eanon de Voera Presiednt of Ireland, on March 17,1973***

On the happy occasion of the National Day of Ireland I have great pleasure in conveying to Your Excellency, the Government and the friendly people of Ireland our warm greetings and felicitations. I wish the people of Ireland continued peace and prosperity.

I avail myself of this opportunity to renew to Your Excellency the assurances of my highest consideration.

***Speech at the launching ceremony of "Lalazar" at the Karachi Shipyard on March 20, 1973***

President Zulfikar Ali Bhutto announced that the personal of the Karachi Shipyard would receive reward money at the scale of 20 days pay to officers and 45 days pay to workers, supervisory staff and others. This would cost the Shipyard an amount of rupees 17 lakh 63 thousand, of this, Rs. 95 thousand will go to the officers and Rs. 16 lakh 68 thousand to the workers and supervisory staff.

The President further announced that the National shipping Corporation would be contributing Rs. 25 thousand while an equal amount will be contributed by the Karachi Shipyard to the Karachi Shipyard workers and salaried staff welfare fund, he said that the Governor of Sindh, Begum Liaquat Ali Khan would contribute on behalf of the Sindh Government Rs. 25 thousand while the Communications Minister on behalf of the Ministry will contribute Rs. 25 thousand to this fund, the President himself announced a donation of Rs. 50 thousand to the fund.

After the speech, the President cut the red ribbon heralding the launching of the Ship into the sea. As soon as he cut the tape, a bottle filled with rose water was broken on the ship in keeping with maritime traditions.

***Mauroze message to His Imperial Majesty Mohammad Rezo Shah Pahlavi Ayramehr, Shahanshah of Iran, on March 21, 1973***

I have great pleasure in extending to Your Imperial Majesty the Government and the people of Iran on behalf of the Government and the people of Pakistan and on my own behalf, our Warmest greetings on the auspicious occasion of the festival of Nauroz. We are confident that the manifold ties which so happily exist between our two countries will continue to be strengthened in the neat future.

“We wish Your Imperial Majesty health, happiness and a long life and the brotherly people of Iran ever greater progress and prosperity under Your Imperial Majesty’s inspiring leadership.”

***Address at the inauguration of "Nishan" at the Inspectorate  
Of Vehicles and Engineering Equipment, Chaklala  
On March 22, 1973***

On the eve of Pakistan's National Day it was a pleasure for me to witness the culmination of the Nishan Project which you all have brought to fruition. This project ought to represent for our nation a spirit of self-reliance. It is through the wide spirit of application of this philosophy in all fields of our national endeavour that we can hope to achieve greatness. I have listened with interest what the Master General of Ordnance and the Chief inspector had to say about the Nishan Project and I must say that I am pleased with the progress that has been achieved in such a short time. It resounds to the credit of the industries, the officers and the staff without whose combined efforts the Project would not have seen the light of the day.

Most gratifying to note, however, is the fact that large number of small and medium size industries have participated in this Project. I have always laid stress on the importance of achieving self-reliance if we are to take an honourable position in the comity of nations.

I, therefore, visualise in this Project a steady growth for our nascent automobile industry. It is a well known fact that automobile industry is one of the largest single contributors to the economic progress of all industrially advanced countries.

During the last world war, the automobile industry in Europe provided a solid base for the development of armoured fighting vehicles. Aeroplanes, and other military hardware which has an important combat role.

Although the Project has been exclusively handled so far by the Pakistan Army but this is by no means a Project limited to the Armed Forces. It can truly be a national project. The production of military vehicle can be easily dovetailed with the production of commercial vehicles.

I am sure that if we pool our resources and take advantage of the skill available within the country, it should be possible for us to produce vehicles of a standard type which can be made available and are within the reach of the people.

I am sure that those who pioneered this Project and the firms which contributed towards its completion will work with more

determined resolve to attain higher standards. The people expect the builders of the national economy to maintain the momentum generated by this pilot project and give a better account of themselves in the days to come.

The Chief Inspector's report has hinted at some teething problems which I have no doubt are short-lived. The discrepancies will be removed as production progresses. We should remember that is only a beginning a project of our own, accomplished with limited resources.

I have great pleasure in inaugurating this Nishan Project. I repeat, it is only the beginning and we shall, Insha Allah, march from one goal to another. Let the Nishan be, for our reawakened nation, 'Nishan-e-Mubarik.'

## ***Pakistan Day Message on March 23, 1973***

Pakistan. Day comes this year in the midst of campaign resolutely undertaken by the nation to secure the organization of its affairs through the democratic process. It is this process which the draft constitution, now before the Assembly, seeks to define.

The adoption of the constitution will be milestone in Pakistan's history. For twenty six years, a power structure dominated by the bureaucracy and a military junta and bolstered by self-seeking politicians the wanted the establishment of democratic institutions and denied to the people an ordered political life. The nation remained in the grip of a deadly vice forged by the egoism of one group and the obscurantism of another. The result was the complacency; the confusion, the inherence and the loss of pride and confidence which brought us untold sorrow and splintered the nation founded in 1947.

We have now progressed along the path of revival. This rapid recovery has been due as much to the efforts of the government as to the vitality and resilience of the people. Though we still face formidable problems concerning our security and survival. We will not be daunted by them nor surrender out honour and integrity. Unafraid of any adversary without and watchful over the enemy within, we will preserve in the long, hard task of building a Pakistan free from exploitation and at peace with all those neighbours who wish it well.

Our people's spirit and faith is the guarantor of our rejuvenated Pakistan will be a source of strength to the Muslim world and an asset to the Asian-African community. It will ensure peace with justice in South Asia and translate into reality the lustrous vision of its creation.

***Address at the Joint Services Parade at Rawalpindi  
On March 23, 1973***

Officers and Jawans, Assalam-o-Alaikum,

The 23<sup>rd</sup> of March has a special significance in our national history. It was on this day, 33 years ago, that at a glorious congregation in Lahore, the Muslims of the subcontinent, under the leadership of Quaid-i-Azam Muhammad Ali Jinnah, resolved to establish a free and independent homeland where they could have religious, cultural and social freedom and could live independently of the British and Hindu domination.

By the grace of Allah and as a result of efforts and sacrifices of the nation and the selfless leadership of the Quaid-i-Azam, Pakistan came into being on August 14, 1947. The hardships which Pakistan had to face after independence are no secret. But I have a firm belief that the dark clouds are about to disappear. The positive co-operation of the nation and the excellent performance of the Armed Forces shall, Insha Allah, guarantee the country's security and its bright future.

On this memorable day, let me tell you that the main focus of all my Government's attention is our prisoners, numbering over 90,000, who are still languishing in the Indian Camps. All possible efforts are being made for their repatriation and I hope that they shall, Insha Allah, return soon and assume their positions of responsibility in the Armed Forces and other departments.

The high standard of today's parade is a source of pride and satisfaction. For this I congratulate you all.

Pakistan Paindabad.



***Message of Congratulations to General Svoboda Ludvik,  
President of the Socialist Republic of Czechoslovakia  
On March 24, 1973***

I have great pleasure in extending to Your Excellency warmest congratulations and best wishes on your re-elections as the President of the Socialist Republic of Czechoslovakia. I am confident that the friendly relations existing between Czechoslovakia and Pakistan shall be further strengthened in the years to come. Please, accept Excellency, the assurances of my highest consideration.

***Message of felicitation to Mr. Georges Papadopoulos,  
Regent of Greece, on March 25, 1973***

On the occasion of the National Day of Greece I convey to the people of Greece the felicitations of the people of Pakistan. Please accept, Excellency, the assurances of my highest consideration.

***Interview with Ann Lapping of London Weekend TV  
Programme on March 25, 1973***

President Bhutto made it clear in unmistakable terms it would be monstrous to put Pakistani prisoners of war on trial for so-called war crimes.

In an interview with Ann Lapping of London Weekend, a popular TV show, the President pointed out that Pakistan was, after all, one country when these soldiers were trying to keep it intact. They were only discharging their duty. Any country would do it.

The President said: "Mr. Mujibur Rahman keeps threatening that he will try prisoners of war. Sometimes, he gives a figure of hundreds, then it goes into thousands. But it is not a sensible way out of the crisis."

The President said that Pakistan was prepared to look at the issue objectively. If some people, as Mr. Mujib says, committed excesses, "we are prepared to try them here according to our laws and do full justice, justice that satisfies the world community.

"What more does he want" ? the President asked.

The President said it was time they got down to business and stopped making a nuisance of themselves and attracting world attention unnecessarily. At least that was his approach.

Replying to a question, the President said there were a number of valid reasons for Pakistan not having recognized Bangladesh.

First of all, it was different from other countries, who had recognized Bangladesh. "We cannot take such a detached view. Bangladesh, as you call now, was a part of Pakistan, and integral part of Pakistan.

"And finally, with all the mistakes and errors that we committed, India had to intervene and use naked force to dismember East Pakistan from West Pakistan," This was an important consideration, though not a decisive one.

The President said Pakistan wanted to have good relations with them for a better equation between the two parts. After all, they had been together for 25 years and before that also in various struggles.

It was, therefore, necessary to put an end to all possible sources of friction before they could move on to recognition. He said he knew that recognition was the only way to have good relations with them.

When the Correspondent stated that Mr. Mujib insisted on recognition as a precondition for even starting talks, the President replied that he could not accept the problem of recognition as being a precondition, and cited the recent example of talks between President Nixon and Chairman Mao Tsetung even though America had not recognized China.

President Bhutto said he insisted on talks before recognition because he wanted to clear the deck and solve all problems. He had unilaterally and unconditionally released Mr. Mujib and had thought that this would, to some extent, improve the climate. But it did not.

He said he could not rely on the words of person who broke it again and again.

It was not only Mr. Mujib who was involved but also India, "and our experience with India during the last 25 years had been sad over Kashmir."

They (the Indians) had had said that the right of self-determination was sacrosanct. Where was that right of self-determination? He asked?

Then, he pointed out, the Indians said they had no intention of dismembering Pakistan; they were pledged to peace and peace was a passion to them. Yet they committed aggression five times against Pakistan.

When the Correspondent said in that case there would be a deadlock and Pakistan would not be able to have its POWs back, the President snapped back, "Never mind, because nations have to bear the consequences. It is a sacrifice which our people would have to bear."

Replying to question on the future of Biharis, Mr. Bhutto said that Mr. Mujib must accept the principle that these people had rights in East Pakistan because they chose to go to that part of the world.

"They have been born there, and they have contributed towards building it up. It is therefore Mr. Mujib's duty to protect his citizens."

He said he would like to see some of the Biharis coming here, but the fact was that this part of the country had already had more than its due share of refugees.

"In 1947", he said, "we saw millions and millions of refugees. It took us 15 to 20 years to rehabilitate them.

"We can still see the memories of shanty towns and of slums, unemployment, misery and crime because you have to integrate the people.

"Again there was a war in 1965. The refugees came in from Kashmir, again in millions.

"We are barely settling down, trying to move ahead economically. We got swamped twice by it, and for the third time also, we are prepared to take some of them, but we cannot be burdened and crushed in such a manner arbitrarily."

The President warned that Mr. Mujib wanted a "racist state" and he was going to hound out anyone who is not a Bengali.

"Tomorrow he might want to throw out the Buddhists because he was after the blood of Chakmas living in Chittagong. At this rate, he would have only Bengalis left. And then he would be able to choose from Bengalis. Some of them he would call collaborators, and his list of collaborators "will go on increasing."

Mr. Mujib "cannot have that arbitrary Caesarean power.

"Is he Napoleon Bonaparte, or is he Adolph Hitler that everything that Mujib accepts, the world must accept, reasonable or unreasonable," the President said; and added: "Mr. Mujib should talk sensibly and rationally and he should get off his high horse."

***Statement on the repression of Muslims in the Philippines on March 27, 1973***

The people of Pakistan have been following with grave concern and anguish the alarming situation that now prevails in the southern Philippines resulting from a renewed escalation of repressive measures against the Muslim population. We are appalled at this recrudescence of violence which has already claimed several hundred Muslim lives and brought untold miseries and sufferings to the Muslims of the area. It is deplorable that these tragic events are taking place despite the assurances given by the leaders of Philippines to rectify through peaceful means the acknowledged inequalities and injustices suffered by the Muslims for a long time.

Relations between Pakistan and the Philippines, two fellow members of the Asian Community, have been traditionally friendly and cordial. In expressing our concern over the condition of the Muslims in the Philippines, therefore, we are motivated by a sincere desire to encourage a peaceful and durable settlement of the underlying causes of Muslim dissatisfaction. The Government and the people of Pakistan sincerely hope that the Government of the Philippines will respond to this humanitarian appeal and will take immediate steps to safeguard the lives and properties of the Muslim population and initiate measures that will assure them of their just rights.

## ***Address to the nation on March 29, 1973***

President Zulfikar Ali Bhutto said the Opposition had no justification in demanding fresh elections after the permanent Constitution was framed and introduced.

In a broadcast over the radio and TV he said his party had been elected for five years and had every right to have this much time to implement its manifesto.

The President said that in a parliamentary system it was always left to the judgment of the Government of the day to decide as to when fresh elections should take place during its tenure.

He said the Opposition was demanding fresh elections because they were defeated by the people in the last elections. It was shouting for elections so that it could go to the people and allege that the People's Party had not fully implemented the pledges made to the people, and thus try to misguide the people and manipulate the polls.

The President said Pakistan People's Party would implement its manifesto during its tenure and was not afraid of going to the polls. He said there was only one election in the country during the last 25 years. But the Opposition was demanding fresh polls only after two years. "They do not have patience to wait for five years although they waited for 25 years."

The President said the Opposition wanted to go to the polls prematurely because they did not want to give time to the People's Party to fulfil its pledges to the people and bring out socio-economic development in the country. He said the People's Party had, during the last one and half years, implemented its manifesto and introduced reforms in every field rapidly.

The President, however said: "If I feel there is genuine public opinion favour of fresh elections, I would agree to it."

The President said he had to play a role in the service of Pakistan, whether as the President or in the Opposition or as an ordinary citizen. He said the People's Party had been given the responsibility to rule this country by the people who had reposed confidence in it. "We shall not be crowded down by any threat which will

be crushed with the support of the people. We shall not surrender to any junta or coterie."

The President also referred to the demand of the Opposition for forming a caretaker Government and said: "They want this because they can never be elected and put in office by the vote of the people." He said the people of Pakistan can safeguard their democratic rights. He trusted the people and appreciated their power.

President Bhutto said it was an insult to the people to demand formation of caretaker Government. "It is unique and absurd suggestion", he added.

"How can an executive leave the office and give it to a Judge of the Supreme Court?" The President said the judiciary, executive and armed forces had their own responsibilities to discharge. "I cannot take over the day to day work of the judiciary and armed forces," and the others cannot perform duties of the executive, he added.

The President said the Opposition wanted that the whole establishment should relinquish its responsibilities to the judge. "Is this not a coup d'etat against democracy?" he asked. The world shall laugh at us, he said.

President Bhutto said it was in the tenure of its office that the party in Government should hold elections at a time of its discretion.

In 25 years the country had one election on universal adult franchise. In two years, they wanted another election.

Referring to the example of fresh elections in Bangladesh cited by the Opposition, the President pointed out that this case was entirely different. Mr. Mujibur Rahman had created a separate country after secession from Pakistan.

He said his Government was confronted with a multitude of internal and external problems since its induction in December, 1971. "It has been a mammoth fatiguing session from the day we took over the office."

He said his party was not afraid of elections and that he was sensitive to public opinion, a point also acknowledged by the Opposition. If he felt the public opinion wanted elections then, despite all the internal and external problems, he would submit to it.



The President ridiculed the "unique" Opposition demand for constitutional provision for a caretaker Government for holding elections and asked where in the democratic world such a practice existed. He said if there was any country following the path of madness, he would not like Pakistan to do so. Why should Pakistan be made freak of all experiments, he asked.

He said the Opposition was demanding a caretaker Government with the intention of getting into Government to manipulate the elections in their favour. Any party enjoying people's support would not like a caretaker Government.

Guarantee of free elections was in the hands of the people and adult franchise was, therefore, the best safeguard, he added.

The President said in direct elections the whole nation goes to polls and he failed to understand how the Opposition could say that the entire people could not safeguard democracy. This meant they did not trust the people and had no confidence in them. If the people could not ensure free elections, then no contrivance could do that. "It is an insult to the people to demand such contrivances."

He said if one could get into the Government without getting elected, then what was the use of winning the elections. It would be better to lose the elections.

Mr. Bhutto found no justification in the suggestion for giving the responsibility of caretaker Government to judiciary and asked if this principle were to be accepted, then why not a military General take this responsibility.

He described this as a juvenile and undemocratic approach reflecting sheer desperation of those making the demand. "Why should we make monkeys out of ourselves because we want to be in the Government?"

He pointed out that the taking over of gubernatorial responsibility by a High Court Chief Justice in the absence of a Provincial Governor related to one individual and not the whole executive.

***Interview to Radio Pakistan about the Punjab People's Festival on March 31,1973***

In an interview to Radio Pakistan after witnessing the Punjab People's Festival President Zulfiqar Ali Bhutto said that the Festival is a beginning made by People's Government towards larger and greater participation of the masses in such national organizations and in future such Melas will also be held in other parts of the country to enable the people to demonstrate their talent and skill in full.

The President said he has directed the authorities that such large scale Melas and festivals should also be held at Sibi and Jacobabad. He said previously such functions were held on a limited scale for a selected gathering where parades were held without any utility or the masses. But, he said, this was no way for a nation. It was artificial and effected. But the People's Government has dispensed with such artificial ways. The People's Government, he said wants that such festivals should represent the poor masses in which peasants, workers and youth could take active part because so long as they are not on the scene such festivals would continue to be a futile and barren effort.

The President appreciated the efforts of the Punjab Government for providing such an occasion to the masses for demonstrating their spirit of discipline and collective participation on such a large and magnificent scale.

***Message of sympathy to Heads of State of Algeria and Tunisia on March 31, 1973***

I am deeply grieved to learn of the loss of life and property caused by the recent floods in Tunisia / Algeria. On behalf of the Government and people of Pakistan and on my own behalf.

I offer our heartfelt sympathies and condolences to Your Excellency and the affected and bereaved families.