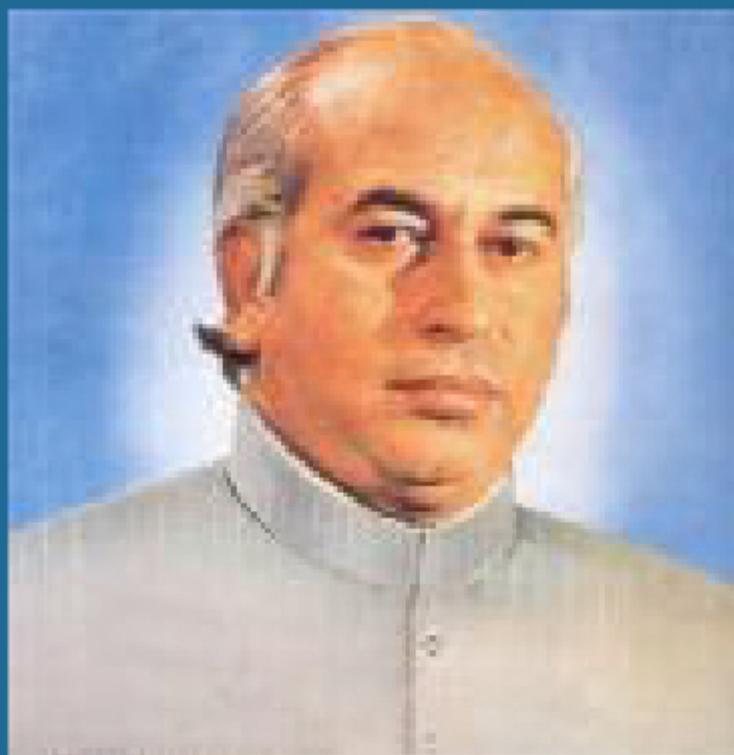


Bhutto's Vision of Pakistan



Compiled by
Nusrat Lashari

Reproduced by
Sani H. Panhwar
Member Sindh Council., PPP

**Bhutto's Vision
of Pakistan**

**Interviews of
Quaid-e-Awam, Zulfikar Ali Bhutto**

**Compiled by
Nusrat Lashari**

**Reproduced by
Sani H. Panhwar
Member Sindh Council, PPP**

Acknowledgements

I am grateful to many people who generously helped me during last two years in bring out the interviews book "Bhutto's vision of Pakistan," after compiling the material from different source.

I was fortunate the Mr. Mansoor Raza a development work took up on himself to read the material and compiled notes on different personalities and events referred in this book.

I am thankful to Mr. Tariq Islam who patiently read the entire manuscript and provided many valuable comments. I am grateful to Mr. Anwer Pirzado who has done fine editing of these historical interviews book.

Finally, I am much indebted for Mohtarma Benazir Bhutto, who encouraged and inspired for research on Quaid-e-Awam Zulfikar Ali Bhutto.

It is, in fact, hard for me to find appropriate words to express adequately my gratitude to all those who have aided me in producing this book.

Nusrat Lashari
March 16th 2006

CONTENTS

FOREWORD

	Mohtarma Benazir Bhutto Chairperson, Pakistan Peoples Party.	7
01	INTERVIEW TO BBC CORRESPONDENT, JAN MACINTYRE, February 18 1972	13
02	INTERVIEW TO DILIP MUKERJEE OF "TIMES OF INDIA", AND B. TIWARI OF "INDIAN EXPRESS" Larkana, on March 14, 1972	18
03	INTERVIEW TO KULDIP NAYAR, CORRESPONDENT OF THE INDIAN DAILY "STATESMEN" March 27, 1972	26
04	INTERVIEW TO DR. WALTER BERG, GERMAN TELEVISION, April 2, 1972	31
05	INTERVIEW TO RICHARD LINDLEY INDEPENDENT TELEVISION NEWS, LONDON, April 25, 1972	40
06	INTERVIEW TO DER SPIEGEL April 26, 1972	47
07	INTERVIEW TO GEORGE VERGES OF "THE HINDUSTAN TIMES" Rawalpindi, on May 4, 1972	62
08	INTERVIEW TO PETER GRUBBE, EDITOR OF GERMAN, WEEKLY MAGAZINE "STERN", May 1972	78
09	INTERVIEW TO PIERO SARACENI, REPRESENTATIVE OF ITALIAN TELEVISION, Lahore, May 13, 1972	86

10	INTERVIEW WITH AMERICAN BROADCASTING CORPORATION, Telecast, May 14, 1972	89
11	INTERVIEW WITH AUSTRALIAN BROADCASTING COMMISSION Quetta, May 22, 1972	101
12	INTERVIEW TO MAHBOOB A. NAJIMI, OF THE "KUWAIT TIMES" May 26, 1972	119
13	PRESS INTERVIEW AT TANDO MOHAMMAD KHAN July 30, 1972	123
14	INTERVIEW WITH MR. VAN ROSMALEN, CHIEF EDITOR, ELSEVIERS MAGAZINE, AMSTERDAM October 1, 1972	127
15	INTERVIEW WITH R.K.KARANJIA, EDITOR-IN-CHARGE, BLITZ, BOMBAY October 31, 1972	138
16	INTERVIEW WITH CBS TELEVISION TEAM November 1, 1972	155
17	INTERVIEW WITH MR. WALTER SCHWARTZ, GUARDIAN, LONDON, November 16 th , 1972	163
18	INTERVIEW WITH MR. REGGIE MICHAEL EDITOR, TIMES OF CEYLON February 8, 1973	174
19	INTERVIEW WITH MR. JOHN BIERMAN, BBC CORRESPONDENT, February 8, 1973	177
20	INTERVIEW WITH MR.HASNAIN HEYKAL, EDITOR-IN-CHIEF, AL-AHRAM, Recorded on March 2, 1973	179

21	INTERVIEW GRANTED TO JAPANESE T.V.REPRESENTATIVE 4 March 1973	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	181
22	INTERVIEW WITH ANN LAPPING OF LONDON WEEKEND TV PROGRAM On March 25, 1973	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	185
23	INTERVIEW WITH MR.WILLIAM STEWART, CORRESPONDENT TIMES July 21, 1973	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	188
24	INTERVIEW TO MR.FARIBORZ ATAPOUR, CORRESPONDENT OF TEHRAN JOURNAL, September 10, 1976	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	192
25	NOTES	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	213
26	GLOSSARY OF TERMS.	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	284

FOREWORD

**By Mohtarma Benazir Bhutto
Chairperson,
Pakistan Peoples Party**

This compilation of Quaid-e-Awam Prime Minister Zulfikar Ali Bhutto *Shaheed's* interviews covers a landmark period in the history of Pakistan.

It is important to recount the events of his period for two principal reasons. First, it is the history of journey anew, of the post separation (period) or "New Pakistan". Second, an entire generation has come of age, which missed out on the drama, disintegration and the dismemberment of Pakistan. It is a generation, which has been deliberately misled and misinformed about the treacherous and traumatic journey of a new nation born from the ashes of defeat. New nations, no matter how difficult the journey ahead, enter the international stage in a state of euphoria, which comes from winning freedom. Thus, in spite of the human tragedy and logistical nightmares of the 1947 partition, Jinnah's Pakistan was reinforced by a spirit of insurmountable hope and determination.

But in 1971, a new State took shape, not through gaining liberty, as was the case with *Bangla desh*. It had come into being because it had been decapitated and dismembered. Unlike 1947, there was no hope, no anticipation, no dreams....., only distress and dejection. In 1947, Pakistan had to be built from the physical building blocks. In 1971, it had to be rebuilt psychologically. If Jinnah got a moth-eaten Pakistan, Bhutto got a truncated and traumatized Pakistan. He had to carry his charge forward through its first steps into a mocking world. He bore the pain and the passion of a new Pakistan. It was like the first chapter of Genesis.

Myriad problems and challenges confronted Pakistan, both at home and abroad. Over 5,000 thousand square miles of territory lay under enemy occupation and 90,000 prisoners of war were languishing in Indian jails, 20,000 of who were civilians. Not a day passed without the anguished cry of thousands of sisters, mothers and relatives reverberating across the country.

The humiliating vision of Pakistani soldiers surrendering to General Aurora at the Dhakka Race Course haunted our people. An empty treasury, a

tottering economy, an all-pervading sense of gloom and despair---- it seemed we were set to collapse in a slow dance of death.

Globally, Pakistan had become a parish and even friendly countries looked askance. Indira Ghandi threatened and taunted us from across the border while Mujib ur Rahman ranted and raved about war trials and demanded a share from our empty coffers. The International demand for the recognition of Bangla Desh grew into a raucous crescendo but at home the public opinion was bitterly opposed to it.

Internally, Prime Minister Zulfikar Ali Bhutto Shaheed's enemies and opponents embarked upon a foreign-inspired and relentless campaign to undermine and bring down the Peoples Government. The police strike in Punjab, the labor strikes and the rein of "Jalao and Gherao", the language riots were but a sample of the challenges that Prime Minister Zulfikar Ali Bhutto Shaheed's fledgling State had to contend with.

With the fall of Dhakka, fissiparous pressures built up in the minority provinces of the Western wing and the centrifugal forces went to work under the tutelage of unscrupulous elements who had been frustrated and defeated in elections. And if things were not bad enough on their own, nature too was unforgiving. The floods of 1973, and then again in 1975 and 1976 wrecked havoc. There was a mountain to climb and soon, the mountain would become an Everest.

But Prime Minister Zulfikar Ali Bhutto Shaheed's moved with amazing alacrity in all directions. "We have to pick up the pieces, very small pieces", he declared in his opening address to the nation. Brick by brick, the edifice of a shattered Pakistan was rebuilt from the debris of defeat and dismemberment. An ailing economy was nursed back to health. In line with the PPP manifesto, agricultural reforms were brought in and lands distributed amongst the landless peasants. Labor unions were allowed and minimum wage for labor was fixed. Owing to a near economic collapse faced by the country, currency devaluation became necessary. It was a very difficult decision but decision was taken and the currency devalued.

Prime Minister Zulfikar Ali Bhutto Shaheed opened the doors for Pakistan's laborer to work in the Arab Gulf states, thus alleviating unemployment and providing the base for foreign remittances. Monopoly of the twenty-one elite families was brought to an end, corrupt bureaucrats dismissed and accountability conducted of those, who had looted the country. The honor and morale of the demoralized armed forces was restored and they were equipped with some of the most sophisticated weapons the world had to offer.

From the ashes of defeat was emerging a new Pakistan. In no time at all, the engines of Government, the economy and progress were rolling. "If you think FDR had an amazing first 100 days, watch us", he prophetically declared.

Perhaps, Prime Minister Zulfikar Ali Bhutto Shaheed's greatest contribution to Pakistan was the 1973 Constitution. It was the only unanimously adopted Constitution in the history of this nation and for that reason, even today, in spite of its many mutilations by Military dictators, remains the index and the reference point of Pakistan's legal and constitutional system.

In December 1971, we were walking a diplomatic tight rope that would have tested the skills and capabilities of a Metternich or a Tellyrand. Prime Minister Zulfikar Ali Bhutto Shaheed had to reinforce the friendship bonds with a more reticent China in one neighborhood and appease a hostile Soviet Union in another. Prime Minister Zulfikar Ali Bhutto Shaheed's coup was of course the Simla accord.

He went to India as the head of a defeated country and with no cards to play with. He returned home with Pakistan's captured territory back in his pocket. His detractors accused him of secret deals but only time was to prove that it was treaty even a Kissenger would not have imagined possible.

His enemies decried the absence of immediate return of prisoners but Prime Minister Zulfikar Ali Bhutto Shaheed had the vision and the sense of history to know that in time, pressure would build up to return the prisoners but territory once lost is rarely recovered. This is abundantly testified by the fact that the Arab territories captured by Israel in the 1973 war are still largely under occupation.

In the field of foreign affairs lay the genius of Prime Minister Zulfikar Ali Bhutto Shaheed. He was a titan who had stood shoulder to shoulder with the great giants of his time; men like Mao Tse Tung and Zhou En Lai, Soekarno and Jamal Abdul Nasser, Tito and Jawaharlal Nehru, Charles De Gaulle and Adenaur.

Prime Minister Zulfikar Ali Bhutto Shaheed's politics and diplomacy was based on what he termed as "the total sweep of history". He was the architect of bilateralism, which he propounded as the only effective mode of conduct among nations in a bipolar world where the competing interest of the super powers could easily influence and cloud relations between nations. Prime Minister Zulfikar Ali Bhutto Shaheed perused a fiercely independent foreign policy, always keeping Pakistan's national interest foremost in consideration. He broke free from the shackles of Pakistan's cramped

obsession with India and took it beyond into a Middle East & Islamic identity. He did not wish the world to view Pakistan from the prison of the Indo-Pak rivalry.

He was a consummate statesman whose vision and the grasp of events presented a challenge and threat to his enemies. First, during the course of the Islamic Summit Conference at Lahore, he brought together disparate and detached leaders of the Islamic comity under one banner. Having established unity among the Muslim Ummah, who for the first time spoke with one voice for the Palestinians and other Islamic causes, he moved to a wider forum in the quest for Third World conference, a vision and thought he propounded in his essay entitled "New Directions". This thesis had far-reaching implications for both the Industrialized and the Third World. He held that the countries of the third world must pool their resources and stand united to end exploitation by industrialized nations. Only if they were united could they demand better terms for trade, obtain wider export markets for their goods and fairer debt rescheduling and a more suitable monetary system. The Industrialized world had hitherto succeeded in keeping the Third World countries divided by grouping them as oil producing and non-oil producing blocks, as aligned and non-aligned or as industrial and agricultural economies.

Prime Minister Zulfikar Ali Bhutto Shaheed could see that other international forums such as the Non-Aligned Conference had become obsolete and redundant and necessitated a new forum in keeping with the evolving international realities.

Prime Minister Zulfikar Ali Bhutto Shaheed's vision of bringing to an end the superficial differences between such countries and thereby releasing them from the yoke of political, social and economic exploitation threatened vested interests and earned him powerful enemies.

Prime Minister Zulfikar Ali Bhutto Shaheed was a masterful judge of international events, capable of extrapolating global trends and tendencies to Pakistan's internal issues to maximum effect. As he said in an interview with the correspondent of Tehran Journal on September 10, 1976, "It is we, who form part of the world and not the world that forms part of us. Taking a lesson from something that has been done elsewhere in the world does not mean we are compromising on our principles. Some in our country do not want Pakistan to move forward. They do not want Pakistan to form part of today's civilized world, which is marching ahead. They want to the Pakistan down, to tie it down to the past, to retain past slogans, to retain the past hatred and to retain the past bitterness."

He was the protagonist of flexibility in politics and was not tied to any fixed prejudices. "The dogmas, the theories and the script stand outside the gates of history", he once wrote.

Recognition of Bangladesh was a thorny issue as Pakistan was caught between pressure to recognize against domestic public opinion, which was virulently opposed on the one hand; and the looming threat by Mujib to carry out war crimes against the POW's on the other. Added to this was India's insistence on making the release of the POWs and Pakistan's captured territory contingent upon recognizing Bangla Desh, and satisfying all her mounting and unreasonable demands. It was a diplomatic tight rope, which called for unprecedented political dexterity.

There were those who, forgetting that a Military dictator was at the helm of affairs of the State, unkindly accused Prime Minister Zulfikar Ali Bhutto Shaheed of thwarting the rule of the majority and creating the conditions for the break up of Pakistan. He spelt out his position succinctly in an interview with R.K.Karanjia, Editor in Chief of the blitz, Bombay on 31 October 1972 as follows: "I made it quite clear that if Mujib-ur-Rahman had a federal constitution, we would be happy to sit in the opposition and work in a democratic arrangement. But he wanted a confederal arrangement and in a confederation, both sides had to have representation in the Government."

Contrary to the change that he called for a boycott of the assembly, Prime Minister Zulfikar Ali Bhutto Shaheed consistently called for either a very minor delay in the convening of the assembly so that the two protagonists could come to some workable agreement prior to entering the Assembly, or for waiving the condition of 120 days for making the Constitution. His position stands vindicated today as the much-demonized Hamood-ur-Rehman commission report finally and accidentally found its way in print.

Prime Minister Zulfikar Ali Bhutto Shaheed's greatest contribution to Pakistan was the 1973 Constitution. It was the only unanimously adopted Constitution in the history of this nation, and for that reason, even today, in spite of its many mutilations by Military dictators, remains the index and the reference point of Pakistan's legal and constitutional system.

The people of Pakistan, especially the poor will always remember him with affection. He gave the poor a future, he gave them a voice, he gave them dignity. He gave them consciousness that no tank, no dictator can take away. But most of all, the nation stands up and salutes him for the lasting legacy of security and in spite of the Indian threat, the people of Pakistan can today sleep peacefully under skies protected by a nuclear umbrella is because he gave his life to give them nuclear deterrence.

Today, the shadow of another Military dictator casts itself apocalyptically over this unfortunate land. Today, the nation cries out for a Bhutto.

Prime Minister Zulfikar Ali Bhutto Shaheed's detractors have distorted history. They have tampered with the written word. But he has written his own history in blood, and the legend has been nourished by the tears and the sweat of those, who work in the fields and the factories. Indeed, they are the rightful heirs of Bhutto.

**INTERVIEW TO BBC CORRESPONDENT,
JAN MACINTYRE,
February 18,1972**

Interviewer: What are these disputes?

(Earlier, Mr.Macintyre reminded the President of his book "The Myth of Independence" in which he had said that relations between India and Pakistan had never been normal, nor were they capable of being normal without the settlement of fundamental disputes, which had smoldered since Independence).

President: Basically, it was Kashmir; and Kashmir still remains a basic dispute. But since the last war (1971), the relationship between India and Pakistan has acquired wider dimensions. A major part of our country is under Indian occupation. So, these are the two fundamental disputes now facing the two countries.

Interviewer: You also said in the book, I think, that Indian leaders have come to tolerate Pakistan because they don't have the power to destroy her, and if they could forge this power they would end partition and reabsorb Pakistan. Even today India has that dream. Do you think that is still so?

President: I am afraid the events have proved it evidently. At that time there was some sort of balance of power. It was not a genuine balance of power but, nevertheless, some kind of a balance of power between India and Pakistan. Since the Sino-Indian conflict of 1962 and after the 1965 conflict between India and Pakistan, the military preponderance of India has weighed heavily against Pakistan's military forces.

Interviewer: If this was, however, still a fundamental aim of Indian policy, couldn't they have finished the job last time?

President: Yes, they might have, and I think they intended to, but the world situation was different, the world powers took an active attitude towards the conflict finally, and the United States put a foot down, and so India declared a unilateral cease-fire. I don't think it was a voluntary declaration.

Interviewer: There has been a little controversy about the nature of this evidence. You would have seen President Nixon's statement of foreign policy

and there is a paragraph in it about the situation we are talking about. "During the week of December the 6th", he writes, "we received convincing evidence that India was seriously contemplating the seizure of Pakistan-held portions of Kashmir and the destruction of Pakistan's military forces in the West". When questioned about this subsequently, both Mr. Nixon and Dr. Kissinger had said that they don't wish to disclose the nature of that evidence. Do you think that evidence was good?

President: I can understand their reluctance to disclose the nature of that evidence because at present it is extremely sensitive and it might also affect the United States' relations with the Soviet Union. So, that can unnecessarily aggravate their relations with the Soviet Union especially when President Nixon is going both to China and to Moscow. So, I think there is good reason for him not to disclose the information at this given point of time. But we also have some evidence of this, and this was also told to me by Premier Chou-En-Lai, when I visited Peking this month.

Interviewer: When you were in China, last November, you were the guest of honor at a banquet and in the course of his speech the acting Foreign Minister had this to say: "Should Pakistan be subjected to foreign aggression, the Chinese Government and people will, as always, resolutely support the Pakistan Government in their just struggle to defend their state sovereignty and national independence. Would you agree that Chinese support in the recent conflict with India fell some way short of that?"

President: I would say that within the limitations, China did what she could. Some people think China could have done more, but I think that you have to take a number of factors into account in assessing Chinese role in the last conflict, and a series of successive blunders were committed by the Yahya regime. Events moved so fast that other countries did not have time to fully assess them. You have to take all these factors into account, and as I said, let us not look to the past events we have to look to the future. But, whatever has been China's participation, we have not lost confidence in China's friendship or in China's words.

Interviewer: When the idea of separation was first seriously mooted at the end of 1970, after Mujib's election victory, you said you were too passionately committed to the concept of Pakistan to think of such an idea. Well the idea has now, of course, been rather forcibly brought to your attention and even it has become a political reality. Do you intend to spend any time to undo it?

President: Well, I still maintain that Pakistan and its concept are not clearly passing phenomena and that the present reality will not be a permanent reality and so we are trying to make a search - a genuine search to

maintain some form of modus-vivendi between the two wings. Sooner or later the sentiments for Pakistan will grow again. At the moment we still are making a search. For this reason in the field of external affairs we had to painfully and regrettably leave the commonwealth on this account and also break relations with certain countries. But even if there is parting of the ways, I think it will not be a permanent parting of the ways. The two of us will come together again in some form or shape. I cannot say what form or shape it will be, but you would see yourself that sentiments for Pakistan will again grow in that part of our country.

Interviewer: given that something like one in three of the entire United Nations membership has now recognized Bangladesh, isn't there something to be said for the view that until you do too, you aren't going to be able to give your full attention to the heavy task of reconstruction facing you here?

President: I think you may have noted that while I have shown my anxiety and my willingness to hold negotiations with Sheikh Mujib-ur-Rahman on the one hand and with the Government of India on the other, and until we hold these discussions I don't think that it would be fair to us to ask for our final position.

Interviewer: During the final months of your predecessor's rule one of your most insistent demands was for the restoration of democratic processes. What will the main features of such a restoration be and what sort of time scale do you envisage?

President: When I made this demand the war had not taken place and half our country had not come under the occupation of India. So now also, I believe in my demand and I will see to it that people of Pakistan return to democracy soon, and I would like to see that they return to democracy for all time; so that we establish institutions with roots, and that no military or civilian adventure will ever dare to inject one Martial Law after another into our country again. I want to build institutions, strengthen existing institutions, including the judiciary. To strengthen the remaining ones we have to have a constitution and we want to have the rule of law restored in the country. We want to have freedom of press, freedom of association, fundamental rights and a viable constitution suited to our conditions.

Interviewer: You have been asked many times since you became President, that how long you intend to retain the Martial Law? You said, very shortly after you become President, "not a day longer, not a minute longer, not a second longer than necessary." How much longer do you think in fact you are going to need it?

President: I stand by that commitment and I believe in it, I want to withdraw Martial Law. I am not happy with Martial Law. I would like to see it gone by yesterday, but the point is that not only we have certain basic reforms to be implemented, but I must have at least one meeting with the Indian leaders and one with Shaikh Mujib-ur-Rehman to get a general idea of the situation – to get a firm idea about the general picture. Now I know that by dialogue alone I won't get exact idea, but a politician makes an assessment not only on the words spoken but on the general feel. And I think that the world should be fair to me to get that general feel before I can give a timetable, because I think very few countries have gone through a crisis that my country has gone through. I don't feel Poland, which was dismembered rather badly, went through a crisis as deep as Pakistan is going through. So I am not trying to procrastinate. I know the danger of procrastination. I am not so foolish as to try and hang on to power by the thread of Martial Law. I would like to be in a position of responsibility and that can only come through the constitution and I have earned that right in an election. So I am anxious and eager to withdraw it, but I must have to be fair to my people, to be fair to what remains of my country at the moment, to have some idea of the general situation before I can announce the date.

Interviewer: You have always taken a very hard line against India. In 1965 when relations were particularly bad over Kashmir, you called her a "feeble, flippant, decadent society", and when you were electioneering before the last elections here, you promised to your men two things – redistribution of wealth and a thousand year war against India. How important is it to you to be able to work out some sort of modus-vivendi with India?

President: This is important. Even when my posture was different, when I was preaching confrontation, there was a theme in that confrontation. The confrontation would be inevitable until the fundamental disputes are settled. Now after this war the fundamental disputes are still to be settled, if not by confrontation by consultations and by negotiations. An imposed peace will simply not work. The situation has changed radically. In those days we had certain opportunities and our Government missed that. Now India, of course, had an opportunity and she didn't miss it. For instance, in 1962 during the Sino-Indian conflict, when India had vacated most of her forces from Kashmir, our army could have walked into Kashmir. But then Ayub thought, as he was told by others that all the world will say to this "a stab in the back" "Now what has India done to Pakistan. Whether it is a stab in the back or even a stab in the front, but nevertheless it has been a mighty stab. But the world tends to, with the passing time, forget the issue. So, in 1962 this was an opportunity. In 1965, I think if the war had continued there would have been a better settlement, and Pakistan missed all opportunities. India did not miss any opportunity. So I can't be held responsible if the other Governments have missed opportunity. I was only able to tell them, "this is an opportunity;

either you take it or if you don't take it, then you will finally suffer," and we have come to that position where we finally suffer. It depends how you go to the peace table.

Interviewer: When you do go to the conference table, will you talk only about the recent conflict or would you hope to cover all outstanding issues?

President: I would like to leave that for the moment, because I would like to see their mood. I would like to see their trend of mind there. That is what I said earlier. It is not exactly what we way but the general impression one gathers; and first I would like to get that general impression, and after that, I will be in a better position to know.

**INTERVIEW TO DILIP
MUKERJEE OF
"TIMES OF INDIA"
AND B.K.TIWARI OF "INDIAN EXPRESS"
Larkana, March 14, 1972**

Interviewer: How will the future be brighter? There is a good deal of mutual suspicion?

(The correspondent began by saying that they had traveled a long way in order to make what contribution they could to peace in the sub-continent. The President replied that it was in this spirit that he had welcomed them to Pakistan, and expressed the hope that the future will be brighter than the past).

President: There are two ways in which you can do it. First, to learn the lesson from the pre-partition attitudes of our leaders, their failures and successes. They are giants and can be criticized by none. Secondly, the events of the last 25 years and the manner in which that had made or unmade our countries. We have to proceed progressively. Frankly speaking. And it is my evaluation that our people want peace. They want to turn their back on past animosities. This feeling has not generated because of military defeat but because of the economic conditions prevailing in the sub-continent and the people's desire to improve them. I am going to make a genuine effort, a genuine search.

As for your part, you should take into account that we have suffered because of the outcome of the war. This does not mean that I want to avoid major issues. But time is the vital factor. Mr. Nehru himself pleaded for this kind of approach. He pleaded for goodwill and for moving step by step.

You say the results of Tashkent. When you try to solve all issues in a day, this is what happens. You must understand this. If they had preceded step by step, it would have been different. They tried to clear the decks in one day. It worked for India but it did not work for Pakistan.

However, if India wants to start with the big issues, we will go along. I feel in the first instance, there should be a preliminary meeting between Mrs. Indira Gandhi and myself; the meeting to know each other's hearts and mind, to assess the situation and feel the nuances. More of a goodwill meeting, to give things a direction, to formulate terms of reference. The second meeting

should be held soon. But if you think that the officials should meet first, I have an open mind.

Interviewer: If tangible results do not follow from your meeting with Mrs. Indira Gandhi, there will be great frustration. If officials were to meet first don't you think it would be better?

President: As I have said, I have an open mind on this. Off the record, however, I can tell you of my experience of the kind of preliminary meetings that you suggest. When officials meet, because of the history of Indo-Pak relations, they tend to set a rigid pace. They come back and brief us and tell us to stand firm on this or that. As for unofficial, who are not in the government, they tend to exaggerate and do not make accurate assessments. They want kudos.

Interviewer: Perhaps you can send a man like Mr. Khar to prepare the ground; because if your meeting with Mrs. Indira Gandhi does not produce results like the return of POWs, things may be difficult.

President: This can be considered but there must be a preliminary meeting. The Soviet Union desires it also.

We should have a quick preliminary meeting. I will bring a good delegation; people who know your country, who have friends in India, whom they would meet. Yes, we will come to India.

Interviewer: What is your assessment of Russian intentions towards the sub-continent?

President: You were the architect of Pakistan's improved relations with the Soviet Union in the 60's. What do you think?

President: Much has happened since, for example, the Indo-Soviet pact. Things have moved on from that point. The US and China are talking to each other. It is not China, which is isolated, it is Russia which feels the isolation. It is, therefore, time for the Soviet Union and china to get tighter. China's isolation was superficial and it has broken after the dialogue between the two countries opened.

I wrote the book in 1960. There was turmoil then. The conditions were not settled. I gave quick dictation. Much has happened in 6 years. After the war there has been a qualitative change in the situation. Not all factors mentioned in the book are germane today.

Interviewer: You told Sulzberger of the New York Times that Russia was interfering from across your Afghan border. Would you like to elaborate?

President: The kind of situation in which we were, everybody takes advantage, sort of jump the bandwagon. The Russians were over interested in developments here. There was unusual activity but we are not alarmed. There were all kinds of stories circulated after the fall of Dacca, such as the imminent collapse of Balochistan and NWFP, Sindh being on the warpath of secession etc.

What do you expect when half the country is severed away. This is one of the challenges I have to face. You will face it too. You have been fortunate. You got constitution, days after independence. You have strengthened your institutions. You can take many knocks. We could not do if for various reasons.

Interviewer: This is something that really bothers me. Do you really think that any one stands to gain by the destruction of Pakistan?

President: No, I know India better than any other country, and I can say that you do not stand to gain. I can say that emphatically. But there are some elements in India, who have nostalgia about the past. They don't have a deeper understanding of things, but I am sure this is not the feeling of people in responsible positions. If I knew that you were hell-bent on destroying Pakistan, I would not go to Delhi. I am aware of your contact with Bangladesh but you will come down to earth.

Interviewer: What about a common association between India, Pakistan and Bangladesh?

President: If there is an imposed arrangement, it would not work. We must have vision and we must learn the lessons of the past. You should not try to turn a military defeat into a political defeat. I am prepared to go far in opening contacts and leave the future to the processes of history and geography. Our two nations have much in common. If we start modestly, the future will take care of the rest. In the past we have gone in the wrong way. We have become prisoners of words like federation and confederation. These expressions cause reactions; every one derives his own conclusions. Why should we use constitutional and legal terms? Why get bogged down by semantics. We cannot find all the answers in a day. Let us leave it to the future leadership, but we must make a beginning.

Interviewer: I was heartened by your BBC interview where you said that many opportunities in the past to make a settlement in Kashmir were not utilized by your predecessors. It is not important for Pakistan to promote the

prosperity of its 55 million people rather than to extend support to self-determination for Kashmir?

President: You will have to consider the question in its entirety, the genesis of the two-nation theory, the UN resolution, the internationally accepted principle of self-determination, the pledge to the people of Kashmir by Mr. Nehru, all these factors have to be taken into account. Experience has shown us that revolution cannot be exported; it cannot be inspired from outside either. It has to be indigenous. If the people of Kashmir want a different future you cannot stop them. If I say that there should be no self-determination for Kashmiris, it does not solve the problem. If the people of Kashmir believe in self-determination, no one can stop them. The three wars we have fought have been in one form or another over Kashmir. You cannot divorce Kashmir from India-Pakistan relations. The last conflict was militarily against us but the problem remains. It is for you now to consider this. I am a realist. We have lost the war and I cannot set the peace, but I will discuss everything without inhibitions. I may say that I am attached to the concept of self-determination as a principle of contemporary affairs. Today we are in a different situation. There is misunderstanding in India about my confrontation position. I was a confrontation man, when it was in our interest. Today it is not so. From confrontation, I have come to consultation and negotiation. I will make a deep search for peace on the conference table. But both sides will have to be reasonable. I cannot do anything against Pakistan's interest, any thing injurious. Our people want to turn the corner. They want to embark on the path of conciliation.

(One of the correspondents asked if Pakistan would be willing to demarcate the Kashmir border. The President replied that he could not say anything for the present to the press. "When we meet, we can chalk out a format. You maintain your basic position. We maintain our basic position. Within this, there will be room and scope for improvement.")

Interviewer: In the communiqué issued after Nixon's visit to China, the reference to Kashmir made at the volition of China did not refer to the limited choice of Kashmir's accession to India or Pakistan as provided for, by the United Nation Resolutions. Do you think it is significant?

President: The Chinese made this reference first four years ago. They used the term national self-determination. I would say this, if the Kashmiris want self-determination, they will determine its shape. If we are in the vanguard, we will determine it. Ultimately, however, it is the people whose wishes prevail. Take Vietnam for example. If the Kashmiris are prepared to make sacrifices, neither India nor Pakistan can do much to stop them.

Interviewer: Is independent Kashmir in the interest of India and Pakistan?

President: It is the wrong approach. Kashmir has become an exception. In India you had to find a special place for it in your constitution. It is not like other Indian states. This has been due to our failure to come to terms. You thought you had settled it, but you have not. It has not become easier. Bangladesh has made things more difficult. If an indigenous province can become independent, it is significant. The situation has changed, but we are not going to set the tone or pace. Kashmir is not a dominant theme in our present situation. I have not mentioned Kashmir in that sense out of the sub-continent. People of the world have been making fun of us. Every few years we run to world chanceries. The world is getting fed up with us. New leadership has emerged in the sub-continent. Take Mrs. Gandhi. She fought the old guard and risked her office. It was a breath of fresh air. Let some of it blow this side too. You must understand if there is one person, for better or worse in Pakistan, it is me. I have a massive public mandate. The people have confidence in me. They know that I would not let them down, nor betray them. I can take some measures for a breakthrough.

Interviewer: Regarding the question of POWs, you know that they surrendered to the joint command of the Indian army and *Mukti Bahini*. Will you consider tripartite negotiations?

President: I will make no secret of it. POWs are agitating our minds. In immediate human terms, it is the most important problem. If I were an Indian, I could look at it in two ways; one, to use to it the hilt and milk Pakistan. Use it is a basic trump card. In the other case I will say that Pakistan has suffered enough. After all we live on the same sub-continent. Why not disengage. Why not make a gesture? I made one. I released Mujib. From confrontation we have come to reconciliation. I have taken other initiatives, I will meet Mrs. Gandhi. I will meet Mujib, sooner or later. I have offered rice to Mujib. The Bengalis are safe in West Pakistan. There is no other position; you will strengthen my hands and my ability to negotiate. If you don't I have two alternatives. First, to capitulate completely and give a race course performance. To come back to Pakistan and say, "to hell with it". Tell the people to get rid of me because I cannot do it. I cannot accept it. If this happens it will generate tensions and uncertainties. Basically, as I said, you do not want the dismemberment of Pakistan. Instability does not suit you. Therefore, why maintain this legal fiction of the joint command. Our people will not accept that the *Mukti Bahini* was responsible for our defeat. **India fought Pakistan and Dacca fell.** Why maintain the fiction? Why speak in technical and narrow terms. I am sure Mujib will be agreeable. There are bigger things at stake. He would not resist. He is not in a position. POWs are in your hands. You formulate the policy.

Interviewer: People in India accept the fact that you have a mass mandate. A democratic Pakistan suits India. The point is how can the state of war come to an end?

President: We can begin a multitude of matters. You can judge our bonafides. The ceasefire has been maintained for some time, although you have augmented your forces in Kargil.

Interviewer: Would you recognize Bangladesh?

President; I cannot say. It is not an insurmountable problem. Mujib knows my difficulties. He understands.

Interviewer: Does delay help?

President: No comment.

Interviewer: What about the *Biharis*? They are your citizens and feel insecure. What are you going to do about them?

President: It is a complicated and difficult problem. Let Mujib give them the security that they need. After all Bangladesh has been recognized by 40 countries on the plea that Mujib holds effective control. Why cannot he protect the *Biharis*? East Pakistan was part of Pakistan. *Biharis* opted for Pakistan. A full generation has grown up since independence. For them that is their home. However, we cannot close our eyes to the *Biharis*. There is a feeling for them here. But if all of them come, we will go back to shantytowns and nightmare of 1947. I have visions of improving Pakistan, clearing slums, giving free education. We cannot put the country in reverse gear. But I recognize the problem. I have made Herculean efforts to save Bengalis here. No harm has come to them, despite some of Mujib's protests. He told the Russian Ambassador to come and see. Mujib can do more for *Biharis* than he has done so far. He should take effective charge. I am sure if that happens, not all would like to come to Pakistan.

Interviewer: Will you send four hundred thousand (400,000) Bengalis back?

President: I will.

Interviewer: Mujib says Bangladesh is a new state, not a successor state.

President: I know what that means. Financial problems can be solved. I am concerned with the non-financial problems, the human problems. We have to establish a new equilibrium. We can tackle the mundane problems when we meet.

Interviewer: Do you accept the reality of Bangladesh?

President: Realities change.

Interviewer: Your settlement with Wali was a great day for Pakistan. What about Wali's idea on constitution making?

President: Internally that is the next biggest challenge. The interim constitution will be no problems. The problem is the quantum of autonomy to be given to provinces. I hope the committee of the House can reach full agreement on this. If it cannot, there will be the unfortunate alternative of the majority passing the constitution. But we would much rather lie a consensus. The Assembly will be sovereign. I will give as much autonomy as feasible. I believe that my concept of autonomy is does to Wali's. We can reach complete understanding.

Interviewer: Is the army trying to come back?

President: No. That would be complete disaster. If democracy fails, it is possible that the army may try to come back. But if we make a go of it, it would not.

Interviewer: What about the removal of Gul Hasan and Rahim?

President: When I came to Pakistan from New York, I made it clear to everyone that nobody was showing me any grace. It had to be that way. I told Gul Hasan and Rahim this, but since they had been ruling for many years, they found it difficult to take orders. In the past the armed forces were not accountable to the people. We have learnt our lesson.

Interviewer: What about the rumor that there was an attempted coup?

President: Nonsense; but they made silly remarks. There was no concerted plan for a coup, just light remarks. We cannot ignore light remarks.

Interviewer: Mr. Pirzada said that if your return had been delayed, there would have been a civil war. Rehim was buzzing the palace.

President: Nonsense.

Interviewer: Would you like to speak on your mission to Moscow?

President: It is a search for peace. The Russians can help in a constructive manner, but we like it to talk among ourselves. I am allergic to third party interference.

**INTERVIEW TO KULDIP NAYAR,
CORRESPONDENT OF THE
INDIAN DAILY "STATEMENT"**

March 27, 1972

Interviewer: An average Indian believes that why should there be the return of the POWs comprising four divisions when Pakistan has attacked again and again in the past and when the chances are that it may seek the help of China to have another round?

President: I respect the common man's thinking because he is generally right. But let us prove him wrong for a change. The point is that we do not lack manpower. We can raise four or five divisions. If we have resources we can raise ten divisions. There is no shortage of manpower that is one answer. The second answer is that if we are going to move with insincere motives, then China would not come to our assistance.

Interviewer: What about a non-aggression pact between India and Pakistan?

President: Every one, more so in India and Pakistan, become slaves to words. Unfortunately, the creators of independence, Mr. Nehru on the one side, and our leaders on the other used old British terms and they drilled them in—confederation or no-war pact. In Pakistan, the no-war pact means surrender, it has that connotation. The moment Mr. Nehru offered this pact, Mr. Liaquat Ali Khan said it meant surrender. Since then every one all along the line, has said that no-war pact means surrender.

Now going to the essence of the problem, not immediately, step by step, you will see that there will be no procrastination on our part. We are prepared to consider, taking all things into account that we conclude not a high-lifting word like the treaty, but a joint communiq2ue or some other document to the extent that we will settle all our problems by peaceful means and not by war-stipulating peaceful means like those spelled out in the Charter, like direct negotiations, arbitration, mediation or good offices. This will be a breakthrough.

What has the past taught us? We have had three wars. We have not gained. Looking at it philosophically you have also not gained. The fall of Decca does not mean a gain for India when the dust settles down. So, you have not gained, we have not gained and our people have lost both in India

and Pakistan. And we have not been to fight our biggest war-war against poverty, the moral war in which we will be blessed by the future generations. So we can sit down and satisfy you that we are not going to follow the policy of war or confrontation.

Interviewer: You have been in favor of confrontation. Have you changed?

President: I am not ashamed of confrontation. I believe that like your Prime Minister we must primarily think of the interest of our own country and our own people. Now let me explain the policy of confrontation. Pakistan was a member of two defense alliances, but we were getting the raw end of the stick. We were diplomatically isolated, isolated in the third world. Internally people wanted to know what advantages the alliances had brought. There were no political gains, but there were military gains. We thought that being in those pacts....; let us derive the benefits of those pacts. There was a time when militarily in terms of big push we were superior to India because of the military assistance we were getting. That was the position up to 1965. The Kashmir dispute was not being resolved peacefully. We had the military advantage and we were getting the blame for it. So it was political prudence to say: Let us finish it once for all and come to terms just as you know that the problem has been finished. That was the reason why up to 1963 it was thought that with this edge we could finish this problem because even morally we felt justified since India had agreed to the right of self-determination earlier. Now that position does not exist any more. I know it better than others. It is not going to exist in future also.

Interviewer: Does it mean that the Kashmir problem is out of the way?

President: The right of self-determination is given to the people not by a country or an individual, but by the circumstances. As far as Kashmir's concerned, both India and Pakistan have given it the right of self-determination. Mr. Nehru promised that and there are various U.N resolutions on that. It is the question of principle. The Third World gained by it and so did parts of East Europe. If I can support the people of Vietnam and Latin America, how can I say we abandon that right in Kashmir? India is also partly responsible in the sense that it has given special position to Kashmir in her constitution. There must be some reason for that. India is therefore responsible for delaying a permanent solution by giving the state a special status. As long as the people of Kashmir want the right of self-determination, no one can stop them. What I say now is that you maintain your position and we maintain our. You maintain your position that Kashmir is an integral part of India. Between these two positions, there is enough room to defuse that problem and lower the tension. We can make the cease-fire line as a line of peace. Let the people of Kashmir move between the two countries freely. One

thing can lead to another. Why should it be ordained on me or Mrs. Gandhi that we resolve everything today. We should set things in motion, in the right direction. Others can pick up from there. We cannot clear the decks in one sweep. There can be no grand sweep in the sub-continent.

Interviewer: Would you like to accept the Kashmir cease-fire line as the international border?

President: Mr. Swaran Singh had offered me a much better line. Let us facilitate that movement of Kashmir's between the two countries and leave it at that for the time. Let us not hurry things. If after the settlement of the recent war problems we feel inclined to discuss this matter, we can do so. Let us not run around the world chanceries, nor the U.N.

Interviewer: Some of us believe that China, because of its hostility towards India, is not allowing Pakistan to bury the hatchet. What are your comments?

President: That is not my experience. My first contact with the Chinese was in 1963, when we signed the boundary pact with them. They said that Pakistan and India should settle the Kashmir question on a bilateral basis. It was only in 1964 that China first supported Pakistan on the right of self-determination for Kashmir. Even if it is in the interest of a third party to see us quarreling, it was up to us to consider our own interests first. The blame lies with us.

Interviewer: Releasing Sheikh Mujib-ur-Rahman was a bold decision, but why don't you recognize Bangladesh, which is a reality?

President: We are moving in that direction, but I cannot do any thing until I meet him.

Interviewer: What is your priority? Meeting Mrs. Gandhi or Sheikh Mujib?

President: In terms of immediate problems it has to be you and us today. East Pakistan is literally 1,000 miles away. There is no chance of East and West Pakistan going to war. But there our armies are confronting each other. The situation can get out of hand. There is the question of disengagement and prisoners of war. Take POWs. It is hurting me, hurting me like hell. But you will soon see it becomes counter-productive for you, of diminishing returns. " If you do not release them, I will go back to my people and say that I can not barter human flesh for the concessions you want. Then every one will jump in: the U.N., ICRC, even the USSR with which we have closer border than you have."

Mrs. Gandhi is not being advised rightly by those who want the pound of flesh from Pakistan. The attitude is wrong. You must understand that if I go out, the arrangements in Pakistan will be those of the military, either openly or through a puppet government. It will not be to India's benefit.

Interviewer: It seems to me that the people in Pakistan do not know about the atrocities committed in Bangladesh. Muslims killed not Hindus, but Muslims as well. What do you say to this?

President: Horrifying things took place. We can never condone or overlook what happened. But Mujib's figure of three million was utterly wrong. According to us 45, 000 to 50,000 died. People of the subcontinent are civilized, but when they go berserk they act like savages. This is what happened in 1947. It happens to many nations - Greeks, Germans and French.

Interviewer; general Tikka Khan's appointment as the Pakistan commander-in-Chief has given the impression in India that Mr.Bhutto wants to perpetuate the crisis.

President; Yes I know about the impression. But Tikka Khan was against Yahya Khan's policy and he went on protesting against it. It was not Yahya who removed him, but it was Tikka who did not want to continue. He is a professional soldier and there is not an iota of Bonaparte's in him. He is very sincere and commands great support in the Army. When you are pruning an institution like the armed forces, you can prune them on two grounds: one there is politics in them and the other that they are inefficient. If a General is not bitten by the bug of politics, and is a first class professional soldier, then I cannot muck around the armed forces. As far as you are concerned, you will see that Tikka Khan's presence will not cast any shadow on our negotiations.

Interviewer: What about the Bengalis living in Pakistan.

President: I have let the nightingale out of the cage. Now I can only equate POWs with Bengalis. I hope it won't have to be done. But I have nothing in my hands.

Interviewer: Looking back would you say that the two-nation theory has failed?

President: Some say it in our country. I am a practical man, not an idealist. I will say that the theory has not been shattered; it has received only a crack. The debate can end if we can make a go at it. After all, countries have shrunk in size before. Look at the British Empire.

Interviewer: What about an Indo-Pakistan common market? We need gas and you probably coal.

President: It is not coal so much any longer because that was for East Pakistan. In principle we would resume trade on bilateral basis. The experts can work out the modalities since we have not traded for so many years. As for the common market I have no objection, but we are not yet ready for such an arrangement. Even the European common Market took time to shape. We produce primary commodities. We have not reached India's industrial standard. Collaboration will be difficult. Probably time will bring it about.

Interviewer: Would you consider a confederation of the subcontinent?

President: Why is there this yearning? It is a sign of failure. Per se I am against confederation. If there has to be a confederation, it will look towards southward and West Asia. Our relations with Iran, Turkey and Afghanistan are good and friendly. But we cannot turn our back on the sub-continent. We cannot turn away from geography.

Interviewer: What about the exchange of journalists?

President: Why not. In fact I want immediate resumption of diplomatic relations. I want India's hockey team to come and play in the Lahore stadium. Similarly I want my team to go to the other side. I want an exchange of doctors, lawyers, and others. Let all these things come out of our meeting.

**INTERVIEW TO DR. WALTER BERG,
GERMAN TELEVISION,
April 2, 1972**

Interviewer: Mr. President, what in your opinion had been the main causes for the disintegration of the Islamic Republic in its original structure and what are the lessons to be drawn from this tragic development?

President: Well, there are, I suppose, many causes over the past 25 years. I think basically the economic exploitation of East Pakistan was the primary factor and, I think that lack of political participation and institutions was the second factor. If we had evolved a constitution in the earlier years, when there was all the enthusiasm to work together, that would have brought about the participation, strengthened political parties in both wings of the country, strengthened the services; and with that, of course, as I said earlier, the first and the most important factor was the economic system.

There was exploitation. My party repeatedly warned the successive governments about the internal colonial structure of the economy, and we advocated social and economic reforms giving the East Pakistanis much greater participation, but I think there are other factors also. Taking every thing into account, these are the two most important factors in my opinion.

Interviewer: Then if one cannot put back the clock of history for a year, would you repeat boycott of the National Assembly under similar circumstances?

President: I would, if I did boycott. I know the whole press outside Pakistan kept using that word and I kept denying that I was boycotting the Assembly. I put forward two alternatives. One was to give us a little more time to arrive at a settlement outside the Assembly so that we could go into the assembly and frame a constitution in 120 days.

Interviewer: This agreement on fundamentals?

President: Yes. Because you see the stipulation was that if the constitution is not framed in 120 days, the Assembly would stand dissolved and the points of view were on the one hand, one extreme, asking for confederation and on the other hand were people wanting some common federation, strong federation. To reconcile those two conflicting opinions, we wanted a little time and we said that if this time is not given to us then the

stipulation of framing the constitution in 120 days should be withdrawn. We put forth two concrete alternatives. One, either we should be given time to come to a settlement or the period of 120 days should be withdrawn.

Interviewer: So it wasn't straightforward boycott, it was just a situation of timing?

President: And that also we stipulated that we wanted about two to three weeks more at the most. That means instead of the Assembly session being held on the 3rd of March. And we tried to have another meeting with Mujib-ur-Rahman, tried to influence public opinion and tried to get to an agreement. Failing that we said we would go to the assembly.

Interviewer: Now regarding the new constitution, do you think that the Islamic foundation of Pakistan excludes the possibility of a secular constitution though it was to probably encourage more socially progressive development?

President: No, not at all. I don't think there is any incompatibility with the Islamic framework of Pakistan and the Islamic basis of Pakistan with a secular constitution.

Interviewer: Is that to be combined?

President: Yes, of course, because Islam guarantees to the minorities their due rights, their rights, and does not discriminate against other minorities, either religious or racial. So it is quite compatible to have a secular constitution and stand by Islamic principles. Turkey has a secular constitution and in the Moslem states there are so many others. I think, on the whole, Egypt does have a secular constitution.

Interviewer: And the necessity of preserving the unity of Pakistan, what does that mean – argument in favor or against a federalist structure of the states with a certain degree of autonomy?

President: No. I think the composition of our country is such that the federal form of constitution is unavoidable. We have no choice. This is the mistake that some people made in the past. They thought that they had a choice to impose a constitution on Pakistan. And you know as a German, that you don't really have a choice. You see the conditions and the constitution must reflect those conditions. It must mirror the realities of the existing conditions of the country. That is why we have objective conditions, which require a federal constitution.

Interviewer: And towards this end, this could mean autonomy for the provinces?

President: That was a different situation altogether. East Pakistan had certain reasons. One was that we were one thousand miles away. The second was that they were the majority of the people. Third was that they earned a great deal of foreign exchange. There were many factors, which called for a special arrangement.

Interviewer: You were emphasizing this very strongly in your speech the other day in Sanghar. Is this a certain process of element of, say, regional chauvinism?

President: Well, we are passing through the transition and let us say that the backlash of the East Pakistan problem was felt here also. Certain elements picked up extreme form of autonomy bordering on secession, bordering on confederation. But if we go about it sensibly, I am sure that within a short period of time we will be able to make things settle down.

Interviewer: And what scope of co-operation do you see really – realistically is the right word – between the three states in the sub-continent in future?

President: That depends on the other two as well. Still we haven't recognized Bangladesh, but I think that's not logical, and it doesn't make political sense that we should in the abstract just get up and say we recognize Bangladesh. We must meet; we must discuss.

We would like to still hope and feel that we can convince them to have some links with us; and he gave me this assurance before the left that he'll retain some links. I'd like to meet him and ask him what had made him change his mind and why we should not have some links. Especially the experience of the last three months should have shown him and convinced him that it is necessary to have some links. If after that I am convinced that he would much rather have links with the devil rather than with us, I'll come back and tell my people that. But I've tried my best. I made every human effort to convince the leaders of East Pakistan. This is the answer they gave me. Perhaps for some time let us accept that position because if we don't, then who takes advantage? In the world, certainly the Pakistan sentiment doesn't and for all time. And in any event, that links have to be restored 10 years from now, 15 years from now, we must first go apart, recognize that reality and then again come together. So all right. The Germans had to take a decision. We took it. Others had to take the position. It pains us. It pains us very deeply. But then these are the forces in play in contemporary times and we must take note of the music of contemporary times.

Interviewer: And your relationship with Delhi?

President: Delhi. Yes. Delhi. We'd like to have good relations with Delhi. We'd like to have very good relations. But relations in which Delhi also believes that we have right to live and that we have our legitimate aspirations and we have our legitimate problems; and if Delhi, in the spirit of objectivity and friendship, discusses these problems with us, we don't say suddenly today but 25 years have passed, a few more years can pass, we are prepared to bring down the tensions.

We are prepared to normalize relations and embark on a new path. We want to try to succeed where our past generations failed. That would be good for Delhi; it would be good for Islamabad. Certainly it would be good for the poor people of both countries. But if Delhi assumed an arrogant atmosphere and attitude and feels that it now has a right to impose anything of its own will and choice on Pakistan then I'm afraid with all the goodwill in the world we can't do anything about it.

Interviewer: You have said several times that you want a new start. But how do your countrymen take it after what has happened, after what the Indians have done?

President: Yes, but my people do trust me. You see, it's a question of faith and they know that I would speak in their interest. And that's why I have this advantage, but I consider it a remainder when Ayub Khan became President, of course, in a different situation, foreigners said you can now do anything but why should you do anything? You should do the right thing whether you're in power, whether you're powerful or not. No matter how powerful you are, if you do the wrong thing that's not applying that power in the interests of the people. The other day a journalist told me, 'But look what De Gualle did. He took the brave decision.' I said yes, because it is the right thing. If he had done the wrong thing it would not have gone to his credit. If he had used that power to stop the right of self-determination, that would have been the wrong thing. So I don't use this position I have with the people to do something against their interests. I can certainly, within the limits of the need for give-and-take make, some adjustments and take a flexible attitude but I can't take a position, which will be basically against the people's interests. And the people know that.

Interviewer: And the people believe that?

President: And the people know that; and it is my conviction, it is my faith. I've learned a little bit about the world and about the history of countries. If you use your power against the people, if you use your power to

do the wrong thing, to break international principles, that cannot succeed over a period of time.

Interviewer: Mr. President, you were emphasizing many times during the last couple of weeks that you are ready to make a new start. How do your countrymen take to that?

President: Well, I have come from the people; I'm a creature of the people. They have seen me. They have tested me, and I think they have confidence in my leadership and they know that I'm not going to do anything against their interests; and I think that this is a great trust, it's a very sacred trust and I have no intention of abusing it.

Interviewer: So you think, Sir, there is a popular sentiment in favor of a reconciliation with India after all that has happened during the last war?

President: Well, I think there is a sentiment now to put down arms for some time, if not for all time, there is that feeling, I think that feeling must be there also. Don't forget that in 25 years we've had three wars and in these three wars we haven't achieved our objectives. If India thinks that she has achieved her military objectives by breaking Pakistan, she is mistaken, because India's problems are going to become much more after the fall of Dacca. They were much less before the fall of Dacca. And I use the word "fall" of Dacca deliberately, advisedly, because Dacca has not fallen only to Pakistan. Dacca has fallen even to its own people. Dacca has fallen to India and fallen against it. So I don't think we have won, neither they nor we, by three wars in 25 years fought by two of the poorest countries. So I think they also have the feeling; if I can sense it from this distance.

Interviewer: Talking about the benefit of the people, you have conceived and you have conception of Islamic socialism. What does it mean? What are your aims?

President: Well, it's not a new concept really. I think all I can say is that we have tried to articulate it. The word had been used before. It's been used before by justice Amir Ali. It was used by the Father of Pakistan and it's not a new phrase but we've tried to give it shape-articulated it. Now there are Christian Democrats in Europe, Christian Socialists at work, who are Christians as well as Socialists; and we can be Moslems as well as believe in the scientific method of economic development. We can accept Marxism not in its totality, that the state will wither away, it has become strong. But it is basically a scientific approach. So we would like to develop our economic system basically on those lines. First, now a mixed economy moving gradually towards that end. So we take that aspect of Marxism confined to the economic sphere, reject the one related to disbelief in god and that the state

withers away, and we adopt it to our conditions keeping our framework of values, being proud of them. Having full faith in the destiny of the Moslem people. That explains it basically.

Interviewer: Yes, what about nationalization of industries? As I understood it, the nationalization doesn't mean change in propriety; it's just a change in management?

President: Well, we've taken over management and that is an effective step and I think with the control of management we can lay down policy on production, on future, advancement of those industries. We have taken control. The main thing about it is that we have taken control over the means of production and distribution. But here we've taken over control and the control now lies with the state. State alone will determine the policy of these industries. If we had gone about it the other way we would have had to pay fantastic compensation and we don't have the money to pay the compensation. You can ask me why then was have appropriated land without compensation. Land is a different matter. Different principles apply to land owners.

Interviewer: Did you gain enough land or will you gain enough land to distribute to the majority of the landless farmers?

President: Well, you see there will always be a pressure of the population on the land. That is simple mathematics. The land is simply not enough for the population of Pakistan. Even if we were to take away all the lands and have it forfeited; even yet there would be pressure of the population on the land. Number one, secondly, when Ayub Khan had a kind of reform 700,000 acres were taken over by the State. Then, well, we are going to also see to it that as much of the peasantry as possible are accommodated on the lands. Our reforms are drastic. They are basic; time will show that they are basic. That there are certain factors, fixed factors, like the population of the country and the area of the land available. We can't go outside that scope.

Interviewer: Then your own family is very much affected by the land reforms. Isn't it?

President: Yes.

Interviewer: There are very many people in very many different ways, and some say Mr. Bhutto comes from a feudal family, how can he be a socialist. Others say he is a democrat but at the same time a ruling autocrat and striving at a one-party state. You're described as a vibrant Indian hater; the others say Mr. Bhutto is a man of peace. Others worship you, as a man of destiny who has to fulfill, wants to fulfill an historic mission. Others say well,

no, Mr. Bhutto is just thinking of Bhuttoism. Now could you, Mr. President, comment on this?

President: I think the mixed picture comes out of the mixed situation, out of a confused situation. The situation is chaotic and so many reflections of that chaos come in the minds of people. In the first place, the simple answer to the question is that I come from a feudal background, feudal family, how can I be a socialist? This is a bit uncharitable not only to me but it is actually being derogatory of a nation's leadership. In Europe you accept people coming from the aristocracy as being influenced by their minds and by their convictions. You, in the back of your mind, refuse to believe that Asian leaders can be influenced by principles and convictions. That is why you give us a subjective route, that we must be having some greedy or some selfish motive to propound the principles. So this actually is a reflection of the European ear of concept of the Asian man in the colonial period. You have never questioned your own people who, in England, or in France, or in Germany came from very big families but on principles they accepted the cause of socialism, never questioned it. But here because we are Asians and you have a concept of the Asian; and that is a betrayal of that concept. I'm sorry if I'm using hard words but I must speak the truth because I have heard enough of this.

Interviewer: Yes, you must have heard it many, many times?

President: Yes, and only from foreign correspondents and foreigners. So the time has come when I must speak out rather plainly on it. That's one thing. Secondly, the question is as I told you. I believe objective politics as much as possible. The principles must remain intact but within the scope of those principles there is considerable room in politics to step backwards and forwards, not to go against the current and tide. One must know when to move forward and when to go back, like in military work. And so with the principles remaining unchanged, intact, one has to be a little flexible, and if you're not flexible the people suffer. Theories don't matter finally. Theories are important because out of theories comes clarity, comes an approach, comes a sense of direction. Theories are the blueprints of the political architecture. You cannot ignore these things but if sometimes the design has to be changed for some reason or for a catastrophe or something or the other that has happened, then we must take cognizance of it.

Interviewer: I hope you don't resent this. I ask this provocative question in order to get provocative answers?

President: I've not been provoked in the past but I thought the time has come when I must.

Interviewer: One must get tired of this, I'm sure?

President: Basically, of course, I believe in democracy. I've got a commitment to the democratic approach. We have seen the benefits of democracy in other parts of the world and we have seen the utter failure of the non-democratic system. They succeed very well for a period of time but then they collapse. But here again we're trying. As soon as I took over I told the nation that we'd be away with this Martial Law. We we'd be through with it. We would have Assembly and we would put a constitution through the Assembly. We would have the Assembly to give us a constitution. That means we have the people giving us a constitution and we'll make every effort to make that constitution work. But then there are upheavals. There are explosions that take place and Asia is going through a period of explosions and upheavals. Institutions, they come into being and before they take root they become obsolete because things are moving so fast. Events are moving fast. People are moving fast. My mind is moving fast. So we have problems and I will not say that all our problems will be overcome by having a constitution and by restoring democracy, but when things settle down generally then I think these institutions will begin to work and they can settle down generally only when we have overcome fundamentally the economic challenge.

Interviewer: An American colleague of mine once wrote that you admire most Genghis Khan and Napoleon, Adenauer, De Gaulle and Mao Tse-Tung. Now this is very widespread?

President: Widespread. He didn't ask me in that way. He told me to mention people who have influenced my mind. I said when I was in school and college I used to keep pictures of heroes in my room and that stage is gone and I don't have that kind of hero-worship; I can't have that kind of hero-worship in individuals and personalities but certain people have interested me more than others and he asked me so I said well, in the military field, Genghis Khan was a genius. I didn't mention Hannibal's name, I mentioned Genghis. So and also I said Napoleon, of course, was a complete man and a many-sided man with many talents and I, of course, mentioned Adenauer in our times; Mao Tse-Tung in our times: De Gaulle. But it was in that sense.

Interviewer: Yes, from Adenauer to Mao-Tse-Tung. It's very wide.

President: Yes, but Adenauer's rule is of Europe. Mao Tse-Tung remained in Asia but both were international figures.

Interviewer: One very conservative; and one very revolutionary?

President: Well, conditions in Germany were different. The situation in Germany is different and they both made their nations. Mr. Brandt would not have been there if Adenauer was not there. So what Mr. Brandt is able to do today is because there was an Adenauer.

Interviewer: And I thank you very much, Mr. President May I ask one question? Would you agree to a "Meet the Press" conference if we come here at any time of your convenience? "Meet the Press" is a panel of three journalists from Germany but it's probable that we would interview you for half an hour and we would proceed to Dacca and interview Mujib-ur-Rahman for half an hour. Do you think that could be done?

President: Yes. In principle I agree. Whenever you like but give me some time.

Interviewer: Yes, sure, I would keep in contact with you and if you send us a cable and say in three days we can do it?

President: You'd have to synchronize it with him (Mujib) also.

**INTERVIEW TO RICHARD LINDLEY
INDEPENDENT TELEVISION NEWS,
LONDON.**

April 25, 1972

Interviewer: Mr. Bhutto, talking to the press the other night you said, "Indian must trust us." Now why should Mrs. Gandhi trust a man like yourself, who so often preached a thousand year's war against India?

President: But finally it will have to boil down to a question of trust, whether it is me, or anyone else; and today I happen to be the elected President of Pakistan, and she'll have to meet with an elected leader. And I represent the wishes and feelings of the people of Pakistan.

The whole world knows that Indo-Pakistan problems have persisted for 25 years, since we became independent and there will have to be mutual trust and confidence. On our part we are prepared to give that trust and India will also have to take the same position if they want a final settlement. Between nations, once trust is broken, really trust has to be repaired whether it is India, Pakistan, France, Germany or any other nation. If you really want to bury the hatchet, then we will have to trust one another.

Interviewer: But isn't it that you have been an apostle of confrontation with India? How are you really going to persuade Mrs. Gandhi that you have changed your spots?

President: No. I haven't persuaded Mrs. Gandhi. The events and circumstance persuaded her as well as, and I do not apologize for my policy of confrontation. It was the right policy at that time when I was in Government, when I was Foreign Minister. Circumstances were such. In 1962 Kashmir was within our grasp - we could have merely walked in and at that time national interest required a policy of confrontation, but Azad Kashmir did not pursue it. And right up to 1965, we could have settled the problems militarily as today India has indeed settled it militarily. Has she not?

By taking East Pakistan by military force she has brought about a situation where now the Indian emissary who has come to Pakistan is talking the language of lowers and naturally in the position of a victor. In springtime especially, why not throw a bouquet of flowers on the defeated?

So the point is that when the situation called for a policy of confrontation, I pursued it. Now there is this situation. On account of a number of factors, and due to the fault of previous governments and leaders – they were not leaders, they were usurpers – they bungled up everything and they’ve given me pieces, fragmented pieces, small pieces, and I have to put them together. So I have to take an approach which commensurate with the realities.

Interviewer: You talk about Mr. Dhar, India’s emissary here, that in his preliminary negotiations, using flowery language, tossing a bouquet towards you. Do you think at all as some of the people I spoke to here do, that in the long term India is determined on the end of Pakistan as an independent nation?

President: That has been India’s past record for the last 25 years. But I would not like to say that now because I would like to trust India. As much as India should take the risk of trusting us, I’d like to take the risk of trusting Indian leaders. And perhaps it would be a long time before they have really swallowed and devoured and digested East Pakistan. So let us hope that we can have a generation of peace.

Interviewer: Obviously your first priority must be to get your prisoners of war home again. You said that. You made that very plain. But how are you going to persuade Mrs. Gandhi that once they’re home again they’re not going to push you towards confrontation once more—perhaps even to a war of revenge?

President: No, I don’t think that any one can push me around in hurry, and especially our prisoners of war. They are not an articulate political force as such. They might fan out. They don’t need to fan out. There are enough people who are jingoistic as it is but we can settle the sentiments if we make progress and I don’t want Pakistan to get the title of a revanchist state.

Interviewer: You did right after the war, as soon as you took office, you did talk rather in terms of avenging the humiliation. You don’t really think that pressures here in Pakistan will push you towards a confrontation again?

President: Not revenge in that sense – not revenge in the sense of going to war again. Revenge, in the sense of moral rehabilitation and to let the world know that we are not inherently a people who you can lose and have lost, that we’re equals in the subcontinent even in our reduced state. We have to show to the world and show to India by economic developments, by making grand new experiments in administration, in making democracy

work and in a host of other ways to show that we're still equals in the subcontinent.

Interviewer: Mrs. Gandhi seems to want to use her strong bargaining position to make the new ceasefire line in Kashmir an international frontier. Now is this something that could ever be acceptable to the people of Pakistan, let alone the people of Azad Kashmir?

President: But the people of Kashmir come first because it is their future and their faith, which is involved. If the people of Kashmir have given up the notion that they don't have the stamina and grit to achieve their rights, the whole world put together can not help them to achieve their rights. Primarily, they have to be in the forefront and we have been in the forefront for 25 years. Perhaps that's why the problem has not been resolved till now. So we cannot abandon a right, which belongs to them. As I said to you the other night, we have not conferred it, we cannot take it back. And I think it is really shooting the gun to go straight to Kashmir.

There are so many fundamental matters to be tackled and resolved and I India has taken that position for 25 years, let us go step-by-step and then finally come up with the top of the ladder called Kashmir. Why should India now reverse that historical position propounded by no less a person than Pandit Nehru, the father of the present Prime Minister. I know I have heard that the present Prime Minister says that her father was a saint and not a politician but she does great injustice to her father. He was an outstanding politician. Perhaps, with all due respect, a greater politician than the present incumbent.

Interviewer: How do you think you're going to get on with Mrs. Gandhi?

President: I hope to get on well and I have respect for her. I never liked it when Yahya called her "That woman". She is an elected leader of a big country. We respect a leader of people. We would give her all the respect and all the consideration that is due to a leader of the country and a successful Prime Minister. So we will meet her with reverence and respect but of course a sense of equality because although East Pakistan has been severed away from Pakistan, we still believe in the concept of sovereign equality of states. And we're not a mosquito on the map of the subcontinent. Still we are 60,000,000 people and with a good history, with a good account of ourselves. And I have lifted the morale of the people again not by fanning hatred - I haven't but by going in the direction of reform and revolution. So I'm looking forward to our encounter, to our meeting and I hope it will be a productive dialogue.

Interviewer: You don't think you're placing too much weight on this face-to-face encounter you want? You temperaments are surely very different.

President: Yes, but this is also necessary. We must have this fact-to-face encounter and as I told you the other night it'[s not that we don't respect the bureaucracy, they have their role to play but our past experience has shown that they don't break the Gordian Knot.

Interviewer: Is it necessary to meet face to face?

President: Very necessary.

Interviewer: You've taken a pretty strong line on these war crimes trials that Sheikh Mujib proposes to you and if they're held they'll muck every thing up. Does that really mean that if anybody is tried for war crimes in Dacca it is going to be a bit impossible to come to any settlement here on the subcontinent?

President: Well, I think objectively speaking things will become extremely difficult and I don't think I've used any strong words or made any strong statement. A person in weak position cannot make strong statements and strong statements have to be followed up. You become the prisoner of your own words. I'm not in a position today to make strong statements. I don't think I've made a strong statement. I think I've not closed the windows for political settlement, political compromise but if the trials are held, it would arouse the worst of feelings and it would make my task almost impossible.

Interviewer: Clearly, as well as wanting to be sure that you're genuine in your search for peace, Mrs. Gandhi is going to want to assure herself that you're going to remain President of Pakistan. If it's not a rude question, just how secure is you position?

President: Well, my position as President of Pakistan does not depend on Mrs. Gandhi's goodwill. As much as my presence in the political scene did not depend on any one's goodwill, because you know there was a time when quite a number of the great powers and the super-duper powers were determined to see that I didn't get back into to the political arena or the political corridors of power of Pakistan. And I think without disrespect to any other leader of Asia, Africa and Latin America, I'm sort of an exception who has resisted and overcome the object of the great powers to come back into the political arena. So my being the President of Pakistan, in my opinion, is not dependent on Mrs. Gandhi or on any of the great powers. It is dependent on the man in the street, the man in rags.

Interviewer: Some of your opponents of course would say that your support is as regional as Sheikh Mujib's support was in East Pakistan?

President: I don't think that is correct. My party is strong in all the provinces. They talk about the majority of other parties in the two smaller provinces but really they have a majority of one or one and a half; and they keep on talking about their majority but we're quite strong every where and, in any case, we represent over 800 percent of the people in terms of a parliamentary majority. In terms of the people's majority, I think we are stronger and I'm quite happy and content and grateful to the people throughout Pakistan for their support.

Interviewer: There are suggestions, of course, that with all the powers you have under your new interim constitution you're something of a dictator-not in the sense that your predecessors were but nevertheless you are all-powerful?

President: No, once you have constitutional rule you can't take that position because I think the same could be said for President De Gaulle, the same could be said for the Prime Minister of Britain, the same can be said for the President of the United States of America, the same could be said for the Prime Minister of India not only the present one but even her predecessors. So the question is that when constitutionally, when the people give you a certain quantum of power that is not the abusive power, that's not wrong power. Wrong power comes when you destroy the people's rights and the people's confidence so that the point is in your country to call it stability and good government. Now why don't you want to call it good government in India and Pakistan?

Interviewer: people are very ready, when they come upon you and write about you, they call you brilliant and versatile and able and they don't seem so ready to think of you as reliable, steady and dependable. Have you any comment on that?

President: The people you've met must be the most undependable people that inhabit the earth because those people they've never had any principles, they've never supported people's causes, they've never stood by the people. I am talking about the politicians if you have met them, they have been unscrupulous, they have profited by the absence of scruples and when they find a person who is dedicated to principles but he is flexible-you know the Indians say that I am a man of contradictions; it is an ironical thing for the Indians to say that. But what is the subcontinent but contradictions. And if I'm a product of the subcontinent's realities, it is not a reflection on me, it is a reflection on the realities of the subcontinent.

Interviewer: So you see yourself as pragmatic rather than devious?

President: But pragmatic with idealism and with set principles.

Interviewer: As these preliminary talks with India get under way here, what earthly reason is there why any peace settlement that emerges should be any more lasting than those that have gone with the War?

President: Well, fundamental realities have changed and we are in a qualitatively new situation.

Interviewer: You don't feel that there is any more reason why they should succeed than that?

President: That's a very big reason.

Interviewer: It's only a matter of time you've made claim before you recognize Bangladesh. What sort of country is what remains of Pakistan going to be?

President: Pakistan still maintains its ideological complexion because the Lahore resolution of 1940 talked of two states, of two Moslem states. That was later on amended to make one state and the British left one state. So you can argue till the cows come home whether it was one or two states but now we're one state and we can pick up that part of the argument and why not. I don't see anything immoral in that although the Indians have said that the two-nation theory has collapsed. How has the two-nation theory collapsed? By the emergence of three nations? Two-nation theory would have collapsed if there had emerged one nation; because India says there is one nation-we said there were two. If at that time we had said there are three, the Indians would have said, "My God, that is out of the question, we might consider two, we can't consider three." So the two-nation theory does not collapse by the creation of a third nation. It would have collapsed if they'd all become one nation. Now if India thinks that it has collapsed so in order to reabsorb both East Pakistan and West Pakistan, that's another matter. But that's not the reality today. So we have an ideological basis and we will also place emphasis on territorial prosperity.

Interviewer: You were talking about a non-activist low-profile foreign policy. But what sort of role do you see for Pakistan to play on the subcontinent? What kind of country is it going to be in relation to others here?

President: Well, you see our muscle will, our foreign muscle will be judged by our internal muscle and for the time being I am concentrating on really creating the internal muscle. We have great potential. I think my

country can be come a kind of West Germany of Europe in Asia and once I unleash all the forces, we bring back our manpower into play in development projects, electrification, rural health centers. I have great faith in the people of Pakistan and I'm banking every thing on their strength, on their resurgence, on their resuscitation. And you will see, if I get these four years or five years which is my constitutional right, I'm determined to change the face of Pakistan; make it really into a part of Asia that the moment you enter Pakistan you would say. "My God, we entered a country which is really pulsating, vibrant and active and vigorous."

Interviewer: Will you have to change the nature of the people?

President: That is inevitable. I think they're ready for it. They have been given the right direction.

Interviewer: Are they ready for peace?

President: They're ready for peace but they're ready to vindicate their honor and that can be vindicated without going to arms, without going to war. Germany has vindicated her honor without going to war.

Interviewer: And so will you?

President: I've got to do that.

Interviewer: Mr. President, thank you very much.

INTERVIEW TO DER SPIEGEL

April 26, 1972

Interviewer: Mr. President, there have been three wars between India and Pakistan. Now you begin peace talks. Do you think it would mean peace for the sub-continent in the future or is there danger of other wars between Pakistan and India?

President: I can't look into the future for all times to come, but I hope that we can come to a kind of both the parties, and in conformity with international principles, I believe that we can have peace for all times until the world undergoes some kind of a metamorphosis, which we cannot anticipate. But I do not see why we cannot arrive at a durable settlement.

Interviewer: In spite of all the problems, there is the Bangladesh problem; there is the Kashmir problem; there is the problem of population; all sorts of problems. How could you imagine a durable peace, which would not be lasting for only two years or a few years?

President: Yes, well, to put the same thing in a different way; peace which is not imposed; peace which is not in violation of the established principles. If they want to take their military victory to a logical conclusion by subjugating Pakistan politically as well, in that case there would not be much hope for peace, for a durable peace. And you know there are many problems; far too many problems; but then sometimes when there are far too many problems, a breakthrough becomes simpler rather than when there might be just one problem. So the main thing is the intention to live in peace, and to come to the conclusion that war is not really an answer for the settlement of our outstanding differences.

Interviewer: Victorious states tend to be, let's say, attempt to try to change their victory into political gains in their own sensibility. What would you propose, what should India do with the prisoners of war or what would you do if India goes ahead and let's say, there are some war criminals trials in Bangladesh or something like that?

President: Actually victorious states have in the histories of Europe especially tried to take their gains to the ultimate conclusion, but what has that brought about when in 1914, (at the end of the 1914 war, the World War-

I) such an attitude was taken. It did not really contribute to a durable peace; and we saw again, the Second World War yet unleashed on Europe and the rest of the world. That is a most striking example of when you impose a humiliating or an insulting peace at the conclusion of the war. And I can give so many other examples.

Secondly, as far as the sub-continent is concerned, there have been so many ups and downs. Today we exist as India and Pakistan but it has been a question of the confrontation between the two major communities, whom our leader, the Quaid-e-Azam later on described as the two major nationalities in the subcontinent – the Hindus and the Moslems. There have been so many ups and downs between these two major communities – sometimes the Moslems have won, some times the Hindus have won. There has been Moslem India for seven to eight hundred years – there has been Hindu India too. So are we going to go around in this vicious circle all the time or should we not have an honorable co-existence between our countries? So I believe that judging from the lessons of our own history and from the lesions that international history has shown, I believe that there should be a new change, a new mood for a lasting peace.

And you have mentioned the question of war trials, of our prisoners of war. I would like to state here quite candidly that apart from the legal rights or wrongs, the international law on this subject is not quite clear, and in any case you cannot apply the analogy of Nuremberg to this or to these trials, so-called trials will generate. It won't generate a good climate, and it is not going to assist in the settlement of our disputes. As it is, even without this gimmick, and it is a gimmick, we have enough problems.

You mentioned them yourselves; Bangladesh, India equilibrium between India and Pakistan, Kashmir, population, prisoners of war; so many adjustments to be made of trade, commerce and hostile propaganda against one another, restoration of diplomatic relations. All these things are enough as it is. And now on top of that, as if there was nothing on the plate, comes this fantastic demand to try people who were defending their own country.

Interviewer: But, Mr. Bhutto, wouldn't you say that some of these people who defended Pakistan really did go a step too far? Will they go scot-free?

President: Well, the point is this that much has been made of this. I don't condone it. I don't apologize for it. I have myself in difficult times protested against the excesses. But the point is I have also said that those people whom the authorities in Dacca feel they have gone beyond the pale, we are prepared to get their names, we are prepared to try them here, we are prepared to punish them for their wrongs because those wrongs were not

committed against outsiders. We are prepared to punish people who commit wrongs against outsiders. If they have committed excess against Pakistanis, and they were Pakistanis, today they might call themselves something else, but if they've committed crimes against our own citizens, we are bound to take cognizance of that. It is not that we will not take cognizance of it. And I have publicly stated in Peshawar three months ago that we are prepared to take them to task. There is a civilized method of doing it. There is bitterness as it is, so much of it. We don't want bitterness to increase and we will do justice. What Mr. Mujib-ur-Rahman wants is that they should be punished. Why should they be punished under his palm tree? They should be punished; they will be punished; that's the main thing.

Interviewer: Didn't Mr. Mujib-ur-Rahman talk of a panel of international jurists to try these people that he thinks are war criminals?

President: The procedure can always be worked out. The procedure is not important. You see the point is that this raises unnecessary legal points; because once we way international jurists, we accept the fact that there was Bangladesh even at the time when Pakistan was one. We still think it's one. But at that time, there was no doubt. Why does the international law or international jurists come into it? But I would be prepared to discuss this problem with him. I am prepared to accept the principle that those people who have committed excesses, we will give them an objective trial, and if it is established according to norms of justice that they have committed excesses, they will be suitably taken care of.

Interviewer: Mr. President, you say your Pakistan is longing for peace. Sometimes you speak in other words. I think for example when you say that the honor of Pakistan has to be reestablished, that Pakistan should have again the finest fighting machine in Asia, do you think that's good for a climate of peace?

President: Well the point is this that every people like to maintain high standards, and especially those people who have had high standards. We are not going to boast about our standards in the military field, especially before the Germans, but we have had high standards and so if we want to retain or restore our high standards, that does not mean that we have aggressive intent in our mind and vindication of national honor does come by so many methods - by economic progress, by making Pakistan really a country, which can show to the world that its people are hard working; that the per capita income here is the highest in the sub-continent, that our people are progressive; that when you come to the sub-continent and you go to any part of it, you'll find that the best facilities are available here; our roads are good; our schools are good. So we can make our country into a modern, model progressive country. There also we can vindicate our honor and show to the

world that well we are a people who have efficient manpower, good manpower, and able people.

And it was in that context also that I said that we wanted to restore to Pakistan its standards in the military field; because certainly we don't want to go down in the world with a bad reputation, and a reputation that we lost one part of our country and that, we were not able to defend another part of our country. This was a fluke, which happened, more on account of the circumstances. We don't want to go to war with anyone, but we also want to retain those standards, which our people's traditions and history amply justify.

Interviewer: Well, Mr. President, good armament in such a large scale, in such a massive scale, would harm I think the social and economic progress of the country; so can you have a very fine fighting machine with all the arms you need again and, at the same time, have progress in social and economic matters in the country?

President: Yes, I agree but the point is that now our position is reduced, economically, physically than it was in the past, and nevertheless the Indian government recently has increased its military budget. I can't understand that because we are now in a small size and our resources are more limited, our foreign exchange has also been cut as a result of our losses of jute and other things. But nevertheless a substantial increase was made in the defense budget of Indians this year when they presented their budget to Parliament. So that leaves us with no choice. Why should India increase her budget in spite of the changed circumstances? So, that answers your question. Secondly, if India reduces her budget then, and if there is, if there is no possibility of war and our disputes are resolved, we will reduce our budget. Also I hope because we are interested more in economic development and in social welfare, and a reduced army can also be an efficient army. We can make it more mobile, we can make it more efficient. We can concentrate on it in such a way that it remains a good army, remains an efficient army, not geared for war, not poised for conflict.

Interviewer: But, Mr. President, as long as there are two outstanding problems, the older problem of Kashmir, the latest problem – recognition of Bangladesh – Pakistan will always be looked upon as wanting revenge.

President: well, we are trying to settle these problems. That's why I'm keen to meet the Indian Prime Minister. We are not delaying a meeting. We have said from the beginning that we are anxious for an early meet not to see Delhi in its summer months but to settle our problems.

Interviewer: Under what conditions could you recognize Bangladesh?

President: This is a hypothetical question today and secondly; it must come at the right time after I've had discussions with Mr. Mujib-ur-Rahman. And it is connected with other problems as well. It's not a problem in isolation.

Interviewer: Do you intend to meet Mr. Mujib-ur-Rahman?

President: Yes, I've already said it, that I'd like to meet him and I'd like to meet him also as soon as possible, because I can't take these decisions in isolation. They will have to be taken into the totality of the picture.

Interviewer: But, Mr. President, you talked to Sheikh Mujib-ur-Rahman before you escorted him to the airport. You must have had detailed discussions. Is nothing of that coming true?

President: well, in the first place, at that time he was in Pakistan, here with us, and he can always take the position that he was in custody, he was not a free man, so I don't want to mention that conversation. Those two conversations we had, very long ones, on the 27th of December and on the 7th of January. But I want to meet him now in a different situation. He is now styled as the Prime Minister of Bangladesh and will not be on our territory so whatever he says and whatever he's going to do will be in a different context.

Interviewer: India has been arming herself and has increased its military budget. May be India feels a sort of superpower in South Asia since the last war. Do you recognize this Indian position or the Indian wish for that position in this phase?

President: The wish is there. The wish has been there for a very long time. The wish has been there when India became free which can be judged from Pandit Nehru's statements, from statements of Mr. Pannikar, who was an Indian political theorist and an ambassador and a distinguished Indian leader, and there are their books rights from the old times. So the wish has always been there.

But you know, on this matter of super powers and great powers, I have a point of view, and that is that a superpower does not emerge or a great power does not emerge from the size. If that were the case, well, there are many big countries. Brazil is a big country and Canada is a big country. It could have become a superpower. Smaller countries, like Japan, they're not superpowers but they have been great powers. Those countries that have had the attributes of greatness in them, even if they've been defeated or they have had setbacks, they've re-emerged in some form or the other to assert themselves.

Now I'm not trying to preach a theory which you, your country preached. I don't believe in that theory. I don't think that there are certain nations, certain people born to be great and others not born to be great. That's not the theory. I don't subscribe to that theory. But there are certain advantages certain countries have, certain nations have, of historical accidents, and other things. They take advantage of those and then they are technologically otherwise advanced.

A combination of factors make people great, not size alone not technology alone. A number of factors put together. And that is why China was destroyed; they were called opium-eaters and things like that; but they've been great in history and they came back. So also Russia; so also France; so also Germany; so also United States. Now India has been great in that sense also. But India has been great, really great, for a period of time, on two occasions. One was at the time of the Ashoka Empire and the other was at the time of the Moghuls.

Interviewer: And this is, what was Moslem India?

President: That was Moslem India and that was Buddhist India. So I wish India all the luck in the world to become great, but I don't see those attributes, which you have in mind of a superpower. If India tries to be a superpower, and she's welcome to make that effort, but I think it will be a futile effort.

Interviewer: But you will not consign yourself and Pakistan to be a minor power, to be a second-class country?

President: I don't think so. I don't think that's possible. If you give us, my people, a decade, you will see that we will reassert ourselves, and we will make our fullest contribution to world peace and to international relations and to the peace in the sub-continent. I am talking in constructive, positive terms and if anyone thinks that they're going to relegate Pakistan into a status of a small country, and I don't want to mention them by name because I don't want to be disrespectful, then I don't think that historically that is correct because Pakistan has a sense of destiny. Its people feel that sense of destiny. They have achieved great results in the past. They're a proud people. They resisted conquerors, the British. They have a past. They have a good past and I can't help it if they have this past and they're proud of it. They're confident people and I will not set myself out to take away those qualities of my people and, as such, they'll again make their constructive contributions.

Interviewer: Would you have that? (*Right of self-determination of Kashmir*).

President: Well, the world, the whole world would sympathies with them and why should there be international law and why should there be international conduct; why should there be right of self-determination; why should there be United Nations; why should there be Security Council; why should people only support the right of self-determination of the people of Algeria or people of Guatemala or people of Nicaragua?

Interviewer: Or the people of Bangladesh?

President: Bangladesh was a part of Pakistan. It exercised its right of self-determination to become a part of Pakistan. And you can't have every day the right of self-determination exercised. They were on the forefront of the struggle for Pakistan. So the question is Bangladesh is outright secession through a military conquest.

Interviewer: Mr. President, could you visualize a solution for Kashmir in the style of Bangladesh? What happened in Bangladesh last year could happen in Kashmir if the peace talks fail in Delhi?

President: I am not in a position to answer that because for one thing that might spoil our negotiations with India; secondly, it's really a hypothetical question.

Interviewer: Well, we will insist a little. You know that the main part of your army is stationed along the Kashmir border. Now do you feel that the Indians will try something or would you like to try something?

President: No, no we're not going to try something. You can print that and you can take it from me that we're not going to do something silly like that, and under no circumstances we would take any (adventurist) steps of that nature. We have had enough of adventurism. We've suffered too much for adventurism. No, that's out of the question. We have our army poised there for two reasons. One, because Indians are concentrating their forces there, and they have taken a lot of actions, atavistic position; they have taken on the ceasefire line over there and so since the Indians are so active, we are trying to take precautions. Secondly you see, Kashmir is a disputed territory and India, if it attacks Pakistan's frontiers again after having got such a bad name for its intervention in Pakistan and well in the eyes of the world or anyone else.

Interviewer: Who will help Pakistan?

President: The people of Pakistan will help themselves for a change and on that, of course, we will have a completely new thinking in our country and we are going to see to it that everyone defends Pakistan.

Interviewer: Why youngsters and old people between the age of 18 and 35, I believe, are all drafted, and in the Army in Kashmir?

President: That's what Azad Kashmir President said the other day. I saw it in the paper where he said that this is happening. I don't think it is on such a large scale but it will have to be done on a massive scale. I haven't yet even begun to move in that direction fully but I have to make Pakistan impregnable; its defense impregnable, every part of my country should become a fortress.

Interviewer: that's why you started the People's Guard?

President: Well that was beginning but everyone will be a guard; everyone will guard our sovereign integrity.

Interviewer: Mr. President, you started some reforms on the social and the economic sector. Let's say the land reforms, I think, you did a lot but is it working? Is it beginning to work?

President: Well, you see, the implementation has barely started. Take land reforms. The forms are being filled by the landowners, and by the 15th of May they'll have to submit. Naturally it will take some time for the implementation to show its results.

Interviewer: Isn't there some deadline for beginning of these actually?

President: Yes, we have set down very rigid deadlines and given no margin of complacency. I mean it is a full-time operation. In four months, I think it's very difficult to have the reforms that we have had, and thank God, when we were not in office our Party had done quite a lot of home work and research and prepared some papers on these subjects. If we hadn't done that, I don't think we would have been in a position to do much in three months.

Interviewer: But, Mr. President, the so-called vested interests in Pakistan have also done their homework so they claim they have split up the lands, they have taken the money outside - the industrialists. What can you do about that?

President: Well, you see, there has been some land transferred. As a result of it, I've reduced, the other day, further ceiling by almost 25 percent even more; and I have stipulated in the land reforms very drastic punishment

for those who give wrong forms and give wrong information. So I do admit some have tried to circumvent the reforms but you see we have said that transfers must be genuine, made only to one's sons, daughters, wives. We have not made it collateral to cousins, aunts and all. And I don't think people in Pakistan have so many concubines and so many children that hundreds and thousands are being redistributed. So that also is exaggerated. So when we have restricted it to just the children, the children of the person or the wives, or the husband doing it for the wife or the wife doing it for the husband.

Interviewer: But will land gained from these land reforms actually go into the hands of the small peasants or the laborers? Will they be given enough chance to hang on to this land, to make it fertile?

President: Yes, certainly. And some very good land is going to come to them and they're getting it free. They won't have to pay a penny. They won't pay a penny and 12 ½ acres in the Punjab, in certain good areas, to get that free, they couldn't have had it in their best dreams. And secondly, those tenants who are going to remain tenants will no longer have to pay any tax liabilities. That's all been transferred to the landowner. So even they will benefit vastly.

Interviewer: I have one question. President Bhutto is the son of a former landlord, landlord himself, millionaire, socialist himself. Did you give away some of your land?

President: Yes, of course, in 1958 and now also.

Interviewer: Now also with the new land reforms?

President: I'll give you the details. I'll give you the details by the 15th because I haven't been to my estate by now. Even before this change I would have had to give something. One of my sons was going to give quite a bit; but my other children, I think, were not giving as much. That's how I came to know. I said, no, we must get more cut. We must be axed more. So I reduced the ceiling further.

Interviewer: In your first days as the President you aimed at the big capitalists of Pakistan – the industrialists. You even arrested some of them and you say they should bring some of the money back they took outside the country in the last five or ten years. Did this bring any results up till now?

President: Yes, but I'm not fully satisfied. And now we have been working on our scheme and by the 30th of April they have undertaken to give

us money which we think will be quite fair. I forget at the moment the figure because I don't know the latest position.

Interviewer: Is it cores or...?

President: Yes, I think so.

Interviewer: In dollars?

President: Yes. You see on the one hand the business community talks about restoration of confidence and on the other hand it is dragging its feet. The sooner it finishes with these matters the better it is for them, the better it is for everyone. And if they settle down, we are quite prepared to give them assurances, a kind of a charter. Now this is what we've done and we want to stop for the time being and concentrate on consolidating these reforms.

Interviewer: Mr. Bhutto, your party is called People's Party. Its program is some sort of a socialist program. Do you have any examples to cite about it, or is that an all-Pakistani socialism? If it is so, could you just define it in a few words, would you describe it?

President: Yes, of course. But then you have got in Europe also Christian democrats, and Democratic Socialists. Our Party's socialism is that we are a Muslim people; we have our faith; we have our values; we have our traditions and we stand by those and as far as socialism is concerned, we accept only that part of Marxism, which is, and which concerns economics. We don't have to accept the totality of Marx, the whole theory of Marxism from beginning to end; its dialectics, its classless and stateless society. With fifty years of Marxist state, one can't become a stateless society, nor for that matter classless society. Nor do we accept that world is entirely material, there is no God, there are no spiritual values. Why should we accept all that? We accepted the limited part confined to its scientific economic doctrine. They've become a little obsolete by time. So we don't have to be rigid. We're not rigid. We say it's a very deep and penetrating study on economics. And whatever remains valid in our light and whatever remains beneficial to our country we must, with the passage of time, try to accept. Use it as a yardstick.

Interviewer: How did the millionaire and landlord become a socialist?

President: Well, why do you ask me that question? Why it is that only Asians (who have a background) cannot accept principles? You see, in Europe, you don't ask this question.

Interviewer: Well. Sometimes we ask.

President: Here you make it your main theme. But in Europe and in England you accept the fact that principles to a person are more important. And in Asia, I suppose you doubt that politicians in Asia can stand by principles.

Interviewer: No, but I think it is not as often in Asia or in the underdeveloped countries as it is, may be, in industrialized countries?

President: But at the time when Europe was not all that industrialized, even so there were people who stood by socialism of that day, of those times, because after 1848 the question really began on these modern lines. But then there were people who felt, there were individuals who felt for the people, who revolted against the status quo, who felt that cruelty and exploitation was too repugnant to bear even if they had to suffer themselves in the process. French Revolution produced many people from the aristocracy who also revolted against the system. So I don't think that it is something, which is exceptional, or something, which is surprising. After all, if you serve the country, if you serve the people, if you serve the community, what better wealth is there than making people happy? What better wealth is there than to get their blessings and to know that they feel that you have bettered their lot. Now it depends on one's approach, one's outlook and one's philosophy of life. So I've always thought that more important. Money has never been an important factor to me because partly I think I came from a background where I didn't have to beg; I didn't have to starve. But even otherwise there are rich people who worship money, and I don't think so; I don't feel there is that much value on it. I place my values on other things, which are more important in my book and in my conscience.

Interviewer: Is Power included in one of those values?

President: I was telling you the other night that power by itself in politics is axiomatic. People are in politics to attain power and nobody's in politics to preach. Politics means to get into power.

That's not important; that is the objective of politics. What is important is what I said at dinner the other night, what you do with that power, if you abuse that power, if you use it to tyrannies, if you use it to destroy people, then, of course, that's terrible to desire power for that purpose.

But if you desire power to put your people right, to create a new climate, a new era, to see that children go to schools, that people can get basic amenities of life, to make your country, to make it blossom, to make a contribution to good. That's what power for a purpose is. And that's the difference.

Interviewer: Mr. President you abolished Martial Law yet you govern under emergency law. Why does there have to be an emergency? Is it because of India or is it to avoid the remainder of Pakistan from splitting up?

President: Pakistan is not going to split up in a hurry and even the other Pakistan would not have split up without foreign intervention. So sometimes when I see amusing, exaggerated stories in some sections of the western press, and, incidentally, I haven't seen any in the German, as if it's a peach melba; the Frontier is the peach and is going to fall, and the melba is going to come this side. I don't think that's going to happen in a hurry, I can assure you. It is the wishful thinking of some people who have conjured up the fact that this country must not last. So if a little thing happens they exaggerate and magnify it. Overnight they create great leaders and overnight create great forces. Pathans have always carried a gun on their shoulders. Suddenly their eyes have opened to the fact that the Pathans are carrying a gun on their shoulders.

Interviewer: Then did you see Pathans before?

President: Oh, they have, they have. You see it's like one American journalist, a friend of mine Selig Harrison who long ago wrote a book called "The Dangerous Decade", on India. And his prognosis was that India was going to split up.

Interviewer: Well, he's such a fine journalist otherwise?

President: And so you see that it's a thing there of the people now, after the fall of East Pakistan, after the fall of Dacca, many people said well this country should never have come into being. Pakistan is not going to fall in such a hurry. That's out of the question. But as far as the emergency is concerned, first of all, which country of the world has not been under an emergency which is at war, which has remained at war, when there has been no cessation of hostilities, not a peace treaty, when the country, half of it gone and the other half threatened. There are people inside our territory; the enemy is inside our territory; activities on the ceasefire line. That there should be emergency powers, emergency powers have been exercised by all countries when they want. Even in India they have an emergency. She has not lifted it. Mrs. Gandhi has not lifted her emergency. And she can have more reason to lift the emergency because they're the victorious country. If Pakistan had been the victorious country, perhaps I might have lifted the emergency. It's a constitutional exercise of constitutional power by the National assembly itself and every constitution in the world contains emergency provisions. And when is it more valid to implement those emergency provisions than in a situation like this.

Interviewer: In Western countries, or among western people, the western pressmen, you over-estimate the freedom of press, Mr. President. Why did you censure, let's say why did you censure some of your newspapers and even put some of the editors in Jail?

President: The first person we arrested, and put behind bars was not a journalist; he was a civil servant, a bureaucrat who sat in a journalist/editor's chair for two or three days to claim that he was a journalist. We have got some very good ground for his detention.

Number two, these other little people, these papers because they're not really important; if it were some important paper one can understand that with their wide circulation they're playing havoc. But you know what they did was they said nothing but indulged in filthy abuses; absolutely, the dirtiest possible abuses. No country, no society, no decent people would tolerate that kind of thing and let this pass as journalism. Now we didn't take action although there was Martial law. We called for those people. We told them that look, this is not right. This is not done. This is not decency. You don't write like that against a people, against a country, against a government, against the head of state, against governors, who have been directly elected by the people, just abuse them left, right and center and then we have a code of conduct for journalists. Now come before this body, comprising journalists and explain whether this is not a flagrant violation of the code of conduct. Some of them refused to come. One of them came and made even more abuses. So you see the point is, there is a law. There is a law of defamation; a law of decency, there is a law like that in all countries. And so it was for these reasons that we were compelled to.

Interviewer: Well, let's go to what I feel more important matters - the foreign policy of Pakistan. I think in your speech at the assembly you mentioned China, United States, the Arab countries and United States are friends of Pakistan. And you took office and you went to China, you went to Russia; you have been to America and the other Arab countries. How are the external relations of Pakistan nowadays?

President: I think external relations are getting better. I think a better understanding of Pakistan point of view is being felt and we have again re-activated our foreign policy. Our foreign policy had fallen into the doldrums. It was not projected properly by the former regime partly because they didn't understand foreign policy as such. But I think we're getting back into the stride, and I have made certain visits to other countries, to Muslim countries, Soviet Union and china and I intend to complete my visit to the other remaining Muslim countries.

But, of course, if Mrs. Gandhi does not release our prisoners of war and keeps them as hostages in spite of the fact that I might release her prisoners of war unilaterally.....

Interviewer: Did, did she respond to your offer?

President: Not yet. Not yet. But if she doesn't do that then I intend to go on a very long international mission. I'll go everywhere. I'll go and mobilize international opinion on this matter and it will have to be done with a very effective team. I'll take people with me. Some of them I'll send somewhere else. The world now must also do right to Pakistan. We have partly suffered because of the hostile international climate that was created by India on the refugees, which now the whole world knows that there were not ten million refugees. So if we are going and I have our nationals as hostages, then we'll have to mobilize international opinion very strongly.

Interviewer: You have been in Russia. Russia was India's friend during the War. How did you get along with the Russian leaders?

President: Well, I think we have got a better understanding of each other's position, and I believe that some of our misunderstandings have been removed and I think in the future our relations will be better.

Interviewer: I think at the dinner you said some very interesting things, about china. That, your relations with Russia are fine but your relations with China are the most important for Pakistan. So you think China is the most important friend and patron of Pakistan? It was, has been and will be?

President: Yes, but the point is that China has stood by us in every crisis. They have been good friends of Pakistan and we want to have friendship with others as well. It is you who have even taken a different position. But we can't do that on any condition. We can do that independent of conditions. It doesn't mean that in order to have good relations with the Soviet Union, we must have bad relations with China. This is the condition that I did not accept when I was foreign Minister.

Interviewer: Well, even Mr. Nixon goes to Peking and to Moscow?

President: But even as Foreign Minister I didn't accept that position. When the Americans at that time were so allergic to China and I said that it's not possible for us to not have good relations with China in order to have good relations with the United States. That, we could have good relations with the United States as well as with China. At that time President Kennedy and, of course, afterwards President Johnson simply couldn't accept that

position. Now the American Government accepts that position. President Nixon has also gone to china. So the Soviet Union also must accept that it is possible for us to have good relations with the Soviet Union without having detrimental relations with China.

Interviewer: May be two last questions. The first one: let's be frank, I think Pakistan is sort of broke in economics or foreign exchange you know. Who's helping you just now over this very difficult period? Could you tell us who is helping you?

President: No, we have been giving, we have been making what we can out of what we have got. We haven't got very much but nor have we done very many fantastic or great things, and I don't know why the problem should arise because the point is that we want to honor our debts; we want to have good confidence of our relations with other countries. And if Indonesia could get a moratorium and certain other terms for the foreign debt, then of course, we are prepared to also continue to abide by our obligations. But if the whole world keeps telling us that we are dead broke and we have a very big debt to pay, then we won't be able to pay that debt.

Interviewer: May be a last question. You are going, I think you are going soon to Delhi to speak with Mrs. Gandhi. Do you know; have you had any talks with her before?

President: Yes, I know her quite well. We have had meetings before. Of course, I had more meetings with her father, the late Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, who was Prime Minister. I had a long discussion with him over the Kashmir dispute because I was leading Pakistan delegation on the Kashmir dispute. Then I had a discussion with him on other matters. I've met her also. I've had meetings with her in the Common Wealth Conference; but the detailed negotiations I've not had with her, like I had with her father.

Interviewer: How would you judge her if you want to say anything?

President: You can't say, It's very difficult to say unless you meet. Let us see if she has got peace in her heart; then, of course, I'll be able to see to it. As I said the other night, politicians have got a sixth sense in which you can feel, and if that feeling is there, if I can feel that she has peace in her heart, I think we can make progress.

Interviewer: Mr. President, Thank you.

**INTERVIEW TO GEORGE VERGES OF
"THE HINDUSTAN TIMES"
Rawalpindi, May 4, 1972**

Interviewer: When do you think the summit is going to take place?

President: I think you know my position. From the beginning I have felt that the sooner it takes place the better, before positions harden and attitudes crystallize and old notions re-assert themselves. So I thought it would have been better to meet immediately after the war because the lessons of the war, the consequences of the war would be felt everywhere and with that point in mind I thought we should meet soon.

But now I think we would be meeting in the near future. We have left the dates to you government. When Mr. Dhar came here, I told him that I don't want to quarrel about procedures, although procedures are important in their own place, but procedures as to whether it should be the beginning of June or end of May, that is left to your convenience. Whether it should be in Delhi or some other place in India that is also left to your convenience.

Interviewer: How do you think the emissaries' talks have gone? Have they gone beyond fixing the date? Have you been able to make any headway here so that the way to the summit door has been eased?

President: Yes and no. I am glad they moved cautiously. Some times we fly off the trapeze more or less in the subcontinent and that is why I think in the past one of the reasons why we haven't made any progress. Hopes will light up, soar up. With a little turn of the wrist, they will dash to the ground. So I think they have done, on the whole, a good job taking these factors into account. Primarily, I told our people, my delegation, that they should confine themselves to working out the agenda because the moment they enter into substantive matters, it queers the pitch in a way and in good faith I thought it would be better that they kept themselves strictly to the agenda, to the procedural question.

When Mr. Dhar met me here, he advocated going forward a little bit, eating into the substance a little bit, not chewing it altogether. I said, it is alright. If you want to do that, if it facilitates your discussions or if you think

it makes a contribution to the meeting that we are going to have with the Prime Minister, certainly nothing sacrosanct about it. I thought it would have been better to leave it there but let us go ahead. So, I have also discussed a little bit of the substance. So, we think they have done a neat job of the agenda and they have a pep into your thinking a little bit and you have to some extent into ours. I don't think that will do any harm. The main bout or the main problem will come when we get together and have to take some hard decisions.

Interviewer: Prior to the summit you expect that there will be any move at all for sort of pre-summit adjustments of any kind such as restoration of diplomatic ties, normalization of P&T, flights, and things like that?

President: Pakistan's position is abundantly clear. I said before I went to the Soviet Union and on my return, yes, why not? Let's restore diplomatic relations. It is much better to deal with each other bilaterally than through third countries, although we have respect for the third countries, who have assisted us in this delicate phase. It is much better to deal with one another directly, so again it is for you to respond to what I have said. I will be prepared. I am ready to send someone tomorrow. We have even got the person in mind so we would like to anticipate some of these developments. We are completely ready for that. And even for the other matters such as P&T and travel communications.

Interviewer: These are hopeful steps. If these were taken they will certainly improve the atmosphere and get some of the smaller problems out of the way?

President: Yes, but main problem is not these questions. The main problem is to really fight hard against the prejudices of the past. And the more vistas open up, the more it is possible to fight hard these built-in prejudices which have become monuments of hate and suspicion. These are the monuments that have to be broken. Of course, by opening up new vistas and new avenues of communication and dialogue, if you haven't really had a change of heart, we can put another brick on the pyramid. Or if we have had a change of heart we can demolish it brick by brick.

I think our people are ready for a settlement, a good settlement, a proper settlement. I hate to use the word, "honorable". We've over-used that phrase. And we are ready, I think. If I sense our people's feelings, they are ready for a good and a firm settlement but I would also like to tell you quite frankly, not that I want to introduce a jarring note; that they have felt and we have felt a tremendous sense of, a tremendous sense of, feeling of loss of pride. That has come into the picture. I don't have to dilate on it. So they are sensitive, we are sensitive and the other, I told your other colleagues, that

please try and put yourselves in our shoes and we'll try and put ourselves in your shoes. We've never tried to do that in the past and if you put yourself in our shoes you'll find that we are treading on very delicate ground – the raw feelings of the people. And the healing processes have barely begun so you must take that factor into account.

Interviewer: A spokesman, I think after the Murree talks in Islamabad, said that, I think the phrase he used was that Pakistan would have no objection if Sheikh Mujib joined these summit talks. Has this issue come up and do you think this is a possibility. Some of the issues are tripartite; some are bilateral?

President: Exactly. What I'm going to say, actually the point is that there are some problems, which concern all three of us. At least that's the position you've taken. Although it is strictly a legal position, but however, I won't go into that. But that's the position you've taken. We have to take that into account. The second thing is that there are certain matters, which concern you and us exclusively, and there are some problems, which concern Mr. Mujib-ur-Rahman and us exclusively. Now I told Mr. Dhar that when we begin our negotiations, let us have a preliminary discussion between ourselves – between your Prime Minister and us. And then at any stage that we feel that it's appropriate to have some kind of discussion with Mr. Mujib-ur-Rahman that can be done. I have no objection to that because you see, I can, I can meet Mr. Mujib-ur-Rahman and you can't draw any inference from it because I don't have to tell you that it is, that doesn't mean itself it is a factor, that we have taken a certain position. I have no objection to that, no inhibition as such as that would mean that we have taken a legal step towards recognition. So, I have no objection.

Interviewer: But is this something that has been processed further?

President: Is it merely an idea that has been thrown into the discussions but here again I am afraid and I tired to explain this difficulty to Mr. Dhar and I would also like you to please bear in this with me. I don't think it will be possible to unite everything in one mighty go; and this was exactly what I told Kosygin and Ayub Khan and Lal Bahadur Shastri at Tashkent. I said, well your people are not going to stomach all this in one capsule, one go, one shot, the whole lot. You must prepare them step by step, slowly, explain to them, make them feel that it's the right thing that has been done. There are so many factors, which get injected into the situation and Indo-Pakistan affairs have remained irrational between two rational people. Sop when rational People become irrational, the methodology is very important; otherwise, when irrational people do irrational things. It is like a storm and you know a storm also subsides and settles down. But you see the position now. The point is that you have your difficulties, we have ours; but

objectively speaking the difficulties are here (pointing to his heart) because you don't have to recognize Bangladesh. You recognized Bangladesh, you assisted them, you went in unilaterally to bring it about. Whether, we recognize it or not, that we have to do here. It is a problem for me really. It is not a problem for Mujib nor for Mrs. Gandhi. Then if it does take place it will be a moment of joy and satisfaction and jubilation for you. But it is for me here to carry my people on this difficult problem. And on other question also to carry them with me.

Basically, the weight of the decision falls on us. Therefore, I think you have to rely on our judgment, on how we proceed and I can assure you that if you get the impression that I am just trying to buy time, I am not so stupid to plead this because I am not doing it for that purpose. You can't trick us; we can't trick you. We know each other too well. Perhaps in one meeting, might get away with something but then you will see through the whole thing. We know each other. We have lived together for centuries. No one knows us better than we know each other. So that is out of complete sincerity that I am telling you that you will have to have faith in my judgment rather than the whole thing will blow in our face and I don't want that to happen.

I want to face this challenge with a sense of vision. It will be a satisfaction that where our leaders in the past failed, we have succeeded in bringing peace, provided I do succeed in bringing a settlement that our people think it is fair, it is right, it is a good settlement and in my opinion for me personally, that will be a sign of very great satisfaction that I was able to bring back peace which our people accepted, which they thought was the right peace and that now they can look forth to a better tomorrow, development, eradication of poverty, and apart from all that, sleep in comfort. That I think is a very big challenge, a very big task and I am not going to allow it to flit away, fizzle out over small little things and taking a petty approach. We have for too long taken petty approaches.

So please do understand this and when you go back, through your papers, do try to explain this to your people. I tried to explain this to Mr. Dhar, and I think he understood my difficulties and I am hopeful that the people at large will also understand this.

Interviewer: One problem that seems to arise that Mujib has taken a position because he says that he faces a very difficult kind of situation with his people there. He says that recognition should precede talks. The position you had taken earlier was: let there be talks first and then see what comes out of that, and then the rest might follow. How does one bridge this gap, because the issues that you have stated are uppermost in you mind and one can understand that—about prisoners and the return of these prisoners. Bangladesh people have talked about some war crimes trials, which also

touch on a part of this problem. How can one come to grasp with these problems unless there is some meeting of the minds, and what would be the kind of manner or method by which this dialogue could be started, because if it starts then perhaps there is some hope of getting some reconciliation?

President: I tried to explain our difficulties to Mujib when he was here on the 27th of December, and 7th of January, And at that time I tried to explain to him how I saw future events being unfurled, and I had to tell him that I must make a genuine search for some equation between us and the people must know that a search has been made, and they must know that we made every sincere endeavor to try to maintain some link among ourselves.

For this reason I had to break diplomatic relations with certain countries. I know we would like to restore them again but it is not important as to what I think. It is important what my people think. And that is why we had to take certain steps of that nature. Here also, how can I explain to our people that, in the abstract, one fine morning I say that we recognize Bangladesh when they say that Bangladesh came out of the mistakes of our military rulers or due to the invasion of India, or both, or whatever it is. And some people say, well now the people of East Pakistan should be allowed to have a referendum. Let us hear then, what they have to say once the military forces are vacated. So there are all sorts of appealing theories on this matter. We have lived together for 24 years. We struggled together for Pakistan. The sacrifices of Bengal were no less than those of people here, perhaps more; and that they are Muslims. They must be feeling for us now that they have seen what has happened to them.

I can't just one fine morning say, "look we have decided to recognize Bangladesh." It is all right for other countries. It has been a part of our country so it is different for Pakistan. It is more logical that if we meet Mujibur-Rahman and after discussions, I come back and tell my people, "Look I have done my best. I met him I discussed the question with him. I told him please do try and find out what we can do to have some sort of communication; some association. But he is adamant. He says no. He is a representative of his people. No, nothing doing.

Now what choice have we got left?" something like that would be logical, sensible. What does Mujib lose by that? After all, he should not be a spoilt child. The question is, he loses nothing by that. It is a funny sense of pride that you must first recognize us. So, it is only a matter of modalities. One meeting or so, one meeting even; I can come back and tell my people. After all there is a limit to human endeavor. I think he should have no objections to that.

If it took United States 30 years to recognize the Soviet Union, and they have not yet recognized China, well this was a part of our country. If it means a matter of months or weeks then I think we would have done the right thing, made every effort. It is not that I am trying to be a stickler for this. I don't see why he is being a stickler.

Here he seemed to understand my difficulties, but now from there he seems something entirely different. And it is about time he controlled some of his people on these things. There will be people who will try to complicate the problem. He will complicate his own position by taking this kind of attitude. I don't see any sense in it. I told him, I will take a flexible attitude. It is only a question of telling our people, coming back and telling them this is what they say. This is what I got from the horse's mouth. And that is all.

Interviewer: Do you think it will be possible to make a start then, through an intermediary or correspondence so that could start the dialogue?

President: But I wrote him in January or February telling him that please do not think I want to interfere in your affairs. Our thinking is how step by step, we have taken our people to this new situation. It is not that I haven't written to him. That letter went to him. Then I sent him food grains. Again he took the position that it should be routed through the UN. I don't see why we should route it through the UN. We are short of food ourselves. If we are going to spend 11 million dollars and send the food, it should not be lumped together with some of the other contributions. Our people are making a sacrifice. There again their reply is negative.

In the Lahore speech of mine, which I made on return from the Soviet Union, I said, well if he keep saying "Assalamoalekum", "Assalamoalekum", we might have to say "Walekum Asslam". So he has heard that said in front of 500,000 people. And if we were not moving in that direction, wouldn't have said that, I don't really understand why he is being difficult in this matter. Correspondence, yes; emissaries, yes; but the best thing would be for him and me to wait, and we better meet, and it would be better if we meet at some place outside the subcontinent because if we meet in Delhi, on these questions, you will be accused of having influenced him. In Dacca there will be some compulsions. If he comes here, then there will again be some matters. So it should be some friendly country outside the subcontinent. I see no objection to that.

Interviewer: You say that you would like to see some links are retained or re-established. What kind of links would you wish?

President: I leave it to them. If they say none, then it would be academic going into this.

Interviewer: But what would be the possible link?

President: Nothing spectacular. Now, we are realistic enough to know you can't put the clock back. The moving finger has written. So trade and communications, that sort of thing; nothing profound to begin with.

Interviewer: What about this other problem, about the Biharis there and Bengalis here? Since this again is a human problem, would some movement here help to amend the situation in a more favorable manner? That is to change people's thinking?

President: The Bengalis are here. I know there's something economic and Mr. Mujib-ur-Rahman made certain statements but since you're in Pakistan, I don't mind if you go anywhere and see the position. After all, the Bengalis are volatile, as you know. They are sensitive. But I can't take care of that. I know there is some grievance in their mind and they are upset. Well, they get upset very easily. Without any disrespect, but really I tell you the truth, we've gone out of our way to see that their feelings are not hurt and no dislocation and inconvenience is caused to them. But at the same time, certain degree of segregation has become inevitable. This has happened because Biharis' feelings have been worked up. There was some trouble there and it continues. We have quite a volatile Biharis' population.

In Karachi there was a huge demonstration a day before I went to the Soviet Union. And they have been wanting to seek revenge and otherwise, generally, people's feelings, well, they want to go, they've left us. You know how it is among the people, uneducated people. So I don't want that to happen because I know if that happened, there would be quite a problem to face, so some element of segregation is there. But we are not doing anything to cause them inconvenience or trouble and as I've said, we welcome in this context you to see the situation yourself.

But as far as Biharis in East Pakistan are concerned, before Mujibur Rahman left, he volunteered the statement that he's going to look after them, and he's going to tell the Bengalis that now the past is over and that they are free citizens. They should be permitted to go to their work, live honorably, properly. And I think in his first speech he did make some mention but the passions apparently were high and there were these ugly demonstrations in the stadium and various other things.

But now the question is Biharis are the citizens of that land. A full generation of them has grown up, 25 years have passed. They have no other country. It's their right to live there. They've contributed to the growth of that place. They are part of it and you can't whimsically and arbitrarily say

that one million people are not wanted. Today it is the Biharis, tomorrow, it will be the Chakmas. There are some other ethnic communities. Is Mujib then building what some people feel a racist state? And on the one hand it is going to be that? But on the other hand he says it's a secular state, democratic state. All of a sudden one pocket of influence starts getting up and putting pressure that they should be declared second -class citizens or they should be thrown out to Pakistan. That's the law of the jungle. Let him accept his responsibilities. Then after he's accepted his responsibilities and they fell a sense of safety and security then, after that, if there is some hear-for-head shifting to be done, divided families, other hard cases, or if one Bengali goes a Bihari can come, that kind of thing we'll be prepared to accommodate and adjust.

But we simply cannot go back to the 1947 horrors. Because you know one such episode of that kind is enough in a lifetime of a people and it really makes me shudder to think when I look back as to how it is, massive exodus that took place, both sides. You had your problems but I'm talking about our problem;, shanty towns, slums, diseases, crime, questions of integration....

Now we have some dreams of building this country and they will be put into the reverse here if, in this frenzy and fear, they are told, well, what's your option, you want to go? Then naturally, everyone would say, yes. They want to go because they feel a sense of insecurity. They're not wanted. The people are being encouraged to persecute them. But if they stop and normal conditions return because you know the poor people, the ones who sleep on the streets and in the Jhugies (huts), they're the ones who suffer the most really in all such debacles and the rest. And secondly, they're the ones who forget earlier than the others. They've got a very big heart. If you and I retain these things, our mentality, the educated ones, the middle class, never forgetting we must direct things, the poor, at heart, they forget it. So they settle down. And the Biharis living around various parts of East Pakistan, it will be all over for them. It won't be over in the minds of other educated elements but for these people. So once that happens and there is some sensible approach that you want to make the great trek thousand miles away, then I think the people will be matched.

Interviewer: I think that Mujib has said that his own estimate is that if the offer is made, I think in one of his speeches, he said that perhaps the outside half might want to come away and half might want to stay. Now, I certainly agree with your point of view even half, it's a human problem and it's a large one but would you think it possible that if there's some movement of Bengalis who want to go back from here, they'll go; any of the Biharis who want from there to come over here can't, then there are in theory large numbers may be on the lists of wanting to make the move. In point of fact, once the option is given, the climate will change. Simply put, would not

people say, well now we have the option to go, so now should we go? The debate will be enough that we must be allowed to go but should we go and, therefore, the context would change. Do you see any possibility of making a start so that some will go from here and some come from there and then may be once that process start, the feeling's process will be in motion also?

President: Yes, but you know on that problem. I released Mujib unconditionally to create a climate of confidence, make a gesture. Now you see what happens is that was, I hate to use such words, but that was regarded as the biggest lever in our hands and I didn't want to, it was disgusting to me, I felt repugnant when people started saying to me, will, you know, this is the big lever, use this. I thought that was not the way to begin the search for peace. If we go about in that miserly way that I've got something in my hand and let me keep to it and let me extract something out of them then I will release this bird. So I thought that, no; I took the calculated risk of saying, no, we don't approach the problem in that way. Let us have a different mental outlook rather than that. And we're not going to a gambling den; we're going to live together on the same subcontinent. After having that, there has not even been a microscopic reciprocity. Just so much water down the dam. As if it didn't happen. As if he was always in East Pakistan. Forgotten, really forgotten, and if there had been some reciprocity either from his side or from Delhi, then I had the strength and I would have said, look, this was the right thing to do. But it's the right thing to have done. I don't regret it. But in the long, looking at the long run, the people, the man in the street doesn't look at the long run. He says, "Kiya, Keeya" What happened"?

We expected that the moment Mujib goes, our prisoners of war will come back. But they're still there. The war has ended, there's a cease-fire. Emissaries have come and gone. Leaders of both countries have talked of peace. There are two United Nations resolutions. There is article 118 of the Third Geneva Convention. Still this is not happening.

Now people will say our President is an emotional man. He has sent away Mr. Mujib-ur-Rahman. Look how Indians are calculating, approaching this problem. Even in victory they're not being magnanimous. Now the other day I said I'm prepared to send Indian prisoners away from here unilaterally and they said he's only trying to embarrass us. So one the question is, well we shouldn't have done this in a hurry. Now if I do all these other things I put myself in a more difficult corner, to be very frank with you.

Interviewer: What about, of course, this is about normalization between Pakistan and India. Where do we start? What are the issues and which are the most urgent ones and how do we, how do we proceed as you would see it or as you would us?

President: Well, you would like to proceed on the basis that we've been wanting it for the last 25 years. We'd like to proceed the way you've wanted it for the last 25 years. Pandit Nehru used to say let's first go with the smaller ones and build ourselves up to the biggest one. That would create confidence, that would generate good will and I have had the privilege of having many meetings with him on this question and we used to eloquently and fervently argue that no, get to the heart of the problem. When Mr. Dhar was talking I went back. It was a little nostalgic and reminiscent. But the words he was using were the words I used to use with you and the words that I was using were more or less the kind of words that you used to use with us. Now, you know, the point is, why did that happen. The real reason why that happened is that at that time you found it more difficult to get your people to agree to the kind of a settlement that you felt might emerge out of grappling with the fundamental. That's why, psychologically or subconsciously, you wanted to put it back so that you could proceed and tell your people the advantages of settlement. That's the real reason why because now it. Will perhaps, according to your estimation or ours, may not be exactly when we were pleading the other way around. So the question is, and I hinted about it earlier, that it is really I, who have to do the selling and since I have to do the selling, please leave the timing and the procedures on these matters to me. And I think we won't fail.

Interviewer: Apart from the normalization part of the diplomatic ties and communications and travel and so on, in the aftermath of the war, our prisoners, both Eastern and Western, there are the territories that are occupied on either sides, there is the cease-fire line. Now withdrawal from all the points, and as far as the exchange of prisoners on the Eastern side, I think that's no problem at all. That could be immediately done. As far as the question of withdrawals is concerned, one question that will arise, and this is one of the issues in which Indian popular opinion I think, Mrs. Gandhi would have to carry, is withdrawal to where. The cease-fire line or what becomes of the cease-fire line? It again comes back to an armed truce. So, I think this is the way the argument started. So why not allow more scope for the kind of give and take which will have to be there so that if it was issue by issue, there are certain things that can be straight away settled?

President: You see, it can be on that basis. We can talk it over and have some, draw a picture in our mind but the picture that should come out or will come out can't be so, it is the grand sweep. That will not be possible for me, quite candidly. But in our own mind we can resolve something on those lines. And these, all these are actually connected problems; prisoners of war, and the withdrawal of forces.

I told you, you know I told your people and Mr. Dhar that prisoner of war problem will be, as the time passes, become counter-productive of

diminishing returns. You have diminishing blocks in you hand. In January here the problem was extremely explosive. February.....But then we got to our people. We integrated them. It is not a military government I've sent my people out, party people, I've gone myself; I've sent the leaders to the families telling them you'll have to bear with us. And now I think, other foreign journalists have also observed, that pressure on us, that's gone. On the other hand, a sort of sympathy has developed that will. Yes we must strengthen our President's hand; and we're not going to allow principles to be bartered for human flesh. And they know now that they're there. Lists have come. It is only painful separation. And like your son who goes to Oxford or Harvard, you feel and miss him and all that; and then after some time you know he's there to study. You get letters. You get used to it.

So the question is this, that if his, a gesture had been made instead, that would have been a break through kind of thing. But whoever advised the Prime Minister let's keep them on. I don't think that was the right advice. However, the problem is that I said to some of your colleagues in January when I met them in my house in Larkana, that please don't waste time on this matter because today, I told them quite candidly, it's hurting me like hell. But after some time it wont because I said that I have been thrown up by the people like your leaders have but in the circumstances in which I was thrown up by the people; our condit9ons are entirely different from yours.

Had Pandit Nehru, who was a legendary figure, and the Congress of his time, his strength, his discipline, his image. They won one election after another. But there was almost a setback at one stage after his death and Mrs. Gandhi at one time she headed the Congress. People were saying outside that will she can't fight the old guard.

But in our country there was a different situation. We had no elections. And we had no assemblies. So when you have no elections and no assemblies, leaders don't get time, they don't get noted. A politician gets to be known either in an election or in the assembly. And that's a democratic procedure. That's how people come into prominence, and here in 1947 after the assemblies were dissolved and then President Ayub Khan came, then Yahya Khan came. Thirteen years..... no assemblies, no politics. You had to suffocate. So the point is that to have an election after such a long period of time and then for an unknown person to defeat the Old Guard, their political ideals, who clung to the old notions also, who try to play on faith.

I'm a Muslim. I'm proud of being a Muslim. But because we wanted reforms, they told our orthodox peasantry that we were not Muslims, we were infidels. And the Ulemas, the Mullahs they all got up against us. They had by that time become so antipathetic to each other that something popular in Punjab, well that should be unpopular in another place. Something popular

in other places, absolutely unpopular in Punjab. Mr. Mujib-ur-Rahman, he had people speaking one language; they were all Bengalis; they were all united and taling of exploitation from West Pakistan. He had a negative campaign. But my political career was very short compared to all these stalwarts who claim to have been in Pakistan Movement and all that sort of thing. And we had no funds at all. People say that well China was giving us funds. Out of the question. And I wish they had. We would have done better. But no funds at all, nothing of the kind.

And the great powers were hostile. Soviet Union thought I had messed up Tashkent. The United States thought that I was pro-China. So it wasn't an easy task. Now the question is, see, when the dust settles and the achievement of our victory, and your people are hostile, you wrote also distorted things. So the point is I succeeded because I really went to the people. I have tried. I know their thinking. I know what they wanted. I'm telling you that if that gesture had been made at that time, I would at once have gone ahead because I want to go ahead.

And at the same time now I say that in the situation in which we find ourselves, I am quite confident that we will achieve peace. I feel so. There's something in my heart tells me that we'll achieve peace. And there's something in my political sense of judgment, the sixth sense, makes me feel that, and I'm telling you the truth. I'll make such a search for that, even if it kills me. I don't mind.

So now in that, in that spirit we are, with that mental approach we would like to begin these discussions. But then as I said, because I have to do most and to take most of the difficulties, let this be really a patient thing in which we don't forget the past history, the past failures. It's much better that three months or two months or six months have been taken instead something going ahead and dashing to the ground. And then we again involve the great powers; again we go about with hat in hand to chanceries of the world making a fool of ourselves.

Interviewer: Would you say the crucial issue ultimately is Kashmir, once these immediate problems of the aftermath of the war come out. Now in the interviews you granted to the other Indian journalists earlier you spoke of cooperation. You referred to a phrase again used that you're taken a kind of sweep of history and I think in the interview granted to Kuldip Nayyar of "The Statesman" you used language of approximately the same kind that you're willing to consider the concept of a soft frontier. Could you elaborate on that? What kind of idea do you have at the back of your mind because this is the concept that I have been propagating and I see it has a starting point of achieving some kind of notice?

President: I would not like to elaborate. I said something on those lines. Because you know one tends to get caught by words. Your three colleagues who came here, we had good discussions. I'm not saying that they misquoted me. Perhaps they misunderstood me some way or the other, and if one of those lines and bits and pieces were picked up here by our defeated politicians, by other and all, some of them said that I promoted confederation. Someone said I am prepared to sell everything just down the river and all that sort of thing. And I know that was not the intention because naturally you don't want to write something, which will unnecessarily cause complications for me, and especially something that I've not said.

So I leave it for the general position that I read that article you wrote, a longish one. I studied and I think something on these lines, we can talk about that. I don't think that any heaven will fall if we take such steps. And then, of course, it depends so much on everyone, almost on every citizen, the contribution that he makes. Now for instance when your journalist friends came here, went to hotels and knew the kind of reception they got here, they were happy. There wasn't hostility. I don't know why your government is not allowing some of our journalists to go across. But they haven't said no; they haven't said yes... that's all right but I thought they would also go and they would also see the atmosphere, the people's feelings. That would help. So that's why I want you to stay here, you're welcome to travel around and see my problems, see my difficulties and we'll appreciate it if you know the problems that we face, problems I inherited.

When I look back to those four months, I wonder how we really survived them, picked up the morals. At one time everyone thought that now Pakistan has become a peach melba. The peach is Frontier, which is going to fall off, and the Melba, Balochistan, which is going in the other direction. All sorts of things were said and done. But I think that with good will, give-and-take, we have I think made a little progress, even in bringing about some internal cohesion. But you know if things go wrong, if you mess up your society, then naturally everyone gets angry and every one gets frustrated; and if you make it good, then everyone feels happy. So at one time I, who now am the President of Pakistan, I was so disgusted my self. I said, what's the future? And it was a painful thing you know. I'm not trying to blame the system for our present plight because you might think that I am trying to find an escape for the basic reasons. But at one time the condition of Pakistan had deteriorated to such an extent that people really had lost all hope. They didn't want to look for the next day to come. And I'm happy to see now that there's a sense of buoyancy. Confidence is again coming back to the people and they would like to make a participation. And they are gradually coming into the picture to make a participation. That's why I tried, I've held these, swearing-in public; bring them all in because it is no longer now three or four people ruling the country.

So I think in that way we can make a much greater contribution to the people of our country by letting down arms and by picking up a shovel and a plough and plough the fields and bringing about economic prosperity. I think that if we do that we'll pass you and we'll pass our friend there. And that will be a big achievement.

Interviewer: How do you envisage the future of this subcontinent? There was a partition settlement in 1947, which, in a sense, has come unstuck. So while it is a tragedy in one sense, it is an opportunity in another to reconstruct it in a manner that will take care of our aspirations and needs for the future. What kind of possibility do you see here? You have previously said that words like "no war" and "confederation" are an anathema here in their particular connotations. Setting aside those particular words, which immediately conjure up a sense of surrender, defeat and things like that. But what kind of concept do you have as to how we can rebuild it nearer to the heart's desire?

President: Again, in non-legal terms because these legal terms have become terms of art and I don't see why Europe should be different from us. Europe has also had its St. Agin's, its wars, its problems. Today, Western Europe is collaborating with Eastern Europe. So the point is that we can see the same kind of pattern for the future in the subcontinent, keeping our identities as it is. And that is not necessarily to break our personalities. These personalities have now emerged in 25 years. Let us see how their personalities emerge at the other end; but ours has in some form or other. You have also built some kind of a structure in 25 years past. Some times people have to go apart to get together. So I don't see why we can't build the proper bridges, we can't have greater and greater collaboration. I can't define it.

Interviewer: Do you think the great powers may feel differently about it? They may feel that their interest may be prejudiced if these countries get together to cooperate?

President: It is a consideration and it has been a consideration but it is not a consideration that would influence a person like me. If I had been influenced by considerations like this, as Foreign Minister I would not have burst forward with a policy, which anyone else would have burnt his fingers with. But it is a consideration, which we have to keep in mind.

Interviewer: One more question about the Indo-Pakistan war. There seems to be a feeling of uncertainty in the minds of some of **the Pakistan Hindus of sin**, who got left behind in what are now occupied territories. They may feel that because they did not leave, they may be considered collaborators and, therefore, in some difficulty or trouble later.

President: That will not happen, and they know we have a broad outlook. They come from my province and I know some of them very intimately. And apart from that we have some other affinities. The last post, which the Pakistan Army captured in the 1965 war in Rajasthan, was called Bhuttowala. So we got people on the other side. We have got Rajput affinities also although first we are completely Sindhis. Sindh's culture is such that it absorbs all other cultures, so we do not talk about these things; but I know them very well. I know the Thakurs. One of them is a member of our Provincial Assembly. He is from our party. He stood by me in those difficult times when I was being persecuted by Ayub Khan. So there is no problem at all there, unless you have made some of them your agents. Then, naturally, we will have to take action against them but otherwise, nothing doing.

Interviewer: On the political front here, what kind of constitution do you see coming up? Now you have a combination in the interim state of the presidential and the parliamentary. The Pakistan Peoples Party (PPP) is committed to the parliamentary form. Is there a general consensus on this?

President: Our problem really will be the quantum of autonomy for the provinces. If we had got started sensibly, we would have had a pattern of autonomy that your Union has. Deliberately, at this moment of time, I have made some experiments. Not that we do not want a parliamentary system, but for thirteen years we did not have democracy. We did not have politics even. Now the question is I want to see how everything works in our conditions. So with this background we have kept a governor in the Punjab, for instance, who would otherwise have been the chief minister. In Sindh, I made chief minister the man who should be governor. I want to see how this combination works because there is going to be trial and error and a little bit of experimentation in this interim period. But again, I have sometimes a pattern in mind. And at this stage I would maintain a kind of presidential system, not because we want to create one because that is left to the Assembly. We just need to see how the whole thing works and that will help us in evolving the final pattern; but essentially, parliamentary.

Interviewer: At the moment you have a coalition government at the Center in the sense that Qayyum Khan belongs to the Muslim League. Originally, you invited the NAP and JUI to participate. Is that invitation to them still open with the object of reconstructing and forming a National Government so that at the Center you have such a government to deal with the national problems that you face?

President: This again is part of the compelling events of which I have to take a broad outlook. In the National Assembly, the NAP has only seven seats and the JUI has seven seats altogether. Qayyum Khan's party has ten

seats. We have 88, now 90 out of 146. We don't need a coalition or a national government from that point of view. But I have thought let us have some new traditions; although legally or politically speaking it is not necessary; but I said let us look at the bigger picture. So from that point of view I have given Mr. Qayyum Khan a post in the cabinet and the interior Ministry, most important portfolio. In the same spirit I made an offer to the NAP and JUI and that offer remains, but I can't keep it open indefinitely. Work has to be done, and I am keeping some ministers open. So it is up to them. I have given them the reasons I have given you. Secondly, it is to have liaison between the Center and the provinces. But I can't keep it open indefinitely. I believe there is a divided outlook on it; some of them are interested, others are not.

Interviewer: In yesterday's paper there is a statement by Mr. Wali Khan asking for a statement from the Government about what happened during the emissaries talks, and that the opposition should be taken into confidence; and also to include the opposition in the coming talks but not as "decoration pieces" but as participants. This may solve your problem of carrying the whole country with you.

President: The primary responsibility lies on my shoulders and on my party. Even if I associate people in the cabinet or take them with me, it is not that I am not the President or we are not the majority party in the country. Since I have that primary responsibility to the people in all the decisions I have taken, I would also like to see that there is one man in the driver's seat driving the car with his hands on the steering wheel.

I took our friends to the Soviet Union and China as a gesture of good will. It has never been done before in Pakistan. At moments only heads of states talk and those are really the decisive moments. I can't have some monkey sitting on my shoulder when someone says look I want to have a word alone with you. It should not be inferred that an elected leader is going to sell his country down the river. It is unfair. It is uncharitable.

So I reject that suggestion I don't reject it - it is internationally rejected. Even in the American concept of bi-partisan foreign policy, it does not mean that intricate negotiations are bi-partisan. At the height of the war, although labor was in the government, it was Churchill who was with Stalin and Roosevelt in the crucial Yalta talks.

**INTERVIEW TO PETER GRUBBE,
EDITOR OF GERMAN
WEEKLY MAGAZINE "STERN",
May 1972**

Interviewer: The last time I was up here was in Karachi in the beginning of October, and met your unfortunate predecessor. One of the things I was quite surprised to hear Yahya say to me was: 'Do you know Willy Brandt? And I said 'well, by chance, I know him well.' So he said: "You know, if you see him, give him this message that we would very much implore him to mediate, to try to mediate with this problem'. I said I will certainly pas on the message. We printed this story. I had a feeling then that Yahya was really getting desperate. He didn't know where to go. I came back with the impression he was lost?

President: He was loss to us, but that's gone now.

Interviewer: Yes, it's gone. I read from the paper today that at least by the end of the June you will meet the lady on the other side?

President: 28th of June.

Interviewer: One of my colleagues called Mrs. Gandhi the steel butterfly; and I think it's quite an apt description. She is an extraordinary person. I knew her father quite well. I would like to sit underneath the table and listen to you conversation with her because it will be one of the most fascinating encounters. What do you expect from it?

President: It's difficult to tell. I haven't had a meeting with Mrs. Gandhi for a long time, not since she was information Minister. My country was not dismembered and the situation was entirely different. Now it's difficult to forecast. It depends so much on what is in their mind, what they want, what their objectives are.

Interviewer: What are your ideas for the future policy, for the future position of your country? I mean, looking back, when India led the neutral group, you had the alliance with the United States. Then you let that slip and you played quite a role in getting connections with Russia. I remember when you were a Minister doing an oil deal with the Russians for Pakistan. You

have good relations with China. What do you envisage? First, would you agree with me that Asia or this part of Asia is now dominated by the rivalry between Russia and China?

President: I wouldn't say dominated by, but certainly it has come very much under its shadow. They have their differences, ideological differences and geographical disputes. All these factors certainly have their say in the situation.

Interviewer: What is your idea of the future role Pakistan could play in this? There are a number of possibilities. You could be the power, which curbs India. India, is perhaps on the way to becoming the super power for Asia?

President: Going back to history, some countries which tried to do so were stopped after the Second World War; and in Europe there was a great deal of tension and confrontation. Things didn't crystallize in Europe as such, and as far as Asia is concerned, there was no Yalta for Asia. There were at that time some vague questions about the role of China and Chiang Kai-shek, and giving India independence or having the British guard positions in the Indian Ocean. There is no blockade in Asia as you had blockade in Europe, first political and, when they tried to break it, you put the military blockade, no international or political blockade. So the road is free and whoever then has the tenacity, the courage and the vision, and takes the necessary gambles, progress.

On the one hand, the Soviet Union is pursuing diplomacy of initiative and confidence in Asia, giving to the world what she has. She attaches as much importance to Asia as to Europe. On the other hand, historically speaking, the United States administrations successively, especially the democratic administrations, have always given the impression that they're more interested in Europe and less interested in Asia. As far as Mr. George Ball was concerned, he couldn't give a damn what happened in Asia. The United States has Asian interests, too, because she's a pacific power, but the center of gravity has been the East coast looking to Europe and not the West Coast looking to Asia.

So with that background, plus the Vietnam exhaustion and the breaking of so many assumptions of United States policy, the mood of the United States, her policy vis-à-vis the Soviet approach, appears to an outsider as a more passive (approach). As for China, she is building herself, and trying to keep away from trouble. China was given a bad name in the past. China has exercised great restraint and all her efforts have been to break her isolation, but with getting exhausted. And the Soviet Union is neither getting exhausted, nor feeling her role to be unnatural in Asia.

Interviewer: That's right. Now there are two possibilities. If you succeed, if Indira Gandhi and you were to succeed in doing what Germany and France have done after the last war, that would mean that South Asia, India and Pakistan, could find a base to work together. South Asia or the sub-continent could become a center of power or a conglomeration of power in its own right?

President: These possibilities are clearly there, but not in such precise shape. But the possibilities are there. In the first place, the France-German détente or collaboration came after a terrible war. Our war was bad, but it was not as terrible as the war that took place in Europe. And, of course, the European society was technologically more advanced and you could make effective use of your collaboration. As far as we are concerned, let us face it that we are both heavily dependent on foreign assistance. Our people have not yet entered the modern world in the sense of its totality. So you cannot make an exact analogy between the France-German situation and the Indo-Pak situation.

I would venture to welcome collaboration with India and our whole effort is going to be to have a new era between the two peoples on the basis of mutual self-respect. But we must also be objective and consider whether this collaboration is going to immediately render powerful economic results or whether it's going to be a long process. The Process is bound to be long because we're under duress and, secondly, we can't make complete dash and reach the top straightway, because our relations have been so bad that we can only go slowly, slowly, and step by step. Our economies also would not be able to stand the strain of a sudden onrush of collaboration. All these factors have to be taken into account. If there is a possibility of Indo-Pakistan collaboration leading to some genuinely viable factor, it will not be a thing of tomorrow.

Interviewer: If you find a solution, the Indians would certainly, especially Indira as I know her, insist that Pakistan recognize a certain leadership of Indira. I did you see in a December issue of the "Economist" a picture of Indira as empress of India? That's how she wants it?

President: Well she can't get it, because we want friendship, not leadership; we have resisted great power hegemonies. We have resisted the hegemony of the United States. We have resisted the hegemony of other powers. We threw the British out. Internally, our leadership has fought two terrible dictators. We have risked our life; we've gone through a struggle. And we are not going to take anyone's leadership. Neither are we going to take the leadership of the United States, nor the Soviet Union, China and, above all, we are not going to take leadership of India. Friendship, in the fullest measures, yes.

Interviewer: Aren't you afraid the Chinese will make use of you against India?

President: That depends on us, because, if we are going to be stupid and allow ourselves to be used by foreign powers, then, if it's not China, it might be somebody else. But our experience in dealing with China since 1950, when we recognized China, is not this.

Interviewer: Mr. President, one of the things which will come up at this conference and one of the subjects you will not be able to avoid, neither you nor Mrs. Gandhi is the question of Kashmir. You said in an earlier interview that you insist on self-determination. In many ways you're in the same position as Adenauer was after the war. Of course, you have less industrial resources than we had, but at least, one can compare. So what is your position on Kashmir?

President: If I am in the same position as Dr. Adenauer, and to strike a personal note here, he was extremely fond of me. I was a very young Foreign Minister and I had many meetings with him, and he was very kind and he got to like me very much. I respected him deeply as well. But you see, you have answered my question already.

Willy Brandt is showing flexibility because Adenauer did not show it. So you have to have an Adenauer in Germany to produce a Willy Brandt. You had an Adenauer. I am in the position in which Adenauer was. Well, some Willy Brandt will have to come tomorrow to become more flexible. But I don't see Willy Brandt abandoning principles, these adjustments become principles.

There is a new climate in Europe, there's a new necessity. At one time the Russians, when they got up in the morning called you racists. When they went to sleep, they called you racists. When they put the light out, they called you racists. The Russians are not calling you that any more and there's collaboration.

Interviewer: Mr. President, to come to something else, the problem of unemployment in the Third World is becoming the problem of the 70's. It is also one of your biggest headaches. How did you see your country dealing with it?

President: Yes, we have serious economic problem on our hands and we have taken some steps. We'll take more steps to rationalize our economy, to have a proper functional relationship between the public and the private sectors, to mobilize resources, to have a proper taxation system. And to have a public works program for development our currency massively. And these are back on the rails.

Of course, we have some advantages also. One big advantage is our manpower, energetic manpower, more energetic than in other parts of our region—and hardworking people. They take to the machine easily and they don't take long to get their hands used to machines, to tractors. They're good innovators. For instance, in my country we are producing surgical instruments, which are used, even I think in your own country and they're distributed all over the world. And it's not easy to make things of that kind; things like surgical instruments. It's very difficult. They make them in small houses. You think that it's some little hut in which some poor people are living, who are not even having anything to eat and you go inside and they're making surgical instruments. We have hard-working people, we have resourceful people and they take quickly to new ideas. And then, of course, we have our resources, our cotton for instance. We are increasing our cotton production.

Interviewer: Mr. President, I agree with you, but this is some thing, which is very little known abroad. If you could only succeed in making this known to Europe. If you see how many factories, German factories, have gone over to a place like Singapore. Not only Rolex, but also Siemens. A number of German factories are not producing the Rolex camera in Germany any longer but only in Singapore?

President: But it's known in Britain because the Pakistanis living in Britain are the most hardworking people there.

Interviewer: I know them; I've lived for ten years in London?

President: They're very hardworking.

Interviewer: But this is very little known in Germany. I mentioned this is in my first book under the chapter heading "The passions of Asia". It was the account of a trip down Pakistan?

President: That's what we've been called for along time, but I think now you might change your chapter after the last war. It's not the fault of our people, it's the fault of the situation we got into with two or three mad Generals running amuck and they gave our whole country bad name.

Interviewer: Yes, but I mean your country does not have as bad a name as we had after our war. We got out of it. But what will, of course, make it difficult to persuade German businessmen for instance, is their impression that things are still uncertain here. They're liable to think well, how we know how it is going further. Is this one of the reasons also why you travel so much abroad?

President: No, I have traveled abroad because our point of view has to be put across. As I said, we have had such a bad image. That has to be corrected. That's one reason. The second reason is that some countries stood by us with great fraternity and a sense of great solidarity and it's not right that before I go to India I should not go and have consultations with them, thank them and exchange views with them. I did that in January. I went to some of the Muslim countries but the rest I could not visit. We felt and I'm sure they felt that. It is only right morally to go here and complete the mission.

Interviewer: But generally you would be willing to receive foreign investment to put up factories?

President: Yes, we have for this reason not nationalized or put into the state enterprise any of the foreign companies that are in Pakistan.

Interviewer: In the first place especially around Karachi, corruption was really bad. In Latin America it's even worse. The whole of Asia is learning, Africa is learning very fast. One gets the impression that you are trying to curb corruption?

President: Yes.

Interviewer: It is extremely difficult. So far you have tried to persuade the people to bring their money back from Switzerland or wherever they have it.

President: You've got to put a few of them in jail for a few days.

Interviewer: Some people say you're a socialist I wouldn't consider you one from what I've read about you. I would say you have an inclination towards the social democrats. You're standing up for social reforms, which might lead to difficulties in certain sectors?

President: I don't think so. I think every country has its own conditions and we are fully in control of the situation.

Interviewer: you have taken measures. You have announced, for instance, land reforms. So you have two opponents. You have the right-wing people who say that they wouldn't dream of giving one square yard of land and you have the ultra-left, who say they do not want a part of it, they want it all?

President: We are quite prepared to deal with both of them even if they collaborate with each other. But we can't do anything insensible and upset the whole equilibrium. Our reforms, objectively speaking, are basic and sensible. They go deep in breaking the feudal stronghold. I have said repeatedly that all we can do is to set the peace and to do the right things. I can't nationalize all the land. It's not possible. Tomorrow, if someone wants to do it, let him try and at the same time, I can't allow bigger estates to remain. I must cut them down so that production increases and the feudal power is eliminated. I think both the objectives will be met, the elimination of feudal power and the increase in production. The farmer will be happier because we have transferred all the burdens on the landowners, burdens of taxation, of providing fertilizer, of seeds. And those people who get the land, are getting it without any payment because we've offered no compensation to the landowners. I think that's big measure of reform.

The world doesn't come to an end with one reform. If that reform is proper and successful, on that you can build other reforms. But no one can sweep the boards clean in one go.

Interviewer: Don't you fear agricultural production will go down?

President: No, that's not been our experience. That has not been the experience anywhere in the world.

Interviewer: Chile is making this experiment. Cuba has the same experience. Chile ran into deep difficulties because they handed land over and they slopped. Do you think you can avoid that?

President: We'll avoid that.

Interviewer: The big landowners can use machinery, the small ones can't?

President: The small ones do it more intensively. We had land reforms in 1958 and although those land reforms were not as big as these, we have seen that the farmer who gets the land works much harder on it. The landowner with what he has got left uses tractors and tries his best too. So I don't think we have a problem.

Interviewer: And when you give the land to the formers, in the beginning they need some money. Do they get credit?

President: Lots, We see to that, of course. We give them credit.

Interviewer: How much time will you need to put the country back on the feet?

President: I've got only five years, constitutionally speaking. So I have to try and do everything in these five years, but it will take longer. Basic problems, I think, we'll be able to tackle in these five years, but to build Pakistan according to our dreams, I think is a 10 to 15 years process.

Mujib-ur-Rahman is determined to stay in office for 25 years. I have no such ambitions. But I have got the basic of this constitutional mandate. My tenure in office democratically given to me is five years. I will try my best to do whatever I can in these five years.

Interviewer: I hope that you make it through. I also hope that you have the courage; which many leaders have not, who do not tell their people what is needed. Are you willing to go and tell the people quite openly everything? For instance, if you come to an agreement with Mujib, are you going to go to the people and an agreement with Mujib are you going to go to the people and tell them?

President: We can never bypass the people.

Interviewer: Thank you very much, Mr. President.

**INTERVIEW TO PIERO SARACENI,
REPRESENTATIVE OF
ITALIAN TELEVISION,
Lahore, May 13, 1972**

Interviewer: Mr. President! That day, March 25, 1971, you were a leading political personality, the chief of the Pakistan People's party, without government responsibilities. And on that fateful day, you were in Dacca, and you left on the 26th. I would like your eyewitness account of that day when the guns began to shoot all over East Bengal. What did exactly happen? How and why did it happen?

President: Well, that's a long story. Why it happened - well, this question you can address to those who took the action; but I believe that they took the action thinking that political negotiations had broken down and there was no further possibility of political progress. I suppose under that assumption they struck.

I was in East Pakistan at that time to have political negotiations, which the then President Yahya Khan was conducting with Mujib-ur-Rahman and myself. We met for two days and we tried to come to a settlement but we could not make much progress. However, on the 25th night, we were in our hotel, the Intercontinental, and my party members were with me. We used to hold consultations, late into the night, everyday. That was the routine. And we held these consultations, in the hotel and I think we went to our rooms by 10:30 or 11; and I was about to retire, go to bed when I was awakened by the sound of gunfire. My other colleagues, who were on the same floor, also heard the fire and they came to my room. That was about 11:30 I think. We saw that action was being taken, but, of course, Intercontinental Hotel-have you been there? From there you can see the skyline in the distance. On the road itself, we did not see any activity. On 26th morning at 7'o clock, we left Dacca and came back here.

Interviewer: The Pakistani leadership in which you have always had a very prominent place is accused of having pursued towards East Pakistan a policy of exploitation. It seems to me that the most reliable source - and I have checked official Pakistan sources - tend to deny this assumption. Can you tell

us why this unfair policy was not ruled out when its consequences clearly appeared in the permanent unrest of the Eastern Wing?

President: Quite right. Again I would say this question should be addressed to those who ruled East Pakistan for so long. We always struggled for a better social and economic order; and not only we struggled, but we made many sacrifices. We always maintained that the social system as it was operating in those days will lead to great difficulties, and finally to disaster. Not only in East Pakistan but also here in West Pakistan, because it was a ruthless form of exploitation. The system we inherited, was neo-colonial. I know some people do not like the use of this word but it does operate in practice. We inherited a neo-colonial system and there were many other factors responsible for the perpetuation of this system. It has not really ended yet. It will take us some time to root it out. Can't be done in a day, but we have begun on the right lines. And if this had been done earlier, I am quite confident that the unity of the country would have been preserved. However, at the same time, although I admit that there was this exploitation and we have polarization that does take place in a country. Northern Italy was accused of exploiting the South for a long time.

Interviewer: Yes?

President: And you had to take some special measures to bring about relief and redress in the Southern part of Italy.

Interviewer: When and how did you realize Mr. President that India and Pakistan were on a collision course as far as East Bengal was concerned? What was your reaction as the leader of the major West Pakistani party?

President: Well we have been on a collision course since the inception. From the beginning there has been a conflict and confrontation between India and Pakistan. But even before that, it was confrontation, which led to the division of the subcontinent, and since then we have had to face it in every facet of our life. But, of course, it was more concentrated in East Pakistan. Number of reasons, but then again, they took advantage of a number of our mistakes. If we had not committed the mistakes, they would not have been able to take the advantage.

Interviewer: Last Question. What is your opinion about the South Asian and international relationships taking place in the new framework of the sub-continent? In which direction will be South Asian and international balance is affected by the birth of the new Islamic nation?

President: Well that is difficult to reply now, especially today. We were in a state of flux, but now with the developments in Vietnam, we have almost

fallen into the volcano. Heaven alone knows, what tomorrow might bring. We are facing a situation similar to what we saw during the Cuba crisis. It is a most unfortunate development.

**INTERVIEW WITH
AMERICAN BROADCASTING
CORPORATION,**
Telecast on May 14, 1972

Interviewer: Mr. President, there have been reports that you may meet with President Nixon in Tehran after visit to Moscow. Are those reports true?

President: No, I don't think those reports are correct. I intended to go to Tehran but after President Nixon has left the country.

Interviewer: Do you think a meeting with Mr. Nixon at this particular point would be helpful to you and your country?

President: It would always be helpful to meet the President of a great power, United States, but I think President Nixon has so many other problems at the moment that it would be better to allow him to concentrate on those basic problems, which have suddenly come into the wake and he's confronted with them.

Interviewer: Well, are you concerned about what's happening in Vietnam right now?

President: Naturally, deeply concerned. We've always been concerned. Vietnam is a part of Asia and above all it's a human problem.

Interviewer: Do you think Mr. Nixon's solution or the acts he has taken now are correct?

President: I don't know whether that's the solution but he's taken certain acts and judging from past record and the past events of the Vietnam conflict. I don't think that such acts have contributed to the overall solution.

Interviewer: Well, in spite of the current situation in the Far East, Mr. President, American long-range policy is one of disengagement. Are you concerned that United States may not honor its commitments to Pakistan in the future?

President: No, I think the United States will come to its own policy objective in the interests of its own national interests and its global interest and the United States is quite capable of taking care of her objective interest.

Interviewer: Is it valid to suggest, Mr. President, that Pakistan is a valuable asset to the United States as long as the Russians wish to have a land route to the Indian Ocean?

President: Well, that's an over-simplification. I think that inherently people are valuable and if we approach problems on those lines I think the long-term interests of the whole world would be better served. We are a nation still of sixty million, if East Pakistan is separated from us; an extremely important part of the world. And all of these factors I'm sure are in the consideration of not only the United States but also the other great powers.

Interviewer: There was considerable criticism of the Nixon Administration for their alliance with West Pakistan during the war last year. Would you anticipate a change with a new administration, notably a Democrat one?

President: No, I can't anticipate events that are much ahead but I wouldn't say that there was an alliance between Pakistan and the United States Administration. United States Government took certain positions. I think it took them sensibly; however, our complaint is that the alliance was broken rather than that an alliance was maintained.

Interviewer: Well, on this show, Mr. President, both Mrs. Gandhi and Mr. Rahman maintained that the big power should leave the subcontinent alone and let them solve their own problems. Do you agree with this?

President: Well, it's nice for Mrs. Gandhi to say this now after the Soviet-Indian Treaty of August last year and the advantages that India derived from it. It's all very well that after having taken the advantages to make such biased statements.

Interviewer: You and Mrs. Gandhi presumably are going to the summit shortly together. It does appear that you've settled on an agenda. Have you settled on anything else or are you simply going to go and begin talking from scratch?

President: Well, Yes and no, Talking from scratch is not possible with India and Pakistan. We've lived in the same subcontinent, we were one nation till 1947. We know our problems inside out. In the last 25 years we've turned Kashmir upside down, looked at it sideways and from all angles. So it can't be beginning from scratch in those terms but if we approach these problems with

new values and with a new dimension and with a fresh outlook, then, of course, in a way you're right. We'll begin from scratch.

Interviewer: Well, as you yourself say, Sir, you've turned Kashmir upside, downside, sideways for the last 25 years. What makes you think that Kashmir can finally be settled?

President: Well, you see the question is that when I say "we" I used the word loosely. If the principle of self-determination had not been violated and if attempts have not been made to overcome it, I think we would have found the settlement long ago. So to us the principle of self-determination is sacrosanct.

Interviewer: Well, aside from Kashmir, Mr. President, what do you think is the most pressing issue between India and Pakistan at this particular time?

President: Kashmir really and a state of mind - a change in the state of mind. I think to put it more metaphysically, a change in the state of mind, if that takes place, we can resolve I think the basic issue of Kashmir on established principles.

Interviewer: Well, you have talked about a peace line instead of a cease-fire line. Just what do you mean by a "peace line"?

President: Yes, to lift the curtain and so let people come and go and let them see things for themselves here and let the Kashmir's go there and see things for themselves. After all, they're one people and for 25 years they have been arbitrarily held apart from each other.

Interviewer: So you're suggesting that a plebiscite at the moment in Kashmir, which you're always, insisted on before, is not necessary as a first step.

President: It's a forerunner. But even otherwise in the past there were many forerunners to a plebiscite, appointment of a plebiscite administration and various other things. Well, since that procedure and that method didn't work, now I feel that if aside the curtain is lifted, all the barriers are broken between the two part of Kashmir, there'll be more intercourse and more integration and thinking between the two people and basically for them to determine their future. So if the two sided of the Kashmir leaders and people get together, perhaps they will find equilibrium.

Interviewer: Shortly after the end of the war, Sir, you expressed deep and constant concern about the state of the prisoners of war in India. There appears to be less pressure in Pakistan now about their return. Is that true?

President: I'm thankful to the people of Pakistan. They have heroically responded to my patriotic call. When I came back everything was in a vacuum and in a state of flux and naturally the people were extremely agitated about this problem and they still are concerned. Obviously, they're concerned. It's a very big problem. It's a basic human problem involving about eighty thousand to ninety thousand people. But we went out to the families. I sent my Party people; I sent our workers and tried the consequences of war-of the more they would weaken their own position and their country's position. So, I repeat, I'm very grateful to them that they have seen the point and they're exercised great restraint and discipline.

Interviewer: Have you thought in your own mind how long it might be before they do come home?

President: It's very difficult to guess. In normal circumstances one would say it's easy to guess because the war is over, there's a cease-fire both sides want peace, there are Geneva conventions, there are United Nations' resolutions and so in normal circumstances they should have been back home. But we're not dealing with normal circumstances. We're dealing with a difficult neighbor who I hope will become less difficult in her victory.

Interviewer: So why is India holding your prisoners of war still?

President: Why does India do many things?

Interviewer: Why do you think? A tactic? Hostage? A trading card?

President: Well, I would not like to say words, which will spoil our future meetings.

Interviewer: Well, is there any kind of a compromise or deal possible on prisoners? You only have a few Indian prisoners; they have 93 thousand. They've taken an awful lot of Pakistan territory during the war. You only have a little parcel of Indian land. What kind of a why what makes you think that you could possibly reach some agreement with India when your bargaining position seems to be very bad?

President: Bargaining position in those terms but not in terms if India tries to impose an unequal treaty on Pakistan. In that event, the whole of Pakistan will turn into an arsenal of defense.

Interviewer: Mr. President, you have said that in the forthcoming summit you will not be dictated to. You've also said there are certain inherent implications stemming out of a lost war and that Pakistan will have her ups and downs. Are those statements contradictory?

President: No, it only shows that we will adopt a flexible posture; at the same time not compromise inherent fundamental principles.

Interviewer: Are you fearful at all that India will try to place a one sided settlement on you?

President: I don't think they will be all that myopic and I think they have also learnt a lesson from the past failures and how negative our enmity has been and how detrimental it has been to the people. So I think that they'll be little more constructive. And if they are constructive, there'll be ample reciprocity from this end.

Interviewer: You have been in office for about four months. You talk about a new democracy in Pakistan. Now there have been eleven regimes in Pakistan since partition. Why should the Indians now trust you?

President: I don't want them to trust me. I want our people to trust us. It's not a question of Indians trusting me. It's not a personal matter. Indians will have to deal with me because I am the elected leader of the people.

Interviewer: Mr. President, can we move to another matter? It's been said that Pakistan's recognition of Bangladesh is not a question of principle but a question of timing. Would that be a fair statement?

President: It's both because if the people of East Pakistan really want to sever their connections from us permanently than that's a question of principle, that they want, the people want to part from us altogether, for all times to come and we cannot deny what they want. There the principle is involved. But we have to first find out if that is the correct position and we can't find out being a thousand miles away and having had no dialogue or communication with them. So that's why we must first meet their leaders and come to an objective assessment.

Interviewer: Well, you seem to be getting into a position where it's impossible to have any kind of agreement. Mr. Rahman says no meeting with you till recognition; you say no recognition till meeting. How do you solve this?

President: Well, I think my good friend will take out the lollipop from his mouth and accept the realities and the logics of politics.

Interviewer: It's been suggested he might be pushing you too hard?

President: No, I don't think I can be pushed hard easily.

Interviewer: Did you and he have an agreement about a future meeting when he left Pakistan?

President: Certainly. He was extremely enthusiastic about it.

Interviewer: So is he now reneging on that meeting?

President: No. I don't know. I have no contact with him.

Interviewer: He's also most insistent at the moment, Sir, as I'm sure you're aware about war crimes trials. Does that affect your recognition and what is your general view on his trials?

President: yes, that's a more serious matter. It's not serious only because it's not the right thing to do because we believe there's no analogy between Nuremberg and the situation here in the subcontinent as what happened. I do not go into all the legal aspects of it but, strictly from the practical point of view, it will just muck up the atmosphere. And you know our people are sensitive; Bengalis are sensitive. And these trials will go on and all sorts of things will be said; the press will play it up. I'm afraid it will take us to the point of no return.

Interviewer: Well, Mr. President, you have warned of terrible repercussions if those trials are held. What did you mean by terrible repercussions?

President: I didn't say it in that sense nor in the sense of reprisals; in the sense that it will become almost impossible for us then to keep the situation under control and for the forces of sanity to prevail.

Interviewer: Do you accept the view that Sheikh Mujib probably needs to hold some kind of trials?

President: Well, if that is his position after four months of having returned to Dacca as a hero, then I'm afraid he can't go on from one gimmick to the other.

Interviewer: Do you feel any, to hold war crimes trials here at all? That has been suggested?

President: No, we won't approve that. But if there are people who have committed excesses then we are prepared to consider taking legal action against them.

Interviewer: Is this final question on it? Is this an issue upon which future relations between Pakistan and Bangladesh flounder?

President: I wouldn't like to put it that emphatically because I would like to keep all the doors and windows open for a settlement, and I wouldn't like to take the Mujib approach of slamming one door after another. If we both start doing that then we'd be really in a quagmire.

Interviewer: Well, Mr. President, what kind of a compromise is possible on the war crimes Issue? There has been talk of possible having token trials in Bangladesh, which would satisfy everybody?

President: Why should, how can a token trial or any form of trial satisfy everybody. It won't satisfy us because a principle is involved. These people, they were defending their national territory and integrity and unity. They might have committed excesses and we're not condoning those excesses. We are prepared to try some of them here under the ordinary law. So I don't understand how we can compromise on such questions.

Interviewer: It is not difficult in Pakistan now, Sir, to find the opinion expressed that other than the moral loss of East Pakistan, that economically and politically it's good riddance?

President: Whoever says that to you couldn't really be a patriot?

Interviewer: That's why I excepted the moral issue and said it was simply politically and economically that Bangladesh was a burden to this country and that you might do better without it.

President: I really, I can't even think in those terms.

Interviewer: Well, has Pakistan adjusted economically, politically and mentally to the loss of East Pakistan?

President: That's another matter. You have to accept the painful conditions and we have made I think sufficient efforts to find new accommodations.

Interviewer: Well, what is your most pressing internal problem right now?

President: Internal problem? Firstly, I would say that we have to consolidate political unity in the country. Secondly take some strides in the economic field, establish the rule of law. We have now a constitution and go back to the democratic rails firmly and I hope for all times.

Interviewer: Thank you, Mr. President, for being our guest on “Issues and Answers”.

Mr. President when you released Sheikh Mujib from imprisonment here in West Pakistan, he claimed to have been so ignorant of the situation in the East that he could not make any binding or lasting agreements with you about anything. Is that correct?

President: Well, in the first place I didn't ask him to make any commitments. Whatever he said was of his own accord, about our future relationship. Secondly, when I met him I did give him the salient features of what had happened. That was on the 27th of December. On the same day. I gave him a radio and allowed him all the newspapers. I met him again on the 7th of January. By that time he must have had some idea of the situation and he repeated what he had said to me earlier before he left Pakistan for London.

Interviewer: In the last four months here. Sir you have spoken about relatively massive development for West Pakistan; increased aid to education; increased aid to health; rebuilding the Army and raising two new divisions. Where is the money going to come from?

President: Money will come. Money will not come from trees and it will come with labor. Money will come with sweat. Money will come with good intentions. Money will come from the fat industrialists. Money will come.

Interviewer: Some people are suggesting that in fact you think money will come down from the trees?

President: No, I don't.

Interviewer: Well, let us be more specific. What about the consortium? What about renewed aid from Britain, the United States? What about increased private investment here? What about increased private investment here? It's all at an all-time low, I gather?

President: Never mind. I have been talking to the trees for a long time, ever since it became a popular song in the United States. But we'll get the money. And the Consortium I think is readjusting itself to our needs. If our intentions are good and we mobilize the people and the world knows that we

are determined to get somewhere, the sympathy, the understanding will all come back into place.

Interviewer: Well, the Consortium has maintained all along that you had to take certain drastic economic and financial steps to put your own house in order before they would resume aid. Do you feel that you have convinced them that you've taken these measures?

President: Well, we're taking these measures. We're taking these measures according to our own light and we cannot be dictated to on what should be done internally. That's been done for too long and we've got nowhere. Quite independent of outside consideration and advice, we are taking steps, which they think are the right steps. Sometimes they might think that we have not gone far enough but we judge our own situation according to our own light and according to our own conditions.

Interviewer: You said, Mr. President, that there's a need to rebuild the Army. You said more emphatically that you never intend to disarm. Again, that could appear to some to be a contradiction between your search for a durable peace. Now is it a contradiction?

President: No, because United States made its best search for a durable peace when armed to the teeth. I don't say the analogy holds for us but at the same time you can't disarm completely and yet undertake that search. Besides India, in spite of the events of last year, has increased her defense budget. I can't close my eyes to that factor. We're surrounded by important and interesting countries. We can't close our eyes to that factor.

Interviewer: Those surrounding and interesting countries are Afghanistan, Iran, and China. Are you worried about them?

President: Soviet Union. And if they want to be friendly with us we'll be more than happy to be friendly with them. But if they want to have relationships, which increase our tensions, we have to take precautions. But so far I don't think we have had any difficulties with these countries and I hope that we won't have any difficulty with them in the future. Principally, it has been India and if India begins to disarm sincerely and effectively, we won't allow that factor to be ignored by us because our conditions also need greater consideration on economic matters.

Interviewer: Is there any possibility of a no-war pact?

President: I don't think that phrase "no-war-pact" is a right one to use. It's been subjected to so many interpretations because it's been used by Indian and Pakistani leaders in a long debate stretching over 25 years, so it's become

a term of art. But fundamentally we're quite prepared to adopt a civilized course, which is to try and settle our disputes by peaceful means.

Interviewer: Well, how do you do this, Mr. President? For 25 years there have been atrocities, there has been war between the peoples here. What has to be done first before this thing will finally end?

President: I think I answered that question earlier by saying that on this occasion there has been some kind of a fairly decisive military outcome and we take our roots from the debris of this war.

Interviewer: Well, there was a recent border clash in the Kashmir area and there were reports it was more than a clash that Pakistan troops actually occupied some positions that were occupied by the Indian Army. First of all, is that report true?

President: Well, Now that you mention it to me I'm glad to get this good news after having lost so much territory, figure a little bit of territory, it comes as good news.

Interviewer: Well, how do you stop this kind of thing from escalating?

President: Well, by respecting the cease, fire line, by withdrawing forces, by returning prisoners of war, by meeting soon, as soon as possible, by coming to some sensible settlement to settle disputes by peaceful means. But you can't do it on an ad-hoc basis when the tow armies are facing each other and when the prisoners of war are in India, when tension hasn't subsided.

Interviewer: Back to the trading issue for a moment, Sir, Sheikh Mujib suggests, fairly strongly, that you may hold the Bengalis in West Pakistan as hostages?

President: No, he's talking through his nose or hat, whatever the expression is. We never do that.

Interviewer: Much of your administration in the last four months has reflected the negative aspects of the last years on the previous regimes. What is in fact the difference in the nature of your regime and that of Yahya Khan?

President: Well, only little difference. Yahya Khan's regime was composed of barbarians. Mine is composed of civilized people taking their roots from the people having had swept the elections, not imposed themselves on the country, not usurper power. That's the only little difference.

Interviewer: And as you look even further back now over the last 25 years, do you have any different view of Partition?

President: No, not at all. No. My commitment to the two-nation theory is not a fleeting commitment dependent on the vagaries of military adventures.

Interviewer: Are you concerned, Mr. President, about any further partition of Pakistan? I know you have seemed to have averted a problem with your two northern frontier provinces. Do you expect any further attempts in further partitioning the country?

President: Well, the problems in these two provinces are grossly exaggerated, people everywhere unhappy. People were unhappy in east Pakistan. People in West Pakistan and every part of West Pakistan were unhappy with 13 years of dictatorial and arbitrary rule. And your unhappiness took various shapes and forms. Some people just reconciled to it. They were going through a living death. Others tried to become extrovert. But basically its structure was against the system and it wasn't for independence of all the provinces of Pakistan. It took that form and shape in East Pakistan after complete frustration. If Ayub Khan had adjusted himself to the democratic process or to the political process we would not have been in this position. The first culprit before even Yahya Khan was Ayub Khan who refused to consider political settlement of political problems. And so if this had gone on, if Yahya Khan had gone on and if a Yahya Khan, some other military general had come and there had been suffocation, complete absence of freedom and no participation of the people, then all of us might have become secessionists. So this problem of Balochistan and frontier is grossly exaggerated. They are patriotic Pakistanis and you'll find that in the days to come, the months to come, in the years to come, they'll make a most handsome contribution for the consolidation of this nation's interests.

Interviewer: Would you like to sum up what you have said, Mr. President?

President: We want durable peace in the subcontinent. Peace for all times. For centuries our people haven't seen peace and it's about time that we turned our backs to hostility and put our attention to the basic problems of the people. India and Pakistan, people of India and Pakistan, are too poor to afford the luxury of wars, every five to ten years. We should depend on our own resources, make our own country on the strength of our own efforts and not go begging to the world for assistance and aid. This doesn't make sense. But in order to have peace, we must have a peace based on principles, peace based on justice and peace can be lasting only if it is based on principles, equity and justice. Otherwise an imposed peace will not work and so with all

our hearts, with all our effort, with all our deepest faith in peace, we look forward to our negotiations with India in that spirit.

Interviewer: Thank you, Mr. President, for being our guest on “Issues and Answers.”

**INTERVIEW WITH
AUSTRALIAN BROADCASTING
COMMISSION**
Quetta, May 22, 1972

Interviewer: Mr. Bhutto, you pass yourself as a radical politician – a man for the peasant and the worker, and yet you yourself come from a most wealthy, and feudal background. When do you think you made the break from tradition?

President: Well, I wouldn't say so. Wealthy families, land owners hold extensive lands, that's true: but there wasn't much water. So I wouldn't categorize myself among the most wealthy families as is sometimes done in the foreign press. That's not correct. However, the family background was conservative. It was feudal and the values were feudal. But at the same time, one gets educated, seeks knowledge to break such barriers and very early in my life I was appalled by the poverty. I could not understand it, the great disparities that existed, especially in our part of the country. I couldn't reconcile myself to them. I would say I got attached to the concept of reform and revolution for Asia in my school and college days.

Interviewer: Was your father alive to see the transition that you made?

President: We had many arguments.

Interviewer: I wonder what he thought when he heard you denounce the power of the landlord group, the industrial group, well, what did he think of that?

President: Took it cynically. And he himself was a politician, a politician who had a distinguished career in our country. He was Chief Minister of our province of Sind. He went to the Round Table Conference as a delegate; and he was a member of the Central Assembly, member of the Bombay Government. He himself knew politics and he had a tolerant approach to politics. He did not get easily alarmed and did not panic. He was a very calm and collected person. We used to have many arguments. That's all.

Interviewer: You mentioned cynicism, but I think you know that some of your critics say your radicalism is just a show, and that you are as much a preacher of the establishment as Ayub Khan or Yahya Khan. What do you think of that?

President: No, God forbid. They came from a different establishment. Even if one is committed to the establishment, you cannot completely uproot yourself from your moorings. In China they had a Cultural Revolution fearing that people were going backwards, In the Soviet Union they have had similar problems. So I wouldn't deny the historical processes and the depth of the people's own roots. They go very deep. So it is in Australia. Everywhere. Yet change is inevitable, change comes.

Interviewer: But both Ayub Khan and Yahya Khan when they started out, promised a better deal for the poor people of Pakistan. Now what do you think makes you different from these last two men?

President: It was sort of ad hoc confused thinking. It was to do some little good so that they get popular and they remain in power, they remain in office, they get accepted. They were as naïve as the Fabian socialists were. They were wanting to be good men in inverted commas. But they didn't have a concept, an idea as to how this is brought about because they didn't have that background.

Interviewer: Well, you yourself served as a senior Minister under both of those men and yet you...?

President: No, not with Yahya.

Interviewer: Not? With Yahya you represented Pakistan in the United Nations.

President: Oh, that's when he was going, when he was about to fold up, and he at the last minute informed the Government then that I was Deputy Prime Minister-designate. Because of the war, we accepted that position and in the situation in which Pakistan was placed, I would've accepted any position to serve my country because we were being subjected to aggression, and I think you or any one else would do the same thing.

Interviewer: You don't think that perhaps you compromised your own position and your own principles by serving in any capacity with either of those men?

President: With Ayub Khan, of course, I was a Minister, very much so. When Ayub became President as you have said so yourself, he gave good

promises to the people, and he said he had a plan and he did have some measure of reform. Superficial, but they were reforms. **It was a break from the past that the landed aristocracy for the first time lost their lands.** And there were some other reforms also. He began well. Nobody can deny that. But afterwards the deterioration set in. and our differences also began to get wider and wider till the final break came and I left the Government.

Interviewer: Now we hear from press reports about your campaign for reform, your crackdown on the so-called 22 families, your reforms of the civil service and the army and yes it does seem that those moves have met only limited success. Would you say that it's fair to call them a limited success?

President: it's too early to tell because my Government came into office only four months ago and we eventually have to stand on our record. We were in pieces, shattered. The economy was in complete bankruptcy. We had lost half the country and there was utter demoralization. So it wasn't an easy task. We have introduced the reforms and we will have to await the implementation. But the reforms are basic and nobody can deny that.

Interviewer: Well, can you describe these reforms, the ones that you consider most urgent for your country at the present time?

President: Well. In the first place, land reforms which affect the mass of the people. And here we have given land to the peasants without any encumbrances. They didn't have to pay a penny. The lands have been taken away from the landlords without any compensation and where the lands were retained by the landowners, they have to buy to pay for all the things like seeds, fertilizers and taxes. The burden has been shifted entirely from the peasantry to the landed gentry wherever lands do acres to about 300 acres.

Interviewer: What about industry?

President: Just as you have land reforms, we've taken over, the state has taken over the basic industries and then we had labor reforms. We've done away with the managing agency system and we have nationalized life insurance.

Interviewer: Can I interrupt you there? When you say you have taken over the basic industries, you haven't actually nationalized them but you've put in a managerial system. Is that correct?

President: Yes.

Interviewer: But they're still allowed to have private stockholders?

President: Well, we couldn't pay compensation and we had to pay compensation. We could not do it.

Interviewer: Frankly, Sir I've heard you described as a man walking a tight rope, a man who would like to do much more for his people and yet he has opposition from the establishment, the industrial elites and so on, would you agree with that characterization?

President: I took stock of the objective conditions, both external and internal, but there was no resistance from the industrial tycoons as such. There were little intrigues and things like that but basically they can't fight the Government because the Government has the backing of the people for what it's doing.

Interviewer: Now it seems clear that your Government does, in fact, have the backing of the people, that is the first popularly elected Government and yet it is a fact that you're only in power now, by leave of the Army, is there any chance of the Army intervening if they don't like what you're doing?

President: I don't thin it is correct to say that I am here in office today by leave of the Army. Looking into the future, if we messed it up, if we didn't make the parliamentary system work, if our constitution breaks down, then that's a possibility of the Army stepping in again. But for the moment neither are they physically in a position nor mentally is the Army interested.

Interviewer: Mr. President, I've talked to many people about you and about the only thing they seem to agree on is that you're both, a brilliant man but a very baffling man, who seems to change policies, for example, you have been described as pro-China, but now you seem to be working for the Russians and the Americans. Is there any basic philosophy in what you do in all these changes or do you play things by chance? Are you a pragmatist?

President: No, I don't think about that. But I think that the fundamental principles that we uphold, not only as individuals, but as a party, because my party is a majority party and by virtue of that we're in office, we have a manifesto. We've gone by it. We've stood by our manifesto. I think the first party in Pakistan in the last 25 years who are implementing their manifesto. I don't think this charge is valid. It doesn't hold good. But there are objective conditions. One has to take cognizance of those factors without changing your basic principles. These basic principles stand. Some times it becomes necessary to make adjustments and by making adjustments and remaining a little flexible I don't think that's the wrong thing to do. Because the basic thing is that the people must be happy and the people must be prosperous. They must stand behind the decisions or they must support

those decisions. Now if the people are really at war and they want to lay down arms and stop confrontation because they felt the confrontation has gone on too long – 25 years, since Pakistan and India came to be and before that between the Hindus and the Muslims in the subcontinent and there have been three wars in these 25 years and the last one was fairly disastrous war. So the people can feel that it's about time they started reviewing their outlook that happened in Europe as well. France and Germany had that kind of relationship. The allies at first were opposed to Soviet Union and then later on when the power of Germany and the Soviet Union signed a treaty, and then they broke that treaty. The Japanese and the Americans were on good terms and there was Pearl Harbor. The Americans and the Chinese had the best of relations. Then they were on bad terms. There was a policy of confrontation between China and the United States for such a long time. Even now the United States doesn't recognize China, yet Nixon goes to China after some period of time. These are events and when events move men, men must move with the events.

Interviewer: It does seem difficult to reconcile a very closer relationship with China with an attempt to bring about a close relationship with Soviet Union. Do you really think that a nation like Pakistan is going to achieve a balance in these friendships?

President: Yes, I don't think that there's any incompatibility because we have made it quite clear to the Soviet Union and to China that we want good relations with both of them, because both of them are our neighbors. And as such we're not involved in their ideological quarrels or in their quarrels of power politics. We have our own interest. If they weren't our neighbors it wouldn't have been necessary for us to have good relations with both of them because it's essential for a country to try and get along with its neighbors. And if you don't succeed that's a different matter. So it is really from that point of view that we want good relations with both our neighbors. With China we have a common frontier, very difficult part, a very difficult part of the country up in the Himalayas, the Karakoram, and we can't say we would like to have our armies facing each other. Take India. There are tensions. I would much rather prefer that there were trade, intercourse and communications. Pakistan is separated from the Soviet Union; we have to have good relations with them. That's why we have to have good relations with Afghanistan. And we have made concerted efforts improve our relations with these countries.

Interviewer: There are reports that there is a great deal of cooperation between Pakistan and China that you are looking for arms and equipment from China.

President: I would say we have had cooperation. We have made no secret of it. We have had assistance from china for quite a few years now. We are members of SEATO and CENTO. We have a bilateral agreement with the United States but since 1965 the United States stopped supplying arms to Pakistan. The Soviet Union at one point gave us a few arms. Then they stopped supplying us arms. Nevertheless, we don't get any arms from any other source. Resources are limited. So I don't think there is any harm if we get some arms from China.

Interviewer: Just getting back to you personally. Sir, I've seen press reports describing you as anti-American and yet I know that you yourself went to a university in the States. Is there any truth to this that you may be anti-American?

President: It is not correct. Why should I be anti-American? American people have achieved great progress, great strides. They have made remarkable contributions to science, to technology, education, culture, literature. So how can I be anti-American? But I opposed United States policy on many occasions in the past and I also don't like your policy assumptions in Vietnam. But that doesn't make me anti-American.

Interviewer: You yourself were educated in America, and then educated in England. You've had a chance to see both systems work. Does it leave you with any lasting impressions for lasting influences?

President: Yes, of course, I was impressed by the society in both countries and the progress their people have made in the standards of education both in the United States and in England. They've got very fine institutions. Not only Pakistanis but people from all over the world have benefited from them. And of course in Oxford you have Rhodes scholars and many Australians were as my contemporaries. And they did very well both in sports and studies. In Oxford, I think I was more happy, more tranquil.

Interviewer: Sir, I don't want you to think this as insulting in any way and yet perhaps the criticism I've heard of you, it's alleged that for many years you've desired to become, the leader of Pakistan, that you changed your policy, that you are an opportunist. Now I'm sure you've heard that. Does it not disturb you?

President: No, many bad things have been said against me. This is not important. People have their ideas and their notions. There are many people who would have bet their last buck that I'll never make it. So its those people, who say these things. I think the common man of Pakistan rejoiced at my taking command of the national affairs and the common man, left to himself, would have given me this command much earlier. Soon after Tashkent, if I

had been an opportunist, I would have done things, which opportunists do in such a situation. But I didn't because my national interests and my country's future were involved. And it took a lot of rubbing to war off the fact that after Tashkent I didn't lump into the fire because if I had at that time, Ayub Khan would have been toppled. Looking at it now with the loss of East Pakistan and the intervention of Yahya. One wonders if it would not have been a good thing to have been an opportunist at that time. But no, my people have wanted me to occupy this position and I have made no secret of the fact. One has to be honest and for a long time I had this feeling that one-day I would be in charge of the affairs of my country.

Interviewer: What does power then mean to you, political power?

President: Power meant to build, to construct, to wipe out the gutters, and the slums, to give education to our children, where they can't afford it to help people being attended to in the hospitals, to help them make their best, come out in the world, be a part of the world which is happy and prosperous. And it means to build a monument.

Interviewer: The Indians I talked to find that, at the time of partition, of course, you were a very young man then, but that you made some inflammatory speeches that tended to raise strife and tensions. Do you see any basis at all for a claim like that?

President: I was student. I was in school and it was in Bombay and the Pakistan movement was on. I was a part of it. I did a lot of work in the Pakistan Movement and Quaid-e-Azam Mohammad Ali Jinnah himself on one occasion complimented me for my efforts. Although I never talked about it because I have seen in Pakistan so many people lay tall claims to how they made Pakistan. And I don't claim to have made Pakistan. We have played our little parts and I don't mean to brag and I'm glade about it. But I did say things inflammatory to convince people. Muslims in Bombay were on the defensive and it was only we who were trying to keep them safe, telling to get them organized.

Interviewer: Did you yourself go to Pakistan immediately after partition or did you stay on it India?

President: You see I originally was in India because my province of Sind was a part of Bombay. But even after separation in 1936, there were certain common institutions. As I said to you, my father was a Minister in the Bombay Government but later went to Sind and the legislature was in Bombay. So we had to spend a lot of time in Bombay but we were all the time there in the capacity of representing the part of Sind, which was a part of Bombay Presidency.

Interviewer: In the speech you made to the National Assembly some weeks ago there was one phrase that struck me. You were referring to the history of the events leading up to partition and you referred to the grasping Hindus and the defiant Muslims. Now does that strike you in retrospect as being somewhat prejudiced?

President: It's a question of economic domination. You have to see the factors that led to Pakistan. Basically, they are over-simplified in terms of Muslims and Hindus conflict but at the bottom of it certainly there was this idea of ridding ourselves of the economic domination of the Hindus. It's the kind of thing Mr. Mujib-ur-Rahman has been talking about, the domination of West Pakistan, economic domination. And that was there in great abundance.

Interviewer: Perhaps it's little difficult for us in the West to understand that when you refer to a whole people, the Hindus, as grasping, it seems the same as what for instance the Germans said about the Jews, that they were all money-grabbing and so on.

President: It was a generalization and it wasn't meant to color every individual with the same brush. It was a generalization, which I could confine to the attitude of the ruling class and to the attitude of the Indian National Congress.

Interviewer: Pakistan being a Muslim state you yourself have no prejudices as such against Hindus?

President: No, I've never had them, never entertained them and people in India will tell you that. They know me, they know quite well that I've never had it and I'm glad I never had it and I hope I never have it in the future.

Interviewer: Would you describe yourself as a particularly religious man in a sense?

President: Religious in the sense that I believe in God. I believe in Islam being the final message of God. I have got great reverence and respect for my religion but I don't believe in exploiting it, to perpetuate the abominable status quo.

Interviewer: I understand that Yahya Khan opposed birth control on the grounds that the Quran opposed birth control. In the first place, is that true? Do you know whether that's true or not?

President: I don't think it's true but that is a matter, which is subject to interpretation. You can argue greatly that there is prohibition or that there

isn't. So I don't think there's anything in the Holy Quran against family planning as such but at the same time it can be argued both ways.

Interviewer: Well, how would you describe yourself on moral questions like birth control, abortion and so on? Are you a liberal or a conservative?

President: Population pressure is very great on our people and we have to make efforts to control the growth of population. We are growing at the rate of 2.5 to 3 per cent and that's far too much. Very soon we will be eating ourselves at this rate. So if the people are made to realize the implications of the population explosion, I think they themselves will also try to exercise discipline. At the same time the state has responsibility and I don't believe that I would be fair to our people if I shirked this responsibility.

Interviewer: What about other social issues? For instance, we hear a great deal about the revolt of the young and so on. Are you disturbed by what you see in the young people today?

President: No, I'm not disturbed by it. It causes us concern but I've seen it. I've been in it in the sense that first as the student leader and then afterwards in the political life one had to keep in touch with this phenomenon and the students of Pakistan have always been kind to me. Sometimes they get angry but basically they're kind. So I have an idea of their thinking. This is in a sense a worldwide phenomenon that has taken place. But I see it also now setting down by and large not only here but generally.

Interviewer: Now we referred previously to the problem of "Bangladesh" which is, of course, inescapable for you. General Yahya Khan is now reaping most of the blame for that and yet the fact is that at that time Pakistani officials including yourself tried to minimize the degree of oppression, the Army's killings, the flow of refugees. It is because you perhaps didn't know what was going on or do you still believe that these excesses were exaggerated?

President: In the beginning we didn't know what was happening. We had some idea that the military had taken action but military takes action in many countries to stop secession. They use rubber bullets also. They use teargas. They put people into jail. They put people under house arrest. Military action is taken sensibly simultaneously with political action and we thought that kind of thing was perhaps happening. Later on we came to know that they didn't have a framework and they didn't have any political guidance and we protested. I myself made harsh speeches against it on a number of occasions but not that I'm condoning the actions because even though one innocent person has to be decimated, if it had on the other hand,

the figures given out and the stories that have been circulated, there is a great deal of exaggeration there. No doubt about it. Mr. Mujib-ur-Rahman says three million people were killed. That's absolutely incorrect. That's a gross exaggeration but I'm not going to fight with him over that because he likes to exaggerate.

Interviewer: General Tikka Khan who initiated the military action in East Pakistan is now serving as you Chief of Staff. Does that mean that you condone what he did?

President: No. General Tikka Khan is Chief of Staff because he's the senior most general after the one who left. Actually the one who left had superseded him and General Tikka Khan was senior to him. He's a respected general in the Army and there's nothing abnormal about the poor man.

Interviewer: Right now there's an inquiry going on into the Pakistan Army and civilian's role in what happened in "Bangladesh" and I know that you hesitate to comment on that but at least you feel that General Tikka Khan has no place in an investigation of this nature?

President: He was interrogated by the Commission, Commission headed by our Supreme Court Chief Justice and two judges of our Provincial Federal Court. It's high-powered Justice Committee, Commission rather, and we're giving them all the facilities, whatever they want all the papers, the records. Whoever is summoned to them is allowed to go there. I myself went there. They wanted to come to interview me. I said no, I'll come to you because you're the Commission. So we're awaiting the findings of that Commission.

Interviewer: You have no idea, beginning for the moment, what the results of the findings might be? What type of disciplinary action might result from those findings?

President: I think the two are connected because if the Commission comes to the conclusion that it was unadulterated savagery barbarism and unforgivable, unpardonable, naturally one will have to take cognizance of that and in that fashion. If on the other hand, they say that the intentions were good, it absolves the military. And for certain reasons excesses were committed and is some committed more than the others, then we will take those people to task.

Interviewer: Does that mean that Pakistan itself might launch its own war crimes tribunal or war crimes trails?

President: I've already said that to Mr. Mujib-ur-Rahman in my speeches and had it conveyed to him that we're quite prepared to try people and there are laws for any excesses committed by them. But he didn't approve of them.

Interviewer: It's been said that one of the reasons why General Yahya Khan unleashed the Army or "Bangladesh" was that you had refused to serve in a parliament that would almost certainly have been dominated by Sheikh Mujib-ur-Rahman. What do you say to that?

President: That's entirely incorrect, without foundation. What we said was that in order to frame a federal constitution two-thirds of the country must agree to a federal constitution. As a matter of fact, all the federated provinces must have a consensus on the constitution and that one province a thousand miles away could not impose a con-federal arrangement on Pakistan because the six points of Mr. Mujib-ur-Rahman were not federal, they were con-federal. That is the position he took and we said that we are prepared to go to the Assembly without a consensus, without an agreement, provided Yahya Khan would waive the 120 day period for the framing of the constitution. Because we couldn't envisage anything in those circumstances when there was no agreement and we wanted a federation. So there would have been a deadlock and the Assembly would have been dissolved. That would have put us right back to square one. I only said that either we should have time to negotiate a broad consensus or failing that, the 120 days should be waived for the framing of the constitution.

Interviewer: Let us be quite clear on this. Are you saying that you didn't in fact put a boycott by your party on the Assembly but did in fact set up certain conditions, which apparently Sheikh Mujib-ur-Rahman found that he could not meet?

President: We repeatedly said that we were not boycotting. All we seek is a little bit of time to have negotiations and if that's not possible then the period of 120 days should be extended.

Interviewer: Even though you're convinced that you acted properly, do you think what you did might have been an excuse or a point where Yahya Khan might have misconceived the situation and launched the attack that he did?

President: Well, then anything could have happened. If the intentions were that it was just an exercise, then if it were not this, then it would have been some other measure. If we had gone to the Assembly and certainly there would have been a deadlock in the Assembly, there's no doubt about it, would have been the vibration that would have then sparked off some kind of

trouble because trouble was always inherent in the situation. If 25 years, grievances had grown, democracy had been denied to the people in East and West Pakistan, and the conflict was getting larger and larger. We were becoming more and more irreconcilable, and we would have missed the chance to have brought about reconciliation. Then Yahya Khan also went about with a heavy hand not only finally, but even otherwise. So this kind of a disaster was more or less inevitable but the magnitude of it naturally was beyond everyone's expectations.

Interviewer: Well, looking now at the magnitude at what did happen, do you have any doubts that you acted in the way you should not have through that crisis?

President: We had no other alternative because you know we were also representing our people here, we had been give a mandate. Mr. Mujib-ur-Rahman's party lost the elections here, not a single one of their candidates got elected. All of them lost their security deposits. And we had been determined that parliament was on the basis of certain promises and pledges and with certain understandings that the people had with us. Now could you go in that situation and agree to a con-federal arrangement.

Interviewer: Again on a personal note, I don't think most Australians realize this that it's said that you in fact you, saved the life of Sheikh Mujib-ur-Rahman. Now could you tell us something of the circumstances because they appear to be confused? Was there an execution order ready for the Sheikh?

President: Yes, there was confusion at that time. I was in New York messages were coming to me, frantic messages to return immediately. I returned next day to the President's House where Yahya was and people were agitated. There were demonstrations. We could hear their noise outside. So, in that situation there were no sort of routine office files around that we could discuss across a table. And while relinquishing power, handing over to me, in the course of the conversation Yahya Khan said to me that it was a mistake for him not to have hanged him, execute him. I said what good it would do. Those were the words I think he used, and he said: "Well I'm quite prepared to do it now and then hand over" but I told him no, that would make me the cause of it. I wouldn't accept that. But that got me a little suspicious and by way of abundant caution, when I took over I passed orders and I said I wanted to see Mujib-ur-Rahman safely brought to Pindi immediately. Helicopter was sent and he was brought and kept in the custody of our people but it is possible that Yahya Khan may have done something silly like that. I think it is better to ask Mujib-ur-Rahman that question because if there were any preparations going on he would be more aware of them.

Interviewer: How do you see the future relationship between Pakistan and “Bangladesh”?

President: I hope we can restore our links – and I do not define them. They are sensitive about these matters. I do not say the people are but the Government, there, is extremely sensitive to this. On the other hand, I believe the people in that part are more and more disenchanted with the state of affairs. That may be basically because of the problems they have but I feel they are having some preliminary second thoughts. I would not jump to any conclusions but this certainly means that in the future we can have good relations between the two parts. We can come closer. If we are making efforts to have good relations with India, why should we not try to have good relations with “Bangladesh”, why should we not try to have good relations with the people who were part of our country and have been separated by military conquest?

Interviewer: The last war there was a very fascinating alignment of big powers, with the Soviet Union supporting India and China and the United States supporting Pakistan. Do you see any implications of that sort of alignment for the future?

President: Not only for Pakistan but I think for the whole world. The world must sit up and take a lesson from how our country has been dismembered. What has happened to Pakistan can happen to any country of Asia, Africa or Latin America. The seeds of “Bangladesh” are in many parts of the world. The world has to sit up and take note to see that this does not become a precedent.

Interviewer: What about the American role? There seems to be increasing American support and Chinese support to each other on this issue. Do you think we will see more of America and China working together against the Soviet Union?

President: Yes, there was support from the Americans and Chinese but support with teeth inside the lips.

Interviewer: There are reports that there is a great deal of Soviet naval activity in Chittagong. Some of the correspondents fear that this is the start of a permanent Russian naval base in the Indian Ocean. Have you any evidence to support this?

President: I have reports of that nature and I know that before Mr. Mujib-ur-Rahman assumed office and responsibility, he said, I think, indicated something like that to some of the great powers. That is the story but I think you should ask him.

Interviewer: What about the relationship with India without precluding anything that may happen at the future summit meeting? What do you see as the most pressing issues to be solved between Pakistan and India?

President: Indians will tell you that Pakistan's problem is the prisoners of war. I would have told you that two months ago but I must salute our people's courage because what I did was to literally contact everyone affected by the prisoners of war issue. Sent my party workers, sent others, wrote them letters telling them to bear with us, to be patient. And today that problem is not the most pressing one. Two months ago I also told the Indians that they were mistaken if they thought that they could use it as a pressing problem. We would handle it, look at it squarely in the face and handle it. We did that. In any case, to keep human beings as hostages has diminishing returns. The war has ended. There is a cease-fire. Both countries want peace. They proclaim they want peace. They have the Geneva Conventions, United Nations resolutions but India nevertheless keeps our men behind barbed wire, but this is today no longer the most important test. In my mind the most important test is to find equilibrium between Pakistan and India.

Interviewer: Both you and Mrs. Gandhi seem to have gone great lengths to avoid making statements that might aggravate tensions. Do you see that there's hope of reconciliation in the same way that the United States and the Soviet Union seem to have come to a stable relationship after the Cuban missile crisis. Do you think the war might accomplish that?

President: I think that's a good and a valid analogy. We must find an equilibrium, but it must be found in its good time and not in an unrehearsed way because that might upset everything. When I say in good time, I don't mean spin it out but in a decent period of time.

Interviewer: I've heard this expressed by some Pakistan officials and I want to know your attitude. Do you have fears of Indian aggression, I know you don't agree with their policy necessarily but do you have fears of actual Indian aggression?

President: Aggression in the sense of an all-out war, no I do not have that fear. For a number of reasons India has already been given a bad name with the military conquest of East Pakistan. So they would not like to embark on another spree in a hurry.

Interviewer: What about Kashmir, which is obviously a long-standing problem?

President: This question reverts back to Mr. Nehru's time. Take the rights of self-determination. This commitment was given by both countries. However, as I've said we have not given the people of Kashmir the right of self-determination. We can't take it away from them. It's their own inherent right.

Interviewer: Well, what would you want to see if you could see anything? What could happen that you would like?

President: Basically, it is for the people to decide their future, and by that I don't mean that they should decide in favour of Pakistan or that is the only decision we would accept. We will accept any decision, which is theirs. They'll invariably move of their own free will and accord.

Interviewer: Well, how would you be sure that it was voluntary? Would United Nations supervision be enough to convince you that it was a voluntary decision?

President: This can always be worked out.

Interviewer: Do you feel any bitterness toward Australia for the decision that it took in early recognition of "Bangladesh"?

President: No, we're not bitter towards the Australians and we're not bitter towards England but they were not fully informed of the situation. We regret that.

Interviewer: What do you see as Pakistan's relationship withy Australia? How do you see the two nations?

President: Good relations, merely because of some situation it doesn't mean that we will pickup and leave Australia. We have our mission there. We'll keep it there. We'll try and strengthen it. We'll try and improve our trade relations.

Interviewer: You will try to do this through cricket?

President: Yes, of course that's most important. Most of all you need it for developing good relations but in any case we have great regard and respect for the Australian people and we intend to increase our collaboration in all fields.

Interviewer: Do you yourself see any role that you would like to see Australia play and not necessarily in terms of this country's defense pacts but of mutual relations?

President: Defense pacts, we were in one too many. We were in CENTO and they deserted us militarily. So we are sensitive to defense pacts, I mean military arrangements in the formal sense of treaties but Australia is a part of Asia and Australia must play its effective role in Asia. So far this has been the case. But you see some kind of metamorphosis taking place in the thinking of your people on this matter.

Interviewer: What is Pakistan's position as for as SEATO is concerned?

President: As far as we are concerned it is basically Mr. Mujib-ur-Rahman's obligation because it is directed against China's "expansionisms". Look at the countries in the region: Australia, Philippines, and Thailand etc. These countries recognized Mujib's Government prematurely so it is for Mr. Mujib-ur-Rahman basically to decide whether he is going to be in SEATO or in the Asian Security Pact or in both.

Interviewer: What does it mean in practical terms? Are there no letter written from Pakistan to SEATO?

President: Well, more or less.

Interviewer: What about the commonwealth? When you took Pakistan out of the Commonwealth, was it out of pique or do you think it was worthwhile gesture?

President: No, I think it was a considered decision. I had even written about it in a little book on foreign affairs a few months earlier. The time was fast approaching when Britain would go with Europe and unburden herself of Commonwealth obligations. From our point of view also, I think it was really becoming counterproductive. Just sit there and hear about the disputes of other countries and not being in a position to do anything about it with those disputes reflecting on us unnecessarily. There were a number of reasons why we decided to quit the Commonwealth and develop bilateral relations with Britain and other members of the Commonwealth. South Africa at one time was member of the Commonwealth and Apartheid and South Africa's general policy was an irritant to everyone and to Britain more than anyone else. Today South Africa is not in the Commonwealth and her bilateral relations with Britain are excellent, better than ever before.

Interviewer: Do you think the commonwealth has outlived all of its usefulness or does it still have its use for some countries?

President: It has lost its basic usefulness but I would say that things like scholarships to universities; technological assistance and the like will be there. On a bilateral basis also these things can be maintained.

Interviewer: Pakistan has taken in view of political changes a tremendous drop in population and military strength. What do you see now as its implications for Pakistan in world affairs?

President: This part of the country is also important and its political importance cannot be denied. China is a neighbor, so are Iran, Afghanistan, India. Then all the developments that are taking place in this region – fast developments. So I don't think Pakistan's importance is diminished very much politically. Psychologically, yes, from 130 million people we are now 60 million.

Interviewer: Psychologically in you own mind or the world's mind?

President: I think in the world's mind more but in our minds also.

Interviewer: you don't have much chance of relaxation, but when you do have a chance, what are the things you must like to do?

President: now I don't have time for relaxation but even before, it was difficult to really relax. There was so much tension in the air and struggle. But, basically, it has always been reading. If I find the time in winter, shooting.

Interviewer: One of Pakistan's difficulties in the past has been that people in power have interpreted actions as a threat to security, which others might interpret as a threat to personal liberty, which leads one to the question of maintaining a balance between the needs of the state and the rights of the individual. Now you recognize that problem. What is your outlook on it?

President: Yes, I recognize in statistical terms and it is not that I want to compare my position with Mr. Mujib-ur-Rahman's but in Dacca alone there are 30,000 to 40,000 people in jails. That is a long figure. In spite of all the problems and all the intrigues, internal and external I think you can count on you fingers the number we have under detention

Interviewer: You think then we will not be hearing in the future that so and so was imprisoned in Pakistan because he represented a threat to security - the type of report that one usually hears?

President: The question is I do agree that in these reports the matter is exaggerated and that government use them or overuse them as an instrument

of coercion. But our country has been dismembered and a country cannot be dismembered unless there are forces working inside the country against the integrity of the country.

Interviewer: You yourself spent time in jail for your own political beliefs. Did that influence your own outlook in any way and perhaps made you more tolerant of the ideas of others?

President: I was not alarmed by going to jail. They picked me up at two in the morning and took me to another place in Lahore. I think I slept all the way in the car. I don't think one's mental outlook is involved.

Interviewer: Did you suffer any mistreatment?

President: That I did.

Interviewer: I just wanted to talk about your attitude towards Sheikh Mujib when you decided that he will not be executed. Do you think you were influenced at all by your own experience?

President: As far as Mujib-ur-Rahman is concerned I differed with him violently on political matters and in political views. At some time, I have respect for him because he is a leader of the people. He has been able to mobilize people, command people's allegiance, loyalty. People sacrificed for his cause, made great sacrifices. So from that point of view as a leader of the people, anyone who is a leader of the people, I respect.

Interviewer: Pakistan has gone through a greater crisis than any nation can possibly do, being split in half and yet at the same time, these differences must have existed for a long time. Do you think there is a possibility of it becoming stronger in a way than it was before?

President: I am quite confident we will come out stronger but we would have come out stronger even if we were together. We have come out stronger now because the people are participating. People were denied this participation. That is why Pakistan became weak but now that we have released their energies as a people I am quite confident Pakistan will make an effective contribution.

Interviewer: Mr. President, thank you very much.

**INTERVIEW TO
MAHBOOB A. NAJIMI,
OF THE " KUWAIT TIMES"
May 26, 1972**

Interviewer: To clear the mess created by the war, and to steer Pakistan out, as smoothly as possible, of the highly complicated post-war situation, your Excellency has shown exceptional flexibility, more perhaps than was expected in many quarters. Would your Excellency now define the limits to which your country would go, and beyond which India should ask no more, for the sake of settling all outstanding mutual difference, including the all important question of Kashmir?

President: Pakistan wants a durable peace with India, and to achieve this end, we are prepared to take practical measures to end the confrontation, restore normal links and make a beginning towards good neighborly relations. Any settlement must, however, be based on justice and equity because history shows that a dictated peace is always short-lived. While we believe that all outstanding issues should be settled, it is my opinion that problems, which have persisted for 25 years and have a historical background, cannot be solved in one go. A practical and pragmatic approach will be to proceed step by step. If a new era of peace and tranquility is to begin in the subcontinent, we will have to trust each other in a spirit of equality. Last month our emissaries met in Pakistan and agreed upon an agenda for a meeting between Mrs. Gandhi and myself. I would not like to go into details at this point. As for Kashmir and the future of its people, I have repeatedly stated that it is a question, which the Kashmir's alone can decide. It is not for India or Pakistan to confer or take away from the people of Kashmir the right of self-determination.

Interviewer: It is understood that among your urgent concerns after the war has been the return of the 90,000 odd Pakistan troops held in Indian captivity. What precisely now stands in the way of their repatriation?

President: According to the Geneva Conventions, prisoners of war are to be repatriated soon after the cessation of active hostilities. According to the Security Council Resolution for India's refusal to return the prisoners. While we are anxious for our prisoners to be release, we will not sacrifice vital national interests to bring this about, nor will we compromise fundamental principles, we look upon this as a humanitarian, issue, not a political one. We do not believe in horse-trading or expediency. I have already made a unilateral offer to release all the Indian POW's that we captured in the last war. It is not a question of numbers involved, it is a question of principle.

Interviewer: Reading your interview in "Newsweek" a few weeks ago, one was made to wonder whether Your Excellency has not had second thoughts about the release of Sheikh Mujib-ur-Rahman. Would the Sheikh's detention have helped in your endeavor now to get back your POWs?

President: I have had not second thoughts about the release of Sheikh Mujib-ur-Rahman. I took that step because I considered it right, and I resisted the idea of using him for bargaining purposes. We have played clean all along and though none of our gestures has been reciprocated in like spirit or in equal measure, I do not regret Mujib-s release for a minute.

Interviewer: What framework of relationship does your Excellency conceive between Pakistan and its former Eastern Wing now declared Bangladesh? Indeed, what framework of a triangular relationship (among Pakistan, Bangladesh, India) would, in your, view, best ensure territorial security for, and constructive cooperation among all sides?

President: The people of Muslim Bengal played a leading role in the struggle for the creation of Pakistan. It is imperative that I meet Sheikh Mujib-ur-Rahman before taking any decision about the future relationship between the two wings of our country. I am prepared to meet him anywhere, any time. We have many bilateral issues to settle with India that we propose to take up in direct negotiations. It is only after the immediate problems, arising out of the tragic events of 1971 have been dealt with, that we can begin to think of the long-term requirements of the region.

Interviewer: Relations between Pakistan and the Arab world have always been good and friendly but much less productive and effectual. How would your Excellency evaluate these relations from the experience of the past years, and what opportunities for their enhancement on a more practical level could be initiated in the future?

President: We enjoy close and fraternal relations with the countries of the Arab world, relations firmly rooted in a common history, religion and culture. The people of Pakistan can never forget the support their Arab

brothers gave at the most crucial point of their history. We are already working in close co-operation with many Arab countries in the economic and technical fields. I believe that there are great possibilities for the further enrichment of these relations, for the broadening of horizons, as it were. We can also increase opportunities for consultation on political matters and forge a coordinated approach to issues of joint concern. I have great hopes for closer relations and Pakistan would certainly like to play its part in promoting the resurgence of the countries of the Muslim world that extend all the way up to the Atlantic Ocean.

Interviewer: Certain reports recently have indicated your government's intention to develop the Mekran Coast, where Pakistan can build a second port. Since that would bring your country in closer communication with Oman and the Arabian Gulf, what plans, if any, have been envisaged for promoting greater trade and economic exchange between Pakistan and these Arab areas?

President: We do have some plans for developing a second port to relieve the pressure on Karachi, and provide greater scope for trade. Very naturally, the possibilities that would be opened up in this way would lead to greater trade and economic co-operation with the countries in our immediate vicinity, including the ones mentioned in your question. The countries on the Arabian Peninsula have made spectacular progress over the years. We believe that we can take part in this process, particularly in meeting the growing demand in this area for goods and services. We can also provide technical and professional skills that may at present be needed in this region.

Interviewer: The Arab world has been going through an arduous and the protracted struggle against the Zionist-imperialist forces, and the Israeli occupation of Palestine and large parts of other Arab territory continues to be the predominant concern of all Arab states. In what way Pakistan, as a Muslim and friendly country, has supported, and could further support, the Arab cause?

President: Pakistan has always fully backed the Arab cause in Palestine. That is a cause in which all freedom-loving people, all Muslims believe. The Arab world and the people of Pakistan will always have Pakistan's unswerving support in every forum, at every step.

Interviewer: In strictly practical terms, how successfully Your Excellency believe the concept of Islamic solidarity could be translated into a framework of concrete cooperation among the Muslim States?

President: The concept of Islamic solidarity has gained momentum in recent years. Although it is not a new concept and has indeed existed since

the very birth of Islam, concrete shape is being given to the aspirations of the Muslim world through regular meetings of the Foreign Ministers of the Muslim countries. The last one took place in Jeddah this March. An Islamic Secretariat has also been set up and ways and means of promoting co-operation in various fields are being explored. I believe that an area of common endeavor and mutual benefit can be found by the Islamic world. Pakistan will always be in the vanguard of this great renaissance.

**PRESS INTERVIEW
AT TANDO MOHAMMAD KHAN
July 30, 1972**

President Zulfikar Ali Bhutto disclosed that very soon he would be making certain basic changes in the Sind administration to restore confidence of the general public. The President was talking informally to Karachi correspondents, who accompanied him on his tour of Sindh, at a dinner he had hosted for them at Tando Mohammad Khan.

He said he was trying to put in key positions the officers, who are neither Sindhis nor Muhajirs, so that they remained neutral and served the people to the best of their ability.

He also disclosed that he "will be watching the activities" of Mr. G.M. Syed, who is to start a tour of the Sindh's interior, and if he continued spreading hatred, the Government will have to proceed against him.

He also warned the NAP Secretary-General, Mr. Mahmudul Haq Usmani, and asked him to stop issuing inflammatory statements; otherwise, the Government will have no alternative but to take action against him.

The President said his Government would provide all facilities for the rehabilitation of those affected by the language disturbances.

He again appealed to those who had left Larkana and other Sind towns to return to their homes. He assured them that nothing would happen to them now. He said his party members played "a very active role in stopping the disturbances from escalating. Leaders like Talibul Maula used their influence to save the situation from worsening."

The President said the opposition had played "a very dirty role" in the crisis, but hoped that they would realize their duty to the country now and help create conditions of peace and harmony.

The following are some of the questions and their answers given by the President.

Interviewer: During the tour, we found the damage report, highly exaggerated. But we also noticed a general lack of trust in the administration. What is your frank assessment of the situation? Did you also feel the same way as we did? If so, what steps are you contemplating to redress the grievances?

President: Yes, people came and complained to me about the administration's partiality. As for the Government, I can say with confidence that there is absolutely no feeling or prejudice against any section of the population. We have a very simple but sincere Governor.

He has made his political career in a Muhajir constituency and was elected from there. He has no prejudice against any one. It is just a coincidence that fortunately or unfortunately the majority composition of the Sind Assembly is made of people from a particular linguistic group, but that does not mean that they are partial. There are grievances against the administration. These grievances will continue until confidence is restored fully.

There are Muhajir officers in Sindhi populated areas and there are Sindhi officers in Muhajir populated areas. But I am trying to put in key position people who are from neither side.

We have already appointed a Chief Secretary for Sind, who is neither a Sindhi nor a Mohajir. But basically it would be the role of the politicians that will bring in the real harmony.

If Mr. Usmani (Mahmudul Haq) and Mr. G. M. Syed again start upsetting what we have tried to normalize, I'll have to proceed against them.

Interviewer: Mr. G.M.Syed has been in the habit of giving statements that inflame people's sentiments. Only recently, in an interview with an Indian journalist he proposed exchange of population and also called for creating a separate "Sindhu Desh." Any comment?

President: The statement of Mr. G. M. Syed has to be verified because it is still not an authentic account. You can't go by mere press reports. Whatever he may have said to the Indian journalist, he can turn down and say something else tomorrow. The point is whether he has said it or not, I know his thinking very well. For me it is not one statement, we have known him for years. If he persists in his activities, we have known him for years. If he persists in his activities, we will have to take action against him.

Interviewer; Mr. Syed is starting a tour of the Sind province from August. He might undo whatever you have tried to achieve during your eight-day tour of the interior.

President: We will be watching his activities.

Interviewer; Do you really think with the signing of an accord, the language problem has been permanently solved? Or will it, in your opinion, erupt again?

President: Depends on how you deal with the situation. On how you present and in what light you present the accord to the people. It depends on whether you want to create confidence and bring about proper conditions, brotherly feelings, harmony or you want to ruin peace in the province.

Interviewer: In your Karachi speech, you asked the People's Party workers to work for healing the wounds. Has any directive been sent to the party branches in this connection?

President: I have asked PPP leaders and workers to restore confidence among the people, to do all they can to heal the wounds. But I am happy that PPP leaders all over Sind played a very active role in stopping the disturbances from escalating. Each member did well in his own area of influence. People like Talibul Maula, they command respect and influence in their areas, did a good job. Otherwise the whole of Sind would have been aflame.

Interviewer: The Punjab Governor has said his Government will send back Punjabi settlers to Sind on its own expenses. Will the Sind Government also make a similar gesture to Urdu-speaking population that has shifted from Larkana and other places and is now living in camps under sub-human conditions?

President: Yes, why not? It is not a very big problem. We will provide all facilities for their rehabilitation.

Interviewer: Has anyone in the Government approached them? We visited some of these people in Hyderabad relief camps and we found them in pathetic conditions.

President: Yes, we have established contacts with them. Besides, I have personally announced to stand guarantee for their safety and protection. What bigger guarantee could I give? They should return to their places of work. No harm will come to them now.

Interviewer: In your speeches, you have been repeatedly criticizing the opposition. Why?

President: Because they played a very dirty role in this crisis, sent bogus and false telegrams and tried to involve Punjab in the affair. However, if they think they can oust me through negative methods, they are living in a fool's paradise.

Interviewer: In one of your speeches, you had said you were not Malik Feroze Khan Noon to take things idly by. What did you imply?

President: We know the situation. But will act swiftly and speedily if anything is done to sabotage a people's government.

Interviewer: What are your tour impressions?

President: I think, we have been able to resolve the lingering wounds. I think it has contributed to national solidarity.

Interviewer: What prompted you to announce Government participation in an opposition-sponsored Press Freedom Day?

President: Because we uphold and value the freedom of the Press. But freedom does not mean downright abuse. Freedom is not the name of something that incites violence, something that invites dictatorship, something that invites Armed Forces to take over from a democratic regime.

Interviewer: Is there any possibility of putting the newspapers under worker's control?

President: There is a possibility, such a thing can happen.

**INTERVIEW WITH
MR. VAN ROSMALEN, CHIEF EDITOR,
ELSEVIERS MAGAZINE, AMSTERDAM**

October 1, 1972.

President: Is this your first visit to Pakistan?

Interviewer: Yes. It is for the first, time that I am visiting Pakistan and, I must say, I am very much impressed with your work of picking up the pieces you inherited on assumption of office.

President: Well, I am trying to do my best.

Interviewer: Yes, stating from scratch...

President: We began from scratch in 1947 also; that is, physically speaking. Now, psychologically also we are beginning from scratch. The people have been deeply affected by the events of these last two years. Many feel or have felt a lack of confidence, which has to be restored. They felt that they had failed or that their leaders had failed. To restore a normal balance between the people and their leaders is a big task. There is a lot of critical questioning; anything the leaders do now, the people examine it cynically. A new equilibrium has to be established between them.

Interviewer: After ten months what is the impact of the separation of the eastern part of country?

President: The impact on the minds of the people remains quite significant and this is natural because we were one country, we had struggled together, in a common cause, to become one. Of course, there was geographical separation, which made it look odd. But, that seemed more odd to outsiders than to those who had been together in the struggle and who had managed to keep together for 25 years although we were separated by a thousand miles. So the separation has been painful, both politically and psychologically. It has also naturally affected the pride of the nation, the pride of the people, their feelings. These factors are all present, and in some respects the problems have been aggravated more by the negative attitude of the people on the other side. Here our difficulties need to be appreciated. With a little more understanding on the other side we could have made much more

progress in trying to improve conditions, make them as normal as they can be in the circumstances. But, today, the people here are touchy and sensitive on this matter. I don't think that the gap of ten months has affected their memory to the extent of making them less sensitive.

Interviewer: For ten months you have been, to quote you, picking up the pieces and to start again. Are you satisfied with your progress?

President: Fairly satisfied. I would like to be more satisfied. But there have been difficulties. It has not only been the physical distance between two parts of the country, but with physical severance we have also had to cope with changed systems, both political and economic; political, because from military dictatorship we have returned to democracy, to parliamentary democracy, to be more precise. We are also trying to effect many changes in the economic structure so that it is more in conformity with our requirements and with the requirements of social justice, changes which will enable me to deal with our colossal problem of poverty and distorted distribution of wealth. So what has happened is that while we are trying to pick up the pieces, and the pieces are many-small pieces in the constitutional fabric, in the political fabric, in the economic and social fabric and putting them together we are also introducing fundamental and real economic reforms. This has upset the business community, and its reaction is understandable to some extent. But I don't see why, even after ten months, the business community has not settled down and started making its contribution to the economy.

Repeatedly, we have made it clear that for the time being that is, for a period of five years, we do not intend to do more than what we have done. That should give them sufficient assurance because I think only about 20 per cent or 18 per cent of the enterprises have been affected by our nationalization and 80 per cent are still in the private sector; what with this 80 per cent, with so many industries, so many enterprises, their owners should not feel impoverished; they should not feel that they will be on the streets. But they are not making the necessary contribution. In the political field also, we have planted a very small and delicate plant of democracy. It will have to take root; it will have to grow.

But suddenly, now, after fifteen years of sealed lips, when lips have been unsealed, people once again have gone on a verbal rampage without any regards for each others rights and feelings. They justify this as freedom of expression. They want to disregard all laws, from treason to perjury, and call it freedom of the press. The point is that when we pick up the political pieces, then these elements make atrocious charges, unbecoming changes, unbecoming of them and of a free nation. But you see this is also a part of the earlier story; the people's moral, ethical and psychological balance has to be restored since it has been very badly upset by the events of last two years,

especially of the last year. The people have become suspicious. I give you the example of Simla Agreement. This is an agreement pre-eminently good for Pakistan and good for peace in the subcontinent. In tangible terms Pakistan has to get back five thousand square miles of territory enabling a million refugees, affected by the occupation, to return to their homes. And yet there are individuals, some of them quite intelligent, some of them have held high office before, who have been ruthlessly critical of the Simla Agreement, attributing all kinds of motives. When they could not find any motive and nothing wrong with the Agreement, they then started saying that there must be some secret clauses in it.

The point is; why should a democratically elected president, who has to go back to the people, have secret clauses in such an agreement. After all, no secret remains secret forever especially in an international agreement. They made this charge when they could find no defect with the Agreement. If there was nothing on the surface, they seemed to argue, there must be something beneath it, inside. There is nothing inside. But all this obstructs the picking up of the political pieces. We are still picking them up and building up the country.

I am confident that if we did not have so much of lack of co-operation from the business community; if there was a little more restraint - and I do not ask for more-in the political process; and if there is a little more realization among the proletariat that hard work and only hard work can build countries, the task of reconstruction would be easier. The system might be right but that system cannot work if the people are not prepared to work and sweat. In Europe, you could not remain what you are without hard work. Europe was not made on the battlefields. Europe was made by the hard work of its people. Not by the dictators who won wars by the peasants who tilled the land and raised its yield. That is true also of China, of Asia, of the Soviet Union. So our people must also realize that although we can give them the right system it is they who will have to increase production. They will have to work from morning till evening and with that make their contribution to the growth of the country. We are trying to inculcate that spirit among our people, by example and by education.

Interviewer: Would you now regard Bangladesh as a sovereign state?

President: They are making efforts to get into the United Nations. Let us see what decision is taken there because sovereign states are admitted to the United Nations. Sovereignty is not just an expression. It is also a state of mind. Sovereignty does not only have a legal connotation, of course, people are sovereign everywhere. The fundamental matter is that there should be an agreement between us. Once there is an agreement between us we will

resolve all these questions, legal and technical, and those of pride and those of prejudice. All those questions can be resolved.

Interviewer: Do you think the East can stand on its own feet in future?

President: I wish them well, because although they have been separated from us they have been with us and we have been in a common struggle, we have a common history. It is still Muslim Bengal. But on the basis of a humanitarian approach to problems, we will not want anyone to suffer even if they live on the North or South Pole. This is our duty as human beings. We owe this to ourselves; we owe this to society; we owe this to modern civilization. From that point of view, of course, I wish them well. I wish them well whole-heartedly because we have been one nation and we pray for their success.

But their problems are really formidable and they will have to find very big men to tackle them. Some of them are very depressing problems. It is a small area, a very small area, and its density of population, I think, is the heaviest in the world. I suppose the United States will have to build a second floor there, because the ground floor is too crowded and there has to be one more story.

The problem of food, which goes with that of population, has always been there but now, unfortunately, it is becoming more acute along with the problem of essential commodities because of smuggling across the border. Smuggling has become a professional art, and the trouble is that the economies of West Bengal and East Pakistan are such that the drain on East Pakistan has been accelerated. Jute is grown in East Pakistan where since Independence we together built jute mills. But the older, established jute mills are in India in West Bengal. So, there is a drain on the jute, there is a drain on the foodstuffs, on poultry, on fish because all that also is needed in Calcutta, and of course rice is also needed in Calcutta and in other places in West Bengal. Then the business entrepreneurs in West Bengal are more experienced and they have more worldwide contacts, both in jute and other wise. The new entrepreneur who is coming up in East Pakistan is too green to compete with the entrepreneur of West Bengal. So they are facing many problems.

Interviewer: Could they stand on their own feet, in your view?

President: We wish them to. To my mind, there is no state, which cannot be made viable. From this point of view even the mini states have some element of viability. If your question is in this context then my answer is yes, viability can come with economic assistance from abroad, with charity, with grants, with aid. If you call that viability, then they can be viable. But, if

you want to be viable in the sense of a self-sufficient nation, then it will take them a longer time to reach that viability than it will take us to do that.

Of course, they say that they are not going to keep an army and this is going to be a big factor. We have a big army here. It is true that we are spending a great deal on defense and they don't have to spend that much. But I don't think that any established government in East Pakistan, or whatever they want to call themselves, will be able to do without an army altogether and gradually this army will expand and become larger. They have got boundary problems; they have got a boundary with Burma; they have got boundary with India; they are close to Nepal and to Bhutan and Sikkim. In this situation, I don't think they can become completely like Costa Rica and that for long. I know what we are spending today on the army. In the foreseeable future I can't see any cut in this expenditure. But, one day, I hope when better sense prevails between India and Pakistan and we resolve our disputes amicably and justly, then we may not have to spend so much on defense.

Interviewer: Are you not afraid that the Simla Agreement has the same weaknesses as the Tashkent Agreement?

President: There are differences between Simla and Tashkent. At Tashkent, the objective conditions were different. Pakistan had not been dismembered; it had not been divided by armed aggression, as it was in 1971. In 1965, if we did not win the war we did not lose it either. In 1965, there was much less territory in hostile occupation of India and in 1965 we had more Indian prisoners of war than the Indians had ours. Today, India has 93,000 of our soldiers and civilians as prisoners of war, while we have 700 Indians. We went to Tashkent in great exaltation, with the confidence of our people who felt we had emerged victorious because a bigger nation—a much bigger nation—had been kept at bay. That was one very big difference in the two situations.

The second point is that in spite of this big qualitative and quantitative difference, we have made the Simla Agreement both a framework and a starting point. At Tashkent, Ayub Khan had most of the cards in his hand. And in spite of this he came to a settlement, which the people rejected spontaneously. There were reasons for it: we were in a more favorable position to get a better settlement. Another reason was that Ayub Khan did it all in one go, but I refused to do it like that. At Simla, I made it quite clear to the Indians that I cannot do it in one go; I don't have any authority to do so; I am too humble a person to go and settle all the problems of the last thousand years in one go when others have not succeeded. So we made a modest beginning at Simla. At Tashkent, Ayub Khan wanted to cover the whole canvass and the whole canvass could not be covered. It was too much. Historical passions and prejudices are involved in the situation. So you have

to proceed step by step, from one favorable situation to another favorable situation. These were two big differences. At Simla we had no cards in our hand. The only card in our hand was that having seen so many upheavals our people had hardened in the face of adversity and had the capacity to face the situation.

Interviewer: Would it not have been wise of you, Pakistan being weaker, to ask for the assistance of the UN in resolving your problems?

President: Well, we have found that the weaker state, to use your word, has generally not been favored by the UN because there is power politics in the UN also. The Charter of the United Nations is not a legal document. It is a political document.

Interviewer: Have you any examples of such situation?

President: Many. And from the beginning of the United Nations. You might be thinking of your own country's problems where President Soekarano managed to get an agreement against the Netherlands when you were more powerful. But, you see, the point is that there you had to contend both with the genius and the courage of Soekarano who used to believe in brinkmanship and he practiced brinkmanship so well that he had frightened the United States and, you know, the negotiations that United States had with Luns who was then your Foreign Minister. He was very disappointed. He was very disillusioned. So don't let me go into details.

Interviewer: Are you not afraid that China and USSR will have more and more influence in this part of the world? Did you not seek assistance from China and USSR?

President: It will depend on our own attitude also. Our destiny is not entirely in the hands of others. If we choose to place our destiny in the hands of others we are equally responsible for the consequences. I do not see any contradiction although this is the favorite question of our Western friends. I do not see any contradiction in India having good relations with the Soviet Union and in our having good relations with China.

Why I don't see any contradiction is because, first, as I have already said, ultimately the destiny of a nation rests in its own hands. Secondly, we don't mind if India has good relations with the Soviet Union because we also wanted to have good relations with the Soviet Union. There is no dispute between Pakistan and the Soviet Union. So why should we not have wanted good relations with the Soviet Union? As far as China is concerned, there is a Sino-Indian dispute. We have no dispute with China, and if India does not

want the subcontinent to be exposed to foreign interventions, India has to resolve her boundary dispute with the Chinese.

If the whole world is improving their relations with the Chinese, including the Japanese and the Americans, why should India be the odd man out? And that again shows how difficult it is to have negotiations with India. We are not only country which has found it difficult. If we were the only country to have found it difficult to have some negotiated settlement with India, then, you can say, well, it must be the fault of Pakistan, because India has such good relations with every one else. But the position is the other way round. Our relations with China are very good; our relations with the Soviet Union are good, our relations with Afghanistan are quite normal and friendly; our relations with Nepal are very good; our relations with Bhutan are very good; also with Sikkim and Burma. I mention them because I am talking of one Pakistan - and with Ceylon and Indonesia - they are almost our neighbors. And our relations are good with Iran, with Turkey, with Iraq. India, on the other hand, unfortunately has had strained relations with China, with Pakistan, with Ceylon and with Burma. I do not say that these strains should continue but it is for the Indians to consider the future of the whole region and that of their own people.

We are prepared to live in the same world; we have to live in the same world; we have no choice. Since we have no choice why don't we choose to live as good neighbors? So I don't see any complications in our having good relations with the Soviet Union and China. It is understandable because they are both our neighbors and one must at least have good relations with one's neighbors because the effect of this is more important than any other relationship. Our frontier is very close to that of the Soviet Union; it is just about seven or eight miles away and from a very sensitive part of our country. With China we have over 370 to 400 miles of common border. We had historical relations with China before the advent of imperialism. Imperialism broke those ties and with the departure of imperialism we see it perfectly understandable and normal for those ties to be restored.

Interviewer: May I have some information on labor unrest and the language trouble in Sindh?

President: One of the reasons for the language problem was that former Governments did not want to face these critical emotional issues and give a decision. They kept procrastinating and with procrastination the feelings grew stronger and stronger. You can't sweep such things under the carpet if you want to build your society, because these are fundamental matters. In our part of the world, and for us in Pakistan, religion is the most fundamental matter because we are an Islamic state. But, I think, generally speaking in other countries, language evokes more emotions than, I suppose,

anything else, and here also, after religion, I would say one's mother tongues, one's language, is an issue over which people can get emotionally roused.

So it was a controversial, excitable, combustible question, which was not being tackled on merit, as it should have been. When a decision is taken on merit there may be some trouble but it cannot be permanent. A dishonest judgment or decision cannot solve a problem. Now, let us look at this language issue in Sind in this context.

Well, we took a decision based on merit and in the historical background. We have learnt lessons from the past, we know what can happen when due recognition is not given to the legitimate feelings of the people. We know what has happened in our country, and also in other countries, when the legitimate aspirations are not recognized. One of the biggest simplifications, and oversimplification that has caused the splintering of many countries is the tendency to think that uniformity brings unity. Very often diversity brings unity and plurality brings unity. We have suffered from this uniformity concept of some of our very educated politicians.

From 1947 till almost 1965-66, there were slogans that since there is one God and one Quran, so there must be one language, and that there must be one people. Of course, there is one god, and there is one Quran, but there will be one God and one Quran even if there are a hundred states believing in them. This obsession with uniformity has resulted in making ourselves two, and if we do not free ourselves from that obsession we will make ourselves three or four or God knows how many other pieces. It is difficult to deal with abnormal problems because you have to be tolerant and accommodating, and you have to have vision. But intolerant people, and those who don't have a vision, they will think that unless there is uniformity the nation's unity is being threatened. As I said, uniformity does not mean unity. If America had taken that position at the founding of the United States, when 13 colonies got together, the United States would not have been one country today, and I can give you many other examples, of course, I am giving you democratic examples. But even under dictatorships there is not all that coercion in these matters. I do not also deny that there is always some element of duress in bringing about unity. But it depends on what movement of history that duress is applied. You cannot have Pax Romania now to bring about cohesion. Those were Roman times.

These people in Sind don't understand some of these problems and they became excited. But, the language problem is now over. On the language problem, I do not want to go into details. But there have been foreign fingers. I said that to an Indian journalist the other day. Mr. Karanjia of Blitz came to see me recently and he told me that these things had been said. I said, yes, this had been done during the last 25 years but may be after Simla you have

stopped. I do not know, but I do not think so. Because old habits die-hard. Intelligence people get secret funds, and they get used. But as I said I do not want to go into details nor do I want to make any accusations because we want to have good relations with our neighbors. We want to remain vigilant. If we are vigilant their money will be wasted but if we are not then, or course, they can do us damage.

But in these problems, the language issue and labor unrest, there were foreign fingers. Some labor leaders came to see me and asked me to name, which among them as was guilty of having received financial support and political support from abroad. They said they had acted because the prices were going up and wages were not, and that this was for good cause.

I told them that a Government does not give names like this but it does so at the appropriate time. But I told them that intelligence in the modern world is not so unintelligent. An agent does not come up and say here are some chocolates, now go and do some sabotage work. Intelligence agent's today work through devious means; they may come up and say you need to organize your union, you need new offices, new literature, a newspaper, and we are prepared to help this is the time to fight, because this is a new Government, and when things settle down you may not be able to get your rights, that rights have always come through a struggle, that if you are afraid to put up a struggle, you won't get your rights. So there are many subtle and concealed methods of espionage and of intelligence.

Interviewer: Do you think situation has settled down now?

President: Relatively. We are in a happier position although I am getting reports that efforts are being made to organize another strike. As a matter of fact we have got some prior information about the Karachi strike. We were forewarned when I was abroad. When I heard about the strike plan I made a phone call to the Governor of Sind from Sudan but I could not contact him. When I came to Turkey, I phoned him and said I have some information that there is going to be big labor trouble. The Governor replied that it was taking place that very day. I am receiving information again about plans for further unrest because the general labor situation is settling down. But banks do not come in the category of industries. Banks are commercial concerns. They don't have any proletariat and are not covered by general trade union rules regarding strikes. If all the banks strike, and the financial houses come to a standstill, the economy would be badly affected, especially an economy like ours, which is in the process of revival. Our economy is still ailing. We all know it. If we are hit with bank strikes then the repercussions will be far reaching. But we have information on these plans. Apart from banks they are also looking at some of the heavy industries, industries taken over by the Government. Here, some business interests have a stake. They want to show

that the public sector is not as good as the private sector, and that we made a mistake in taking over heavy industries. The industries, which we call heavy are peanuts for you. However, they are heavy for us. Well, some business interests don't like what we have done. They want to prove us wrong. So they are trying to incite the labor to go on strike. I think that is really a dog in the manger attitude. But that is the way it is. But we are vigilant, we are watching their moves and we are taking counter steps.

Interviewer; You have done a lot for the farmers here?

President: And for the laborers too, and we must do more for them. When we have more we can do more. You see, the base is very limited. We have a marginal economy and within this marginal economy I have really gone to the brink, and I can't take even a single step further because it may, at the present stage, mean complete collapse. But with greater production and hard work when the base expands our policy will always be tilted in favor of the proletariat.

Interviewer: What are the main causes of concern now for you?

President: Peace, political unity, political balance and economic revival.

Interviewer: How would you like to see your nation after ten years?

President: This country has great potential, very great potential, and I say this, not because I am the President of this country. As a matter of fact, I really never regard myself as President of Pakistan. I always feel like one of our people. But we have potential and this is not an empty boast. We are rich in minerals and yet it is a misfortune that we have not yet been able to even scratch the surface for them. They lie in the mountains in Gilgit and Hunza in the north and in Balochistan, vast tracts that are rich in minerals. People have gone to these areas and seen marble. We have ruby mines, emerald mines, natural gas, oil, some copper as well, and also iron ore. Some oil we have tapped but we are sure there is more. The search is going on. Geological surveys and explorations take time, and political turmoil sets us back. Not even a tenth of our mineral resources have been touched. In Dera Ghazi Khan we have found uranium. Apart from that we are self-sufficient in food to the extent that we can export rice. We used to send it to East Pakistan. Now we have found markets elsewhere. We had reached self-sufficiency in sugar and in wheat but again political crisis and turmoil have set us back. But self-sufficiency in wheat and sugar is within our grasp. Wheat was selling here for 17 and ½ rupees a mound. Now we have raised the price to 20 rupees. And still we are subsidizing it, and giving it to the ration-shops at previous prices. But in Afghanistan costs about 35 to 38 rupees a mound. So we are all right on

the food front with this little incentive to the farmer. If I had increased the wheat price to 23 rupees, the subsidy would have become a heavier burden on the exchequer. We have good lands; we have got our mineral resources. We have our agricultural production, we have got very hard-working manpower, when it is motivated, and we are trying to bring about that motivation. We have got people who can handle machines well and with ease, people who are enterprising but they need motivation. We have got a textile industry, which is doing fairly well in the world. Our exports are going up and our goods are getting more competitive. We have set up quite a few fertilizer factories but intend to set up more. We also have factories for manufacturing machine tools and also a shipyard for building sea-going vessels. We have an infrastructure for future industrialization. Our communications are fairly good but we are going to have a very good road building program as well, a massive road-building program. We are going to have a big scheme for low cost housing. We are also going to have a huge public works program in the rural areas, clearing out the slums and building modern villages. That will give employment to the unemployed and the underemployed. If we get reasonable assistance from the world outside, I think we can bring about a real change, an appreciable difference in Pakistan within five to ten years.

Interviewer: Do you have your steel mill?

President: We are going to have one now in Karachi with Soviet assistance and the Chinese are also going to assist us in building up a small steel mill.

Interviewer: Any other development?

President: We have also introduced reform in the education system. Education is now being made free gradually. This is a big thing. We have done this despite our heavy expenditure on defense. If we could reduce our defense budget by half or by one-third, we could have also given more facilities to the students. But we can't do it. So the people have to make sacrifices. They have borne them for 25 years and, I think, they will have to bear them till we come to a settlement with India. But this expenditure on defense is not only bleeding us white, it is bleeding India white. India is big at the top but hollow at the bottom because her people are very poor and the strength of a nation is not judged by the number of tanks it has but by the per capita income of her people.

Interviewer: Thank you sir.

**INTERVIEW WITH R.K.KARANJIA,
EDITOR-IN-CHARGE,
BLITZ, BOMBAY
October 31,1972**

President: I am sorry for the little delay. How was Europe?

Interviewer: Very interesting. I went to Britain, to Germany, to Beirut to feel the Arab situation, and back to Delhi and Bombay.

President: Are you coming from Bombay now?

Interviewer: Yes coming from Bombay. Well, I have returned here to continue my efforts to break the deadlock over the Simla Accord. The latest crisis, as India sees it was summed up by the India Press. May I read out a cutting? That was about three or four days ago. "Highest Government circles here have started wondering who really runs Pakistan? President Bhutto, or the army of the civil servants? It has become difficult to determine which face of Pakistan to believe – the one projected as Simla and after, the one at the UN in consent with China, or the one in the boundary negotiations between the military commanders?" What does Mr. President you think.

President: This is a mysterious way of putting it. I suppose all of us are running the country. In a democracy every one has to put in his weight, and I like to carry the people with me rather than do things entirely on my own. But essentially when it comes to the real decision, I am in charge of affairs and I have been no one's tool so far.

Even in the worst of times during the regime of Ayub Khan I spoke out bluntly. Our people know that I am not to be led by anyone. At the same time no one should expect me to ride roughshod over the raw feelings and sentiments of the people. That is not possible in me; it is not in my political temperament. It is necessary to carry people.

Actually I am glad you have come at this time. We are badly stuck in this delineation matter. On the delineation question, I gave our military

commanders clear directives. I told them that the Simla Agreement says delineate the line of control where the Armies stood on the 17th of December 1971. I explained to them that it was to be a factual exercise to be carried out faithfully. I cautioned them against tricks; I told them not to probe into areas after 17th of December. I instructed them to delineate the line according to the letter of the Simla Agreement. I believe they proceeded on that basis.

It is a long line to draw, there are areas, which have been in the de facto control of Pakistan since 1947. You must be aware of it. In 1963, there was some trouble. What happened was that the Indians took the position that the old cease-fire line no longer existed anywhere except when it came to the regions in our de facto control. Only at this point they upheld the old cease-fire line. We told them that they could not have it both ways. On the one side to say that the old cease-fire line does not exist, and, on the other, when it comes to drawing an advantage from it, to give sanctity to the cease-fire line and contend that this is on our side of the cease-fire line. We got stuck on that for some time.

Interviewer: But I think there was a complete agreement on this?

President: On this, I will tell my DMO to brief you fully. I think, that will be the best thing. You see our maps, minutes and everything. If you like, you could meet me after that again and give me your honest, objective opinion. Is that fair enough?

Interviewer: Because from both what I have read and heard since I came back from my visit abroad was that the whole agreement was completed, almost signed and sealed, and then your men went backward.

President: I will show you the documents.

Interviewer: Nevertheless, apart from what I have just explained to you, there are other contradictions between the hopes raised at Simla and the realities that have followed. First of all the Simla Pact and subsequent clarifications you gave me in the September interview led to two conclusions. First, that Pakistan and India had rejected the old posture of confrontation and war for a new policy of peaceful co-operation, and second, that all problems and disputes will now be resolved through bilateral negotiations; and second, that all problems and disputes will now be resolved through bilateral negotiations. Am I right, Mr. President, so far?

Now what do we find? Your men at Washington and the U.N. seem to be provoking a renewed confrontation, even talking of war. Your foreign policy appears to have turned its back on Delhi and dropped bilateralism to adopt a posture suggesting Chinese and CENTO American influences and

finally, your military commanders insist on raising disputes on trivial matters even after the agreement has been reached. How does all this help Pakistan's principal objectives of getting back her occupied territories and prisoners of war as speedily as possible?

President: Our principal objective is more than getting back our occupied territories and prisoners of war. Our principal concern is to live in peace with your country. That is more important. It is over and above the territory, which you hold for the moment or the prisoners of war, which you hold for present. The objective is much bigger. Of course, we can't proceed to the next phase until we are over with the first one. As for the hopes aroused by the Simla Agreement, it is to some extent a subjective assessment. The concept of hope and its picture differs from mind to mind. In this way it is a subjective phenomenon. Only mind may conjure a hope resting on peace and not war and the picture it draws will be a long road to genuine peace. Other people might feel unconcerned with the day-to-day developments. For them the hope of new era is coming into being; they hope that Simla Agreement is both subjective and objective. The objective fact is that we cannot turn to others for our solutions. We must essentially turn to ourselves for the settlement of our disputes. Now, I stand by that. We all stand by that. Even in our last meeting. If you recall, I told you that the crux of the matter is that we must deal with each other bilaterally.

Of course, we are living in a small world. Yet we cannot completely close the rest of the world to us. But we will concentrate on bilateralism; emphasize the bilateral character of our relations. At the same time, if you remember, I told you that we can't be unrealistic and say the rest of the world does not exist. I will tell you how. Now, there have been two or three recurring incidents of POWs being shot. I do not think you will accuse us of taking it to a high pitch. But the world will take cognizance of it. How can that be stopped? You have not seen a statement from me. It is not that it did not hurt; indeed it hurt us very much. The families of POWs and other were agitated, but the Foreign Office gave temperate and balanced statements only to keep the atmosphere calm. I have made many speeches, since we last met. My last speech was at Layallpur.

Interviewer: Oh, that was very encouraging indeed. You spoke on Bangladesh.

President: I told you. We will go forward as I see the openings. I have not referred to India in a recriminatory manner. That also testifies to our effort to break the lockjaw. Things carry their own momentum in the General Assembly. With the pulls and pressures, the spotlight and press and everything else, it is sort of a public performance.

They say the UN does not act. It is acting all the time. But even so the leader of our delegation, Raja Tridev Roy, who incidentally is from Chittagong, made a moderate speech. That is why we want to avoid a debate on Bangladesh. One of the reasons why we want to avoid a debate is that we don't want to get involved in forensics. I have told them to keep in touch with your people and meet them. I would not have given those instructions if our emphasis was not on the bilateralism. But while we are there, we have to put forth our case effectively. We have to project our point of view convincingly. On the whole, I believe that we have played it in a low key. This is so because we have an eye on the next meeting we hope to have. I don't think we can ever turn our back to Delhi or turn our back to the critical realities we face. There is this time factor as well. I told you the last time; things go on in the subcontinent in their own way. Sometimes, they go fast and sometimes slowly. We have to tarry with it.

Interviewer: Now the objection mainly was raking up so many old issues, Kashmir and so and so. More than the United Nations, your Ambassador in Washington literally ran amuck while taking about war, tensions. At least that is how the speech was reported in the British press and also in the Indian Press.

President: I saw a small part of it. But it was not reported fully here.

Interviewer: I think you should read.

President: Yes, I will.

Interviewer: The issue of recognition of Bangladesh also is being vitiated by, what I consider, avoidable provocations. Here, of course, your latest bid to mobilize popular consensus for recognition is most welcome. But, since your assurances to my Government and myself that recognition was due and coming there have been irritations, may be minor irritations, likely to upset Sheikh Mujib and his people. You continue to treat Bangladesh as part of Pakistan. The only concession you made to her independence is to refer to her as Muslim Bengal or the Dacca Administration. Even her own legislators are permitted to sit in your Assembly as if Bangladesh was a province of Pakistan. Still you insist on the Sheikh meeting you before recognition. In what capacity? You don't expect him to come here as a citizen of Pakistan or the satellite of Pakistan.

President: No. On the other hand, if we did not do this much then recognition would have taken place. It is a fact that recognition has not taken place yet.

Interviewer: I believe the complex is in you mind.

President: We see these things clearly. We have recently arrived at a constitutional agreement. You can draw your own interpretation from it. My Lyallpur speech was the follow-up of what we have been discussing. First, I spoke to the foreign press on the need to have a realistic approach. But it came in general terms. Then I thought, now, we could move a little ahead. And I did move a little ahead, of course.

The controversy exists but never mind. That is our problem we will deal with it. As far as annoyance and irritation are concerned, I think our friend Mujib has contributed his share of it. He keeps talking of trials and makes statements of a nature, which, as I told you last time, make our task difficult. After Ramzan, I intend to undertake tours, and one of the North West Frontier Province will begin soon.

Interviewer: What is the purpose, to get a national consensus on recognition?

President: I must explain to the general people, the common man, the good reasons for recognition and carry the populace with us. Other people have gone around taking a negative line. We have to explain to the people that the only way we can again have good relations with Muslims Bengal, is through contact and through association and by our presence in Muslim Bengal. They will come here, we will go there. There will be trade between us. There will be cultural exchanges and things of that nature. That is the only way we can again come closer to one another. But some of our people here, our political colleagues, are giving wrong analogies, like that of the Arabs and the Israelis not recognizing each other. I have to go and explain that the analogies are false, because the Arabs and the Israelis don't seek normal relations. If you don't want good relations with East Pakistan or Muslim Bengal or Bangladesh, then don't recognize it. But if you want good relations, you have to consider according them recognition without a sense of coercion or humiliation. You see, I have to prepare the necessary climate.

Interviewer: It is said that Pakistan is laying great stress on *Maulana Bhashani* campaign against Sheikh and still entertaining hopes of some links. Supposing the links are re-forged or even reunification takes place would it not affect your position in Pakistan?

President: I don't mind that. I have been misunderstood on that before. After the elections I made it quite clear that if Mr. Mujib-ur-Rahman had a federal constitution, we would be happy to sit in the opposition and work in a democratic arrangement. But he wanted a con-federal arrangement and, in a confederation, both sides had to have representation in the Government. That is what it is. If at any time Muslim Bengal or East Pakistan choose to have that

kind of arrangement. I would be the happiest man in the world. It's a very small price to pay, very small price indeed. After all, in a democracy you come and go, power is not perpetual. In dictatorship, either you have to shoot your way through or there is to be a revolt. You see, we have a democratic constitution. Democracy is restored. In a democracy Prime Ministers come and go. As far as Bhashani is concerned I know well. He is sometimes incomprehensible.

Interviewer: Well he is. He has gone through extraordinary changes. Now he wants an Islamic constitution. Sheikh Mujib has his difficulties also. He denies having promised to meet you again. But if he did so, may be he took it for granted that recognition would follow his release. Somehow that was the general expectation at that time. He had no idea of the magnitude of the war and the killings and the consequent hostility.

President: Yes. I saw the paper. He had a copy of Blitz in his hands before he landed in India and he was worked up over it. At this stage, I do not want to say anything, which will upset him because he gets easily upset. But sooner or later when you get nearer here again, and you are always welcome to Pakistan, I may give you some concrete evidence of it.

Interviewer: Well, we leave it to the future. However, Mujib's interview in the Dawn is tough. Our difficulty in India is that parts of the Simla package can be opened only if the Sheikh is brought into the picture. That means you have to straighten out your relations with Bangladesh. Then only we can help. Have you any proposal for breaking this deadlock, any new ideas on recognition, apart from what you have just told me?

President: No, I have repeatedly conveyed to him that if we meet, as I told you the last time we met, we can have a dialogue in depth. When I come back from the talks, I will take the necessary steps one after the other to mobilize public support on our mutual relations.

Interviewer: Your coming back from your tour?

President: No, from my talks with him. I have to put it before the Assembly, to discuss the matter there. I had that conveyed to him. I told him that if there is any other country, in whom he has greater confidence, if he likes to trust them, we are prepared to convey to that country some kind of assurance. Although I have got a feeling, not evidence, that he might be coming round to having talks. He says that there must be a basis of equality and that lies in recognition. It does not necessary lie in recognition. The United States and China have met one another without recognition. And, as far as equality is concerned, if he wants to sit on a higher chair, he can sit on the higher chair. I will be less equal, because the population of East Pakistan is

more that the population of West Pakistan. He can sit on the high chair. I can sit on the low chair. These are unnecessary formalities. Obviously, when we meet, we meet as equals otherwise there is no need to meet. Not only in the legal sense, but also in the metaphysical sense, equality is there. It is inherent in the situation of our meeting.

Interviewer: Could you not possibly find some way out by at least permitting other nations who, I know, would like to recognize Bangladesh but not till you give them the go-signal. May be some other Muslim countries if they were permitted, it will also strengthen your position here, and it will show him that you have not been just discussed about the whole thing; or may be you send back some East Pakistanis as a gesture.

President: I have sent so many out. I have let them go on compassionate grounds; students, doctors, wives of people, they go to England and from there they go the East Pakistan.

Question: Mujib knows this?

President: Of course, he must be knowing of it. A lot of people have gone there.

Question: No I was just thinking of some key which could break this deadlock because upon this depends, unfortunately, everything else.

President: Yes. I know, prisoners of war will pose no problem after this.

Question: Well, he has suggested that. It is my reading of his interview with the Dawn where he says that after recognition all problems - all problems is significant - will be solved. But whether he should include at least for discussion etc. the problem of prisoners of war?

President: But as far as Mujib-ur-Rahman is concerned, he will remove his veto, so to speak, on the return of prisoners of war. But your Government might not take the same position.

Interviewer: No. I think our Government, I am not speaking on behalf of it, but from all that has been said and done so far, in the context of the Simla Agreement, it would take the broadest possible view. Personally I feel that once you extend recognition, may be as a gesture from your side, then all the problems - assets, liabilities and prisoners of war - they all will get settled down.

President: One of your Ministers is in New York at present, Mr. Panth. He had a discussion at a cocktail party with our Minister who is leading the delegation. From that conversation, he was not being categorical, but he was saying that the question is that there are other matters involved before we can release prisoners of war. We told him that Mujib's concurrence will greatly facilitate the return but it does not mean that the key will be given for an automatic release.

Interviewer: From an official quarter, other than the Prime Minister of India, I think this means quite a lot. That is how I will interpret it.

President: Good.

Interviewer: your party's election manifesto calls for Pakistan's withdrawal from the CENTO. Why have you reversed the line?

President: That is a good question. The point is that, as far as SEATO is concerned - we are both in CENTO and SEATO - we have, without hurting our friends, withdrawn and we don't intend to participate in these meetings in the future. CENTO, IT IS THERE. We had made the commitment to withdraw from CENTO to the electorate before the dismemberment of the country. That is one factor.

The second factor is that there is no hurry. We have not said that we will permanently remain in CENTO. But once we have resolved some of our more pressing problems we are likely to review our position in CENTO and our general foreign policy. But there are two considerations for CENTO. One is the dismemberment of Pakistan. Second is the Indo-Soviet Treaty. These are the two vital considerations.

Interviewer: But do you consider Soviet Russia either inimical or hostile to Pakistan or vice versa, because I know that Russia is deeply interested in the non-dismemberment of Pakistan.

President: Quite right. But the point is that if the Soviet Union can have good relations with Turkey, which is a member of CENTO and NATO, and if they can have good relations with Iran which is a CENTO member and with Western Germany for which NATO was created, then I don't see why only for Pakistan CENTO should be an eye sore for the Soviet Union.

Interviewer: No, because Pakistan has now passed under the control of Mr. Bhutto whom we have always regarded as a radical leftist politician.

President: By and by, we can consider this, but you know there is also a third consideration, which concerns our relationship with Iran and Turkey.

They are extremely interested in CENTO. When you meet His Majesty the Shah of Iran, you will find out. Also the Turks; they have been good friends of Pakistan, helped us off and on and there is this other consideration.

Interviewer: But that apart, it puts you in a major contradiction with Arab politics.

President: As I told you, subsequently when we settle down in the subcontinent, I will take up this matter with them. Whatever reasons they have for our remaining in CENTO, apart from the sentimental ones, these can be covered.

Interviewer: It seems very significant to reason. That is my next question. Our assessment is that America is involved in Pakistan and CENTO politics to serve her developing interests in West Asia. CENTO wants to use non-Arabs to disrupt Arab unity and resistance. Why should a forward-looking statesman, like the President, get his country involved in this oily racketed psychology?

President: We have not got involved in it. We will never come in the way of any movement to strengthen Arab unity and Arab renaissance.

Interviewer: But CENTO and SEATO, their very origin is to destruct and destroy the Middle East.

President: Original objective have become obsolete, both militarily and politically. But we will never come in the way of that magnificent development in the Arab world.

Interviewer: That apart, you have mentioned Russia, and I said that there are many countries who are deeply interested in keeping Pakistan strong, alive and sound; Russia, Britain, I believe the entire European community, whether it is Germany or France. I have discussed this matter at the highest level. In fact, we discussed your interview with the British Foreign Office for almost an hour and they take more or less the same liberal view that India and Pakistan can talk on many subjects. I did not mention them here. Perhaps, what one feels, are you putting all your eggs in the Chinese-American basket. Is it for the good of the country, for the all good of you, for the good of our subcontinent?

President: As far as the China factor is concerned, I think, I explained the other day when we met, that there are objective considerations and objective interests. We are neighbors. I can tell you that in the future, once this Bangladesh entanglement is over, you will find the situation developing positively.

Interviewer: That means you will turn to our own subcontinent?

President: I think we will turn to the subcontinent and China also, you will find, will appreciate the development. It is not that China would oppose that. I think you have a totally wrong impression of Chinese intentions in the subcontinent.

Interviewer: But barring India, this seems to be a happy thing for every body else. Now, have they not raised extraordinary bogies in the United Nations, for example, the Chinese delegate mentioned-an absolute peace of fiction-that we are helping Dalai Lama to set up a Government in exile. This is not our policy. We have put all kinds of restraints on Dalai Lama. We have tried our very best to befriend China.

President: I am unaware of the situation in Tibet, which does not form a part of the subcontinent. I repeat, I cannot speak for other countries but I think there will be positive developments after these two things have taken place i.e. withdrawals and return of POWs. And, as I told you last time, I will speak more on the matter if the situation develops in the right direction.

Interviewer: Somehow it is not only India, in Britain also, and some other places also, the opinion is that China is the spoiler of Indo-Pak relations. It does not suit China's policy to have normalcy and peace in the subcontinent.

President: I have been an admirer of British but they are making some wrong assessments nowadays or, perhaps it is a bigger plot I don't know. But this line that they take is not a correct evaluation of the objective conditions.

Interviewer: Your Embassy has replied to some criticism in the London times. Somehow that criticism is widely shared. You are being accused of breach of faith with the Simla Pact and they think that they derive this accusation from your internal weakness. That is the whole trouble.

President: No. Whenever you feel the need to meet me, I will be happy to meet you. So, we leave that part to them as far as the Simla Pact is concerned. Secondly, I told you, and I have told your Prime Minister to please leave the timings of these matters to us, because the difficult decisions have to be taken by us. You are not called upon to take the difficult decisions. One is the question of East Pakistan or Bangladesh. That decision neither your Government has to take, nor Mr. Mujib-ur-Rahman. We have to take it. The second is peace with India. On both matters it is Pakistan that has to take difficult decisions, and our position, therefore, has to be appreciated and must be appreciated, if we want good neighborly relations. And, you don't want

our back to the wall because if the wall breaks than what will happen after that? That is one thing. Secondly, some of these projections are really uncharitable. The man wants to remain in power. So, in order to remain in power, he will go back on the Simla Agreement.

Now, the point is that I have never gone back on my word ever in my whole political career; I have honored whatever commitments I have given. And, I have, of course, asked for time. But that is an ancillary element. Then, which government wants to commit political suicide? I think it will be silly to say that Mrs. Gandhi does not want to remain in power. After all she has done a great many things, fought within her own party, did other things, worked compromise for the purpose of holding her Government. In every country if there is a crisis for a Government, that Government makes an effort to retain its position, whether it is a democracy or a dictatorship. What is the unusual phenomenon here? Suppose I have demonstrated that I want my party to remain in power and to consolidate itself. That is the object of every political party. But the way the British press puts it, it is as if something extremely macabre is happening.

Interviewer: No, on the contrary, I think, you can remain in power by implementing the Simla pact.

President: That is not the point. If I feel that I am no longer wanted by the people, I am too sensitive to stay there in spite of the fact that they hate my Government and don't want me to stay. Then I would vacate. But this notion that because we want to remain in power we will go back on an agreement, that is our of the question. Secondly, political weakness and all that. I don't know how they think that our internal position has weakened. How does the internal position weaken? It weakens, in a way, when an election is held. Then you know whether you are in or out. Otherwise, there are ups and downs. Now, there are so many ups and downs. Sometimes your Government becomes popular internally, some times it becomes unpopular. The internal position is a changing factor, prices go up, the housewife gets upset; then the prices come down or some other thing happens. These things go up and down. Just before the constitutional agreement, there was the question of the London Plan. My people thought, my God, Heavens alone know what is happening to the country. After that we pulled the constitutional agreement and the people felt satisfied and happy. We do not believe that our position has weakened. If it had weakened, we would have said so, and weakening means that the whole country wants you out. That is not the position. If you were here, you could have seen the Lyallpu8r station, the enthusiasm and the support. I think these prejudicial accounts are given to confuse the situation. I don't want the situation in India to be confused. In India, you must realize that we have made an agreement to honor it and we will honor that agreement.

Interviewer: Mrs. Indira Gandhi also, since you mentioned her, has got her own difficulties, just as you have yours. The Accord which was heavily weighed on your side was a difficult and controversial decision for our Prime Minister but she made it. For behind her signature was the vision of a future; of a positive co-operative co-existence between all the nations comprising our subcontinent: a great dream built upon good faith and mutual accommodation. It was in this context that millions like me backed the agreement, and hailed Mrs. Gandhi and Mr. Bhutto as architects of a new era of Indo-Pak amity.

Now, unfortunately this dream seems to be vanishing. It is not vanishing, at least finished. And, people are asking us. These are questions, which I have collected from readers' letters to my paper and all the papers. What has happened to Indo-Pak good relations? Was Simla some tactical exercise or strategic gain? Why has the cold war started all over again? Why do Mr. Bhutto and his diplomats keep harping on old conflicts and controversies? How can the Pakistan Ambassador in Washington talk of renewed war after the Simla Accord? If they hit us with the demand for self-determination in Kashmir why do not we retaliate by raising similar war cries in support of the Pukhtoons, Baluchs and Sindhis? These are the questions being asked to Mrs. Gandhi, to myself, to others. What reply?

President: In the first place you tell your readers to be a little patient; we can't remove the debris of years of antagonism, suspicion and all that goes with it overnight. There must be first of all a little patience. Secondly, time will show whether it is a good thing to burn one's fingers by putting them in the furnace of another country. These efforts are counter productive. I tell you, Mr. Karanjia, I have given strict orders to my people that they are not to play around with any one in India who claims to be wanting this, that or the other. Strict orders. If India puts her fingers into the furnace of troubles either in Sind or Balochistan or Frontier, I think it does not behave her. It will fail miserably.

Interviewer: Similar instructions have gone to every department in India. For example, we of the Press have been told that after the Simla Pact there should not be any talk of war or propaganda inimical to the spirit of the pact.

President: Not only that I have stopped talk of the South of India going to break away tomorrow, or that the Sikhs are about to. We have turned our backs away tomorrow, or that the Sikhs are about to. We have turned is talk of self-determination in Kashmir, why don't we then interfere in Pakistan's internal affairs.

In the first place, Kashmir is a disputed territory. So when we talk about self-determination of the Sikhs. The analogy is not correct. And secondly, the point to consider is what in the Simla Agreement is broken. There is a mile and half of territory in question. You can turn round and tell me why we don't compromise on a mile and a half. I will answer, why you don't compromise on the mile and a half. You will say why you should compromise on the mile and a half. I will say for the following reasons. In the first place, you are a bigger country. A mile and a half means nothing to you. Secondly, with all this creation of Bangladesh and everything else, your policy objectives, whatever they are, have been met. Thirdly, and this point is much more important, you see, our people here, they have felt, over a period of time, betrayed, and this is not because I am running down the previous Governments but dictators don't believe in carrying the people with them. They see decisions appearing logical and put to them by certain countries and they accept them but people regard them to be against their interest. So, there is that cynicism. Well, if it comes to a sell-out, we have been sold out before but never again as long as I am President of Pakistan. I have to lift their morale and make them understand that this will not happen again.

This matter is important in the sense that we stand on principles and not because it is a matter of a mile and a half or a hundred square miles, and this issue should be viewed in that perspective. There will be greater confidence generated to strengthen my hands. I wish I could explain this to your Prime Minister. She might say why we are being cussed. It is not being cussed. The situation over the last 25 years and the way it has developed with Tashkent and various other things has been such that with each new development our people have felt disappointed with the compromise. If we are right we will succeed. If we stand by what is right, this will strengthen my hands. People here must know that nothing has happened under the table that we did not compromise. That is the point. Secondly, if we are wrong and your Government can convince us that we are wrong, we are prepared to review our outlook. Either you convince us of the truth or we convince you.

Interviewer: How can that be done, through another meeting at officer's level?

President: I think, Mr. Haksar will have to come here, or Mr. Aziz Ahmed or Mr. Rafi Raza will have to go there, like we did last time.

Interviewer: Why do they not meet immediately?

President: I don't mind. But, you see, we were there in the region of dispute and now I can justify the adjustments by pointing out that India occupied about 250 miles in the northern areas before the ceasefire of December 17. They occupied it in war. They were there on the 17th of

December. On that basis they have a claim to stay there until there is a permanent settlement. We must go according to Simla Agreement or an equivalent principle.

Interviewer: Well, could I have a brief from the DMO on this? I will meet him of course. I will look into the whole thing. But if you can give me your brief I will see that it goes to Haksar.

President: Well, I have told them that you give us some equivalent area, where you were on 17th of December, so that we can say, we exchanged a military presence for a military presence. But to ask us to vacate from a place where we were militarily present, it will be untenable for me to justify it without corresponding exchange-otherwise India is having it both ways. She has taken the territory that she held and she has made us leave the territory we had occupied. Only some kind of fair exchange of this one, and a half miles will resolve the deadlock. It is not a military threat to you. It does not mean a thing. If you have a point of view we also have a point of view. Precisely for this reason Kashmir is disputed territory. The Simla Agreement says delineation will take place without prejudice to your position and without prejudice to our position.

Interviewer: You mentioned your difficulties- patience, your people, I mean throughout I see that cold running, that you want to carry national, popular consensus with you and naturally you are worried about the opposition. But are you taking too serious a view of the extremist elements?

President: I have told you that objectives are not impaired by their antics. As I said to you on the last occasion, after Ramzan, I will go to the people. I want the people to understand that whatever we are doing is in their interest and in the country's interest. It is not the extremists that trouble me.

Interviewer: Now, if you can put it to your people, for example, that what you are doing is being done in the bigger interest of the Simla Pact and also in the detailed matter of bringing the lost territories and the prisoners of war. And if the right wing forces dare to obstruct such a sensitive national issue then surely you can set the whole nation against the saboteurs and force the issue.

President: It is not for them. I am concerned about proper modalities.

Interviewer: You are not doing it for them. We have always had a feeling that you are frightened. You see we have the same trouble. Mrs. Indira Gandhi has the same difficulties. Your "mullahs" are bearded, ours are clean-shaven. That is the only difference.

President: Not at all, I know their strength and I know the measure of their weight. It is for the people. As I told you in the past, they felt disillusioned, they felt out. We have stood by them. They are the source of our strength. I told them in Lyallpur, I know that you will agree with me because there is no difference between your thinking and my thinking. That means I know that I will be able to carry the people. We are not going back on any assurance.

Interviewer: No, that is the feeling.

President: Do you mean we double-crossed you?

Interviewer: No. The feeling does not exist in Britain and other places. Two issues. Number one that you are somehow frightened of these bearded elements, and, secondly, that China is spoiling you.

President: Neither. If I had felt so chicken-hearted, I would not have started a big movement against Ayub Khan. And put Yahya Khan in his place. It is not that at all. It is that, I am sensitive to the feelings of the people. Simply that, I don't want to give them the impression that I am not consulting them and I am going behind their back. This is my method. China is not at all coming in the way.

Interviewer: What are the findings of Justice Rahman? Because, you see, reports are filtering through in the Indian Press and foreign Press, this enquiry into the September debacle.

President: Nothing sensational. I have set up a high-powered committee. I keep reminding the committee to let me know when they are ready to discuss the report. There are a number of people on it; the military people and ministers, among other high officials. When they are ready, we will consider the findings of the committee and if the committee decides that we should release the report, I will be prepared to release the report. If they think that there are certain sensitive parts relating to foreign policy and such issues then I will give due consideration to their advice. Personally, I have no hesitation in disclosing its findings. It is matters and foreign policy and other sensitive issues.

Interviewer: Broadly speaking, what is the nature of the report? I want to carry as clue.

President: It is difficult for me to speak on it at present. It pinpoints the debacle on Yahya and his Government. The brunt of the responsibilities has been put on his shoulders.

Interviewer: Not to the Generals. Finally, Mr. Bhutto, we would like your conception or vision of the future shape of our subcontinent, after these problems are tackled with or about to be settled.

President: You asked me that on the last occasion.

Interviewer: No I don't think. I forgot to ask you.

President: Well, I have told Mr. Rafi Raza but you had left by that time. I can't speak in constitutional terms. Constitutional terms have caused us problems and difficulties in the past. You remember the old days when we were young; the negotiations between Mr. Nehru and the Quaid-e-Azam, Constituent Assembly trying to formulate a plan. These constitutional contrivances, terms like federation, confederation and the like have always conjured up all sorts of feelings. I think we leave it to the political plane, to the political and economic plane. As we progress with our political understanding of each other's problems, with that will follow economic activity. You live on your side of the fence. We live on our side of the fence. No hedgehopping and we can have very good relations on that basis. It is not that we should tie them down in certain constitutional arrangements or things of that nature. We have got Afghanistan as our neighbor. We will like to have most cordial relations with Afghanistan, the kind of relations you envisage between India and Pakistan. We like to break the barriers, have custom unions and the like with our northern Muslim neighbor.

Interviewer: Or may be of European community that we have modeled for us.

President: But that will take a long time because we have to reach their level of industrial development. Today, at least, as far as us and Afghanistan are concerned, I do not know about the Indian economic position, we are mainly exporters of the primary commodities. We have not reached that level of industrial development. When it comes to cooperation, in the in the agricultural field, it is much more difficult than in the industrial field. Because prices fluctuate; we produce about the same things; we are short of the same things. When there is an abundance of agricultural commodities then we can talk about exchanging those commodities between ourselves. But, today this is not possible.

The European Common Market concept comes with a highly industrially developed base, which we, at present, lack. We lack the necessary infrastructure. But, in terms of economic and cultural and trade co-operation, according to our conditions, with the resolution of political differences - we must make an earnest effort to resolve them on the basis of principles - then we can look forward to that era of greater co-operation. But, within the

concept of our own country, within the concept of your own country, and there is Afghanistan, and there are other countries as our neighbors.

However, what you said about CWENTO, its merits and demerits, we had been in two of these pacts –CENTO and SEATO. SEATO is behind us. I gave the reasons why we are in CENTO. We can review our position with the passage of time. But, we would not like to get involved in any new pacts with super powers and great powers. You ask Pakistanis what they think of pacts. What it means to be in pacts with super powers and great powers?

It is an unequal relationship, and finally in the unequal relationship, you will find that you can't outsmart the super powers. So, we are wary of these arrangements, whatever the terms of these arrangements and whoever sponsors them. Even if China were to sponsor such a thing we would be wary of it. I think you understand.

Interviewer: Our talk leads to one conclusion that is lack of the pipeline for constant communication. I may come here once or you may to there once or Haksar may come here. But can't we establish some kind of machinery whereby the obstacles, the difficulties, different points of view...

President: After Simla, we thought we could have exchanged our ambassadors and, at that time, I brought with me the man with us whom we intended to post in Delhi. But your Government was not too keen on it. We, therefore, dropped it. I don't see why we cannot take that action simultaneously.

Interviewer: Sort of diplomatic representatives?

President: Yes, Sooner or later, your man will have to come here; our people will have to go there. Both countries have very big missions, lying vacant. I would desire the missions to be re-opened.

INTERVIEW WITH CBS TELEVISION TEAM

November 1, 1972

Interviewer: In Karachi we met a woman who told us that 21 members of her family were prisoners of war in India; and that, 20 of them were civilians. This is not generally understood in the Western world. So we interviewed her and that film is already in the United States. I think what they do with all of the films we make is to hold them after the elections so that they do not get lost in the election coverage.

President: Yes. The prisoners include civilians, and many are young children.

Interviewer: It is an incredible situation when one thinks about it?

President: They are not just a few. The military prisoners of war are about 70,000 and the rest, just over, 20,000 of them are civilians including civil servants and journalists. Did the lady speak to you in Urdu?

Interviewer: She spoke our language. She spoke excellent English, a very impressive woman and she talked about her family.

President: Was she the wife of a civil servant or a businessman?

Interviewer: She was the wife of a businessman and they had been living in Dacca. Her brother-in-law is a Major in your Army. Somehow the brother-in-law was taken prisoner with 20 members of the family, including her mother, father and children.

President: There are many hard cases.

Interviewer: Mr. President, you came to power with the first democratically based Government in Pakistan after two military dictatorships. Of course, you were expected to be a miracle worker. What is happening now? Is Pakistan becoming impatient with slower working of the system of democracy?

President: I would not think so. We have made considerable progress in the last 10 months. There were many ups and downs, and dislocations but these were inherent in the situation. Now, we have progressed quite rapidly and have arrived at a constitutional settlement. All the parties represented in the National Assembly have unanimously agreed to the samples of the constitution. On the basis of these principles, we will frame a constitution: And as a result, democracy, will take firmer roots in Pakistan. Of course, at the moment it is a small and delicate plant but its roots are spreading out quite satisfactorily.

Interviewer: One of the great problems facing you, of course, is the economic situation of your country. You have said that you want to move the country towards socialism. But it is not clear to me what kind of socialism you mean. Does that mean nationalizing all the industries, Sir?

President: Not at all. We have nationalized some of the heavy industries, heavy from our point of view not heavy when compared with your industries or with the industries of Europe. In the beginning the industrialists were a little wary. They thought we would sweep the floor clean and nationalize everything. We have seen that happen in other countries. Taking into account their experiences we want to progress gradually towards the goal of socialism, we went to consolidate our gains before moving to the next phase. This is now quite clear to the people, as much as to the entrepreneurs. Already economic activity in the private sector is picking up. We have given assurances to the private sector that for our present tenure of the office we do not propose to take any further steps towards nationalization unless, of course, something unusual of extraordinary takes place sabotage or something of that nature. The result is that the people are again getting active, the industrialists are applying for sanctions for new industries, and they can have them for units stipulated in the investment schedule. We have nationalized some industries but we hope to maintain equilibrium and a balance between the competing interest for the private sector.

Interviewer: I have talked with some American businessmen here in Pakistan. They are still a little worried. They wonder what is going to happen to them. You call the present stage an intermediary stage. Are their companies or some of them eventually going to be nationalized?

President: As for foreign investment we have made our position abundantly clear. We do not intend to touch foreign investment, and I have told investors in our country that if they are worried they can get into partnership with foreign investors. There are reasons for giving protection to foreign investment. We need foreign investment. I do not have to make out a case for that and there is no intention on our part to touch any firm or foreign investment, which we would sanction in Pakistan.

Interviewer: Were some kind of special circumstances surrounding the nationalization of the American life Insurance Company?

President: our election manifesto calls for the nationalization of insurance companies. We have, however, made it quite clear that we will pay adequate compensation. Now this is in accordance with the terms and conditions of the United States investment, which have been approved by Congress. We are going to implement the conditions imposed by Congress in these matters.

Interviewer: You are quoted as saying, Mr. President, that you personally favor recognizing Bangladesh. Is that true?

President: I have said this for a long time. It is not a question only of my personal wishes. It is in the interest of our people as a whole that recognition should be given at the appropriate time. I have pleaded for time because it is undoubtedly an issue affecting the sentiments of our people, and naturally so. A part of the country has been separated, people feel strongly about it. But taking the objective realities into account sooner or later we will have to reckon with the reality of Bangladesh, ugly or pleasant. In my judgment the sooner we do this, the easier it will be for us to restore our links and contacts with that part of the subcontinent, which till recently was a part of our country.

Interviewer: What kind of time plan do you see, Sir?

President: Originally I had thought that, by now, we would get this matter over with. But things do not move according to a fixed mechanism. The dynamics of politics involve many factors. Yes, many interests are involved. Things get out of hand, they get topsy-turvy, so, I cannot say exactly when. I hope I could have a meeting with Mr. Mujib-ur-Rahman soon, and once we meet, the picture will be a little clearer. I can then go to the people, and the National Assembly and make some tours of the country as well to explain to our people the necessity of recognition. But, some new elements keep arising. Certainly I have to take into account what Mr. Mujib-ur-Rahman has said. He has said that he is going to hold elections, and if he holds elections, we would not negotiate with a lame duck government. It will be difficult for us to take up such vital issues with a government, which is on the anvil of elections. These factors are outside my control.

Interviewer: And has Sheikh Mujib indicated that he would meet with you?

President: He has imposed conditions, which we do not consider to be reasonable. They might be reasonable to him. But we do not think that they are reasonable conditions. He has asked for prior recognition so that we can meet on the basis of equality. For that matter, Malta and the United States are equally sovereign States. President Nixon went to China without according recognition to the People's Republics of China. I do not think that any such consideration came in the way of the meeting. So, we recognize the equality of our friend. I would say, he is superior and we are inferior because he has got a larger population and we have got a smaller population. But we cannot just recognize a fail accompli without negotiations, without a package arrangement. The purpose of the meeting is to work out the recognition and the modalities that would follow to clear all outstanding issues.

Interviewer: Mr. President, you have over ninety thousand prisoners of war in camps in India or perhaps two hundred thousand. Nobody really seems to know. Bengalis here in Pakistan want to go to their homes in Bangladesh. Then here are Pakistanis in Bangladesh, who want to come here. So here in this subcontinent there are perhaps half a million displaced persons. How can you break this circle?

President: Well, one opening appears to be the Simla Accord and the follow-up of the Simla Accord provided that there will be withdrawal of forces. Originally, the withdrawals were scheduled to take place on the 3rd of September, and then we were stuck up. So I sent a delegation to Delhi and it was decided in Delhi that by the 15th of September the withdrawal have not yet taken place. If withdrawals had taken place, an opening would have been made for other developments. The ice has to be broken. Perhaps it will be broken when the withdrawals take place or when Mr. Mujib-ur-Rahman chooses to meet me. As I have told you, I am prepared to meet him at any time and any place, without any condition.

Interviewer: What are the conditions for the return of the 90,000 Pakistanis held in India?

President: The Indians are giving weird legal interpretation to their holding on to the prisoners. They say that the Pakistani prisoners of war surrendered to a joint command of India and Mukti Bahini: and, therefore, Mr. Mujib-ur-Rahman holds a veto power on the issue of their release, even if India wants to release them. We are not pressing the point at this stage because I believe we should proceed on the basis of first things first. We want withdrawals to be effected. Once withdrawals are effected we will vigorously take up the question of our prisoners of war. There are the Geneva Conventions and established norms of international conduct known to the whole world. Now, we hope that with the Vietnam War coming to an end, your own boys would be coming back to your country, which will be a

salutary development. We hope that an international climate can be created for the release of our prisoners of war.

Interviewer: Are you holding the Bengalis in Pakistan as a political card to play?

President: It is hardly a political card. The Bengalis are free to go about, they are moving about, they are not in concentration camps, as has been alleged.

Interviewer: No. I have seen...

President: They are getting their salaries but of course they are not getting full salaries because they are not working and we are a poor country. Economically we cannot afford to give so many people salaries when they are not working. There has been some cut in their salaries but nevertheless they are free to move about.

Interviewer: Some who were not civil servants, however, are getting nothing at all and they find it difficult: of course, there is a certain feeling against them, and some of them who are simply poor are living in misery. Why don't you send them back?

President: Yes. I can consider these matters once things start moving. I have no intention of unnecessarily keeping these poor people here. I sympathize with them. They are living in pitiable conditions. But we are a poor country. It is not the poor Bengalis alone who are living in pitiable conditions; there are other people also whose conditions are fairly miserable. It is the question of unemployment, the problem of a backward society. And that's why we want to industrialize: that's why we want to get things moving economically. We have poverty in the subcontinent and one of the worst forms of poverty that exists anywhere in the world. It affects other people as well, not just the poor Bengalis. There are unemployed Pakistanis who are equally destitute.

Interviewer: I have talked to Pakistanis who appreciate the fact that the United States favored your country in the war with India and yet I am disappointed because there are some among them who say if the United States had stood by us we would have lost. How do you feel?

President: I am glad you asked this question. I don't know when you are going to show this film to your audience, but, I want to make it abundantly clear-clear beyond all doubt - that the Government of President Nixon did not assist and help Pakistan out of subjective considerations. The Government of the United States took a position of principles. My country

was subjected to a naked and brute aggression by India, supported by a treaty, which it had concluded a few months earlier with a great power. India violated all the norms of International relations known to mankind. India violated the norms of international relations as evolved since the San Francisco Conference: in such a situation the administration of President Nixon took a moral position took a position consistent with the high traditions of the United States and its people. Your country would not have been great if it had not upheld internationally recognized principles. I cannot understand this confused thinking in a part of the United States itself as if, President Nixon's administration helped Pakistan against India. This is not the position. A great power or for that matter any country does not take any subjective or romantic position of helping one against the other. It takes a position on principles and we appreciate the fact that President Nixon was strong enough, bold enough and courageous enough to take a position on principles.

Interviewer: The feeling in the United States is against army in what now is Bangladesh?

President: Those reports were excesses in themselves. I know Mr. Mujib-ur-Rahman's favorite theme song is that three million people had died. Well, this is not true. Of course, we would not condone the death of even one person. I had protested against some of the things that were being done. Not only I, but many people in this part of the country had protested. But, you know, in war, and this was a civil war, unfortunate things do happen. People get out of control. This has happened all over the world, and in civil wars more than in any other war. Nevertheless, the reports were grossly exaggerated. In any case when decisions are taken they are taken on the calculation of hard realities and emotional elements are not injected into such decisions. Be that, as it may, the fact in the last analysis remains that an aggression was committed against Pakistan. It was interference in our internal affairs- and a brute interference too.

Interviewer: Mr. President, how do you see the future relations of your country with its neighbors: with China, India, Bangladesh and Afghanistan?

President: As far as China is concerned, we have good relations, extremely cordial relations. Over a period of time, these relations have been consolidated. The relationship is based on confidence and mutual trust because we have seen China has been a good neighbor and has been helpful to Pakistan in many ways. We envisage future development of our good relations with that country but without getting involved in the quarrels of the summit. We have no intention to get involved in those matters. As far as Afghanistan is concerned it is our neighbor, neighbor to the North. We have many common links with Afghanistan, and we hope to foster these links and

increase them. With East Pakistan or Bangladesh or Muslim Bengal, once recognition takes place, we will do everything in our power to atone for the past and to develop positive relations. Relations with India are more complicated. They arise not only out of the legacies of the past, but because we have the fundamental dispute over Jammu and Kashmir with India. We will do everything in our power to resolve it on the basis of principles. But this can be done only if India comes to grips with us in a meaningful bilateral dialogue, and makes up her mind that it is about time that the dispute is resolved. Disputes all over the world are getting resolved; disputes that came before Kashmir and after Kashmir, but we are stuck up with this dispute. So, on a realistic, basis if India undertakes negotiations with us, after the withdrawal of forces and after the return of the prisoners of war, we are prepared to enter into a dialogue with India indeed. We cannot do this before the return of the prisoners of war because it will give the impression that there is duress in the negotiations. This is how I see the future. It can be very bright and it can be more productive to our people who have suffered for so long as a result of the tension and conflicts in the subcontinent. We can put our resources together to improve the lot of the common man but, of course, we must retain our separate identity. We cannot allow our identity to be merged with that of others. There is, therefore, no question of having confederal arrangements. But as good neighbors we can live and steadily improve our relations as well as the living conditions of our people.

Interviewer: Mr. President how do you see your own future? Taking over the country after the last war and picking up the pieces is a thankless job. Your Minister for Labor has called the wave of strikes in the industrial areas a revolt against the Government. How serious are these problems? Are they a threat to you?

President: I do not think so. The labor problem is settling down as far as the whole country is concerned. It is mainly confined to Karachi where the labor is concentrated. It is heterogeneous labor. People from all over the country gather in Karachi far away from their homes. So these are not only economic problems but social problems as well; the problems of making a home, of settling down to different conditions. It will take a little longer time for the problems of Karachi to be resolved. But I am quite satisfied with the progress we have made. We have overcome many difficulties. The previous Governments had put aside all the controversial issues. They did not even touch them. They did not touch the question of the constitution, the question of autonomy, the language problem and a host of other sensitive issues. They kept these asides and by doing that by procrastinating over the settlement of these issues, they made them much worse. All these accumulated problems fell on our shoulders. We have to take the decisions. Most of the unpleasant decisions were very hard decisions and have been taken. We now look forward to the period of genuine consolidation.

Interviewer: Can a democracy deal with problems like that - the emotional and traditional problems - better than dictatorship?

President: The only way to deal with these problems, we have seen through our experience over the last 25 years or the last 15 years, is that people alone are the final arbiters and they alone can decide. The *Junta* sitting far away in its ivory tower cannot take decisions and when it takes decisions, such decisions are not accepted by the people. I believe only a democracy can settle these issues.

Interviewer: Thank you very much Mr. President.

**INTERVIEW WITH
MR. WALTER SCHWARTZ,
GUARDIAN, LONDON,
November 16th, 1972**

Interviewer: Once the prisoners are back, why should you care so much for the claims Mujib makes. He makes claims, you consider them ridiculous, you don't want them, there is no reason for you to pay heed.

President: But for one thing, there is an international factor. Foreign debts are involved. Secondly, a simple answer is that we want good relations with them and we don't want to enter into a new controversy. There should be no new cause for bad blood.

Interviewer: Another reason which one gathers why you want to meet him was to make a last desperate attempt to get some kind of constitutional, perhaps if not constitutional some kind of unity so that you can preserve at least the form of unity, a former Pakistan.

President: I know how events have moved in the subcontinent and I am not ignorant of historical factors. I know, at the moment, this is only a cynical formality. But at the same time I am equally convinced that sooner or later, and sooner than most people think, some kind of association will again emerge between the two entities-Pakistan and Bangladesh. I do not mean in the form of a federation, I do not say in the form of a confederation. But it will be a relationship, which the great powers call a special relationship. Now, how that takes shape I can't anticipate precisely. But, I know certainly, I am quite confident that it will happen. That is why the sooner we recognize the cruel reality, the present reality the quicker will that day come.

Interviewer: You said cynical formality; I cannot make what you meant by cynical formality.

President: We have to go through the process. In the future, not distant but near, if we behave sensibly and do the right things, some atonement some moral and political compensation will make my work easier. I am sure this will induce a form of association, not in constitutional terms, but in other ways, for example, through trade concessions, not needing visas between the two and various other measures. I can think of so many methods as a starting

point for the special association. Although Mr. Mujib-ur-Rahman will, of course, denounce it but after the elections which he is having, he will move in that direction.

Interviewer: I want to know whether these elections might push him to hold the trials and once the trials start what you think will happen here. You said that that will be a point of no return. Do you think Punjab will rise and there will be demonstrations?

President: No, not that kind. It will be a psychological point of no return.

Interviewer: it seems he knows that. He has not started the trials, and yet when one talks to him he seems completely adamant in going about the trials.

President: He is a prisoner of his own complexes.

Interviewer: But you are hopeful that you might get round this trials' problem. You are not going to the question of recognition here and he(interruption)

President: Exactly, I do not see why people abroad are doubtful about our earnestness regarding the recognition of Bangladesh. I would not be making speeches in Lyallpur and addressing the hard core of opposition to recognition, if I was not interested in recognition. It would be political suicide for a person to preach what in inverted commas is unpopular publicly. But the timing must be left to us. We cannot be badgered on this. I will have to be convinced that I have brought public opinion round to the point of recognition.

Interviewer: And in this campaign, which you mentioned today, you referred to the Opposition parties not inside the party or else inside the party?

President: here are the parties, which were defeated in last elections. They want something to rehabilitate themselves. They want to pick on any plug and they think this is the best one. If they want to play decent politics, I am prepared for that- a dialogue, a discussion and fair debate. But if they start saying Islam is in danger, the two-nation theory is going to be exploded and we will see rivers of blood, then they are asking for extra-legal methods of handling the problem. Then they will be paid back in their own coin. I am convinced that recognition is in the interest of Pakistan. There is no other way of forging links with Bengal. If they can show me better links, as I have said this afternoon, I am prepared to listen to them.

Interviewer: Now this has been a big thing, your border with India. I come from Delhi where I am stationed normally. They give this impression that Pakistani side strangely changed position at the last minute. I have learnt already here this does not seem to be the case.

President: This is entirely incorrect. I have said that Pakistan being the smaller country, we cannot simply abandon the path of principle because then the whole physical weight of the bigger party comes to bear on the problem. Sympathy and support externally and mobilization internally can only be on the lines of a principle; and the principle here is that the Simla Agreement refers to where the armies stood on the 17th of December. We stood there much before the 17th of December. Now if you want to change that for some reason, and we know the reason, in that case find a new principle which should be that you give us quid pro quo and vacate some area along that whole long line, in exchange for this. Then we can go back to our people and say all right if we had to give up some territory where we were before the 17th of December, Indians gave us something where they were before the 17th of December.

Interviewer: But have you any firm indication up-till now about what sort of meeting they want to have?

President: If you go back to India, you can tell some of them, look, for God's sake, be a little reasonable. Therefore, let us lay off this hook and get on with the progress. Today, to us our relations with India, from the narrow point of view, have significance more immediate than that of Bangladesh, which is a distance of 1,000 miles away. India is our immediate neighbor physically, and so it is essential that we get moving with the withdrawals and then we can have the second meeting with Mrs. Gandhi and make further progress.

Interviewer: There was time when they were saying-Swaran Singh told me a few months ago that they were not interested in another Summit in advance of recognition of Bangladesh. I think they may be waiting for that.

President: There are many advantages, both to them and to us, for a meeting before that. I don't see why they are sensitive to restoring diplomatic relations. The explanation that Mrs. Gandhi gave in today's Dawn does not convince me. Diplomats have a role to play in assessing the situation, in evaluating the internal conditions and also in maintaining liaison.

Interviewer: In fact it will be you who wish to have diplomatic relations because they are holding the prisoners?

President: I took our man to Simla, the man I wanted to appoint in Delhi, I took him to Simla.

Interviewer: I do not quite know why they have opposed it?

President: Some kind of positive contribution can be made by the international Press on this question.

Interviewer: If there is a summit meeting, obviously the first thing you want to raise is the prisoners. Do you think that in case Sheikh Mujib manages to shelve the trials until after his elections, which is also a possibility, there will still be the threat that Indians cannot release all the prisoners? Would you be interested in a partial release?

President: Substantial release. If he judges a particular case as one to be kept aside for the guillotine, he may do so. But there will be retaliation. I am prepared to discuss, without recognition, exchange of substantial number of prisoners of war with the Bengalis from here.

Interviewer: I see that will be a part of the truce.

President: Yes, why should it be a one-way traffic? Of course, prisoners of war should be returned, according to Geneva Conventions and Resolution 307 unconditionally. But if Mujib wants some benefit out of it, we will let him have it. But I cannot say if it will be productive.

Interviewer: Prisoners will be sent from India to here, Bengalis going to Bangladesh. As regards Biharis you are not interested in taking them?

President: It is not a question of being interested. I have the greatest sympathy for them. It is a big human problem. But you must appreciate our difficulties. In the last 25 years, we have almost been killed by being compassionate. We have had millions of refugees. Mine is a Government dedicated to improving the people's lot. We want to clear the slums, we want to clear the shantytowns, we want to bring employment to our people, and hardly do we get moving when we get snowed under. In any case, primarily and morally, the Biharis are Mujib's responsibility. They had made such a contribution to the growth of East Pakistan and its economy. To them East Pakistan is Pakistan. They are poor people, they have left their villages, and the world to them is their villages. They are uprooted like that just because Bengalis don't like them or Mujib-ur-Rahman does not like them. It is not fair to them.

Interviewer: Would you say that in the last few months you have been subject to a certain vacillation or hesitation that where you should go now between China and United States?

President: No, there is no incompatibility between our relations with each of them. In any case, it is easier now. In 1962 or 1963 when I was foreign Minister and in 1965, we managed to hold on to our foreign policy by having good relations with the United States. Now the task is infinitely easier. I see no incompatibility between our good, friendly and normal relations with China and equally good relations with the United States.

Interviewer: Have you given much thought as to what might happen at the end of the Vietnam War, which is in sight in the way that American might have a new set of global fiends. Perhaps it might give more importance to Pakistan than ever.

President: I don't know whether the Americans will do that. They have to determine their own foreign policy. I am sure they have determined it already. They have many alternatives; they have many plans, post-war plans. Obviously they are not going to leave Asia, lock, stock and barren. It would be native to think so and in new role, in a good role they would be welcome.

Interviewer: Why do you say in the new role?

President: A new role means a role not of conflict in Vietnam. You see after France came back to South East Asia in a new role, and not as an adversary, she was welcome to Vietnam. They policy of De Gaulle on Vietnam gave an importance to France back in Vietnam. In that new role I am sure, United States would be welcome to Asia. It is Asia's interest that the United States also has an interest in Asia. I said this soon after the downfall of Ayub and at that time I was taken to task by some of our red-hot friends. But now even Premier Chou En-lai has said it in this way, you know, that once the war in Vietnam is over, China and the United States can follow a good, correct policy. The Pacific washes both the shores of China and the United States. So I am sure they have a big role to play. As far as Pakistan is concerned, we have to see, we have to watch, we have to wait because, somehow or the other, Pakistan has not been lucky. India was regarded as more important in the past. For a variety of reasons we have heard, and which you know, it is said that Bangladesh suddenly has acquired more importance than Pakistan. Of course, without being Chauvinistic - we have had enough of Chauvinism - I am quite confident that if you see me in this room five years from today, you will find that you are visiting the most important country in the subcontinent in terms of its growth, in terms of its economic progress, in terms of its vitality. At one time we were accused of

being the most unnatural state in the world or at least in the subcontinent. Today, at least in the subcontinent, we are the most natural state.

Interviewer: Why, how do you mean?

President: As far as Bangladesh is concerned, they have Bengal on the other side. That equation has yet to be sorted out. As far as India is concerned she too might have many Bangladesh behind the bushes in her own country. But once we have resolved our basic problems here, the constitutional problem and one or two others connected with it, and we get moving and work hard—we are a hard-working people, we are not frightened of work, our people are enthusiastic and courageous and who can ignore the forces of the North on the subcontinent?

Interviewer: Forces of the North?

President: North, Northwest in the subcontinent.

Interviewer: You mean, as it was in the past they played a key-role in India.

President: Yes, this region played a key-role, and this I am not saying in terms of conflict. France and Germany both are becoming powerful, both are improving their economy, their technology; that does not mean that conflict is involved. We don't want war with India. We want to live in peace, if possible perpetual peace. We had enough of conflict here. But this does not mean that we should remain poor and dispossessed in order to show that we want to live in peace. And secondly, after what happened to us last year, I think it is the moral duty of the leadership of Pakistan to vindicate national honor. I know that has been misunderstood in India as meaning that we might go to war. No, vindication can come in the way that when you come to the subcontinent, you see the difference here, in the per capita income, in the progress of the people, in the lives of the people, in the discipline, in the way the country is progressing, I am quite confident if we get over these two or three problems, we will have a place in the sun. The importance of Pakistan is intrinsic and inherent. This was unfortunately distorted by a regime of myopic, uninformed individuals. We will put it right.

Interviewer: If the West were to come to the war and the things you don't manage with Bangladesh or India and a sort of conflict arises, this is on the back of my mind, would you see in China or would you see in America perhaps the more promising ally?

President: No, I am not thinking in terms of conflict. I can assure you that as long as I am the President of this country or if the constitution goes

through, If I am Prime Minister of this country, there will not be a conflict in the subcontinent, of Pakistan's making. If a conflict is thrust on us, that is a different matter and we will be ready to meet it. But we will not promote conflict. Our policy of the future is a vision of peace and accommodation based on principles. I am not thinking in those terms. But if that situation arises, I cannot say what China will do. But with the United States across the seven seas and having new thoughts on what is neo-colonialism and what is activism, with the balance of payments position, with the internal problems on which they have to concentrate more after Vietnam, I think our eyes will have to gaze again across Karakoram. For that reason, among others, our policy of friendship with China is immutable and uncompromising.

Interviewer: This Constitutional Accord I must say seems to me the most hopeful thing that has happened in this country since you took over. Do you agree with that?

President: It has been a good achievement for the country.

Interviewer: There are of course people raising doubts about this two-third majority before the Prime Minister can be removed. Is it something, which was at the insistence of NAP or yourself?

President: We had proposed a provision, which Mujib has got in his draft. If a member of the party once votes against the party on a motion of non-confidence, he will have to vacate his seat and get re-elected. But now if Mujib-ur-Rahman in Bangladesh is doing that to ensure stability in his parliamentary system after laying claim that Bengalis are politically more conscious than West Pakistanis and if he finds it necessary, how much more must I think it necessary here that there must be, at least for the present, some built-in democratic device to hold the constitution together, to preserve democracy. If, on the other hand, we let it be free-for-all constitution, I will only be contributing to the forces of chaos coming in again. We have had enough of that. Prudence requires that there must be some temporary adjustment. After fifteen years have passed, institutions will stabilize because we are building the country anew. So I don't think that it is unpalatable or undemocratic or an oppressive provision in the constitution.

Interviewer: The only economic crisis you have been through, India has the same problems, seems to be the crisis of production that the investment is not going into the industry, industrialists are being scared of or being discouraged and so on. Do you think after all you have the socialist regime, which discourages business to some extent? Do you want to get some sort of understanding with the industrialists and have you managed to do so in the last few months?

President: To the extent that we have laid down the guidelines. We have given them, so to speak, I don't want to use a big word, a charter that for the next five years we don't intend to nationalize any further or take any other steps that might be considered against them. 80 per cent of industry is still in their hands. We are prepared to give them encouragements and other inducements and incentives within the framework of our objectives. Now they should settle down and start contributing to the economy.

Interviewer: Is there any sign that they are doing so already?

President: I think so, yes, they have started. I don't know how long you will be here.

Interviewer: This time on a week's visit.

President: But I think you will find that the picture is not as bleak as it was last year.

Interviewer: Yes, I have already heard that. You have still got a very strong left wing; I mean extreme left wing elements in your party, which is urging you to take more and more steps.

President: No, I have made it quite clear. If I was going to be at their mercy, then I don't think that I do credit to my country. I will not be at any one's mercy. I won't be dictated like that by any elements. I will, in my good judgment, consider what is right for the country and proceed on that basis.

Interviewer: At your Party's convention on 30th November, obviously, there are some groups that intend to voice protest against...

President: It is a happy thing. I would be sad if it was going to be a dumb affair.

Interviewer: Talking to some of the critics, not only the extreme critics but more moderate critics, inside your party and among journalists, one trace I do find is that the people who give you credit for all the right objectives, they are disgusted of your style of Government. They find that somehow you use ruthless methods, not so much you but people around you.

President: No, no, I have taken full responsibility for the actions of my government. I am not going to be like Ayub Khan doing all the nasty things and then put them on his Governor. That is not right; it does not do a man any good to pass on the buck. I am fully in charge of the situation. As far as my Government and Chief Ministers are concerned, 4 and 5 times a day I telephone them and I am all the time aware of what is happening. Now, the

point here is this. As I said today in my speech, if they want to play above board and if these people want to indulge in true democratic opposition, I would be the happiest man in the world. But if they threaten every now and then the government with movements, with revolutions with scenes of blood, if they say that the streets of Karachi are red, then we will meet them with blood.

Interviewer: Who said that?

President: Many of them. They make all kinds of seditious speeches, and if they expect that I am sitting in Westminster, well I am not sitting in Westminster. I am sitting in Pakistan, and I know how our politics goes. I am not happy when some of these people have to be sent behind the bars or some such thing like that. But you see, to expect in our conditions a kind of politics of lavender and lace, it is being unrealistic. But at the same time, I would not like to take any ruthless measures. However, if ruthless measures are required, I have no hesitation in taking them. I am not a half-measure man. Democracy wants us to play the democratic game. But if you want to talk about democracy and to undemocratic things, then I am not going to give you that benefit.

Interviewer: So it is only against undemocratic people. I heard, for example, I have no means of checking it; Kasuri resigned and so immediately there was some kind of case against him.

President: No, Kasuri has been doing silly things but not undemocratic things. I can't vouchsafe for the courage of the man. He went and applied for bail before arrest. I told him we have no intention of arresting him. We don't want to arrest him. But if they whimsically get bail before arrest, I can't help it. But we are not going to arrest him and we did not arrest him. And Altaf Gauhar, on whom you wrote so much, is not a journalist. He was a civil servant. He went to Dawn to find a cover for his misdeeds. Now, some of the things have come out in his trial, the kind of activities he was indulging in. All of them have not come out because of security being involved. Some of them have been given to the Judges in Camera.

Interviewer: Basically he is considered dangerous to the State at the moment.

President: He is not a danger to the State, but his activities were prejudicial to the State. If you put your hands into the fire, those hands will be brunt. He is not a threat, he is not a menace, he has got no consistency, but he goes about trying to engineer plots and things like that, which we can handle easily. But the fact is that it is illegal, it is against the law for a man to indulge in gunpowder plots. For this reason he was arrested. Actually he sent me

apologies without my asking for it, three apologies one after the other. I was thinking of releasing him because he is inconsequential. But then he said that those apologies were extracted. Some one said they will go to the Court of Law. If the Court had released him well and good. But I knew the overwhelming evidence was against him.

Interviewer: They are still trying to decide?

President: If they release him, heavens will not fall.

Interviewer: He will not be arrested again?

President: No, why should he? You must also appreciate my difficulties. My main problem is to get the colonial mentality out of our people. They still, somehow or the other, are not free in that sense, and I must knock that out of them first. They get easily elated and easily depressed. Gloom overtakes them and they say the economy is battered and they lose control of their nerves, and in that situation, normal procedures would be almost impossible. Looking back on the 20th of December, and the year that we have had, really I don't know how we have gone through this nightmare. It has been nothing short of a nightmare. But the one thing of which I am certain is the will to survive, the people's faith that has been manifested. And, secondly, hard work has taken a heavy toll from me. It has been really hard work, right down the line.

Interviewer: And there has been no let-up.

President: I feel some sort of satisfaction. Things are setting down. Who knows there might be an explosion somewhere, at any time? We are prepared for it. But, you know, just this tour of six days, following on almost marathon, nocturnal meetings, is not a simple task. But the driving force, the engine behind it, is that something has to be done. We cannot make a laughing stock of ourselves. We cannot after 1,000 years of living with the Indians in the subcontinent make them smile and say, here lies the carcass.

Interviewer: I must say there has been tremendous appreciation about you and I have been since long time talking to your bitter critics and they all finish up by saying there is nobody else, he is doing better than.

President: I don't think they have been complimentary. I would not mind if somebody else were there. It would be a little help if we had someone else there. He would either be in Government or he would form a constructive opposition. I will be happy if there is someone else. But the position that we have inherited was worse than Poland faced. Germany, of course, suffered a lot in the war and the United States came in a big way to

help the rehabilitation of Western Europe. Britain won the war. So if the British were without sugar and without bread, nevertheless, they had the satisfaction of having won the war. Here you lose and don't get anything. People say, what the hell, the war is over, to hell with it.

Interviewer: Do you think that when you say that you want peace with Indians and I think your sincerity is generally accepted by Mrs. Gandhi and everyone, are you really carrying the people with you on that, I mean, apart from the Bangladesh issue, on the question of India. I do occasionally meet the people here who say, oh, we fought all the time?

President: let them fight after I am gone. You know during the war in 1971, when Yahya Khan was in power, I found a perceptible change in the people's thinking and I seized it. For one thing I new that if there were to be a war we would lose, not because of Indian's predominant military power but because Yahya had all over him a bunch of fools. They were ignorant generals who ruled by day and night both, they did not know what was happening, and they were incompetent people. So I made a statement. I was the big confrontation man, associated with thousand year's war. I said, we don't want war and I think the Indians don't want war, and I am sure we can settle our disputes. But when I met Yahya Khan he said, oh, what have you said? I said, look, we are to lose. You have made it inevitable.

**INTERVIEW WITH
MR. REGGIE MICHAEL
EDITOR, TIMES OF CEYLON**

February 8, 1973

President Zulfikar Ali Bhutto said that Pakistan would 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 giving an interview to Mr. Reggie Michael, Editor Times of Ceylon, in Karachi.

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 is 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 lend 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 quarters in view of the stand taken by India; that she would consider repatriating Pakistani POWs provided Bangladesh agreed to it.

He said, essentially speaking, the return of POWs is not connected with any Pakistani decision of the recognition of Bangladesh. If the Geneva Conventions were to be complied with, there is 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 return 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 is the Kashmir dispute. It has 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, both India and Pakistan had reached alarming proportions. There is 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 knew these things were happening and if they realized the damage they would do to their national interests and to the interest 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 not only there should be peace in the territorial part of the subcontinent but also the Indian Ocean because even if there was peace in the subcontinent, the Indian Ocean could become cockpit of international interests. In that event, the subcontinent itself could not escape from those activities.

Asked about his attitude towards regional co-operation 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 or 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.

**INTERVIEW WITH
MR. JOHN BIERMAN,
BBC CORRESPONDENT,
February 21, 1973**

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

The President said that what happened in East Pakistan in 1971 did not happen even once in a lifetime. These were freaks, rather extraordinary development, which could not 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.

Replying to a question the President said that in Balochistan, the NAP had become quite unpopular and moreover, powerful tribes had arrayed themselves against it. They had alienated various sections of the population. In the Frontier also, there was only about a district or so, which could be regarded as a stronghold of the NAP. 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 Balochistan and the new government will be

formed. The NAP had only eight members out of a total of 22 in the Balochistan Assembly.

The President strongly repudiated ex-Governor Bizenjo's allegation that troops were pouring into Balochistan. He said that after the withdrawal of the armies of Pakistan and India it was only natural that the Pakistan 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 Balochistan; there have been troops in the Frontier also. In any case, he said there had been no use of force in Balochistan. Not a single bullet had been fired and not a single person had been killed. No one had even been arrested in Balochistan so far. But he added the Government had to take certain precautionary measures. The President asked the BBC Correspondent to go to Balochistan 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 by, there was more and more 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 use 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 and 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 taken place. There was a treaty that 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 a 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.

**INTERVIEW WITH
MR.HASNAIN HEYKAL,
EDITOR-IN-CHIEF, AL-AHRAM,
Recorded on March 2, 1973**

President Zulfikar Ali Bhutto said that Pakistan 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 he wanted to meet Mr. Mujib-ur-Rahman because he wanted to settle all the major issues once and for all. The issues included war trials, prisoners of war (POWs), treatment of Biharis and others, and the question of so-called collaborators. There was also the question of assets and liabilities, internal as well as external.

He said he wanted to be sure that after they recognize Bangladesh, Mr. Mujib-ur-Rahman did not create some other major problem, which was not unexpected from him. The President said apart from every other consideration, it was in Pakistan's interest to have links again with Muslim Bengal and these links, he realized, could only come by recognition. Pakistan is therefore prepared to negotiate and come to a settlement with them the sooner the better.

Replying 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, Bangladesh is the backdoor of China.

The President said Pakistan wanted to maintain good relations with China, and also with the Soviet Union, because both of them are Pakistan's direct neighbors. Of course with China, over a period of time, Pakistan had

developed special relations. With the Soviet Union too, Pakistan's relations had improved considerably. But, he added, Pakistan wanted to keep away from the big power interests of China and Russia.

The President said Pakistan wanted to normalize here relations with India. China also wanted to see a normalization of situation in the subcontinent, no matter what 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 being a member of the two pacts. Pakistan was, therefore, allergic to pacts and did not want to get involved in yet 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 affects Pakistan directly. The present stalemate of 'no peace, no war' must be broken, whether it is done through direct or indirect negotiations, because it will affect the very vitals of 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 Pakistan's own situation. If they were not going to resolve their problem in the Middle East, he feared great convulsions in the subcontinent also. India, in spite of her victory in the war, was facing the brunt of the problem of poverty and rising expectations. So, also Pakistan could not continue in the present position with rising defense budget, he observed.

The President said Pakistan supported the Arab cause on Palestine on merit and for objective considerations, not simply because the Arabs are Muslims; but theirs is 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 is still active. But Pakistan would back up the Arab cause to the better end, come what may.

INTERVIEW GRANTED TO JAPANESE T.V. REPRESENTATIVE

4 March 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 T.V, he said Japan now possesses tremendous economic resources. It had built up foreign exchange reserves of \$25 billion 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 labor-intensive industries in Pakistan, which were being closed down in that country because of the soaring labor 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 \$92 million had been repaid. Two thirds of the remaining \$243 million were spent in East Pakistan on the setting up of the Chittagong refinery and two fertilizer factories. As such, the credits given to West Pakistan in fact amounted to \$100 million, he added.

Coans had even participated in their road-building ceremony. There was a ceremony when the road was completed, and the Chinese invited the Indians to participate in that ceremony. And the Indians participated in that ceremony. Later on, the Indians claimed 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. He said a country like Japan, which had economic resources and power, and political wisdom and sagacity could have its voice felt and heard

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

The President said 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 rectification 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 interviewer 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 interest 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 entertain 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 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 many sacrifices were made for the creation of Pakistan. But if for one 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 so many common factors that cannot vanish so easily.”

In reply to another question, the President regretted that India is still holding on to our ninety-two thousand (92,000) prisoners of war including over 20 thousand civilians, women and children, in utter violation of the Geneva Conventions and the UN Resolutions, 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,” he 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 (60m) 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 Asian 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 land”, 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 there 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 hard-working people of this nation, who had made major contributions in the history of subcontinent, would re-assert their importance and position for peace, not for war.

He said, "our victory would lie in improving the conditions of our 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 WITH
ANN LAPPING OF
LONDON WEEKEND TV PROGRAM**

March 25, 1973

President Bhutto made it clear in unmistakable terms that 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 and any country would do it.

The President said, "Mr. Mujib-ur-Rahamn keeps threatening that he will try prisoners of war. Sometimes, he give 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 excess, "we are prepared to try them here according to our laws and will 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.

In reply 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 that had recognized Bangladesh. "We cannot take such a detached view. Bangladesh, as you call it now, was a part of Pakistan, in 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 is 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 is the only way to have good relations with them.

When the Correspondent stated that Mr. Mujib insisted on recognition as a pre-condition for even starting talks, the President replied that he could not accept the problem of recognition as being a pre-condition, 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 said he could not rely on the words of a 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 said that the right of self-determination was sacrosanct. "Where is 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 a 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 Bioharis 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 Adolf 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.

**INTERVIEW WITH
MR. WILLIAM STEWART,
CORRESPONDENT TIMES**

July 21, 1973

President Zulfikar Ali Bhutto warned that any trial of our prisoners of war will seriously jeopardize the search for peace in the subcontinent so successfully initiated by the Simla Agreement.

He was being interviewed by Mr. William M. Stewart, Correspondent TIMES (news magazine).

He said the India-Bangladesh proposal of April 17, was merely a shift in the shape neon. The threatened illegal trials of our POWs are contrary to the Geneva Conventions and the UN resolutions. Apart from the legal consideration, the President said, the object was to try and bury the hatchet to improve relations, to turn from the past and to allow understanding to replace rancor. Trial of our POWs would rip open the wounds, which are in the process of healing. "They would foul up the atmosphere so badly that we would not be able to hold back the forces bent on ravage," he said.

Asked about Mr. Mujib's claim that he had his own realities in the sense that his people demanded trial of Pakistani POWs, the President said, these were tailored realities and there was no demand for such a trial, what to speak of a pressing demand. Only a limited circle of people wanted this circus to take place. He said every precedent that Mr. Mujib quoted was a false precedent. Even if it were an accurate precedent neither the Nuremberg Trials nor the Tokyo Trials had done any good to what is called civilization or to human content. One would not come across any knowledgeable jurist who would commend or uphold them. The only crime they had committed was to lose the war. In our case the only crime that we had committed was not to lose a war but a civil war and that also because of foreign intervention. The onus, therefore, lay somewhere else.

The President, in answer to another question, said there was no problem of repatriation of Bengalis from Pakistan, and there should be no problem in negotiating the future of the unfortunate people who are now known by the generic name of non-Bengalis. However, the President emphasized, "We cannot open the floodgates, and say, send as many as you

want, because you want to create a racial state. " Pakistan could not agree to that. The *Biharis* had lived in East Pakistan now called Bangladesh for twenty-five to twenty-six or twenty-seven years. They and their children had grown up there. One could not see why these unfortunate people who had made a contribution to the economy of the country, and were industrious and hard working should be uprooted from there".

There were many Indian Muslims who were vigorous in their support of Pakistan before partition but once Pakistan came into being they said India was their home. He said if there is no duress, no discrimination, and if option was exercised under climate of relative calm Pakistan is prepared to consider it. She is prepared to discuss the issue in that climate. But, President Bhutto asked, "Is it our legacy that Pakistan be flooded by refugees? "In 1947, we had millions of them, again following the Kashmir War so many poured in and many more came when there was the second Kashmir War. From India, the refugees keep coming. He said Pakistan was not being inhuman or callous but the question the world conscience must answer is: "Were the people of this region fated to live a life plagued by scarcity, disease, squalor and crises of identity."

He called upon the world to recall Pakistan's initiative and gestures of peace. Last year Pakistan offered 100,00 tons of rice to Bangladesh but Mr. Mujib-ur-Rahman shunned that offer. Earlier on, before the issues hardened, it offered to send him the civilian and military personnel only to be shunned. He said he had taken a risk, a gamble by releasing Mr. Mujib-ur-Rahman, hoping that better sense would prevail and he would fulfill his oath to meet and thrash out all the issues. It was the repercussion of the failure of these peace initiatives and the looming threat of war trials, which drove him to the painful decision of segregating the Bengali residents of Pakistan, he said. However, he clarified, that they had merely been segregated and not put in concentration camps as the rumor went. They were staying there with their families. They got newspapers, radios, books, allowances but "with sincere sorrow", I say, "they had been segregated."

Peace and progress, he said, must come to this unfortunate region and to its suffering populace. He said the conflict between the Hindus and the Muslims now personified in the States of India and Pakistan was the oldest conflict ever and hence required patience and a will to resolve. There should be no foot-dragging as there was by India on the question of line of control and the Indian leaders must respond positively to Pakistan's repeatedly extended invitation for exchange of visits to defuse the tension in the area. He said within the context of Simla or outside it, India and Pakistan must enter into a dialogue. "I told her," (Mrs. Gandhi), he said that 'it would be a much greater achievement if we could now find a *modus vivendi*.

Replying to a question the President said the greatest problem his Government faced is to restore a feeling of national identity, a feeling of national pride for a defeated nation. He said there is a great deal of propaganda against Pakistan both before and after the partition. With that backdrop, when this nation had to face a disaster unmatched in modern history, the morale of its people was completely shattered. The situation was made more complex as the forces of history, prejudice, conflict, suspicion, pride and vanity all worked in it. The question of a *raison d'être*, of identity became acute. He said that is the biggest task that this government is accomplishing.

Next, the President said, was the question of the revival of economy. The deficit financing by the previous Governments, the extent of debts, the fall of 40 to 50 per cent in production and the absence of raw material had brought the economy to a grinding halt. There were strikes everywhere and the law and order situation had deteriorated to the last, he said. He said his Government had to take the painful decision of devaluing the rupee and as a result the prices rose.

Prices further rose when his Government pumped money into the economy to start works program, roads and other things, and that made the problem all the more difficult. However, he said, now the economy is picking up. Exports had gone up more than the combined earnings of Pakistan. Industrial production had gone up by about 40 per cent. Employment was also rising. "And all these things have been done in a period of one year-and-a-half", he said.

The president said Pakistan had, historically, five of the most difficult provinces of the subcontinent. The peoples of these provinces are more individualistic, society is more tribal, every individual wanted to exercise a veto; every individual wants an ideal situation. There is a question of give and take, of consensus, which was rarely to be found, he said. Therefore, the adoption of a unanimous constitution points to the generation of a national cohesiveness is essential for survival.

He said his Government had introduced reforms in every sector and he would have done much more had he inherited normal or relatively normal conditions. However, he hoped that with the consolidation, reforms with greater consequences would be introduced.

He described his ensuing visit to the United States as an attempt to review the historical and traditional relationship between the two countries against the background of kaleidoscopic changes in the world relations. How would the US use her own interest in the subcontinent? What did she think of her interest in the Indian Ocean, in the Persian Gulf and in the Middle East?

The answer to all these questions, he said, is of vital importance to Pakistan. Pakistan is not one of those countries who are ashamed to say that they are proud of their relations with the US, he said, and we want to further cement and consolidate a relationship which despite some ups and downs had endured.

**INTERVIEW TO
MR.FARIBORZ ATAPOUR,
CORRESPONDENT OF TEHRAN JOURNAL,**

September 10, 1976

Interviewer: Sir, may I begin by expressing my grief over the floods? I have flown over the Ravi and what I have seen is really heart-rending. I am distressed.

PM: We had floods in 1973. They were of course very bad. But we had floods also in 1975. Now again this year we have them. They say that the world is entering a wet cycle but while there seems to be a wet cycle in some countries, in other countries there is a very dry cycle; in many parts of Africa there has been drought for a number of years. This year, in Europe there has been a severe drought. As you know, in England it has been very warm. In France, the crops have been badly affected.

Interviewer: In this speech in Lahore, Henry Kissinger said that your discussions held that morning were on the methods of security of the area rather than principles. In your welcoming speech you have hinted at a certain difference on principles. Can you say, Mr. Prime Minister, how your views differ on the principles and how you differ in your conclusions on the methods?

PM: I hope you noted that I told Kissinger that what we consider our security is indivisibly linked with that of Iran. We firmly believe that if, God forbid, Iran were to be in danger, or that Iran was overrun, Pakistan would find it very difficult to resist the avalanche. I am, of course, speaking hypothetically. In the same context, we believe that if, God forbid, Pakistan were to be overrun, Iran would be outflanked and outmaneuvered. This is not only my belief, I can say, without fear of contradiction, that it is a belief that the Shah of Iran has persistently held. His declarations on the subject are conclusive. As a matter of fact he has considered it to be an axiomatic proposition. It is not a mere coincidence that both the countries have come to share the same view. It is a natural and an obvious fact of life. We are also strategically placed, like Iran, at the mouth of the Persian Gulf. Due to our geographical location also we are tied together.

We feel, therefore, that it is essential for the United States to supply Pakistan with military material. For some psychological reason – I call it that because to me it does not seem rooted in logic – the American Administration has an enigmatical tendency to equate Pakistan with India. The American Administration often gives the impression that for it, except for the Pakistan-India danger to tranquility, that there is no other region with problems. There is a world, a world contiguous to India and Pakistan. It is wrong to assume that beyond Pakistan and India lies nothing. It is just as wrong to bracket Pakistan and India together and let India's reactions to American military assistance to Pakistan outweigh every other consideration. This is neither fair nor rational. There is no justification for such an equation.

In the Past India used to say that she is building a formidable military force not because of Pakistan alone but because of China. You remember, the Indians used the China excuse, because for many years this went down well with most Americans. But now India is normalizing her relations with China. She is anxious to have good relations with China. India approached China repeatedly and after several initiatives China responded by exchanging Ambassadors with India. So there is no quarrel that India has with China. The bulk of India's Armed forces, especially its Air force, are placed near Pakistan borders. And, remember also that, the Soviet Union is giving massive military assistance to India.

Interviewer: Is that being paid for?

PM: By barter, on very easy terms of payment.

Interviewer: Is that what you are asking for from the Americans?

PM: No, with the Americans there can be more than one way. We have treaty relations under which we can receive arms free of cost. That was the original basis of our bilateral agreement. We have two bilateral military agreements and we are also members of CENTO. Against this background we do not understand why the United States is so sensitive even to selling arms to us? And, sometimes, when the United States says it will sell us some arms it enters into a long debate on what weapons can be used for defensive or offensive purposes. Weapons today being what they are this issue is not easy to settle. And, the United States, brushing aside our treaty entitlement to receiving military assistance free of cost, demands payment in hard cash-no-credit.

But even if there was no treaty obligation, there are countries to which the United States is giving military assistance free of cost. These countries are not in the same category as Pakistan. So, our stand is that it is necessary for

the United States to fulfill our essential military requirements, if not as assistance then sale on credit.

Interviewer: There is the mood of the Congress to be considered?

PM: Why should this apply only to Pakistan? Actually the mood of the Congress should apply to the whole world and not to Pakistan alone.

Interviewer: Mr. Prime Minister, the U.S. Secretary of State had warm praise, as well all do in Iran, for your efforts to improve relations with Afghanistan and with India. We are particularly interested in the speed of your rapprochement with Afghanistan. Can we, then, assume that the Durand Line is now both the line of peace and an international line?

PM: I do not wish to say anything, which may place in jeopardy the forthcoming negotiations that we are having with President Daud. You know very well that there are interested parties in both Afghanistan and Pakistan and outside Afghanistan and Pakistan that do not want a rapprochement between the two countries. It does not serve the interests of some countries. For this reason caution is necessary. I do not want to say anything on the trend of our negotiations.

What I can say is that I was very happy to visit Kabul, that my delegation was given a very good reception, and that our discussions were sincere and fruitful. I was impressed by that if we maintain this kind of dialogue, this quality of dialogue, we can make further progress.

Interviewer: Well, then may I reword that question? For the record, Sir, how are the negotiations proceeding?

PM: The answer I gave should help the other side in appreciating that we are not going to rock the boat or make things more difficult for them and I hope that they, too, would promote reciprocity. I am anxious to assist the other side in the process of moving towards a logical culmination of our discussions. We hope that they also will assist us in this process. In other words, we have to help one another in this matter.

Interviewer: This distinction between the line of peace and the international line has been made in Kashmir. But you have said you can't compromise on Kashmir. I recall a magnificent speech made in August 1973, when you became Prime Minister. You said that it needed courage to face realities and that it was time for the country to get rid of the Bangladesh syndrome. Now what about the Kashmir syndrome?

PM: There is a very big difference between the two. Bangladesh was one thousand miles away and originally the Lahore Resolution spoke of two States. It was later on in 1946 that the leadership of Muslim Bengal insisted upon a federation rather than a confederation and they changed the original Lahore Resolution at a convention, which was held in Delhi.

Kashmir on the other hand is geographically contiguous to Pakistan. Our rivers which you see so full of mischief these days have their watersheds in Kashmir. The Indus passes through the State of Jammu and Kashmir, and the Chenab also flows through the disputed State. So our rivers are linked and our economy is linked; we are linked by race, by culture and by religion. Therefore, there is a distinct difference between the two situations, which you described as syndromes.

In 1947, the areas forming West Pakistan and East Pakistan were Muslim majority areas, and they voted against exploitation and perpetual domination to come together. The Kashmir people have never had the opportunity to vote on the question, although the United Nations, Pakistan and India promised them that right in the form of a plebiscite. In the State of Jammu and Kashmir, apart from geography, there are additional factors, those of economics, of trade and commerce, those of religion, of families and of blood. So many people in Punjab are from Kashmir.

Allama Iqbal himself was of a Kashmiri family settled in Punjab. These factors did not exist between Bangladesh and Pakistan.

So, I think there is a world of difference between the two positions. That is why in Simla, although we were at that time in the midst of our worst crisis and hardly in a position to be able to negotiate, hardly in a position to be able to resist, Pakistan did not compromise on Kashmir. Since we did not compromise on Kashmir in Simla, I fail to understand why we should compromise on such a fundamental issue now. As I said the other night, there are some issues on which a compromise can lead to a greater complication. We are quite prepared to have bilateral negotiations with India, on the Jammu and Kashmir dispute, within the framework of the Simla Agreement. I am quite prepared, whenever the Indian Government is ready-and by that I do not mean that we are going to wait for another generation.

India cannot avoid having discussions with Pakistan on the Kashmir issue. It exists, it is a reality, it has existed all these years but attempts to resolve it have failed. We should try again. In the reasonable, foreseeable future - let us say soon after the elections that are to take place in India and Pakistan - with fresh electoral mandates we should take up this issue and hold discussions on it.

I have said we are prepared for bilateral negotiations, and you know I have great faith in bilateralism. I believe it to be the most efficacious method of resolving disputes. If these bilateral negotiations fail, we are prepared to consider other peaceful avenues for the settlement of the dispute, even going to the United Nations although our experience there, for about a quarter of a century, has made us somewhat cynical about the outcome of its resolutions. There are other methods we can consider, arbitration, mediation or informal good offices. Peaceful methods have been tried in equally complicated problems in the past. They have been tried with success by other States.

So all these peaceful methods are open to India and Pakistan to arrive at a solution and that is why, since we are concentrating on a peaceful solution, we can contemplate no war over Jammu and Kashmir. That is why I call it a line of peace, the line of war. It will remain a line of peace but I do not say that it is going to become an international frontier. There is a difference between a line of peace and an international frontier. If I had said that the ceasefire line was going to become the international frontier then it could have been interpreted to mean that I had conceded the part of Kashmir, which is held by India. I did not use those words "Line of peace" in contrast to the "Line of war" but it, nevertheless, remains a ceasefire line. They are holding their side of the line and we are holding our side of the line. The ceasefire line is not being huddled up as it was sometimes in the past.

Interviewer: Having demarcated the boundary of control, is it not logical to keep the momentum of rapprochement by allowing overland trade across what you call the line of peace?

PM: You know this would cause unnecessary confusion in the minds of some of our people. There is a segment of political opinion nurtured by people who are professionals in negativism. They thrive on negativism and they thrive on contradictions and on misrepresentation. They try to exploit the people. They think that the world has not moved since 1963 or 1948 or 1958 or 1968. Yes, in terms of the calendar they might think that we are in 1976, but the concept of how the world is moving today is completely alien to them. They are not in it, not part of it. They are not part of it because they don't have a broad vision.

They have not seen the world. Some of them have seen the world as tourists but not as observers, scholars or political analysts. They have not been abroad to study problems. They have not, for instance, studied the German problems. They have not seen how Willy Brandt and the Germans overcame their difficulties. They do not seem to be aware of the Trieste question and how it was approached and resolved. They have not observed how the Shah has overcome the question of Iran-Iraq differences. They have not studied how the European Economic Community came into being.

You know that in politics you have to study various trends and various developments that take place. As I said in Quetta the other day, it is we who form part of the world and not the world that forms part of us. We cannot be oblivious of the trends and the tendencies that emerge in the world from time to time, how powerful is the impact they have on various events and situations. Taking a lesson from something that has been done elsewhere in the world does not mean that we are compromising on our principles. They are sacrosanct.

But, apart from basic principles, there are other issues, which can be resolved. We should go in search of a solution on the basis I have outlined and this means also that we should discard a colonial or a clerical outlook. Some people get worked up about joint communiqués. They think that the problems of the whole world can be settled in joint communiqués. Such people have complexes. Some of them in our country do not want Pakistan to move forward. They do not want Pakistan to form part of today's civilized world, which is marching ahead. They want to tie down Pakistan, to tie it down to the past, to retain the past slogans, to retain the past hatreds and to retain the past bitterness. As I said, they are professional negativists and they tell lies. For instance, in our relations with India we have adhered to the Simla Agreement; we have no secret agreement with India at all. If there were one, the secret would have by now been out.

What is it that remains secret in the world of today? Is it possible to keep an agreement secret for four years? Recently, Kissinger talked to me here on the nuclear reprocessing plant and the next morning there were stories about it in newspapers in London and Paris. So it is quite absurd to think that secrecy can be maintained on fundamental matters for four years.

But they keep telling our people that secret agreements also were concluded at Simla between, India and Pakistan. The sort of thing used to happen in the days of secret diplomacy, in the era of Bismarck when agreements were made above and under the table. But the Bismarkian era is a thing of the past and international agreements do not take place now under the table. This does not prevent our critics from repeating that we are selling our Pakistan's sovereignty to India. Perhaps, they also think that the era of repeating big lies is not yet over.

Pakistan regards Iran a friendly and fraternal country. It purchased some onions and potatoes, which are perishable commodities from India, and it wanted us to see that the potatoes and onions reached Iran without perishing because your people needed those commodities.

I received an urgent message from His Imperial Majesty's Government saying that they needed these vegetables urgently. We said: "Yes, of course!" After all we are brothers; we must both act like brothers and show that we are brothers. So we said we would allow transit of the goods even though they were Indian goods. We said we would allow Iranian trucks to take these goods into Iran.

What a fuss was made over it by our opponents and how virulent was the propaganda they carried on. They said, that this concession was only the beginning and after Iran there would be India, and once India came into the picture there would be disaster. But who has given permission to India? We did not give India the permission to send its trucks over our roads.

Interviewer: Is the option open to the people of Jammu and Kashmir to become an independent state or join either India or Pakistan?

PM: Now you are talking about an independent State. We are placing our case on two principles of international law. One is the right of self-determination and the other, which is more important, the agreement between two parties. That agreement says that the Kashmir dispute would be settled by the exercise of the right of self-determination by the people whether the State of Jammu and Kashmir should accede to India or to Pakistan. We attach the highest importance to international agreements. If the international agreements between India and Pakistan was of a different nature, then that would have taken precedence over the general principle of international law. The principle of general international law, as you know very well, is always superseded by an agreement. It so happens that in this case the agreement did not go against the right of self-determination. The agreement says that the right of self-determinations to be exercised but that the choice is confined to accession by the State of Jammu and Kashmir to India or Pakistan and there is no third choice. If we allow a third choice, we break the agreement. To us that agreement has more value than the general principle of self-determination.

The general principle of self-determination also has a value and we are glad that this general principle, this universal principle, has been incorporated in the agreement. Why should we break it? Should we do it for something vague, for some flimsy notion which will be brushed aside in time and with it Pakistan's moral position, which is the main pillar of Pakistan's case? And we will have also lost the legal basis of our case and for what? Not for a settlement! Then why should we break that agreement and toy with an adventurist notion?

The agreement is not open to negotiation. We say that the agreement is binding and the agreement binds us to the right of self-determination for the people of Jammu and Kashmir. It is for them to choose between India and

Pakistan. If we say that a third choice is open then we will be breaking the agreement.

Interviewer: What I meant to ask, Mr. Prime Minister was that if there is a new agreement....

PM: Even if there is a new agreement we shall not abandon the principle of self-determination. We will not give up that general principle. We say that the new agreement has to be based on that general principle.

Interviewer: Would it not, in all fairness, be more logical to have, for example, a separate referendum in Kashmir and a separate referendum in Jammu?

PM: This is a hypothetical question and not at all relevant to a practical solution of the problem. First of all, in spite of the agreement and in spite of the general principle, the U.N. resolution remains defied. Why then open a Pandora's box and go into the realm of fantasy and discuss hypothetical question? When this clear-cut, simple resolution is being defied by India, what makes you think that India will be in a better frame of mind to agree to some thing different? Why should we encourage India to break the agreement, which contains one of the most important principles of international law? If international agreements are to be broken, we will not fall back on arbitrary considerations or arrangements made for expediency. We stay with the principle that the right of self-determination should remain with the people.

Interviewer: When do you think relations between India and Pakistan will resemble those that exist between Sweden and Norway, and analogy that you, Mr. Prime Minister, have drawn in you book, "The Myth of Independence"?

PM: that can happen once the Kashmir dispute is resolved. I see no difficulty. There should be an enormous improvement in our mutual relations once the Kashmir dispute is resolved. It is a great tragedy that the Kashmir dispute has prevented us from opening up new vistas of boundless cooperation and I firmly believe that once we have found a satisfactory solution to the Kashmir dispute we shall respond wholeheartedly for good relations with India.

That was the original concept of Pakistan envisaged by Quaid-e-Azam. Quaid-e-Azam did not want Pakistan to be in perpetual enmity with India. He did not create a state so that it could always be at war with India. His whole concept was to the contrary. Quaid-e-Azam said and felt that since we could not live together in once country, it would be better for us to separate to

from two sovereign states, to get our psychological, political and economic security by the formation of those two separate states and then to live as equals, as brothers and friends. Pakistan to him was the basis of creating equality between the Hindu community and the Muslim community.

Equality alone would result in a most congenial relationship between the two countries. Do you know he even envisaged that he could go after independence and live in his house in Bombay? He had spoken to many people like that. He said: "You know our relations will be so good, we will be living on the basis of equality as brother and have a house here and sometimes in winter go and live in a house there." He did not expect the carnage and bloodbath that took place when the subcontinent was partitioned. Nor did he expect the two countries to be in a perpetual turmoil and conflict. His whole concept was of India and Pakistan as two equal sovereign states with the necessary psychological and political security to live like Sweden and Norway. But then the Kashmir issue came in and up upset every thing.

Interviewer: Sir, referring to your book, "The Myth of Independence" and recalling Dr. Kissinger's speech in Lahore, one is bound to say that your China policy of the 1960s was a real pioneer statesmanship. From the perspective of history, however, can it be said that your opening up to China was inspired by strategic considerations vis-à-vis India?

PM: No, not vis-à-vis India. This is what the Indians have said and this is an unfair charge. So much so that not once but twice-once as Foreign Minister and once as the President of Pakistan, I told the Indians that if they thought in that vein they could ask us to use our good offices to improve their relations with China. I made this offer to Swaran Sing when he was the foreign Minister and to Mrs. Gandhi at Simla. I said, 'Please do not think that our relations with China are based on the exclusive considerations of our relations with India. This is not the position. But if you think this to be so, there is a test, there is an acid test and that acid test lies in the fact that we are prepared to lend a hand in improving your relations with China.

We certainly did take into account China's strategic importance but not in the context of India, but in the context of Asia, the much larger perspective of China's role both as a Pacific power and as a continental land mass adjacent to the Soviet Union, adjacent to Pakistan and, as I said, having its specific orientation and a population of seven hundred million people. We felt that it would not be possible to have a successful United Nations, an effective United Nations, without the participation of the real China. We felt it unrealistic to expect that the major issues of Asia at least could be resolved without the full participation of China. And this is what happened.

For example, the Vietnam War came to an end. We felt that on the larger plane there could not be disarmament, real disarmament, universal disarmament and complete disarmament if ever it is to come, with China excluded from the disarmament negotiations. We felt that questions like apartheid and segregation could not really be resolved without the full force and support, in international forums and in other regional forums, of the People's Republic of China. So, our motivation for improving relations with China was not only that it was neighbor of Pakistan having a common border of about three hundred and seventy miles through some of the most difficult and rugged terrain of the world but also because of the other factors outlined by me. Our relations, apart from relations with Iran, with our other neighbors were not as good as we would have liked them to be. We wanted a better relationship with our neighbors. This also was among the much bigger considerations, which I have already stated.

Interviewer: Sir, you once said that in Mr. Nehru's time there were great failings over Kashmir and China. How did he fail over China?

PM: He failed over China because – and I am putting it very mildly and very briefly – in 1962 he initiated a war with China. You see he did not grasp the realities of the situation. He thought China was irritating him by trying to straighten out the boundaries and that he should throw them back from the boundaries. If you read all the documents of those days you will find them confirming that conclusion. In Madras he made a speech. He said: "I have ordered my forces to throw Chinese out". Then he went to Colombo and he was asked by Madam Bandaranaike whether he really meant to do that; and he replied that the time had come when India must throw the Chinese out of its border area.

Chou Enlai had gone to India before that to negotiate a peaceful settlement and to arrive at some "no war agreement". He had laid down the principles on which negotiations could take place. Nehru rejected all of them. You might have also come across this in a well-written book by Neville Maxwell, "India's China War". In those days the United States Joint Chief of Staff was General Maxwell Taylor, who also said that the Indians took the initiative and started the war – the boundary conflict. But the world opinion at that time was so much in the hands of those who wanted to make India look like the victim that they gave a distorted picture of the position and said that China had invaded India. The fact was otherwise; India had ordered its armed forces under General Kaul to throw out the Chinese from what it regarded to be Indian territory and what the Chinese regard as disputed territory.

Interviewer: The Chinese had moved into that area?

PM: The Chinese had moved much earlier into Laddakh, and the Indians had even participated in their road-building ceremony. There was a ceremony when the road was completed, and the Chinese invited the Indians to participate in that ceremony. And the Indians participated in that ceremony. Later on, the Indians claimed that territory of Aksai Chin. They saw the road being built and they participated in the ceremony and then promptly claimed it to be their own territory.

But even if India had claimed the territory, it did not mean that she should have gone to war over it. The Chinese told them repeatedly: "Let us not fight over it; do not try to use your guns; do not try to muscle into the territory; we can come to a negotiated settlement." But Nehru misjudged the whole situation and he thought that he was capable of just pushing the Chinese back and that they would do nothing. China at that time was isolated and the Sino-Soviet differences had also arisen. This was not then known to the world but was known to Nehru.

In 1962, China was not what China is today. Nehru really thought that he would teach the Chinese a lesson, and it turned out to be a lesson in reverse because China hit back and China hit back hard and the Indians came rolling down the hills and when they came rolling down the hills then there was complete panic. The Chinese, very wisely, declared a unilateral ceasefire, withdrew their forces, returned all the weapons and equipment to the Indians, and even put petrol in their tanks and trucks.

Interviewer: There was a very violent world outcry against the Chinese?

PM: That was because of Communist and non-Communist positions but in the records, in confidential discussions, in congressional hearings, and in all the discussions that took place in CENTO in which we participated, it was admitted by every one that the Indians had made the first move.

Interviewer: In the long-term strategic sense would you not agree that your China policy made the Russians push more towards South Asia and the Indian Ocean?

PM: The Russians are a Great Power and a Super power. The Russians have age-old objectives. There might be a change of systems and a change of government but the objectives of the Super Powers do not change easily. The Russian objectives would have remained unchanged even if there had not been Sino-Soviet differences.

Interviewer: In your recent essay on the RCD there seems to be a constant theme of a vision of the greater unity. Then in the context of the

Third World problems, Mr. Prime Minister, the contention seems to be that the non-aligned conference should dissolve itself into a much more comprehensive concept of Third World unity.

PM: I would not say, “dissolve” because that could be misunderstood. I am not speaking as a politician. I am speaking as a person to person. I would say that it would be a logical step to take. But in my present position I cannot take that position. I cannot write as a journalist and so I am not saying the non-aligned countries should dissolve their forum but I would certainly plead that the conference of the nonaligned should elevate itself to a higher forum, a forum of the Third World and on that basis we might find a rationale to promote our interests.

Interviewer: I was going to ask, Mr. Prime Minister, whether you envisage a Third World conference.

PM: I have been asking for that. When I went to Pyongyang I made the proposal for a Third World conference. We are not lobbying for it yet. I do not believe in making the wires hot, sending emissaries and special envoys. With the gathering of momentum, events will carry out proposal towards that direction. At present, I have only given the call. I have raised the curtain. The Nairobi Conference failed, so more people have started thinking that there may be some thing in this Third World conference. The Paris Dialogue is bound to fail. It is now obvious, is it not? Then those who take part in the Paris Dialogue will say there is something in the Third World. The Non-aligned Conference will not come to any unanimous or any far-reaching decisions, which would have a significant impact on world affairs. So some more people will say that there should be a Third World conference. And that the special session of the United Nations is not going to succeed because industrialized countries will not let it be a success. So, as I said, events are moving towards a Third World conference. As the level of realization increases so our diplomatic efforts will increase with it.

Interviewer: Would this not lead to bipolarization between the third World and the industrialized nations?

PM: That is already there, but you see that this bipolarization is not one-sided. The industrialized world is taking all the advantage. Take economic advantages, for example. They take all advantages even from oil-producing countries and the Third World is left holding the rough end of the stick. What I have in mind is a more articulate unity of the Third World, expressed in impressive terms. It can be expressed in impressive terms when it is both aligned and non-aligned-all the Third World, the oil-producing nations, the non-oil-producing nations, all get together to demonstrate their unity for

better terms in trade and for loans and for debt rescheduling and for a change in the monetary system.

The industrialized countries are telling some of the oil-producing countries that this conference is directed against oil-producing countries. This is mischief. It is a deliberate mischief because they have been trying to drive a wedge between non-oil-producing and oil-producing countries. They tell you people; what are you worried about, you are now one of us and you should not trouble about these other people? You cannot go on fixing the prices of bananas and eggs and of other commodities and oil. You are one of us-Mediterranean and European. You know what they tell us. They tell us, look at these people. Are you not angry with them? Are you not going to protest? We, the industrialized countries, who are not Asians and Africans, are giving more technical and other assistance to your countries than the oil rich countries.

What is the point in spending and wasting their money and squandering away their money by buying hotels in Europe, by buying real estate in America, by acquiring arms which they do not need, by having ten to twenty reactors which they do not need, when they do not even have the manpower. If they would only share some of that wealth! Why don't you confront them? They take this line with us and surely their purpose is to break the unity of the Third World. My objective is that the Third World conference should stop this mischief, to tell the oil-producing countries that the Third World countries are not angry with them. On the contrary they are grateful to them.

Countries like us wish them prosperity because if they can become rich, we too will be affected as their possession of riches will have repercussions. As it is, our labor is being employed and is being absorbed by some of them. We have the manpower. We have a pool of technological experience. So, in a way, we share in their wealth. What we should tell the oil producing countries is that we together have to demonstrate greater unity because there is no conflict between us. If there is a change in the monetary system the oil-producing countries will not suffer on account of that. How do they suffer if poorer Third World countries get better terms of trade, if they get better credit facilities, if the tariffs for their products are reduced, if debt-re-scheduling is permitted, if there are more and better terms for credits and loan repayment? All this for the Third World would not be in conflict with the interests of oil-producing countries. But there are whispers being spread, to the effect the moves of the poorer Third World countries are to embarrass the oil producers, and to us the whisperers say that the oil producers do not care for you. Our answer should be to close our ranks.

Interviewer: Mr. Prime Minister, would you like to amplify your recent statement that what you had predicted in your essay on the RCD had come true?

PM: Well, what I asked for was closer collaboration between Iran and Turkey and Pakistan in military and economic spheres – a more integrated association.

Interviewer: But is that in accordance with your concept of bilateralism?

PM: When our three countries – Pakistan, Iran and Turkey, are involved, I have to take into account our historical legacy. This historical legacy of collaboration between our three countries, the special relationship goes back to 1947 when Pakistan came into being. I am not a dismantler of special relations, especially when they are natural. Therefore, I have said that RCD is to be restricted to these three countries because there has been an evolution between these three countries. They have stood together with each other through thick and thin, through stresses and strains and through many vicissitudes. We have been tested in many ways that gives us a common historical experience, this naturally becomes our legacy. So far as this legacy is concerned, it is a historical legacy. We are proud of this legacy.

Interviewer: Certainly, in another sphere your predictions about intrigues in Lebanon, your warnings, have been proved very much to the point. May I ask, Mr. Prime Minister, why it is that in the capacity as Chairman of the Islamic Conference you did not summon the Islamic leaders to discuss this problem?

PM: No, it is not that we remained silent. When we tried to take some initiative behind the scenes—such initiatives usually begin behind the scenes and if there is a response then things come out in the open. We were told that this is a matter, which concerns the Lebanese and that there should be no outside interference. Afterwards, when it became a wider problem we were told that this is an Arab problem and that it should remain an Arab problem.

Interviewer: But, Sir, as Chairman of the Islamic Conference you could have raised it at the open session?

PM: No, I could not force it upon the delegates, especially on the Arab leaders.

Interviewer: Sir, the *Muezzin* does not forego his call to prayer if there are not enough people to come to pray?

PM The analogy does not hold good for the Islamic Conference when the delegates had assembled at the call of the *Muezzin*. When Muslims respond to the *Azan* they know what they are being invited to do: to offer prayers, to respond as Muslims have responded for nearly fourteen centuries to the *Azan*. The agenda for the Islamic Conference – formal or informal–was a different matter. If I had given the call for a discussion in an open session and there had been a half-hearted response on an acrimonious debate, that would have encouraged the opponents of the cause. This would have been ruthless. As you see, even today, ruthlessness is not one of the things, which is lacking in the Lebanese conflict. No magnanimity is being reported from there. Usually in such conflicts the wounded and non-combatants are allowed to be evacuated, but this is not being done in Lebanon. The Red Cross did not forego its call for truce, but you know what happened when one side responded positively. The result in Lebanon may influence the final settlement in the Middle East. Events there have included mistakes and those who have made them will suffer.

Interviewer: What about the Lebanese Muslims?

PM: We have sent a medical mission to Lebanon and we would have done more. They have been caught in this flare up because they demanded the right to ask for a change in Lebanon's constitution. The constitution was outdated. It placed political and economic power in the hands of the Christian barons. The demographic position has changed. The people have become more enlightened. New economic factors have emerged and the economic imbalance has increased. There was need for a change in the constitution. The Palestinians got involved and the fighting became bitterer, it took on a new dimension. New arms came from outside, then encouragement to both sides, then calls for Lebanon's partition, and then a plan of action which is aimed at liquidation of the Palestine Liberation Organization. And if PLO is liquidated, a call may come for a new form of Middle East settlement.

Interviewer: Did Mr. Kissinger say this?

PM: No, I am saying this.

Interviewer: Turning to the domestic scene, Sir, may I ask the Prime Minister why there is still emergency in Pakistan?

PM: Yes, Emergency in Pakistan is there for some reasons. First, we have not resolved our differences with Afghanistan. We are still in the process of resolving them. Secondly, the Kashmir dispute with India is still unresolved, and to make matters worse, the opposition is not happy at our process of normalization with India. Thirdly, even if this process is completed we would have to watch the situation before we lift the emergency. The

purpose is to prevent any thing that will go against the consolidation of national effort and national unity. Fourthly, it was only in 1971 that this country was dismembered. The aftermath of dismemberment is still there. The fall-out has not ended. Agents are still hanging around. Intrigues are still taking place and manipulations are going on.

There have been attempts to throw bombs in public places like cinemas. We have broken the back of the insurgency but all its germs have to be stamped out. Such situations take time to resolve. For an under-developed country in a strategic area, in which Great Powers are actively interested, to think of an instant end to a state of emergency can be unrealistic. It is better to keep the emergency in effect till the objectives for which it was imposed are achieved. It should not be applied intermittently as and when a crisis arises. It should be lifted when the situation has stabilized and matured, and various issues do not force us to bring back the emergency.

Take an issue like the nuclear reprocessing plant we are purchasing from France. It may force us into a position of confrontation with a Great Power. In this case the issue was discussed with Mr. Kissinger and we have agreed not to go into confrontation over it. But, suppose, he had taken a different position and they would have cut off our economic assistance. We would have immediately imposed emergency.

So you see, the ingredients are all there. The world itself is going through a perpetual kind of emergency. In the circumstances to prematurely and complacently lift the emergency, when all the factors, live, dead, latent and potent are present, would be unrealistic over-confidence.

Interviewer: You have said that your policy is democracy. Is there democracy now in Pakistan?

PM: There is democracy in Pakistan to the extent that our mental, our cultural and spiritual levels, and, above all, our temperaments, accept its institutions after thirteen years of dictatorship. After this long period, democracy will take time before it is generally recognized as such. This acceptance by some may take time, as will the vestiges of dictatorship may take time to disappear from all sectors of our public life.

Interviewer: Your party is really gaining much confidence of the people; do you think there is a chance of moving toward a different type of democratic system?

PM: You mean a presidential system. This question will best be left to the electorate. This question might arise in the elections. It would not be raised by my party, but I have reason to believe that some people might raise

the question whether we should or should not have a presidential form of government.

You see the tragedy of Pakistan is that Mr. Ayub Khan said he gave a presidential form of government to Pakistan, where as he did not really give a presidential form of government to Pakistan, but the people thought that his system was the presidential system. So, every one became opposed to it when they became opposed to him and his system. But his was not the presidential form of government. When my party went to the electorate we had no alternative but to go in for a parliamentary system because there was so much antipathy to Ayub Khan's presidential form of government that all parties in the elections in their manifestoes had said that they would go back to the parliamentary system.

Secondly, East Pakistan was part of Pakistan and in a parliamentary system it is easier to divide power between tow wings. To elaborate, in a presidential system this is more difficult to achieve. The Vice President does not have the powers that a Deputy Prime Minister in a parliamentary system has. So because of the East Pakistan factor and the failure of Ayub's so-called presidential system each one of us, each party in its manifesto, said that there should be parliamentary form of government. Now for five years we have had a parliamentary system. I do not know if we can have it for another five years.

The people are not happy with the influence that members of legislative assemblies have. Members of the assemblies, it is said, wield too much patronage and too much influence but all this is part of a parliamentary system. They are to be kept happy but all the people are not happy with that. They are not happy that there should be a certain privileged class in a position to extort, from the government, concessions, which are not reasonable, or beyond their normal requirements, requirements beyond the reach of the common man. So this aspect of the problem has begun to worry the people.

The parliamentary system has a corrupting influence, which the real presidential system has not. In a presidential system the legislature can be resisted. The president can say that if the legislature passes a law, which is impracticable, which the people do not like, he will veto it. The assembly can reconsider it and again pass it. But its members would then be accountable to the voters themselves. The President is there for a period of time and others cannot interfere. This cannot be done in a parliamentary system. The Prime Minister can be changed at any time.

Interviewer: You have said that your economic policy is based on Marxism. But, surely, Marxism would not apply to a rural economy like yours?

PM: I have said that we accept, in our party, only the economic analysis of Marxism. In the economic analysis of Marx the peasantry was not excluded. There are volumes on the peasantry, on land reforms without compensation and on land belonging to the tiller.

Marx said that Communist revolution would be spearheaded by the industrial proletariat, and that the first place should be given to the proletariat because it is the engine of the revolution.

But what we say is that we reject Marxism, in its historical interpretation of history. We reject Marx on the ground that it denies the existence of God. Marx said that there is no God and that there is no world hereafter. We believe that there is a God and that there is a world hereafter. We reject Marx's concept of a stateless society. We believe that structures of States are part and parcel of the scheme of things.

We reject Marx even to the extent that there can be a complete withering away of what are called the upper classes. We think there will always be groups of people who are better endowed, with some talent or the other, than others. And this will result in class differences, but what we do not want is that there should be a distinct class of exploiters or a permanent class of exploited people. But we do take a lot from Marx. We accept Marxism and its concept of economic planning; we do not leave the development of economy to the capricious market forces. Market oriented economies lead to fluctuations, lead to depressions and inflations. The better the economy is planned, and on a scientific basis, and this can be done properly only by the State, not by entrepreneurs, the better it will be for social beings.

But here we also say that we have not done away with the private sector. We believe that only the essential industries, the basic industries, should be in the State sector as also those industries which are not really industries but are reprocessing plants like cotton ginning and rice husking mills where anti-social elements turn out sub-standard products, which adversely affect the lives and health of the people. You know, I gave these mill owners a chance to mend their ways. For four years, I told them that they should not play with the health of the people. I told them not to mix all sorts of things in wheat flour, not to adulterate and not to export goods that are not of the same quality as their approved samples because this gives the country a bad name. But the anti-social elements among them ignored these warnings and continued their adulteration of products for sale at home and abroad. In this situation, I decided that, Marx or no Marx, this kind of business cannot be

tolerated and that is why we nationalized the wheat, rice and cotton processing units.

Interviewer: Mr. Prime Minister, Pakistan once more enjoys the federal government promised by the Lahore resolution of 1940 and the Objectives Resolution of 1949. But you have also said that Federalism is a transitory phase towards Unitarianism. You have even quoted the United Kingdom as an example. In view of the devolution process in U.K. and the move toward more provincial authority in other federalist states, do you think, Mr. Prime Minister, that Unitarianism is necessary or desirable?

PM: It is a general principle of jurisprudence. There are exceptions to it, of course. When I say that federalism is an evolutionary stage towards Unitarianism, I am speaking as a scholar of international law.

I was a student of a great jurist, Dr. Hans Kelsen. He held the view that Federalism is a stage in the evolutionary development of society and that Unitarianism cannot be imposed on a society unless conditions are ripe for it. There is a gradual development into the unitary stage. This is what he said.

From individuals you become a family, from a family you become a tribe, from a tribe you become a society, from a society you become a state, from a state you become an international state. This is the general principle of international law and jurisprudence on the general evolution of society.

Interviewer: What does the Prime Minister think have been the fundamental causes of the trials and tribulations suffered in the first 25 years of the history by your great people?

PM: Well, the hangover from the British Raj was a long one. Many British concepts and ideas were artificially injected into a situation that has changed. As I told you some of our leaders thought that they were in the thirties or forties. Some acted as if they were in the thirties. So, many errors of judgments were made in their approach to politics.

The way they handled the East Pakistan situation is an example. It was looked upon not as a very complicated and serious problem. They never realized properly that here was a region a thousand miles away, with a majority of our population and feeling that they do not fully participate in the decision making process. When the people of East Pakistan asked for a greater voice in the affairs of State the leaders here-sometimes self-appointed-said that the East Pakistanis wanted to dominate, and sometimes that in the name of Islam they should mute their demands. They would bring Islam into most issues and they did a great disservice to Islam by doing so. The leaders here would argue: Oh, you are East Pakistanis. Why do you want seats in the

legislature on a population representation basis? Are we not all Muslims? Let there be parity. They did not realize that they were really helping those who wanted to divide the country. Parity really meant two states. It was sheer expediency to suppose that all solutions lay in invoking our common religion.

The reaction came in the form of a backlash of provincialism. The people in East Pakistan began retorting: Yes, we are Muslims but this does not mean that this should happen or that should happen or that, we should not have representation or we should not get our due rights. So, provincialism became a monster, which leaders, who were weak – because they were a residue of the British Raj – could not control by old methods. They did not go to the people; instead they tried to handle everything through the bureaucracy. They leaned too heavily on bureaucracy and thought that by sitting in a room and having some conferences they could contrive to hoodwink the people into accepting formulas, which were unjust. That was the kind of approach that led to separation.

The military dictators ruled like ignorant individuals who thought that the whole thing was an Army drill and all that was required was that regimental orders had to be issued and every one will fall in line as if on a regimental parade ground. Their approach to political problems and political issues was not political at all. They said: Let us use force and let us teach them a lesson. A government has to use force when necessary, my government has had to do so when driven to the wall. But we did not forego the political process.

If we used force in Balochistan at some places I demonstrated by going there often that the political presence was very much there. I have gone there in winter, in summer, in heat and cold, whatever the climate – 120 degrees or even below freezing point I have been in Balochistan, I have been on tour, there, for twenty days, for fifteen days, for shorter and longer periods. Why? Just to meet the people. No only do I meet the people but I explain to them the problems. I regard this as a process of political educations, both mine and of the people. This helped in rousing the people, in harnessing their power to crush the insurgency, a foreign inspired insurgency and to abolish the *sardari* system.

I have been to Balochistan to give away three hundred thousand acres of land free of cost to tenet farmers. In all this, a great deal of patience was exercised. To win over the hearts of the people may sometimes be more difficult than to chisel though a rock but the one route that does not go there is route march by military men with death dealing weapons.

I have told you already of the failure of the politicians in the past. And then there were intrigues. Many in India have not really reconciled

themselves to the creation of Pakistan and they have kept trying to infiltrate subversive ideas to scholars, to poets, to professors, to students, to cultural forums all the time.

These Indians have always said: we are really one nation. Even today if you listen to Amritsar Radio, the underlying motive seems to be cultural penetration. Why are we divided, it says, one brother is living on this side and another is living on the other side? This is artificial. This propaganda was and is there in some transmissions all the time. It was so especially in the Bangla transmissions. I do not mention the part played by some countries bigger than India; they were interested in certain strategic goals. These were the factors, which were the cause of our trials and tribulations, about which you asked.

Interviewer: Thank you, Mr. Prime Minister.

NOTES

A

Adenauer: Adenauer, Konrad (1876-1967), first chancellor of West Germany (1949-1963) when the country was formed at the end of World War II (1939-1945). Born in Cologne on January 5, 1876, Adenauer was educated at the universities of Freiburg, Munich, and Bonn. From 1917 to 1933 he was lord mayor of Cologne and a member of the Prussian legislature. A member of the Catholic Center Party, he opposed Nazism, and when Adolf Hitler came to power in 1933, Adenauer was barred from office and forced into retirement. In 1944, near the end of World War II, Adenauer was sent to a concentration camp, but he was released when the Allies invaded Germany. In 1945 he participated in the founding of the Christian Democratic Union (CDU) and became the new party's chairman in the British occupation zone. When West Germany was established in 1949, Adenauer, favoured by the occupying powers as an anti-Communist free of Nazi associations, became its first chancellor. For the next 14 years he headed a coalition composed of the CDU, the Bavarian Christian Social Union, and the Free Democrats. From 1951 to 1955 he also served as foreign minister of West Germany. Adenauer's main goal was to establish West Germany as a bulwark of the Western alliance to contain Soviet expansion in Europe. To this end he promoted close relations with the United States and reconciliation with France, avoiding any move toward reunion with Communist East Germany. In 1955, under Adenauer's leadership, West Germany joined the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) and won recognition as an independent nation. West Germany was also one of the founding members of the European Economic Community, or Common Market (now the European Union). In 1963, after concluding a long-designed treaty of cooperation with France, Adenauer resigned from office at the age of 87. He died at Rhondorf on April 19, 1967.

Adolf Hitler: Hitler, Adolf (1889-1945), German political and military leader and one of the 20th century's most powerful dictators. Hitler converted Germany into a fully militarized society and launched World War II in 1939 (see Federal Republic of Germany). He made anti-Semitism a keystone of his propaganda and policies and built the Nazi Party (see National Socialism) into a mass movement. He hoped to conquer the entire world, and for a time dominated most of Europe and much of North Africa. He instituted sterilization and euthanasia measures to enforce his idea of racial purity among German people and caused the slaughter of millions of Jews, Sinti and Roma (Gypsies), Slavic peoples, and many others, all of whom he considered inferior.

Algerian Independence: At the end of World War II, the V-E (Victory in Europe) Day celebrations of May 8, 1945, were marred in Algeria by violent demonstrations in the town of Setif and the first Algerian attacks against European settlers (or colons), of whom around 100 died. French retributions for this uprising, resulting in the deaths of several thousand Algerians, radicalized the approach of many Algerian nationalists towards gaining independence from France. Attempts by Paris to implement more liberal reforms were thwarted by the colons' resistance and by Algerian dissatisfaction. The main Algerian political parties under Messali Hadj and Ferhat Abbas had participated in French-organized elections from the late 1940s. Pressures for more direct action, however, led to the creation of a clandestine revolutionary group, the Organization Special (OS), uncovered by the French in 1950. In March 1954, to plan for revolutionary action, nine of the younger radical nationalists (later known as the historic chiefs) formed the basic structures of what became the FLN. Liberation conflict of Algeria against France, which took place over eight years between 1954 and 1962, culminating in the independence of Algeria from French colonial rule in July 1962. It was the longest and most bitter colonial war fought by a European power which, at its height, raised passions that threatened the stability of France itself. The fighting was characterized by the Algerian use of urban and rural guerrilla warfare, coordinated by the front de Liberation National (Algerian National Liberation Front; FLN).

Allama Iqbal: (1877-1938), Muslim philosopher, poet, and political leader, born in Sialkot, India (now Pakistan). In 1927 he was elected to the Punjab provincial legislature and in 1930 became president of the Muslim League. Initially a supporter of Hindu-Muslim unity in a single Indian state, Iqbal later became an advocate of Pakistani independence. In addition to his political activism, Iqbal was considered the foremost Muslim thinker of his day. His poetry and philosophy, written in Urdu and Persian, stress the rebirth of Islamic and spiritual redemption through self-development, moral integrity, and individual freedom. His many works include *The Secrets of the Self* (1915), a long poem; *A Message from the East* (1923); and *The Reconstruction of Religious Thought in Islam* (1934). Although Iqbal did not live to see the creation of an independent Pakistan in 1947, date of his death, April 21, and November 09 is his Birthday it's a national holiday of Pakistan.

Apartheid: Apartheid, policy of racial segregation formerly followed in south Africa. The word apartheid means "separateness" in the Afrikaans language and it described the rigid racial division between the governing white minority population and the nonwhite majority population. The National Party introduced apartheid as part of their campaign in the 1948 elections, and with the National Party victory, apartheid became the governing political policy for South Africa until the early 1990s. Although there is no longer a

legal basis for apartheid, the social, economic, and political inequalities between white and black South Africans continue to exist. Apartheid continued to be criticized internationally, and many countries, including the United States, imposed economic sanctions on South Africa. More urban revolts erupted and, as external pressure on South Africa intensified, the government's apartheid policies began to unravel. In 1990, the new president, F.W. de Klerk, proclaimed a formal end to apartheid with the release of NC leader Nelson Mandela from prison and the legalization of black African political organizations.

Ashoka: or Asoka (? -232 Bc), third king of the Maurya dynasty, who ruled almost the whole of the Indian subcontinent from about 269 to 232 Bc (see Mauryan Empire). Ashoka stand unique among emperors in world history: After successfully the suffering that it had caused that he forsook war and thereafter endorsed non violence and peaceful persuasion in consolidating his vast empire.

Asian Security Pact: The 1971 military pact-known as the five Power Defense Arrangement-commits Australia, Britain and New Zealand to consulting each other if either south-East Asian country faces external aggression.

Askai China: The Chinese, wishing to consolidate their gains in Tibet and the surrounding areas, implemented a plan for developing the infrastructure in those regions. A ring road was constructed which led from China to Tibet and from there via the Karakorum Range to Sinkiang and Mongolia and then back to China. The Indian Ladakh district of Askai Chin region of Jammu and Kashmir state obstructed the construction of this road, and would have forced the Chinese to build through the harsh Takla Makan desert - not the most favorable terrain. Faced with this, the Chinese Government had the choice of building a shortcut through India territory inaccessible to India, or build the road in a wasteland of the Takla Makan. The PRC decided on the former. Taking advantage of the historical quirk that they had not actually signed the agreement reached at the Simla Conference, China published maps showing that Aksai Chin belonged to them, and refused the de-facto McMahon line in the East of India, that demarcated the border and control of the land.

Ayub Khan: Ayub Khan, Muhammad (1907-1947), president of Pakistan (1958-1969). He was born on May 14, 1907, in Rehanna in the North-West Frontier Province, then in British India, and educated at Aligarh Muslim University and the Royal Military College, Sandhurst, in England. Commissioned a second lieutenant in the British Indian Army in 1928, he held numerous command and administrative positions under British rule. After Pakistan gained independence in 1947, he rose rapidly to become commander in chief of the Pakistani army in 1951. From 1954 to 1955 he also served as minister of defense. When President Iskander Mirza declared martial law in

1958, he made Ayub its chief administrator. Shortly afterward Ayub assumed the full powers of president, and he was confirmed in office by referendum in 1960. He introduced a system of so-called basic democracies, consisting of tiered local government units, which doubled as electoral colleges; he was reelected under this system in 1964. After a brief war with India in 1965, however, his popularity slipped rapidly, and he was forced to resign in March 1969. He spent his remaining years in retirement and died at his home near Islamabad, on April 19, 1974.

B

Andaranaike: Bandaranaike, Sirimavo Ratwatte Dias (1916-2000), prime minister of Sri Lanka (1960-1965), 1970-1977, 1994-2000), the first woman in the history of the world to hold the office of prime minister. She was born in Balangoda, Ceylon (now Sri Lanka), and attended convent schools. In 1940 she married Solomon Bandaranaike, who in 1956 became prime minister. After his assassination in 1959, she assumed the leadership of the Sri Lanka Freedom Party (SLEP) that Bandaranaike had formed. When the SLEP won the elections of 1960, she became prime minister. She pursued the pro-Buddhist, pro-Sinhalese socialist policies that her husband had begun, but she gradually lost support and was defeated at the polls in 1965. Returning to power in 1970, she nationalized certain industries and made the country a republic under the name of Sri Lanka. However, her government was plagued with ethnic dissension and economic deterioration. The SLEP was decisively defeated in the elections of 1977, and although she retained her seat in the National Assembly, Bandaranaike was forced to step down as prime minister. Charged with abuse of power while prime minister, she was expelled from the National Assembly and barred from politics in 1980. Her right to engage in politics was reinstated in 1986. In November 1994 Bandaranaike's daughter, Chandrika Bandaranaike Kumaratunga, was elected president as the candidate of the People's Alliance, a coalition party that included the Sri Lanka Freedom Party headed by Bandaranaike. After her election, she appointed her mother prime minister of the new government.

Big Powers/ Great Powers: The most powerful nations. Political scientists often refer to nations as "states" - that is, territories controlled by a single government and inhabited by a distinct population. At any given time, about half a dozen states possess the majority of the world's power resources. Generally, a great power can be defeated militarily only by another great power. Great powers also tend to share a global outlook, based on a need to protect national economic, political, and security interests that may extend throughout the world. Sometimes the status of great powers is formally

recognized in an international structure. For instance, in the Concert of Europe that prevailed throughout much of the 19th century, the great powers of Britain, France, Austria, Prussia, and Russia agreed to meet regularly to promote and preserve peace in Europe. After World War II ended in 1945, the United Nations Security Council provided a forum for coordinated action by the great powers in the second half of the 20th century – the United States, Britain, France, the Soviet Union, and China.

Biharis: More than 98 percent of Bangladesh’s inhabitants are Bengalis, who are largely descended from Indo-Aryans (speakers of the parent language of the Indo-European languages). The Indo-Aryans began to migrate into the Bengal region from the west thousands of years ago and mixed within Bengal with various indigenous groups. The remainder of the population includes Biharis, non-Bengali Muslims who migrated from India (principally from the state of Bihar) after the 1947 partition, and various indigenous ethnic groups (locally known as tribal groups). Although Biharis constitute the largest minority group, a large proportion of their original population repatriated to Pakistan after 1971.

Bismarck: Prince Otto Eduard Leopold von (1815-1898), Prusso-German statesman, who was the architect of German unification and the first chancellor (1871-1890) of the united nation. Through Bismarck’s efforts, Germany was transformed from a loose collection of small states into the German Empire, the strongest industrialized nation in continental Europe. A unified Germany permanently changed the European balance of power. Though Bismarck dominated German and European politics for nearly 30 years, his career was a series of paradoxes. An ultraconservative, he initiated social and welfare reform. A master politician, he despised parliaments and parties. A Prussian patriot, he created a German empire.

Bombay Presidency: The area that is now Mumbai was originally inhabited by Kolis, a fishing people. It was part of the kingdom of Gujrat from the 1300s until 1534, when Sultan Bahadur Shah of Gujrat ceded the area, then known as Bombay, to the Portuguese. In 1616 the Bombay territory was given to King Charles II of England as part of the wedding dowry for Catherine of Baraganza, who was the Portuguese king’s sister. In 1668 King Charles II leased the area to the English East India Company for a small sum of money. Bombay became the capital of the Bombay Presidency, a British-controlled area, in 1687 when the capital was transferred from Surat. By the early 18th century Bombay had become the main British center on the west coast. The British built a fort in Bombay in 1717. A castle lay at the center of the Fort and roads from the castle led outward to three gates: Apollo in the south, Church in the west, and Bazar in the north. Within the Fort, the southern area consisted of planned and open settlements reserved for the English. Parts of the Fort north of Church Street were reserved for the indigenous population,

giving that area a high population density. By the middle of the 18th century the Fort area became too congested and settlements moved outside its walls, with the governor moving to Parel in 1750. Much of the Fort area, including the part once reserved for the indigenous population, was gutted in the great fire of 1803.

Buddhists: Buddhism, a major world religion, founded in northeastern India and based on the teachings of Siddhartha Guatama, who is known as the Buddha, or Enlightened One. Classical Saung-Gauk of Myanmar by the 8th century, Burman culture began to assimilate the strong influence of traditional Indian Buddhism. During this period, the Burman court of Mandalay maintained a fervent enthusiasm for poetry, music, and dance theatre. Probably the only extant descendant of the now-vanished Indian harp, the saung-gauk became known as the voice of Buddha and is now regarded as the national instrument of Myanmar (formerly known as Burma). Originating as a monastic movement within the dominant Brahman tradition of the day, Buddhism quickly developed in a distinctive direction. The Buddha not only rejected significant aspects of Hindu philosophy, but also challenged the authority of the priesthood, denied the validity of the Vedic scriptures, and rejected the sacrificial cult based on them. Moreover, he opened his movement to members of all castes, denying that a person's spiritual worth is a matter of birth.

C

Caesarean Power: Caesar, name of a patrician Roman family and an imperial title. The family of the Julian gens (clan) called Caesar was active in Roman public life from the time of the Punic Wars. The most renowned member of this family was Gaius Julius Caesar. His adopted son, Gaius Octavius, assumed the name Gaius Julius Caesar Octavianus in accordance with Roman custom, later adding the title Augustus (Latin, "majestic"), by which he is generally known. The four Roman emperors of the Julio-Claudian line – Tiberius, Caligula, Caludius I, and Nero-were also adopted into this family and thus properly called Caesar. After the dynasty ended with the death of Nero in Ad 68, the name Caesar was retained to designate the imperial rulers. Emperor Hadrian adopted the imperial title Augustus; Caesar then became the title of the heir apparent to the roman throne. In Ad 285 emperor Diocletian appointed a colleague, Maximian, to share the throne. Maximian was called Caesar until 286, when he was given the imperial title Augustus; two assistants, intended to be successors to the Augustuses, were selected and given the title Caesar. Each Augustus and each Caesar was assigned a portion of the Roman Empire to administer. Although this complex system did not survive, the title continued to be used for emperors-designate. The imperial

significance of the title Caesar was preserved in medieval and modern derivations, including the German Kaiser and the Russian Tsar.

Cease fire in Vietnam: In 1973, as Nixon began a second term, the United States and North Vietnam signed a peace treaty in Paris, which provided for a cease-fire. The terms of the cease-fire included: American withdrawal of all remaining forces from Vietnam, Vietnamese return of American prisoners captured during war, and the end of all foreign military operations in Laos and Cambodia. American troops left Vietnam, but the war between North Vietnam and South Vietnam continued. South Vietnam finally fell in April 1975, as North Vietnamese forces entered Saigon. More than 58,000 Americans were killed in Vietnam, and over 3000,000 were wounded. Even after the war's end, Americans continued to debate its purpose and the meaning of its failure.

CENTO: Central Treaty Organization (CENTO), mutual defense and security organization that functioned between 1959 and 1979. It evolved from the earlier Middle East Treaty Organization (METO), which in turn had succeeded the Baghdad Pact of 1955. The purpose of the organization was to provide joint defense against possible aggressors and to encourage the economic and scientific development of the member nations: Iran, Pakistan, Turkey, and the United Kingdom. The name CENTO was adopted in 1959 after Iraq, originally a cosigner, withdrew from the Baghdad Pact; CENTO referred to a central area between regions included in the North Atlantic Treaty Organization, to which Turkey belongs, and the now defunct Southeast Asia Treaty organization, of which Pakistan was a member. Although not an official member of CENTO, the United States actively supported the organization. Its headquarters, originally established at Baghdad, was moved to Ankara, Turkey, after the pro-Western Iraqi government was overthrown in 1958. Following the Islamic revolution in Iran in 1979, the new Iranian regime announced its intention to withdraw from CENTO. Shortly afterward, Pakistan also quit the organization, arguing that Iran's withdrawal had deprived it of any meaning. This rendered CENTO defunct.

Ceylon: Country now known as Sri Lanka. Sri Lanka, in full, Democratic Socialist Republic of Sri Lanka, island republic in the Indian Ocean, lying off the south eastern tip of the Indian subcontinent. The Palk Strait and Gulf of Mannar separate Sri Lanka from India. The Arabian Sea lies to the west, the Bay of Bengal to the northeast, and the Indian Ocean to the south. Colombo, situated on the western coast, is the largest city and the commercial capital of Sri Lanka. The administrative capital is Sri Jayawardenepura (Kotte), located about 16km (about 10 mi) east of Colombo.

Chakmas: More than 98 percent of Bangladesh's inhabitants are Bengalis, who are largely descended from Indo-Aryans (speakers of the parent language of the Indo-European languages). The Indo-Aryans began to migrate into the Bengal region from the west thousands of years ago and mixed within Bengal with various indigenous groups. The remainder of the population includes Biharis, non-Bengali Muslims who migrated from India (principally from the state of Bihar) after the 1947 partition, and various indigenous ethnic groups (locally known as tribal groups). Although Biharis constitute the largest minority group, a large proportion of their original population repatriated to Pakistan after 1971. The Chakmas, who live in the southeastern Chittagong Hill Tracts District, constitute the largest tribal group in Bangladesh. Other tribal groups include the Marmas and Tripuras, who also live in the Chittagong region; the Garos and Khasis, whose populations in northeastern Bangladesh are the southernmost extensions of tribal groups living in adjacent Indian states; and the Santals, who also live in northeastern Bangladesh and form, with Santals living elsewhere, South Asia's largest tribal group.

China-US Relations: The United States and the People's Republic of China formally ended three decades of hostility when they established diplomatic relations on January 1, 1979. United States president Jimmy Carter expanded President Richard Nixon's policy of normalizing relations by consenting to china's demand that the United States sever diplomatic ties with Taiwan. The United States issued the following statement on December 15, 1978, to explain its new relationships with China and Taiwan. By renewing diplomatic ties, the United States acknowledge China's importance in global political and economic matters. In this historic document, the Republic of China refers to Taiwan, which China regards as a renegade province.

Chittagong: Chittagong, city and port in southeastern Bangladesh, on the Karnaphuli River, near the Bay of Bengal. The city is the commercial center for the surrounding agricultural region, which produces rice, jute, gunny (a coarse fabric), tea, and hides. The University of Chittagong (1966) is here. Chittagong became an important commercial center under the Portuguese in the 16th century. It became a possession of the English East India Company between 1760 and 1765. Originally a part of Arakan, it was claimed 60 years later by the emperor of Burma (now known as Myanmar) as a dependency of that territory. The claim was one of the causes of the first Burmese-British War in 1842. Chittagong was part of Pakistan from 1947 until 1971, when it became part of the new nation of Bangladesh. Population (1991) 1, 566,070.

Chou Enlai: Zhou Enlai or Chou En-lai (1898-1976), first premier (1949-1976) of the People's Republic of China and one of the major leaders of the Chinese Communist movement. Zhou, also known as Chou En-lai, was born into a gentry family in Husian, Jiangsu (Kiangsu) Province, and educated at Nankai

University, Tainjin (Tientsin), and in Japan and France. While in Europe (1920-1924) he organized branches of the Chinese Communist Party (CCP). On his return to China, he joined the alliance between the Kuomintang (KMT, or Nationalist Party) and the CCP that was led by Sun Yat-sen, and he soon became director of the political department of the Whampoa Military Academy, then headed by Chiang Kai-shek. After the break between the Kuomintang and the Communists in 1927, Zhou was elected to the CCP's ruling Politburo. That same year he led a proletarian insurrection in Shanghai and participated in the uprising in Nanchang (Nan-ch'ang) that marked the founding of the Chinese Red Army. He later made several trips to the United of Soviet Socialist Republics (USSR). Along with Mao Zedong (Mao Tse-tung) and others, Zhou led (1934-1935) the historic Long March from southeastern China to Yan'an in the north. He also played a key role in the Sian Incident (1936), the kidnapping of Chiang Kai-shek, which marked the beginning of a united KMT-CCP front against the invading Japanese. During the rest of the war against Japan, Zhou served in Chongqing (Chungking) as chief CCP representative with the KMT government, and after the defeat of Japan, he represented the CCP in the futile negotiations with Chiang Kai-shek, mediated by the U.S. general George C. Marshall. In October 1949, Zhou became the first premier and foreign minister of the Communist regime. As China's chief administrator, Zhou attempted to restore order after the long civil war and adopted an ambitious economic reconstruction program. As China's chief diplomat - he was foreign minister until 1958 - he improved China's international position at such meetings as the 1954 Geneva Conference on Indochina and the 1955 Bandung Conference at Bandung, Indonesia. During the Cultural Revolution Zhou did much to prevent the radicals from totally disrupting the party apparatus and government bureaucracy. In September 1971, he apparently played a role in thwarting a military coup by Mao's heir apparent, Defense Minister Lin Biao (Lin Piao). Following Lin's death, Zhou emerged as China's second most powerful leader after Mao. In view of the growing Sino-Soviet antagonism, Zhou in the early 1970s began a dialogue with Japan and the United States. In 1972 he signed the Shanghai Communiqué with U.S. President Richard Nixon - a step that eventually led to close ties between the two countries and, in 1979, to formal diplomatic relations. Diplomatic relations were also established with Japan. Zhou died in Beijing on January 8, 1976.

Churchill: Churchill, Sir Winston Leonard Spencer (1874-1965), British politician and prime minister of the United Kingdom (1940-1945, 1951-1955), widely regarded as the greatest British leader of the 20th century. Churchill is celebrated for his leadership during World War II (1939-1945). His courage, decisiveness, political experience, and enormous vitality enabled him to lead his country through the war, one of the most desperate struggles in British history. Winston Churchill's public life extended from the reign of Queen Victoria in the late 19th century to the Cold War. During this long political

career, Churchill held every important cabinet office in the British government, except foreign minister. Churchill was also known for the many books on British history and politics he wrote throughout his lifetime. His command of the English language not only made him a great orator but earned him the Noble Prize for literature in 1953.

Classless Society: Communism is a theory and system of social and political organization that was a major force in world politics for much of the 20th century. As a political movement, communism sought to overthrow capitalism through a workers' revolution and establish a system in which property is owned by the community as a whole rather than by individuals. In theory, communism would create a classless society of abundance and freedom, in which all people enjoy equal social and economic status.

Common Market: In 1957 the participants in the European Coal and Steel Community (ECSC) signed two more treaties in Rome. These treaties created the European Atomic Energy Community (Euratom) for the development of peaceful uses of atomic energy and, most important, the European Economic Community (EEC, often referred to as the Common Market).

Common Wealth: a free association of sovereign independent states (formerly colonies and dominion of GB) with their dependencies. (The British commonwealth of nations international association consisting of the UK together with States that were previously part of the British Empire,

Congress: Indian national Congress, political party that led the struggle for India's independence and later dominated the country's government. Founded in 1885, the Congress originally advocated limited democratic reforms under British rule. Beginning in 1905, it called for swaraj, or self-government, and in 1920 it adopted the strategy of nonviolent resistance to the British devised by Mohandas K. Gandhi. By 1929, led by Jawaharlal Nehru, the Congress was demanding total independence. During World War II it refused to support the British war effort, launching instead a "Quit India" campaign that led to violent confrontations and prison terms for nearly 60,000 of its supporters. After India gained independence, in 1947, the Congress controlled the central government and most of the Indian state governments for 20 years. In 1955 it adopted a program of democratic socialism. The party split in 1969, but the dominant faction (the New Congress Party) remained in office under Prime Minister Indira Gandhi. Voted out in 1977, it again split. Gandhi's Congress (I) Party (I for Indira) registered power in 1980, holding it until 1989, and then again from 1991 to 1996. Corruption allegations plagued the party in the mid-1990s, contributing to a loss of power in 1996.

Communist Revolution: a political theory derived from Marx, advocating class war and leading to a society in which all property is publicly owned and

each person is paid and works according to his or her needs and abilities. The communistic form of society established in the former USSR and elsewhere.

Concentration Camps: Concentration Camp, a place where selected groups of people are confined, usually for political reasons and under inhumane conditions. Men, women, and children are confined without normal judicial trials for an indeterminate period of confinement. Camp authorities usually exercise unlimited, arbitrary power. Although many kinds of facilities have served as concentration camps, they usually consist of barracks, huts, or tents, surrounded by watchtowers and barbed wire. Concentration camps are also known by various other names such as corrective labor camps, relocation centers, and reception centers. In World War II more than 6 million people died in German concentration camps, but there have been other camps throughout history.

Confederation: Confederation, in political terminology, a union of sovereign states each of which is free to act independently. It is distinguished from a federation, in which the individual states are subordinate to the central government. Confederations existed in ancient times, notably the Delian League, formed under Athenian leadership in the 5th century bc to resist Persian aggression, and the Achaean and Aetolian leagues of the 4th, 3rd, and 2nd centuries bc which were prominent in the Hellenistic world. In modern times the term confederation is applied to a joining together of formerly independent states to create a single political unit. A confederation is similar to a federal system but gives less power to the central government. The loose alliances of countries or other political entities that make up a confederation seek to cooperate with one another while retaining ultimate control of their own internal policies. Unlike federal systems, confederations usually give each member nation absolute control over its citizens and territory. The central government decides only issues that affect all members of the confederation. In the 18th century the United States was founded as such a system under the Articles of Confederation. More recently, the Soviet Union dissolved in 1991, and many of the former republics formed a confederation called the Commonwealth of Independent States (CIS) to coordinate domestic and foreign policy. Confederations tend to be weak and unstable because member nations often resist relinquishing final authority on any matters and insist on their right to withdraw from the confederation at any time. Confederations are uncommon; most are international bodies with limited and specific responsibilities, such as the European Community (EC) and the British Commonwealth.

Constitution of Pakistan: Thirty-one guns boomer on April 12 as President Zulfikar Ali Bhutt authenticated Pakistan's third constitution at an impressive presidential palace ceremony. The constitution's 280 articles, with seven minor amendments to placate the opposition, had been approved by 125 of

the National Assembly's 146 members two days earlier. The new arrangements, which came into force at midnight August 13-14, provides for a 210-member National Assembly, a 63-member Senate, and a Council of Common Interests (consisting of the four provincial chief ministers and an equal number of federal ministers) to ensure economic parity. The Pakistani constitution vests overwhelming powers in the prime minister. The armed forces are answerable to him and not to the head of state; in addition, the new constitution makes it difficult to remove the prime minister. Agreement on the document was reached only after months of tortuous negotiations and angry polemics which often degenerated into bitter riots. And hopes that the August 14 constitution might lead to adjustments with dispossessed opposition parties and discontented tribes faded only two days later.

D

Dalai Lama: Dalai Lama, spiritual leader of Tibetan Buddhism and formerly the ruler of Tibet. The Dalai Lama is believed to be a reincarnation of the Buddha. When he dies, his soul is thought to enter the body of a newborn boy, who, after being identified by traditional tests, becomes the new Dalai Lama. The first to bear the title of Dalai Lama was Sonam Gyatso, grand lama of the Drepung monastery and leader of the Gelugpa (Yellow Hat) sect, received it in 1578 from the Mongol chief Altan Khan; it was then applied retroactively to the previous leaders of the sect. In 1642 another Mongol chief, Gushri Khan, installed the fifth Dalai Lama as Tibet's spiritual and temporal ruler. His successors governed Tibet - first as tributaries of the Mongols, but from 1720 to 1911 as vassals of the emperor of China. When the Chinese Communists occupied Tibet in 1950, they came into increasing conflict with Tenzin Gyatso, the 14th Dalai Lama. He left the country after an unsuccessful rebellion in 1959 and thereafter lived in India. He received the Nobel Peace Prize in 1989 for leading the nonviolent opposition to continued Chinese rule in Tibet. In 1995 the Dalai Lama came into conflict with Chinese authorities over the identification of a new Panchen Lama (the second most senior Tibetan religious authority). In 1996 he published *Violence and Compassion*, in which he and French screenwriter Jean-Claude Carriere consider topics of political and spiritual interest.

Dialectics: Dialectic, in philosophy, method of investigating the nature of truth by critical analysis of concepts and hypotheses. One of the earliest examples of the dialectical method was the Dialogues of Greek philosopher Plato, in which the author sought to study truth through discussion in the form of questions and answers. Another noted Greek philosopher, Aristotle, thought of dialectic as the search for the philosophic basis of science, and he frequently used the term as a synonym for the science of logic. The German philosopher Georg Wilhelm Friedrich Hegel applied the term dialectic to his

philosophic system. Hegel believed that the evolution of ideas occurs through a dialectical process—that is, a concept gives rise to its opposite, and as a result of this conflict, a third view, the synthesis, arises. This synthesis is at a higher level of truth than the first two views. Hegel's work is based on the idealistic concept of a universal mind that, through evolution, seeks to arrive at the highest level of self-awareness and freedom. German political philosopher Karl Marx applied the concept of dialectic to social and economic processes.

Durand Line: The waning control of the Mughal Empire left the subcontinent vulnerable to new contenders for power from Europe. The British changed the course of history by penetrating India from the Bay of Bengal, in the east; until then invading forces had entered India from the northwest, mostly by way of the Khyber Pass. The English East India Company established trading posts in Bengal and represented British interests in the region. In 1757 company forces defeated Mughal forces in Bengal in the Battle of Plassey. This victory marked the beginning of British dominance in the subcontinent. The company continued to expand the area under its control through military victories and direct annexations, as well as political agreements with local rulers. The British annexed the area of present-day Sind Province in 1843. The region of Punjab, then under the control of the Sikh kingdom of Lahore, was annexed in 1849 after British forces won the second of two wars against the Sikhs. Some areas of Baluchistan were declared British territory in 1887. As the British sought to extend their empire into the northwest frontier, they clashed with the Pashtun tribes that held lands extending from the western boundary of the Punjab plains into the kingdom of Afghanistan. The Pashtuns strongly resisted British invasions into their territories. After suffering many casualties, the British finally admitted they could not conquer the Pashtuns. In 1893 Sir Mortimer Durand, the foreign secretary of the colonial government of India, negotiated an agreement with the king of Afghanistan, Amir Abdur Rahman Khan, to delineate a border. The so-called Durand Line cut through Pashtun territories, dividing them between British and Afghan areas of influence. However, the Pashtuns refused to be subjugated under British colonial rule. The British compromised by creating a new province in 1901, named the North-West Frontier Province, as a loosely administered territory where the Pashtuns would not be subject to colonial laws.

E

East Pakistan: 1947-1971 (Now Bangladesh), Pakistan People's Party, the largest party in West Pakistan. Their positions, however, were virtually irreconcilable; Mr. Bhutto could not agree that foreign aid, foreign trade, and foreign exchange should be the prerogatives of Pakistan's five provinces, one of which is East Pakistan. Mr. Bhutto announced that his party would not

attend the National Assembly, and on March 1, President Yahya Khan announced that the convening of the assembly would be postponed. As a result, demonstrations took place in East Pakistan, martial law displaced civilian rule in the five provinces, and curfews were imposed in Dacca and other cities in the east. In protest, Mujib called a general strike that lasted six days, and the East Pakistanis administered provincial government agencies in defiance of the military authorities. Conferences were held between Yahya Khan, Sheikh Mujib, and Mr. Bhutto, but despite some fleeting hopes, no real progress was achieved. On March 25, Yahya broke off the talks and flew back to West Pakistan. Political activity was suspended, and Pakistan's army, which reportedly had been building up its forces in the east for months, launched attacks in Dacca on the university and other centers of separatist sentiment. The Awami League was outlawed and many of its leaders seized, including Sheikh Mujib, who was later put on trial for treason in a military court. Pakistan's military rulers hoped by these actions to crush the movement for autonomy in East Pakistan, but instead the result was all-out civil war. An independent people's republic was proclaimed by radio-the flag of Bangla Desh (the Bengali nation) had already been unveiled-and local police forces in the east and the East Pakistani Rifles (the provincial militia) began to fight the army, which is made up almost entirely of West Pakistanis. Within days newsmen from the outside world were expelled from East Pakistan, but some news did filter out, and it left no doubt that bloodshed and terror had become the order of the day. Refugees began crossing the border into India by tens of thousands each day (the total by the end of the year was expected to reach at least 10 million). Many of the refugees brought with them nothing but their scanty clothing-and tales of rape, murder, and terrorism committed by the army on an essentially defenseless population. Crops went unplanted, the economy of East Pakistan collapsed, food became scarce, and the effort to restore the area devastated by the cyclone of 1970 ceased altogether. Official statements from the Pakistan government at first denied the fighting, and then blamed it on isolated groups of "Indian agents" and "miscreants". By mid-April it appeared that resistance to the Pakistani army was crumbling, but as the year went on, an organized guerrilla movement, called the Mukti Bahini (Bengali liberation army), seemed to be gathering strength. Repression and reprisals by the Pakistani army against civilians continued, and by November estimates of how many Bengalis had been killed were in the hundreds of thousands and as high as a million. Punitive raids against villages in the vicinity of Mukti Bahini sabotage operations were a major cause of these casualties. By late summer Yahya Khan had begun to make some moves toward restoration of normal rule-but without the Awami League. In August, 195 of the 228 Awami League members of the East Pakistan provincial assembly were disqualified, and a civilian governor was appointed to replace the military governor. In September a general amnesty was declared by Yahya, but it did not apply to leaders of the Awami League, and its sincerity was doubted. The millions of refugees in India did not take it

as a sign that they could return home safely. Meanwhile, in West Pakistan, Zulfikar Ali Bhutto was criticizing the military government for failing to turn its power over to civilians. Bhutto said that the whole nation was on the point of collapse and that there could be civil war even in West Pakistan. He also implied that there could be a coup d'état if civilians had not gained constitutional power by January 1972. On October 12, Yahya Khan announced that the National Assembly would meet on December 27 and that a new central government could replace him soon after that. On November 2 he announced that 53 of the 78 seats left empty by ousted Awami League members would be filled without contest. These seats were allotted to minor right-wing parties, and 14 of them went to the Jamaat-Islami, or Moslem Orthodox Party, a group which has no appreciable following in East Pakistan. Even the candidates for the 25 contested seats were carefully screened by the government. Thus, the advocates of regional autonomy were to be deprived of their majority, and East Pakistan's hopes for a truly representative elected government received another severe setback.

Economic Depression: Depression (economics), in economics, a period in an industrial nation characterized by low production and sales and a high rate of business failures and unemployment.

Economic Inflation: "An increase in the amount of currency in circulation, resulting in a relatively sharp and sudden fall in its value and rise in prices: it may be caused by an increase in the volume of paper money issued or of gold mined, or a relative increase in expenditures as when the supply of goods fails to meet the demand.

F

Fabian Socialists: The revolutionary socialist ideology of German political philosopher Karl Marx had very little influence in Britain, even though Marx spent much of his adult life in London. Much more important in shaping English socialism were the writings and political skills of the Fabian Society, a group of intellectuals founded in 1884 that included playwright George Bernard Shaw and future prime minister James Ramsay MacDonald. The group took its name from Fabius, a Roman general who seldom attacked his enemy directly, preferring to wear the enemy down with delaying tactics. The Fabians rejected the Marxist revolutionary model and believed socialism would come to Britain through a natural and peaceful evolutionary process and also through democratic parliamentary politics. This social democratic approach assumed that over time Parliament would pass laws in the interest of the workers, aided by the development of a workers' party, the Labour Party. The Fabians also believed that the tendency already apparent in 19th-century factory legislation would expand and culminate in the state owning

and operating industrial enterprises and thus presiding over a just and efficient planned economy.

Federalism: Federalism, also referred to as federal government, a national or international political system in which two levels of government control the same territory and citizens. The word federal comes from the Latin term *fidere*, meaning “to trust.” Countries with federal political systems have both a central government and governments based in smaller political units, usually called states, provinces, or territories. These smaller political units surrender some of their political power to the central government, relying on it to act for the common good.

Franco-German détente **Franco-German détente** 1878-1885: The period of franco-German détente 1878-1885-Bismark and peaceful French Republican Govts-growth of trade etc.

Frontier/NWFP: North-West Frontier Province, province of Pakistan, occupying the entire northwestern part of the country east and south of Afghanistan. The North-West Frontier Province was merged with the other provinces and states of West Pakistan in 1955 to form the single province of West Pakistan, but in 1970 four provinces were restored. The North-West Frontier Province spans an area of 74,521 sq km (28,773) sq mi). The province is mostly mountainous and rocky, and crossed by several mountain ranges, including the Hindu Kush in the northwest, the Himalayas in the northeast, and the Sulaiman and Safed Koh ranges in the west.

Floods of Pakistan: The 1976 floods demolished over 10 million houses while 425 lives were lost with losses amounting to Rs.6 billion. In 1988, an unprecedented flood occurred towards the end of September inflicting about Rs.17 billion worth of damages to the country.

G

G.M.Syed: Ghulam Murtaza Syed (17th January 1904-25th April 1995) A leader and visionary of the modern Sindhi Nation. GM Syed, pioneered the Sindhi freedom movement, considered it beacon of the Sindhi people by nationalists.

Gandhi: Gandhi, also known as Mahatma Gandhi, was born in Porbandar in the present state of Gujrat on October 2, 1869, after having been admitted to the British bar, Gandhi returned to India and attempted to establish a law practice in Bombay (now Mumbai), with little success. Two years later an Indian firm with interests in South Africa retained him as legal adviser in its office in Durban. Arriving in Durban, Gandhi found himself treated as a

member of an inferior race. He was appalled at the widespread denial of civil liberties and political rights to Indian immigrants to South Africa. He threw himself into the struggle for elementary rights for Indians. Gandhi remained in South Africa for 20 years, suffering imprisonment many times. In 1896, after being attacked and beaten by white South Africans, Gandhi began to teach a policy of passive resistance to, and noncooperation with, the South African authorities. Part of the inspiration for this policy came from the Russian writer Leo Tolstoy, whose influence on Gandhi was profound. Gandhi also acknowledged his debt to the teachings of Christ and to the 19th – century American writer Henry David Thoreau, especially to Thoreau’s famous essay “Civil Disobedience.” Gandhi considered the terms passive resistance and civil disobedience inadequate for his purposes, however, and coined another term, satyagraha (Sanskrit for “truth and firmness”) During the Boer War, Gandhi organized an ambulance corps for the British army and commanded a Red Cross unit. After the war he returned to his campaign for Indian rights. In 1910, he founded Tolstoy Farm, near Johannesburg, a cooperative colony for Indians. In 1914 the government of the Union of South Africa made important concessions to Gandhi’s demands, including recognition of Indian marriages and abolition of the poll tax for them. His work in South Africa completed, and he returned to India. Indian nationalist leader Mohandas K. Gandhi, one of the most influential practitioners of nonviolent resistance, used a unique combination of spiritual and political pressure to achieve humanitarian ends. His early efforts, in colonial South Africa, greatly improved the conditions of Indians living there. In 1914 he returned to India, where he campaigned for the withdrawal of the British colonial authorities and for the independence of India. Author Bhiku Parekh explores the successes and the limitations of satyagraha (Sanskrit for “truth and firmness”), the basic concept underlying Gandhi’s activism. In the first half of the 20th century, Mohandas K. Gandhi was one of the leaders of India’s struggle to gain independence from Britain. To achieve this goal, he advocated a policy of nonviolent non-cooperation with Britain’s systems and laws. In 1922 the British government arrested Gandhi for his role in the civil disobedience that was sweeping India. Gandhi pleaded guilty in Ahmadabad on March 23 but stated that his acts against the unjust legal authority were the highest duty of a citizen. His statement to the court follows. Gandhi became a leader in a complex struggle, the Indian campaign for home rule. Following World War I, in which he played an active part in recruiting campaigns, Gandhi, again advocating Satyagraha, launched his movement of passive resistance to Britain. When, in 1919, Parliament passed the Rowlatt Acts, giving the Indian colonial authorities emergency powers to deal with so-called revolutionary activities, Satyagraha spread through India, gaining millions of followers. A demonstration against the Rowlatt Acts resulted in a massacre of Indians at Amritsar by British soldiers (see Amritsar Massacre); in 1920, when the British government failed to make amends, Gandhi proclaimed an organized campaign of noncooperation. Indians in public

office resigned, government agencies such as courts of law were boycotted, and Indian children were withdrawn from government schools. Through India, streets were blocked by squatting Indians who refused to rise even when beaten by police. Gandhi was arrested, but the British were soon forced to release him. Economic independence for India, involving the complete boycott of British goods, was made a corollary of Gandhi's swaraj (Sanskrit, "self-ruling") movement. The economic aspects of the movement were significant, for the exploitation of Indian villagers by British industrialists had resulted in extreme poverty in the country and the virtual destruction of Indian home industries. As a remedy for such poverty, Gandhi advocated revival of cottage industries; he began to use a spinning wheel as a token of the return to the simple village life he preached, and of the renewal of native Indian industries. Gandhi became the international symbol of a free India. He lived a spiritual and ascetic life of prayer, fasting, and meditation. His union with his wife became, as he himself stated, that of brother and sister. Refusing earthly possessions, he wore the loincloth and shawl of the lowliest Indian and subsisted on vegetables, fruit juices, and goat's milk. Indians revered him as a saint and began to call him Mahatma (Sanskrit, "great soul"), a title reserved for the greatest sages. Gandhi's advocacy of nonviolence, known as ahimsa (Sanskrit, "non-injury"), was the expression of a way of life implicit in the Hindu religion. By the Indian practice of nonviolence, Gandhi held, Britain too would eventually consider violence useless and would leave India. The Mahatma's political and spiritual hold on India was so great that the British authorities dared not interfere with him. In 1921 the Indian National Congress, the group that spearheaded the movement for nationhood, gave Gandhi complete executive authority, with the right of naming his own successor. The Indian population, however, could not fully comprehend the unworldly ahimsa. A series of armed revolts against Britain broke out, culminating in such violence that Gandhi confessed the failure of the civil-disobedience campaign he had called, and ended it. The British government again seized and imprisoned him in 1922. After his release from prison in 1924, Gandhi withdrew from active politics and devoted himself to propagating communal unity. Unavoidably, however, he was again drawn into the vortex of the struggle for independence. In 1930 the Mahatma proclaimed a new campaign of civil disobedience, calling upon the Indian population to refuse to pay taxes, particularly the tax on salt. The campaign was a march to the sea, in which thousands of Indians followed Gandhi from Ahmadabad to the Arabian Sea, where they made salt by evaporating sea water. Once more the Indian leader was arrested, but he was released in 1931, halting the campaign after the British made concessions to his demands. In the same year Gandhi represented the Indian National Congress at a conference in London. In 1932, Gandhi began new civil-disobedience campaigns against the British. Arrested twice, the Mahatma fasted for long periods several times; these fasts were effective measures against the British, because revolution might well have broken out in India if he had died. In

September 1932, while in jail, Gandhi undertook a “fast unto death” to improve the status of the Hindu Untouchables. The British, by permitting the Untouchables to be considered as a separate part of the Indian electorate, were, according to Gandhi, countenancing an injustice. Although he was himself a member of the Vaisya (merchant) caste, Gandhi was the great leader of the movement in India dedicated to eradicating the unjust social and economic aspects of the caste system. In 1934 Gandhi formally resigned from politics, being replaced as leader of the Congress Party by Jawaharlal Nehru. Gandhi traveled through India, teaching ahinsa and demanding eradication of “untouchability.” The esteem in which he was held was the measure of his political power. So great was this power that the limited home rule granted by the British in 1935 could not be implemented until Gandhi approved it. A few years later, in 1939, he again returned to active political life because of the pending federation of Indian principalities with the rest of India. His first act was a fast, designed to force the ruler of the state of Rajkot to modify his autocratic rule. Public unrest caused by the fast was so great that the colonial government intervened; the demands were granted. The Mahatma again became the most important political figure in India. When World War II broke out, the Congress Party and Gandhi demanded a declaration of war aims and their application to India. As a reaction to the unsatisfactory response from the British, the party decided not to support Britain in the war unless the country were granted complete and immediate independence. The British refused, offering compromises that were rejected. When Japan entered the war, Gandhi still refused to agree to Indian participation. He was interned in 1942 but was released two years later because of failing health. By 1944 the Indian struggle for independence was in its final stages, the British government having agreed to independence on condition that the two contending nationalist groups, the Muslim League and the Congress Party, should resolve their differences. Gandhi stood steadfastly against the partition of India but ultimately had to agree, in the hope that internal peace would be achieved after the Muslim demand for separation had been satisfied. India and Pakistan became separate states when the British granted India its independence in 1947. During the riots that followed the partition of India, Gandhi pleaded with Hindus and Muslims to live together peacefully. Riots engulfed Calcutta (now Kolkata), one of the largest cities in India, and the Mahatma fasted until disturbances ceased. On January 13, 1948, he undertook another successful fast in New Delhi to bring about peace. But on January 30, 12 days after the termination of that fast, as he was on his way to his evening prayer meeting, he was assassinated by Nathuram Godse, a Hindu fanatic. Gandhi’s death was regarded as an international catastrophe. His place in humanity was measured not in terms of the 20th century but in terms of history. A period of mourning was set aside in the United Nations General Assembly, and condolences to India were expressed by all countries. Religious violence soon waned in India and Pakistan, and the teachings of

Gandhi came to inspire nonviolent movements elsewhere, notably in the U.S. under the civil rights leader Martin Luther King, Jr.

Guatemala: Guatemala, republic in Central America with the largest population in the region. A rugged land of mountains and volcanoes, beautiful lakes, and lush vegetation, Guatemala is the third largest nation in Central America. Guatemala City is the capital and largest city. Guatemala's culture is a unique product of Native American ways and a strong Spanish colonial heritage.

Geneva Convention: Geneva Convention, series of international agreements that created the International Red Cross and developed humanitarian law intended to protect wounded combatants and civilians during times of war or other conflicts. The campaign for such laws began with the publication *Un Souvenir de Solferino (A Memory of Solferino, 1862)*; translated 1911) by Swiss philanthropist Jean Henri Dunant, describing the suffering of wounded soldiers at the northern Italian battlefield of Solferino in June 1859. The League of Red Cross Societies was founded in Paris, France, in 1919. The International Committee of the Red Cross (ICRC) is a separate Swiss organization empowered with international authority. The symbol of the red cross was chosen in honor of the Swiss flag, with reversed colors to show a red cross on a white background. Several Islamic countries chose to use a Red Crescent instead and are called the Red Crescent Societies.

Genghis Khan: Genghis Khan (1167-1227), Mongol conqueror and founder of the Mongol Empire, which spanned the continent of Asia by the time of his death. Originally named Temujin, he was born on the banks of the Onon River, near the present-day border between northern Mongolia and southeastern Russia. Native folklore is the only source for details about his ancestry, birth, and early life, and thus the facts are intermingled with purely legendary material. His line of descent is traced back, through many generations, to the mythical union of a gray wolf and a white doe. The newborn infant is said to have held in his hand a large clot of blood, thus presaging the future career of the world conqueror.

Gordian Knot: Gordian Knot, in Greek mythology, complex knot tied by Gordius, king of Phrygia and father of Midas. Gordius was a Phrygian peasant who became king because he was the first man to drive into town after an oracle had commanded his countrymen to select as ruler the first person who would drive into the public square in a wagon. In gratitude, Gordius dedicated his wagon to the god Zeus and placed it in the grove of the temple, tying the pole of the wagon to the yoke with a rope of bark. The knot was so intricately entwined that no one could undo it. A saying developed that whoever succeeded in untying the difficult knot would become the ruler of all Asia. Many tried, but all failed. According to legend, even Alexander the

Great was unable to untie Gordian knot, so he drew his sword and cut it through with a stroke. The expression “to cut the Gordian knot” is used to refer to a situation in which a difficult problem is solved by a quick and decisive action.

Gwader port: at the coast of Balochistan province of Pakistan.

H

Hannibal: Hannibal, a Carthaginian general, was one of the greatest military commanders in history. In 218 bc Hannibal traveled from Spain across the Alps to attack Rome. He inflicted crushing defeats on Roman armies as he marched toward the city, but he lacked the reinforcements necessary to take it. In 202 bc Hannibal was called back to Africa to defend Carthage against invading Roman forces, and there he was finally defeated.

Harvard: In 1636 a college was founded in Cambridge by the Great and General Court of the Massachusetts Bay Colony. It was opened for instruction two years later and named in 1639 for English clergyman John Harvard, its first benefactor. The college at first lacked substantial endowments and existed on gifts from individuals and the General Court. Harvard gradually acquired considerable autonomy and private financial support, becoming a chartered university in 1780. Today it has the largest private endowment of any university in the world. Harvard has steadily developed under the great American educators who have successively served as its presidents. During the presidency of Charles W. Eliot (1869-1909), Harvard established an elective system for undergraduates, by which they could choose most of their courses themselves. Under Abbott L. Lowell, who was president from 1909 to 1933, the undergraduate house systems of residence and instruction were introduced. Academic growth and physical expansion continued during the tenures of James B. Conant (1933-1953), Nathan M. Pusey (1953-1971), and Derek C. Bok (1971-1991). Neil L. Rudenstine was appointed president in 1991.

Henry Kissinger: American scholar and Nobel laureate, statesman, secretary of state under Presidents Richard M. Nixon and Gerald R. Ford. Kissinger was born in Furth, Germany, and his parents brought him to the United States in 1938. He became a citizen five years later and was educated at Harvard University. From 1943 to 1946 Kissinger served as an enlisted man in the U.S. Army. In his first book *Nuclear Weapons and Foreign Policy* (1957), Kissinger advocated flexibility in U.S. foreign military activities; it is regarded as a primary source book in American foreign policy. He began to teach in the department of government at Harvard in 1954, the year in which he was awarded a doctoral degree. In the 1950s and 1960s he served as an occasional

foreign-policy adviser to Presidents Dwight D. Eisenhower, John F. Kennedy, and Lyndon B. Johnson; he also conducted studies for several government agencies, as well as for the Rockefeller Brothers Fund and for the Brookings Institution. In 1969 Kissinger became the assistant to President Nixon for national security affairs. In this post he became influential in establishing and implementing U.S. foreign policy. He accompanied President Nixon to China and the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics (USSR) in 1972. He also represented the United States in negotiations toward settlement of the war in Indochina. In January 1973 Kissinger's efforts finally resulted in an agreement establishing a cease-fire in the Vietnam War. For this achievement he shared the 1973 Nobel Peace Prize with the North Vietnamese diplomat Le Duc Tho. In August 1973 President Nixon appointed Kissinger secretary of state; he was the first foreign-born citizen to hold this post. Under President Ford, Kissinger continued as secretary of state. He negotiated a disengagement agreement between Israel and Egypt in late 1975, using a method of diplomacy called "shuttle diplomacy." He flew back and forth between Israel and Egypt working as a third party mediator. His efforts resulted in a peace agreement. However, he worked without success to arrange a racial settlement in southern Africa, particularly Rhodesia (now Zimbabwe), in 1976. After leaving office in early 1977, Kissinger joined the faculty of Georgetown University. He wrote about his government service in *The White House Years* (1979) and *Years of Upheaval* (1982).

I

Imperialism: Imperialism, practice by which powerful nations or peoples seek to extend and maintain control or influence over weaker nations or peoples. Scholars frequently use the term more restrictively: Some associate imperialism solely with the economic expansion of capitalist states; others reserve it for European expansion after 1870. Although imperialism is similar in meaning to colonialism, and the two terms are sometimes used interchangeably, they should be distinguished. Colonialism usually implies formal political control, involving territorial annexation and loss of sovereignty. Imperialism refers, more broadly, to control or influence that is exercised either formally or informally, directly or indirectly, politically or economically. See *Colonies and Colonialism*.

India: India, officially Republic of India (Hindi Bharat), country in southern Asia, located on the subcontinent of India. It is bounded on the north by Afghanistan, China, Nepal, and Bhuttan; on the east by Bangladesh, Myanmar (formerly known as Burma), and the Bay of Bengal; on the south by the Palk Striat and the Gulf of Mannar (which separates it from Sri Lanka) and the Indian Ocean; and on the west by the Arabian Sea and Pakistan. India is divided into 28 states and 7 union territories (including the National Capital Territory of Delhi). New Delhi is the country's capital. The world's seventh

largest country in area, India occupies more than 3 million sq km (1 million sq miles), encompassing a varied landscape rich in natural resources. The Indian Peninsula forms a rough triangle framed on the north by the world's highest mountains, the Himalayas, and on the east, south, and west by oceans. Its topography varies from the barren dunes of the Rajasthan to the dense tropical forests of rain-drenched Assam state. Much of India, however, consists of fertile river plains and high plateaus. Several major rivers, including the Ganges, Brahmaputra, and Indus, flow through India. Arising in the northern mountains and carrying rich alluvial soil to the plains below, these mighty rivers have supported agriculture-based civilizations for thousands of years. With more than 1 billion inhabitants, India ranks second only to China among the world's most populous countries. Its people are culturally diverse, and religion plays an important role in the life of the country. About 83 percent of the people practice Hinduism, a religion that originated in India. Another 12 percent are Muslims, and millions of others are Christians, Sikhs, Buddhists, and Jains. Eighteen major languages and more than 1,000 minor languages and dialects are spoken in India.

Indian Ocean: Indian Ocean, third largest of Earth's four oceans, bounded on the west by Africa, on the north by Asia, on the east by Australia and the Australasian islands, and on the south by Antarctica. No natural boundary separates the Indian Ocean from the Atlantic Ocean, but a line 4,000 km (2,500 mi) long on the 20th meridian east of Greenwich, connecting Cape Agulhas at the southern end of Africa with Antarctica, is generally considered to be the boundary. The total area of the Indian Ocean is 73.4 million sq km (28.4 million sq mi). The ocean narrows toward the north and is divided by the Indian peninsula into the Bay of Bengal on the east and the Arabian Sea on the west. The Arabian Sea sends two arms northward, the Persian Gulf and the Red Sea. The average depth of the Indian Ocean is 3,900 m (12,800 ft), or slightly greater than that of the Atlantic, and the deepest known point is 7,725 m (25,344 ft), off the southern coast of the Indonesian island of Java. In general, the greatest depths are in the northeastern sector of the ocean, where 130,000 sq km (50,000 sq mi) of the ocean floor lie at a depth of more than 5,500 m (18,000 ft). The Indian Ocean contains numerous islands, the largest of which are Madagascar and Sri Lanka. Smaller islands include the Maldives group and Mauritius. From Africa the ocean receives the waters of the Limpopo and Zambezi rivers, and from Asia those of the Irrawaddy, Brahmaputra, Ganges, Indus, and Shatt al Arab rivers. As a rule, the winds over the Indian Ocean are gentle, with frequent extended periods of calm. Tropical storms occur occasionally, however, particularly near Mauritius, and the ocean is notable for seasonal winds called monsoons.

Indira Gandhi: Gandhi, Indira Priyadarshini (1917-1984), Indian politician, who served as prime minister of India from 1966 to 1977 and from 1980 to 1984. Gandhi's controversial political career ended when she was assassinated

by Sikh extremists. Gandhi was born Indira Priyadarshini Nehru in Allahbad, the only child of Jawaharlal Nehru and Kamala Kaul Nehru. Her father was a lawyer, a nationalist leader, and later the first prime minister of independent India (1947-1964). Gandhi studied at Visva-Bharati University in Bengal and then attended the University of Oxford in England after her mother died in 1936. In 1938 Gandhi joined the Indian National Congress, the political organization that was spearheading the fight for Indian independence from British rule. In 1942 she defied social custom by marrying a Paris, Feroze Gandhi (no relation to Indian nationalist leader Mohandas Gandhi). A lawyer, Feroze was also active in the Congress, and he and Indira were imprisoned for civil disobedience shortly after their marriage. Later, they had two sons, Rajiv Gandhi, born in 1944, and Sanjay Gandhi, born in 1946. Feroze Gandhi died in 1960.

Intrigues in Lebanon: Lebanese Civil War, conflict from April 1975 to October 1990 pitting the many ethnic and religious groups of Lebanon against one another. In the course of the 15-year war, an estimated 130,000 to 200,000 Lebanese were killed and the Lebanese economy was crippled. The country was occupied by Syrian, Israeli, and Palestinian forces, as well as Iranian military advisers. United Nations forces, as well as soldiers from the United States, Great Britain, Italy, and France also intervened in Lebanon. Eventually, most of the Middle East's religious, political, and nationalist factions played some part in the war. As a result of the war, the country's political system was changed to give more power to Lebanon's Muslim majority. The roots of Lebanon's civil war lie in the country's ethnic and religious mix at the time of independence from France in 1943. Maronite Christians were the largest single group, followed by Sunni Muslims, Shia Muslims, Greek Orthodox Christians, and Druzes. Upon independence, Lebanon's created a power-sharing formula called the National Pact. The National Pact required that the president be a Maronite, the prime minister a Sunni, the speaker of the parliament a Shia, and his deputy a Greek Orthodox. The pact also stipulated that the 55-member assembly have a ratio of 6 Christian members to 5 Muslim members, but each group have enough power to veto the policies of any other group. In time, a similar balance of power was replicated in the government bureaucracy and the Lebanese army. Because the National Pact established a distribution of power based on religious beliefs, or confessions, the form of government it created has often been called "confession democracy." The pact's creators hoped that because no group was powerful enough to threaten the interest of another, all groups would need to cooperate to set national policy. Similarly, since each group was guaranteed representation in parliament and the cabinet in advance of elections, no group would fear exclusion from government. Many political scientists praised this innovative confessional democracy for combining democratic features with power-sharing elements that tamed the potentially disruptive effects of having multiple religious and ethnic groups. From the start, however, there

was evidence of confessional democracy's problems. Rather than defusing religious identities, the National Pact focused attention on them. It also left political power in the hands of the same elite families who held power under the French, especially Maronite families, who were well-represented in the upper echelons of colonial Lebanon. Moreover, the pact included no provisions to change the balance of power if the country experienced demographic shifts, or if the popularity of groups or leaders changed. This flaw would eventually prove fatal. By the early 1960s Muslims had become a majority, but most formal political power remained in Christian hands. Furthermore, the system worked only so long as the leaders of each faction did not seek support from regional powers like Israel, Syria, or Iran. Any effort by one group to forge foreign alliances was bound to threaten the interests of another group and undermine the National pact's delicate balance. In the late 1950s pan-Arabism became increasingly widespread. Egypt and Syria joined to form the short-lived United Arab Republic (UAR) in 1958. In addition, most Arab states were united in their opposition to the Jewish state of Israel, which had formed on Lebanon's southern border in 1948. Lebanon's Maronite Christian president Camille Chamoun maintained a largely pro-Western stance on these and other regional issues, which led to his isolation in the mostly Arab Middle East. Chamoun grew increasingly intolerant of his Christian rivals and the Muslim opposition. As he neared the end of his term in 1957, Chamoun provoked other political leaders into an unconstitutional ploy to gain a second term. The resulting tensions were exacerbated by regional stresses, and in May 1958 civil war erupted. Partly at Chamoun's urging but also because of other regional crises such as a coup in Iraq, the United States landed more than 14,000 troops in Lebanon in July. The war ended three weeks later with an estimated 2,000 to 4,000 Lebanese dead. In June 1967 Israel defeated Arab forces in the Six-Day War and occupied many areas beyond its borders. Large numbers of Palestinian Arabs fled to Lebanon, and with them came armed militias of the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO). Many other Palestinians fled to Jordan, where the PLO had established a quasi-state on the border with Israel. As the power of the PLO grew, Jordan's King Hussein became increasingly alarmed. In 1970 he waged a small-scale war to evict the PLO from Jordan, and another wave of Palestinian refugees and PLO militias fled to Lebanon. The situation in Lebanon was volatile. Although Muslims had become the majority in the early 1960s, Christians retained military and other power. With the arrival of the heavily armed PLO, the balance of military power threatened to tip toward the Muslims and Arab nationalists. The Christian government, guaranteed power by the National Pact, was not inclined to change the pact, nor was it inclined to allow the Muslim militias to have de facto power. Largely as a result, a militia of the Christian Phalange faction attacked Palestinians in East Beirut on April 13, 1975, touching off Lebanon's civil war. During the first few years of the war, the conflict revolved around the Lebanese National Movement (LNM), a Druze force led by Kamal Jumblat;

and the Lebanese Front, a Maronite force led by Chamoun. Each side joined forces with other militias. The LNM joined with the PLO and other Muslims and the Lebanese Front allied with Christian militias. The militias received many of their weapons by seizing them from the rapidly disintegrating Lebanese army. The LNM sought the abolition of the Nation Pact, while the Lebanese Front said it would consider the proposal, but only after the PLO was expelled from Lebanon. As the PLO was the chief military ally of the LNM, the LNM refused the Christian offer and instead made several attacks on Christian forces. Syrian president Hafez al-Assad feared if the Muslim LMN won the war, Israel might invade Lebanon, touching off a wider Arab-Israeli war. In 1976 Assad sent Syrian troops to Lebanon to intervene on the side of the Christian Lebanese Front. They Syrian troops succeeded in imposing order, giving Lebanon a brief respite from war. While the war was on hold, the PLO made several attacks on Israel from its bases in Lebanon, provoking Israel to invade Lebanon in March 1978. The Israelis threw their support behind Bashir Gemayel, a leader of one of the Christian factions. Gemayel consolidated his control over rival Christians and established a Christian ministate. This shift in power prompted Syria to switch its allegiance from the Christians to the National Liberal Party, a mostly Muslim, pro-Palestinian, and well-armed group. The conflict intensified in April 1981, when Israel shot down two Syrian helicopters. Many observers feared a full-scale Syrian-Israeli war might erupt, prompting the United States to negotiate a cease-fire among Israel, Syria, and the PLO. Israel withdrew in June but left a pro-Israel Christian militia in control of the area. After the cease-fire, the PLO again made strikes against Israel, and in June 1982 Israel retaliated by bombing Lebanon. The bombing inflicted heavy damage on the PLO's militias, many of whom fled the country as Israel invaded and advanced on Beirut. With Israel's support, Bashir Gemayel, a Christian, was elected president in August, but three weeks later he was killed by a bomb. Many Western governments believed Syria was responsible for the assassination. Partly in response, the Israeli-supported Phalange militia, with Israeli knowledge, massacred an estimated 800 to 1,500 Palestinian refugees in September. After a large international outcry, an Israeli commission reprimanded its leaders for failing to prevent the massacre. Bashir was replaced by his brother, Amin Gemayel, who in May 1983 concluded a peace treaty with Israel. The treaty provoked a violent backlash from Druze and PLO forces. With Syrian support they attacked the Phalange militia and Lebanese army, which had jointly occupied parts of the country. The Druze-PLO attack and the assassination of Bashir Gemayel raised concerns in Israel, France, and the United States that the Christians might be totally isolated. In mid-1983 the United States and France shelled the Druze-PLO forces, and by September, U.S. and French troops were stationed in Beirut. A month later, a truck bomb killed 241 U.S. troops and 58 French troops in their barracks, prompting the United States to shell Muslim forces in February 1984. Rather than weaken the Muslims, however, this second U.S. intervention encouraged

greater cooperation between the Druze and the increasingly powerful Shia militia known as AMAL (Afwaj al-Muqawimah al-Lubaniyya, or Lebanese Resistance Movement). Together, they drove the Christian forces from West Beirut, prompting the complete withdrawal of U.S. troops from Beirut in February. The remaining Western forces withdrew shortly thereafter. With the departure of U.S. troops and the defeat of the Israeli-backed Christian government, Syria compelled President Amin Gemayel to nullify the Lebanese-Israeli peace treaty. In March 1984 Syria pressured Lebanon's Christian and Muslim leaders to form a government of national reconciliation. Syria's attempts to impose order in Lebanon, while somewhat successful, were undermined by some of its other policies, especially its policy regarding Iran. Syria received financial and military support from Iran to reinforce the Shia militias in southern Beirut. These militias, inspired by the Islamic Revolution of Iran (1979), had grown in power and prestige as thousands of Shia refugees fled southern Lebanon for southern Beirut. Iran dispatched members of its Revolutionary Guard to train the Shias, who quickly became more loyal to Iran than Syria. As a result, Syria had difficulty establishing a pro-Syrian government in Lebanon; and the Shia community itself became sharply divided on whom to support: the more secular Syrians or the more religious Iranians. In the spring of 1988 fighting broke out between Hezbollah, a staunchly pro-Iranian Shia group, and the more moderate AMAL. To prevent the fighting from spreading, Syrian president Assad and U.S. secretary of state George Shultz met and drew up a plan for political reform in Lebanon, but the plan foundered when the Lebanese parliament could not agree on a compromise leader. In October General Michel Aoun, the interim prime minister, responded to the chaos by forming his own, pro-Christian cabinet and launching what he called a "war of liberation" against the Syrian occupiers. However, his troops first warred against his Christian rivals, many of whom feared Aoun's war would unify all the Muslim militias in Lebanon against the Christians. This fear proved to be well founded when, in August 1989, most of the remaining members of the Lebanese parliament met in Ta'if, Saudi Arabia, to debate a proposal for political reform drafted by the Arab League. The result was the National Reconciliation Charter, commonly known as the Ta'if Agreement. The Ta'if Agreement recognized that Christians no longer formed a majority of the population and stipulated that Christians and Muslims would have an equal number of seats in parliament, which were increased from 99 to 108 (and later to 128). The agreement left the presidency as a Christian position. Because Muslims were critical of a Christian presidency, the Lebanese government that formed after the Ta'if Agreement amended the constitution to lessen presidential authority. As a result, the president was required to consult the speaker of the National Assembly (a Shia Muslim) before naming a prime minister (a Sunni Muslim), and the president's power to dismiss ministers was transferred to the cabinet. Aoun rejected these changes and launched another rebellion in 1990. Syria, however, quickly suppressed his attacks, thus ending the civil

was in October 1990, and set about rebuilding the Lebanese army and imposing political reform. To ensure their political domination of Lebanon, Syria had earlier secured the election of Elias Hrawi as president and, in 1992, the selection of Rafik al-Hariri as prime minister. Both men proved to be dependable allies of Syria. With Syrian support, parliamentary elections were held in September 1992 despite a Christian boycott. Although Syria's presence largely prejudiced the elections, the elections were relatively peaceful and thus viewed positively by many outside observers. An estimated 130,000 to 200,000 Lebanese died in the war and tens of thousands fled the country. The financial costs were staggering, draining Lebanon of an estimated \$25 billion to \$30 billion in lost property and revenues. After the war, Lebanon faced the challenge of reconstructing its economy and remedying the stark social and economic inequalities that existed before the war and were exacerbated by it. Lebanon was also left to contend with its new political system, which although reformed, still allocated power through religious and ethnic quotas similar to the quotas that prompted the civil war.

Iran-Iraq Border: The border between Iraq and Iran has been contested diplomatically and sometimes militarily for several centuries. After the Ottoman Empire conquered present-day Iraq in 1534, making it the easternmost part of its empire, Iran, its eastern neighbor, became a frequent rival. More recently, when Iraq was made a separate state in the aftermath of World War 1 (1914-1918), Iraq and Iran disagreed sharply over the precise border between them, especially in the area of the Shatt al Arab, a river channel providing Iraq's only outlet to the sea, via the Persian Gulf. In 1937 the two sides came to an agreement establishing a boundary that gave Iraq control of the Shatt al Arab. Despite the border agreement, relations between Iran and Iraq continued to suffer periodic crises for two reasons. First, although Iraq is predominantly Arab and Iran is predominantly Persian, the border still cut across some political loyalties. In the north, a large population of Kurds (who are neither Arab nor Persian) straddled both sides of the border. Along the southern part of the border, an Arab minority inhabited the Iranian province of Khuzestan among a Persian majority. Furthermore, the largest portion of the Iraqi population is Shia Muslim (see Shia Islam), as is the majority of the Iranian population. Shia religious leaders at odds with the secular (nonreligious) government of their own country sometimes sought refuge in the other, straining Iranian-Iraqi relations. The most prominent refugee was Ayatollah Ruhollah Khomeini, a leading Shia religious scholar who settled in Iraq after being exiled from Iran in 1964. The second reason Iran and Iraq continued to suffer crises was that both countries were politically unstable. When either Iran or Iraq experienced a revolution or coup, the other country would exploit the troubled country's political weakness to gain a diplomatic advantage. As Western countries, especially the United Kingdom, gradually lost influence in the area in the mid-20th century, both Iran and Iraq felt freer to pursue more ambitious foreign

policies, unhindered (and at times even supported) by external powers. By the beginning of the 1970s both Iran and Iraq sought broader influence in the region. Under Muhammad Reza Shah Pahlavi, Iran felt it could assert its authority in the area, partly with the backing of the United States. Iraq, governed by the Arab nationalist regime of Major General Ahmed Hassan al-Bakr, sought to united and strengthen the Arab world and reject Western influence. These opposing views created a bitter rivalry between the neighboring countries.

J

Jedda: A port city of Kindom Saudi Arab.

Jhonsn: Jhonsn, Lyndon Baines (1908-1973), 36th president of the United States (1963-1969). Johnson was the first candidate from a Southern state to be elected president of the United States for more than a century. He became president on November 22, 1963, hours after the assassination of President John F. Kennedy in Texas. In 1964 Johnson was elected to a full four-year term by the largest popular majority in modern U.S. history. His triumph represented a victory for the average voter in U.S. politics, with which Johnson, as a congressman, Senate leader, and vice president, had identified himself. Lyndon Baines Johnson was the 36th United States president. Johnson served as vice president under John F. Kennedy, who was assassinated in Dallas, Texas, in 1963. Johnson was sworn in as president minutes after Kennedy's death. He continued his successful domestic reforms after winning the 1964 presidential elections, but his leadership during the Vietnam War became unpopular, and he retired at the end of his term. Johnson was one of the most masterful politicians in the history of the Congress of the United States. He was a champion of bipartisan and consensus politics. His positions on public issues were always in line with what he believed to be the middle ground of popular opinion. He excelled in getting things done. He was not an innovator of programs or ideas. His domestic program, which he called the Great Society, was an extension of President Franklin D. Roosevelt's New Deal of the 1930s and 1940s. In foreign affairs, Johnson pursued the basic U.S. postwar policy of containing Communism. His belief in consensus politics and his unquestioning devotion to accepted political beliefs were both a strength and a weakness. With these attitudes he won passage of far-reaching domestic legislation, but the same beliefs occasionally trapped him in policies that were no longer relevant to the rapidly changing world. President Johnson hoped that his administration would be evaluated by the success of his Great Society program. Johnson also hoped to improve the climate of international affairs, chiefly by reaching an understanding with the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics (USSR). At the end of his term, however, it seemed more likely that the frustrations of U.S. involvement in the Vietnam War

throughout his presidency would overshadow his impressive domestic record and his somewhat less successful efforts to improve relations with the USSR.

JUI: Jamiat Ullema Islam a religious political Party formed in 1948 in Pakistan.

K

Kennedy: John F. Kennedy, the youngest man ever elected to the United States presidency, assumed the office in 1961. As president, Kennedy directed his initial policies toward invigorating the country, attempting to release it from the grip of economic recession. He made direct appeals for public service and public commitment, paying particular attention to civil rights. The energy and possibility of his message was cut short when Kennedy was assassinated on November 22, 1963, in Dallas, Texas. Kennedy was assassinated before he completed his third year as president. His achievements, both foreign and domestic, were therefore limited. Nevertheless, his influence was worldwide, and his handling of the Cuban missile crisis may have prevented war. Young people especially admired him, and perhaps no other president was so popular. He brought to the presidency an awareness of the cultural and historical traditions of the United States and an appreciation of intellectual excellence. Because Kennedy eloquently expressed the values of 20th-century America, his presidency had an importance beyond its legislative and political achievements.

Kosygin: Kosygin, Aleksey Nikolayevich (1904-1980), chairman of the Council of Ministers of the Union of Soviet socialist Republics (USSR), a position equivalent to that of premier, from 1964 to 1980. Kosygin was born in Saint Petersburg (called Leningard from 1924 to 1991) into a working-class Russian family. He fought in the Red Army during the Russian civil War (1918-1921) and joined the Communist Party in 1927. He was educated at the Leningard Cooperatives Technicum and the Leningard Textile Institute, where he earned an engineer's diploma in 1935. after a brief career in trade and light industry, he was promoted in 1938 to a post in the party's Leningard branch, becoming chairman of the executive committee of the city council, the top municipal government post.. Kosygin: under a political cloud in Stalin's final years due to the purge and arrest of officials with whom he had served in Leningard. Under Nikita Khurshchev, Stalin's successor, Kosygin held a string of senior offices and returned to the Politburo (called the Presidium between 1952 and 1966) as a specialized in industrial management and economic planning acquiring a reputation for competence and consistency in these areas. Although Kosygin had only a secondary role in the overthrow of Khrushchev by his fellow leaders in October 1964, he benefited from the change when he became their choice to replace Khrushchev as chairman of

the Council of Ministers, or premier. His influence at first rivaled that of the new general secretary of the party, Leonid Brezhnev. However, Brezhnev asserted his primacy by 1970 and used his powers as general secretary to cut out rivals and put favorites of his own in high positions. Kosygin's main initiative as premier was to introduce a reorganization of Soviet industry in 1965 that aimed to streamline planning procedures and give material rewards to productive executives and workers. The reform was watered down within a few years, as Kosygin's political position declined, and was abandoned completely in the early 1970s. He resigned in October 1980 to make way for an associate of Brezhnev, Nikolay Tikhonov. Kosygin died later that year. Kosygin worked in the Soviet central government from 1939 until leader Joseph Stalin's death in 1953, serving at various times as chief of the textile industry, organizer of the wartime evacuation of factories, minister of finance, and, in 1940, deputy chairman of the Council of People's Commissars (which later became the Council of Ministers). While in charge of wartime evacuations, Kosygin helped 500,000 people escape from Leningrad during the two-and-a-half year siege (August 1941-January 1944) by German forces during World War II. He became a member of the party's Central Committee in 1939, sat on the policymaking Politburo as a nonvoting member from 1946 to 1948, and was a full member from 1948 to 1952.

L

Laddakh/Ladakh: Is a region in the disputed territory of Jammu and Kashmir, currently under the control of India. It is 480 km (300 mi) long from northwest to southeast and is about 240 km (150 mi) wide. The eastern boundary is poorly defined. Ladakh is extremely mountainous, rugged, and little known, except for the central valley formed by the upper Indus River. The Karakoram Range in the north averages 6,100 to 7,200 m (20,000 to 23,000 ft) in height and includes the second highest peak in the world, K2, also known as Mount Godwin Austen (8,611 m/28,251 ft). This northern region is virtually uninhabited. The Zaskar Mountains form the western part of Ladakh, and the Ladakh Range forms the eastern part. The valley of the Indus River lies between these two major ranges. The Indus River valley lies from 2,100 to 3,700 m (7,000 to 12,000 ft) above sea level. Despite the valley, there is little level or arable land in Ladakh. The climate is cold and dry. The average annual temperature in the valley is about 4° C (40° F) and the winters have temperatures as low as -29° C (-20 F). In summer, daytime temperatures may reach 32° C (90° F), but at night they drop to the freezing point. Grass is the dominant vegetation, and a local variety of wheat called grim is raised. Most of the people in Ladakh live in towns along the Indus River. The largest towns are Leh (the capital), Khalatse, Tolti, and Skardu. Ladakh was known to the Chinese as early as AD 400. Later, it became part of Tibet and was frequently invaded by Muslim tribes from the northwest. During the period

of British rule in India, Ladakh became closely associated with the North-West Frontier tribal states. After the British withdrawal, Pakistan occupied northern Ladakh, and India gained control of the rest. The Chinese seized Tibet in 1950, and friction arose between China and India because of Chinese encroachments in eastern Ladakh.

Lal Bahadur Shastri: Shastri, Lal Bahadur (1904-1966), prime minister of India (1964-1966), born near Varanasi in Uttar Pradesh. A follower of Mohandas K. Gandhi, he was imprisoned several times by the British for nationalist activities. When India achieved independence (1947), he became a minister in the state government of Uttar Pradesh, and he later served in the federal cabinet as minister of transport (1952-1956), industry (1957-1961), and home affairs (1961-1963). Shastri became prime minister on the death of Jawaharlal Nehru in 1964. The principal event of his tenure was the undeclared war with Pakistan over the Rann of Kachchh that began in April 1965 and subsequently spread to Kashmir. He died immediately after signing a Soviet-mediated "no-war" agreement with Pakistan in Tashkent, USSR, in January 1966.

Land reforms: The backbone of Pakistan's economy is essentially agriculture; Seventy five percent population is engaged in this profession. Immediately after coming into power, Zulfikar ali Bhutto introduced Land Reforms in 1972, which benefited the entire peasantry of the country and helped in improving socio-economic condition on the country, which travelled to the root of the economic system.

Larkana: is the City of Sindh Province, it's a District located in north Sindh. This city is native city of Prime Minister Zulfikar Ali Bhutto, Larkana district, though small in size, has been very fertile politically. It has produced outstanding and extraordinary personalities, like Sir Shahnawaz Khan Bhutto, his world famous son Zulfikar Ali Bhutto, M.A. Khuhro, Kazi Fazlullah, Pir Ali Mohammad Rashdi and Hyder Bux Jatoi.

Leftist: Left Wing, political groups or ideologies favoring radical reform or revolution to change the social order with the aim of greater freedom and well-being for ordinary individuals. Communists have also been called left wing, despite the totalitarian nature of communist societies. Within a group, the term is sometimes applied to the more liberal members, while conservative members are known as the right wing.

M

Mao-se-Tung: Mao Zedong or Mao Tse-tung (1893-1976), foremost Chinese Communist leader of the 20th century and the principal founder of the People's Republic of China. Mao Zedong Mao Zedong led the Chinese

Communist movement in the 1930s and 1940s, and became ruler of China in 1949. Mao strayed from the Soviet Marxist model, attempting to build a socialist society based on peasant farming rather than a centralized, bureaucratic, industrialized economy. In Mao's speech to the 1956 party congress, he spoke of the need to constantly strive for progress: "Even though we have attained extraordinarily great achievements, there is no reason to be arrogant. Modesty makes you move forward, arrogance make you go backwards. I should always remember this truth." Mao was born December 26, 1893, into a peasant family in the village of Shaoshan, Hunan province. His father was a strict disciplinarian and Mao frequently rebelled against his authority. Mao's early education was in the Confucian classics of Chinese history, literature, and philosophy, but early teachers also exposed him to the ideas of progressive Confucian reformers such as K'ang Yu-wei. In 1911 Mao moved to the provincial capital, Changsha, where he briefly served as a soldier in Republican army in the 1911 revolution that overthrew the Qing dynasty. While in Changsha, Mao read works on Western philosophy; he was also greatly influenced by progressive newspapers and by journals such as New Youth, founded by revolutionary leader Chen Duxiu in 1918, after graduating from the Hunan Teachers College in Changsha, Mao traveled to Beijing and obtained a job in the Beijing University library under the head librarian, Li Dazhao. Mao joined Li's study group that explored Marxist political and social thought and he became an avid reader of Marxist writings. During the May Fourth Movement of 1919, when students and intellectuals called for China's modernization, Mao published articles criticizing the traditional values of Confucianism. He stressed the importance of physical strength and mental willpower in the struggle against tradition. In Beijing, he also met and married his first wife, Yang Kaihui, a Beijing University student and the daughter of Mao's high school teacher. (When Mao was 14 his father had arranged a marriage.) Jiang Qing, wife of Chinese Communist leader Mao Zedong, became well-known in Chinese cultural circles for promoting Maoist themes in the arts. After Mao's death in 1976, she and three radical associates, dubbed the Gang of Four, were arrested for planning a coup. Jiang was convicted and sentenced to death, which was later commuted to life imprisonment. In 1920 Mao returned to Changsha, where his attempt to organize a democratic government for Hunan province failed. He traveled to Shanghai in 1921 and was present at the founding meeting of the Chinese Communist Party (CCP), which was also attended by Li Dazhao and Chen Duxiu. Mao then founded a CCP branch in Hunan and organized workers' strikes throughout the province. At this time warlords controlled much of northern China. To defeat the warlords, the Kuomintang (KMT) party of Sun Yat-sen allied with the CCP in 1923. Mao joined the KMT and served on its Central Committee, although he maintained his CCP membership. In 1925 the Chinese Communist Party sent Mao Zedong to work in his native Hunan Province. Mao wrote this report about the experience. During this period Mao first formulated ideas that would later have a profound influence on 20th

century communist movements, particularly the doctrine that national revolution would come, not from an urban proletariat, but from a rural peasant class.

In 1925 Mao organized peasant unions in his hometown of Shaoshan. Because of his peasant background, he was named director of both the CCP and KMT Peasant Commissions in 1926. In 1927 Mao wrote a paper titled "Report on an Investigation of the Peasant Movement in Hunan," in which he declared that peasants would be the main force in the revolution. Because this viewpoint was contrary to orthodox Marxism, which held that workers were the basis for revolution, and because peasant revolt would alienate the KMT, the CCP rejected Mao's ideas. The KMT broke with the CCP in 1927 and KMT leader Chiang Kai-shek, who had taken control of the KMT after Sun Yat-sen's death in 1925, launched a violent purge against the Communists. In battles that became known as the Autumn Harvest Uprising, Mao led a small peasant army in Hunan against local landlords and the KMT. His forces were defeated and Mao retreated south to mountainous Jiangxi province where he established a base area in 1929 known as the Jiangxi Soviet. There Mao experimented with rural land reform and recruited troops for the Communist military, known as the Red Army. Working with Red Army general Zhu De, Mao developed new guerrilla warfare tactics that drew the KMT forces deep into the hostile countryside, where they were harassed by peasants and destroyed by the Red Army. Mao married He Zizhen while in Jiangxi, after his first wife was killed by KMT forces. Chiang was determined to eliminate the Communists and in 1934 intensified his extermination campaign, surrounding the Jiangxi Soviet. Mao and his followers burst through Chiang's blockade and began the 9600-km (6000-mi) Long March to the remote village of Yan'an, in northern China. Along the way the marchers stopped at Zunyi, where top Communist officials met to discuss the CCP's future. Those opposed to Mao's plan of peasant revolt and Chinese military strategy were criticized, while Mao and his supporters gained power and prestige. The Zunyi Conference, as the meeting became known, was a crucial turning point in Mao's ascendancy to CCP leadership. From his base in Yan'an, Mao led Communist resistance against the Japanese, who had invaded Manchuria in 1931 and China in 1937. Although the CCP temporarily allied again with the KMT to halt Japanese aggression, most resistance against the Japanese in northern China came from the Communists. The CCP skillfully organized the peasantry and built up the ranks of the Red Army. Mao further consolidated his leadership over the CCP in 1942 by launching a "Rectification" campaign against CCP members who disagreed with him. Among these were "returned Bolshevik" Wang Ming, who had studied in the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics (USSR), and others, such as the writers Wang Shivel and Ding Ling. Also while in Yan'an Mao divorced He Zizhen and married the actor Lan Ping, who would become known as Jiang Qing and play an increasingly important role in the party after 1964. In 1965, shortly after Japan surrendered

in World War II, civil war broke out between CCP and KMT troops. The CCP, who had mass peasant support and a well-disciplined Red Army, defeated the KMT in 1949. On October 1 Mao declared the founding of the People's Republic of China (PRC) in Tiananmen Square in Beijing. Mao and the CCP inherited a poverty-stricken country that was scarred by war and in political disarray. As chairman of the CCP, Mao directed the PRC's reconstruction. Following the USSR model for constructing a socialist society, Mao ordered the redistribution of land, the elimination of landlords in the countryside, and the establishment of heavy industry in the cities. Throughout this period Mao relied heavily on aid and expertise from the USSR. The United States became Mao's enemy, particularly in the Korean War (1950-1953) in which approximately 1 million Chinese soldiers died fighting for North Korea, including Mao's own son, Mao Anying. Mao feared enemy infiltration and sought to ensure political unity in China. Mao launched several mass campaigns to root out traitors and corruption, including the "Suppression of the Counterrevolutionaries," the "Three-Anti," and the "Five-Anti" campaigns. The campaigns, which involved intense investigation into people's personal lives, left few Chinese citizens untouched. In the "Hundred Flowers" movement of 1957, Mao encouraged intellectuals to criticize the CCP, believing the criticism would be minor. When it was not, he launched the "Antirightist" campaign, quickly turning on those who had spoken out, labeling them as rightist, and imprisoning or exiling many. Mao's early experiences with peasant revolution convinced him of the immense potential of peasant strength. He believed that if properly organized and inspired, the Chinese masses could accomplish amazing feats. Beginning in the mid-1950s Mao advocated the rapid formation of agricultural communes, arguing that the energy of the people could help China achieve a high tide of Communist development. This ideology exploded in the Great Leap Forward in 1958. Mao called upon all Chinese to engage in zealous physical labor to transform the economy and overtake the West in industrial and agricultural production within a few years. Afraid to disappoint their leaders, peasants falsified grain production numbers. Several poor harvests caused massive famine and the deaths of millions of people throughout China. Mao's policies had failed, but those in the government who criticized him directly, such as Peng Dehuai, were humiliated and purged from office. Criticism of Mao from outside the government was also muted because the educated elite remembered the turmoil of the "Hundred Flowers" and "Antirightist" campaigns of 1957. Mao's relationship with intellectuals was an uneasy one, and he was critical of the gap between the lives of the urban educated elite and the rural masses. These tensions were among the underlying causes of the Cultural Revolution, a period of social unrest and political persecution launched by Mao in 1966. Mao mobilized youth into the Red Guards to attack his political rivals, including his chosen successor, Liu Shaoqi. With the help of Lin Biao, the leader of the People's Liberation Army, Mao established himself as a godlike cult figure. All Chinese were encouraged to read the Quotations of Chairman

Mao (known as Mao's Little Red Book), and Mao's writings were elevated to an infallible philosophical system called "Mao Zedong Thought." Although Mao became widely revered, his Cultural Revolution policies led to cataclysmic death and destruction throughout China. He died of Parkinson disease on September 9, 1976. At the National Party Congress in 1977, the CCP declared the Cultural Revolution to have officially ended in October 1976. After Mao's death his record was reevaluated by his successor Deng Xiaoping. Mao was praised for his contributions in the resistance against Japan and the founding of the People's Republic, but criticized for his mistakes in the Great Leap Forward and the Cultural Revolution. While many Chinese vilify Mao for his brutality, he is also admired for his power and his role as one of the most influential historical figures in the 20th century. His remains are enshrined in a mausoleum in Tiananmen Square.

Marxism: The political and economic theories of Karl Marx, German political philosopher (d.1883), predicting the overthrow of capitalism and the eventual attainment of a classless society with the State controlling the means of a production.

Mekran Coast: The coastline of Pakistan extends more than 1,000 km (600 mi) along the Arabian Sea and forms most of the country's southern boundary. The coast remains undeveloped beyond the port of Karachi, with only a scattering of small fishing villages.

Moghuls: The Mughal Empire was founded in 1526. At its height, about 1700, it encompassed most of the Indian subcontinent. Mughal rulers developed a stable, centralized form of government that served as a model for later Indian rulers. The empire declined in the 1700s and was officially abolished by the British in 1858.

Mujib-ur-Rehman/(Sheikh Mujib) Popularly known as Sheikh Mujib (1920-1975), founding father of Bangladesh and its first prime minister (1972-1975). He was born in Tungipara, East Bengal (then in India), and was educated at Islamia College, Calcutta (now Kolkata), and at the University of Dhaka. Active in politics at an early age, he became a founding member of the Awami League in 1949 to fight for the autonomy of East Bengal within Pakistan. Frequently arrested for his activities, he became immensely popular and eventually emerged as the undisputed Bengali leader. In 1963 Mujib became the leader of the Awami League, which won a majority in Pakistan's National Assembly in 1970. This provoked the government to declare martial law, and a civil war ensued. The result – after intervention by India – was an independent Bangladesh, with Mujib as prime minister. In 1975 he had the constitution changed and assumed the presidency with nearly absolute powers, but he was overthrown and assassinated shortly afterward. In 1998 a

Bangladeshi court convicted 15 former members of the military of Mujib's assassination, sentencing them to death.

N

Nairobi Conference: The 30th General Assembly's action in equating Zionism with racism had perhaps its most negative impact in the area of trade and aid. Not only was the conciliatory climate of the seventh special session weakened, but top-level U.S. attention, which had finally focused on issues relating to distribution of the world's wealth, was diverted elsewhere. The fourth UN Conference on Trade and Development (UNCTAD), which met in Nairobi, Kenya, May 5-13, 1978), made little progress on the substantive items that divide the "have" and the "have-not" nations. The Third World countries demonstrated cohesiveness and assertiveness in pressing their priority concerns; stabilization of commodity prices (on which their economies heavily depend) by means of a common fund to purchase buffer stocks in basic raw materials; and indexation, which is a mean of tying the prices of commodity exports to the prices of imported manufactures. A final text, approved without a vote, set out a timetable for negotiations through 1978 and listed 19 commodities for initial coverage. Twenty countries announced their willingness to contribute to a common fund and \$156 million was pledged.

NAP: National Awami Party political a liberal Democratic Party of Pakistan was banned in 1975, re-established as Awami National Party (ANP).

Napoleon Bonaparte: Napoleon 1 (1769-1821), emperor of the French, who consolidated and institutionalized many reforms of the French Revolution. One of the greatest military commanders of all time, he conquered the larger part of Europe and did much to modernize the nations he ruled. Napoleon Bonaparte was the greatest military genius of the 119th century. He conquered most of Western Europe and Egypt for France, while instituting reforms in these new territories aimed at guaranteeing civil liberties and improving the quality of life. He crowned himself emperor of France in 1804 and introduced reforms intended to unify the revolution-fractured nation. Many of Napoleon's reforms are still in effect today. Napoleon was born on August 15, 1769, in Ajaccio, Corsica, and was given the name Napoleon (in French his name became Napoleon Bonaparte). He was the second of eight children of Carlo (Charles) Bounaparte and Letizia Ramolino Bounaparte, both of the Corsican-Italian gentry. No Bounaparte had ever been a profession soldier. Carlo was a lawyer who had fought for Corsican independence, but after the French occupied the island in 1768, he served as a prosecutor and judge and entered the French aristocracy as a count. Through his father's influence, Napoleon was educated at the expense of King Louis XVI, at Brienne and the Ecole Militaire, in Paris. Napoleon graduated in 1785, at the age of 16, and

joined the artillery as a second lieutenant. After the Revolution began, he became a lieutenant colonel (1791) in the Corsican National Guard. In 1793, however, Corsica declared independence, and Bonaparte, a French patriot and a Republican, fled to France with his family. He was assigned, as a captain, to an army besieging Toulon, a naval base that, aided by a British fleet, was in revolt against the republic. Replacing a wounded artillery general, he seized ground where his guns could drive the British fleet from the harbor, and Toulon fell. As a result Bonaparte was promoted to brigadier general at the age of 24. In 1795 he saved the revolutionary government by dispersing an insurgent mob in Paris. In 1796 he married Josephine de Beauharnais, the widow of an aristocrat guillotined in the Revolution and the mother of two children.

Nicaragua: Nicaragua, republic and largest nation in Central America. Called “the land of lakes and volcanoes,” Nicaragua contains regions of thick rain forests, rugged highlands, and fertile farming areas. The largest lakes in Central America and a chain of volcanic peaks dominate its western heartland, the center of its population and economy. Severe earthquakes destroyed Managua, its capital and largest city, twice in the 20th century. With a population of 5.1 million, Nicaragua is the most urban country in Central America. Its people are mostly mestizos (people of mixed European and Native American descent) but include ethnic minorities of Native American, African, and European background. Nicaragua’s economy is based largely on agriculture, especially on crops grown for export. Coffee is the most important of these products, while corn is the major crop grown for domestic consumption. In the 1990s Nicaragua was among the poorest nations in Central America, after suffering from years of corrupt dictatorships, natural disasters, revolution, and civil war. Internal conflicts and intervention by other nations, especially the United States, have shaped much of Nicaragua’s history. Its indigenous people were mostly killed or enslaved after the Spanish conquest of the area in the early 1500s. Nicaragua remained a minor part of the Spanish colonial empire until Central America gained independence in 1821. Disputes and warfare between Liberal and Conservative factions were constant during the country’s first century, and armed U.S. forces intervened several times; in the 1850s, when an American mercenary took over Nicaragua, and between 1912 and 1933, when U.S. Marines were stationed there to impose order. For more than 40 years, Nicaragua’s government and economy were controlled by the Somoza family dictatorship, which enriched itself and its supporters at the nation’s expense. The Somozas, who enjoyed strong U.S. support, were overthrown in 1979 by Marxist revolutionaries known as the Sandinistas, who promised social and economic reforms. Their government attempted to change Nicaragua’s economic and political structure, and it made some progress on social issues. However, these efforts declined as the government fought a devastating civil war through the 1980s against rebels, known as contras, who were supported

by the United States and Nicaragua's neighbor Honduras. In the 1990s the Sandinistas lost presidential elections, a peace settlement with the contras was reached, and democratically elected governments succeeded each other. Nevertheless, the nation continues to struggle with serious problems of damage to its economy, disagreements among political factions, and social inequalities.

Nixon: Nixon, Richard Milhous (1913-1994), 37th president of the United States (1969-1974), and the only president to have resigned from office. He was elected president of United States in 1968 in one of the closest presidential elections in the nation's history and in 1972 was reelected in a landslide victory. Nixon's second administration, however, was consumed by the growing Watergate scandal, which eventually forced him to resign to avoid impeachment. Nixon was the second youngest vice president in U.S. History and the first native of California to become either vice president or president.

Nuremberg Trials: The most important war crimes trials following World War II were held in Nurnberg, Germany, under the authority of two legal instruments. One, the so-called London Agreement, was signed by representatives of the United States, the United Kingdom, France, and the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics (USSR) in London on August 8, 1945; the other, Law No.10, was issued by the Allied Control Council in Berlin on December 20, 1945. The London Agreement provided for the establishment of the International Military Tribunal, composed of one judge and one alternate judge from each of the signatory nations, to try war criminals. Under the London Agreement, the crimes charged against defendants fell into three general categories; (1) crimes against peace - that is, crimes involving the planning, initiating, and waging of aggressive war; (2) war crimes-that is, violations of the laws and customs of war as embodied in the conventions adopted at the Hague Conferences (international peace conferences of 1899 and 1904); and (3) crimes against humanity, such as the extermination of racial, ethnic, and religious groups and other large-scale atrocities against civilians. On October 18,1945, the chief prosecutors lodged an indictment with the tribunal charging 24 individuals with a variety of crimes and atrocities, including the deliberate instigation of aggressive wars, extermination of racial and religious groups, murder and mistreatment of prisoners of war, and the murder, mistreatment, and deportation to slave labor of hundreds of thousands of inhabitants of countries occupied by Germany during the war.

O

Oil Producing Countries: Most Middle Eastern oil is derived from four countries: Kuwait, Saudi Arabia, Iraq, and Iran. Kuwait is a sheikdom on the

Persian Gulf. It has an area of less than 2,000 sq. mi., or about the size of the Greater New York metropolitan area, and a population of about 200,000. This small area produced 1,200,000 bbl. of crude oil daily, making Kuwait the world's fourth largest oil producer. Like most of the Middle East, with the exception of Iran, Kuwait has been developed since World War II; in 1946, crude oil production was only 32,000 bbl. daily. Saudi Arabia ranks fifth in world production of oil and second in the Middle East, producing more than 1,000,000 bbl. of crude oil daily. Iraq is third in the Middle East, with about 760,000 bbl. daily; Iran is fourth. Iran was an important oil producer for many years. The country hit a peak production of 664,315 bbl. daily in 1950. Following government nationalization of the oil industry in May 1951, production sank, reaching a low of 25,700 bbl. daily in 1953. Following the replacement of the Mossadegh government by one under General Zahedi's leadership in August 1953, a series of meetings were held, resulting in the formation of a consortium to restore Iranian oil to world commerce. Members of the consortium and their relative holdings are: British Petroleum Co., 40 per cent; Royal-Dutch-Shell, 14 per cent; Compagnie Francaise des Petroles, 6 per cent. Fourteen American oil companies hold the remaining 40 per cent. The five American companies originally in the consortium were: Standard Oil Co. (New Jersey); Standard Oil Co. of California; The Texas Co.; Gulf Oil Corp.; and Socony Mobil Oil Co. Each allocated one eighth of its holdings to a group of nine other American oil companies, which was called the Iricon Agency and was composed of: Richfield Oil Corp.; American Independent Oil Co.; Standard Oil Co. (Ohio); Getty Oil Co.; Signal Oil and Gas Co.; The Atlantic Refining Co.; Hancock Oil Co.; Tidewater Oil Co.; and San Jacinto Petroleum Corp. The consortium agreed to step up crude oil exports from Iran and to "strive for without guaranteeing an increase in the export of refined products." The agreement was ratified and approved on Oct. 29, 1954. It stipulated the National Iranian Oil Co. (NIOC) as the Iranian government's petroleum resources authority. Payments to NIOC and Iran for income taxes resulted in consortium members receiving Iranian oil on essentially the same 50-50 basis in effect in other Middle East oil-producing countries. Since the consortium began, Iranian oil production has been steadily rising. In 1955, Iran produced 328,800 bbl. daily, regaining about half her maximum production. By September 1956, Iranian oil was being produced at a rate of 581,000 bbl. daily. An example of this potential production and reserves is an amazing wildcat well drilled in the Qum field this year. It blew out at a depth of 7,800 ft., with a bottom-hole pressure of 11,000 lb. per sq. in. The well blew wild for over a month before it could be controlled. It is estimated that from 80,000-100,000 bbl. of oil and 200 million cu. ft. of gas flowed daily before the well was tamed. Of the oil produced in the Middle East, about 260,000 bbl. daily were processed at refineries in the area, such as Aden, Ras Tanura, and Abadan. Roughly 470,000 bbl. daily were routed eastward to Far Eastern markets, such as Japan and the Netherlands East Indies. The bulk of the oil was westbound: about 1,700,000 bbl. daily were shipped by tanker from

Mediterranean terminals or through the Suez Canal to Western Europe, and another 316,000 bbl. daily to the Western Hemisphere. About 260,000 bbl. Of this total were taken by U.S. refineries; another 22,000 bbl. were sent to eastern Canada; and the remaining 35,000 bbl. went to Argentina, Uruguay, and Chile. In 1956, before the seizure of the Suez Canal, shipments of Middle Eastern oil to the United States had increased to about 274,500 bbl. daily. Of this amount about 187,700 bbl. moved through the Suez Canal by tanker; an additional 70,000 bbl. moved by pipeline to eastern Mediterranean terminals; and the remaining 16,800 bbl. were shipped across the Pacific Ocean to U.S. refineries on the West Coast. Thus, the major portion, about 243, 700 bbl., went to refineries on the U.S. East Coast, and about 14,400 bbl. to U.S. Gulf Coast plants.

Oxford: Oxford, University of, oldest institution of higher learning in the English-speaking world. The university is located in Oxford, England. There are currently 39 colleges that make up the University of Oxford. The town of Oxford was already an important center of learning by the end of the 12th century. Teachers from mainland Europe and other scholars settled there, and lectures are known to have been delivered by as early as 1117. Sometime in the late 12th century the expulsion of foreigners from the University of Paris (see Paris, Universities of) caused many English scholars to return from France and settle in Oxford. The students associated together, on the basis of geographical origins, into two "nations," representing the North (including the Scots) and the South (including the Irish and the Welsh). In later centuries, geographical origins continued to influence many students' affiliations when membership of an Oxford college or hall became customary. Members of many religious orders, including Dominicans, Franciscans, Carmelites, and Augustinians, settle in Oxford in the mid-13th century, gained influence, and maintained houses for students. At about the same time, private benefactors established colleges to serve as self-contained scholarly communities. Among the earliest were the parents of John Balliol, King of Scotland; their establishment, Balliol College, bears their name. Another founder, Walter de Merton, a chancellor of England and afterwards bishop of Rochester, devised a series of regulations for college life; Merton College thereby became the model for such establishments at Oxford as well as the University of Cambridge. Thereafter, an increasing number of students forsook living in halls and religious houses in favor of living at colleges. The new learning of the Renaissance greatly influenced Oxford from the late 15th century onward. Among university scholars of the period were William Grocyn, who contributed to the revival of the Greek language, and John Colet, the noted biblical scholar. With the Reformation and the breaking of ties with Catholicism, the method of teaching at the university was transformed from the medieval Scholastic method to Renaissance education, although institutions associated with the university suffered loss of land and revenues. In 1636 Chancellor William Laud, archbishop of Canterbury, codified the

university statutes; these to a large extent remained the university's governing regulations until the mid-19th century. Laud was also responsible for the granting of a charter securing privileges for the university press, and he made significant contributions to the Bodleian Library, the main library of the university. The university was a center of the Royalist Party during the English Civil War (1642-1649), while the town favored the opposing Parliamentary cause. Soldier-statesman Oliver Cromwell, chancellor of the university from 1650 to 1657, was responsible for preventing both Oxford and Cambridge from being closed down by the Puritans, who viewed university education as dangerous to religious beliefs. From the mid-18th century onward, however, the University of Oxford took little part in political conflicts. Administrative reforms during the 19th century included the replacement of oral examinations with written entrance tests, greater tolerance for religious dissent, and the establishment of four colleges for women. Women have been eligible to be full members of the university and have been entitled to take degrees since 1920. Although Oxford's emphasis traditionally had been on classical knowledge, its curriculum expanded in the course of the 19th century and now attaches equal importance to scientific and medical studies. The roster of distinguished scholars at the University of Oxford is long and includes many who have made major contributions to British politics, the sciences, and literature. Since its founding in 1823, the Oxford Union, a university club devoted to formal debating and other social activities, has numbered among its members many of Britain's most noted political leaders.

P

Palestine: Palestine, historic region, the extent of which has varied greatly since ancient times, situated on the eastern coast of the Mediterranean Sea, in southwestern Asia. Palestine is now largely divided between Israel and the Israeli-occupied territories, parts of which are self-administered by Palestinians. Galilee has been part of the Jewish state since the United Nations partitioned Palestine in 1947. The area was populated over time by Romans, Greeks, Phoenicians, Syrians, and Jews and was the center of Jesus Christ's ministry during his lifetime. (The Image Bank/Neil Folberg) The region has an extremely diverse terrain that falls generally into four parallel zones. From west to east they are the coastal plain; the hills and mountains of Galilee, Samaria, and Judea; the valley of the Jordan River; and the eastern plateau. In the extreme south lies the Negev, a rugged desert area. Elevations range from 408 m (1,340 ft) below sea level on the shores of the Dead Sea, the lowest point on the surface of the earth, to 1020 m (3347 ft) atop Mount Hebron. The region has several fertile areas, which constitute its principal natural resource. Most notable of these are the Plain of Sharon, along the northern part of the Mediterranean coast, and the Plain of Esdraelon (or Jezreel), a valley north of

the hills of Samaria. The water supply of the region, however, is not abundant, with virtually all of the modest annual rainfall coming in the winter months. The Jordan River, the region's only major stream, flows south through the Sea of Galilee (Lake Tiberias), the region's only large freshwater lake, to the intensely saline Dead Sea. The Canaanites were the earliest known inhabitants of Palestine. During the 3rd millennium Bc they became urbanized and lived in city-states, one of which was Jericho. They developed an alphabet from which other writing systems were derived; their religion was a major influence on the beliefs and practices of Judaism, and thus on Christianity and Islam. Palestine's location... made it... the natural battleground for the great powers of the region and made it the meeting place for religious and cultural influences from Egypt, Syria, Mesopotamia, and Asia Minor. It was also the natural battleground for the great powers of the region and subject to domination by adjacent empires, beginning with Egypt in the 3rd millennium bc. Egyptian hegemony and Canaanite autonomy were constantly challenged during the 2nd millennium Bc by such ethnically diverse invaders as the Amorites, Hittites, and Hurrians. These invaders, however, were defeated by the Egyptians and absorbed by the Canaanites, who at that time may have numbered about 200,000. As Egyptian power began to weaken after the 14th century Bc, new invaders appeared: the Hebrews, a group of Semitic tribes from Mesopotamia, and the Philistines (after whom the country was later named), an Aegean people of Indo-European stock. Hebrew tribes probably immigrated to the area centuries before Moses led his people out of serfdom in Egypt (1270 Bc), and Joshua conquered parts of Palestine (1230 Bc). The conquerors settled in the hill country, but they were unable to conquer all of Palestine. The Israelites, a confederation of Hebrew tribes, finally defeated the Canaanites about 1125 Bc but found the struggle with the Philistines more difficult. The Philistines had established an independent state³ on the southern coast of Palestine and controlled a number of towns to the north and east. Superior in military organization and using iron weapons, they severely defeated the Israelites about 1050 Bc. The Philistine threat forced the Israelites to unite and establish a monarchy. David, Israel's great king, finally defeated the Philistines shortly after 1000 Bc, and they eventually assimilated with the Canaanites. The unity of Israel and the feebleness of adjacent empires enabled David to establish a large independent state, with its capital at Jerusalem. Under David's son and successor, Solomon, Israel enjoyed peace and prosperity, but at his death in 922 Bc the kingdom was divided into Israel in the north and Judah in the south. When nearby empires resumed their expansion, the divided Israelites could no longer maintain their independence. Israel fell to Assyria in 722 and 721 Bc, and Judah was conquered in 586 Bc by Babylonia, which destroyed Jerusalem and exiled most of the Jews living there. The exiled Jews were allowed to retain their national and religious identity; some of their best theological writings and many historical books of the Old Testament were written during their exile. At the same time they did not forget the land of Israel. When Cyrus the Great

of Persia conquered Babylonia in 539 Bc he permitted them to return to Judea, a district of Palestine. Under Persian rule the Jews were allowed considerable autonomy. They rebuilt the walls of Jerusalem and codified the Mosaic law, the Torah, which became the code of social life and religious observance. The Jews believed they were bound to a universal God, Yahweh, by a covenant; indeed, their concept of one ethical God is perhaps Judaism's greatest contribution to world civilization. Persian domination of Palestine was replaced by Greek rule when Alexander the Great of Macedonia took the region in 333 bc. Alexander's successors, the Ptolemies of Egypt and the Seleucids of Syria, continued to rule the country. The Seleucids tried to impose Hellenistic (Greek) culture and religions on the population. In the 2nd century Bc, however, the Jews revolted under the Maccabees and set up an independent state (141-63 Bc) until Pompey the Great conquered Palestine for Rome and made it a province ruled by Jewish kings. It was during the rule (37-4 Bc) of King Herod the Great that Jesus was born. Two more Jewish revolts erupted and were suppressed – in Ad 66 to 73 and 132 to 135. After the second one, numerous Jews were killed, many were sold into slavery, and the rest were not allowed to visit Jerusalem. Judea was renamed Syria Palaestina. Palestine received special attention when the Roman emperor Constantine the Great legalized Christianity in Ad 313. His mother, Helena, visited Jerusalem, and Palestine, as the Holy Land, became a focus of Christian pilgrimage. A golden age of prosperity, security, and culture followed. Most of the population became Hellenized and Christianized. Byzantine (Roman) rule was interrupted, however, by a brief Persian occupation (614-629) and ended altogether when Muslim Arab armies invaded Palestine and captured Jerusalem in ad 638. The Arab conquest began 1300 years of Muslim presence in what then became known as Filastin. Palestine was holy to Muslims because the Prophet Muhammad had designated Jerusalem as the first qibla (the direction Muslims face when praying) and because he was believed to have ascended on a night journey to heaven from the area of Solomon's temple, where the Dome of the Rock was later built. Jerusalem became the third holiest city of Islam. The Muslim rulers did not force their religion on the Palestinians, and more than a century passed before the majority converted to Islam. The remaining Christians and Jews were considered "People of the Book." They were allowed autonomous control in their communities and guaranteed security and freedom of worship. Such tolerance (with few exceptions) was rare in the history of religion. Most Palestinians also adopted Arabic and Islamic culture. Palestine benefited from the empire's trade and from its religious significance during the first Muslim dynasty, the Umayyads of Damascus. When power shifted to Baghdad with the Abbasids in 750, Palestine became neglected. It suffered unrest and successive domination by Seljuks, Fatimids, and European Crusaders (see Caliphate; Crusades). It shared, however, in the glory of Muslim civilization, when the Muslim world enjoyed a golden age of science, art, philosophy, and literature. Muslims preserved Greek learning and broke new ground in

several fields, all of which later contributed to the Renaissance in Europe. Like the rest of the empire, however, Palestine under the Mamluks gradually stagnated and declined. The Ottoman Empire defeated the Mamluks in 1517 and, with few interruptions, ruled Palestine until the winter of 1917 and 1918. The country was divided into several districts (sanjaks), such as that of Jerusalem. The administration of the districts was placed largely in the hands of Arabized Palestinians, who were descendants of the Canaanites and successive settlers. The Christian and Jewish communities, however, were allowed a large measure of autonomy. Palestine shared in the glory of the Ottoman Empire during the 16th century, but declined again when the empire began to decline in the 17th century. The decline of Palestine in trade, agriculture, and population continued until the 19th century. At that time the search by European powers for raw materials and markets, as well as their strategic interests, brought them to the Middle East, stimulating economic and social development. Between 1831 and 1840, Muhammad Ali, the modernizing viceroy of Egypt, expanded his rule to Palestine. His policies modified the feudal order, increased agriculture, and improved education. The Ottoman Empire reasserted its authority in 1840, instituting its own reforms. German settlers and Jewish immigrants in the 1880s brought modern machinery and badly needed capital. The rise of European nationalism in the 19th century, and especially the intensification of anti-Semitism during the 1880s, encouraged European Jews to seek haven in their "promised land," Palestine. Theodor Herzl, author of *The Jewish State* (1896; translated 1896), founded the World Zionist

Organization in 1897 to solve Europe's "Jewish problem" (see Zionism). As a result, Jewish immigration to Palestine greatly increased. In 1880, Arab Palestinians constituted about 95 percent of the total population of 450,000. Nevertheless, Jewish immigration, land purchase, and claims were reacted to with alarm by some Palestinian leaders, who then became adamantly opposed to Zionism. Aided by the Arabs, the British captured Palestine from the Ottomans in 1917 and 1918. The Arabs revolted against the Ottomans because the British had promised them, in correspondence (1915-1916) with Husein ibn Ali of Mecca, the independence of their countries after the war. Britain, however, also made other, conflicting commitments. Thus, in the secret Sykes-Picot agreement with France and Russia (1916), it promised to divide and rule the region with its allies. In a third agreement, the Balfour Declaration of 1917, Britain promised the Jews, whose help it needed in the war effort, a Jewish "national home" in Palestine. This promise was subsequently incorporated in the mandate conferred on Britain by the League of Nations in 1922. During their mandate (1922-1948) the British found their contradictory promises to the Jewish and Palestinian communities difficult to reconcile. The Zionists envisaged large-scale Jewish immigration, and some spoke of a Jewish state constituting all of Palestine. The Palestinians, however, rejected Britain's right to promise their country to a third party and feared

dispossession by the Zionists; anti-Zionist attacks occurred in Jerusalem (1920) and Jaffa (1921). A 1922 statement of British policy denied Zionist claims to all of Palestine and limited Jewish immigration, but reaffirmed support for a Jewish national home. The British proposed establishing a legislative council, but Palestinians rejected this council as discriminatory. After 1928, when Jewish immigration increased somewhat, British policy on the subject seesawed under conflicting Arab-Jewish pressures. Immigration rose sharply after the installation (1933) of the Nazi regime in Germany; in 1935 nearly 62,000 Jews entered Palestine. Fear of Jewish domination was the principal cause of the Arab revolt that broke out in 1936 and continued intermittently until 1939. By that time Britain had again restricted Jewish immigration and purchases of land. Middle East Peace Accord, 1993 In September 1993, Israeli Prime Minister Yitzhak Rabin, and Palestine Liberation Organization chairman Yasir Arafat, agreed to the signing of a historic peace accord. The accord paved the way for limited Palestinian self-rule in Israeli-occupied territories. After witnessing the signing, the longtime foes shook hands in the presence of United States, Rabin called for an end to the violence. The struggle for Palestine, which abated during World War II, resumed in 1945. The horrors of the Holocaust produced world sympathy for European Jewry and for Zionism, and although Britain still refused to admit 1000,000 Jewish survivors to Palestine, many survivors of the Nazi death camps found their way there illegally. Various plans for solving the Palestine problem were rejected by one party or the other. Britain finally declared the mandate unworkable and turned the problem over to the United Nations in April 1947. The Jews and the Palestinians prepared for a showdown. Modern Israel marked its 50th anniversary as an independent state in 1998. Originally conceived as a state that would unite Jews in their original homeland, Israel has struggled to defend its borders from hostile neighbors and to assimilate diverse immigrant populations. In this August 1998 article from Encarta Yearbook, Middle East expert Shaul Ephraim Cohen writes about the forces that have shaped modern Israel and the choices Israel faces for the future. Although the Palestinians outnumbered the Jews (1,300,000 to 600,000), the latter were better prepared. They had a semiautonomous government, led by David Ben-Gurion, and their military, the Haganah, was well trained and experienced. The Palestinians, on the other hand, had never recovered from the Arab revolt, and most of their leaders were in exile. The Mufti of Jerusalem, their principal spokesman, refused to accept Jewish statehood. When the UN proposed partition in November 1947, he rejected the plan while the Jews accepted it. In the military struggle that followed, the Palestinians were defeated. Terrorism was used on both sides. The state of Israel was established on May 14, 1948. Five Arab armies, coming to the aid of the Palestinians, immediately attacked it. Israeli forces defeated the Arab armies, and Israel enlarged its territory. Jordan took the West Bank of the Jordan River, and Egypt took the Gaza Strip. The war produced 780,000 Palestinian refugees. About half probably left out of fear and panic, while the

rest were forced out to make room for Jewish immigrants from Europe and from the Arab world. The disinherited Palestinians spread throughout the neighboring countries, where they have maintained their Palestinian national identity and the desire to return to their homeland. In 1967, during the Six-Day War between Israel and neighboring Arab countries, Israel captured the West Bank and the Gaza Strip, as well as other areas. In 1993, after decades of violent conflict between Palestinians and Israelis, leaders from each side agreed to the signing of an historic peace accord. Palestine Liberation Organization leader Yasir Arafat and Israeli prime minister Yitzhak Rabin met in the United States on September 13, 1993, to witness the signing of the agreement. The plan called for limited Palestinian self-rule in Israeli-occupied territories, beginning with the Gaza Strip and the West Bank town of Jericho. Palestinian administration of these areas began in 1994. In September 1995 the PLO and Israel signed a second peace accord, expanding limited Palestinian self-rule to almost all Palestinian towns and refugee camps in the West Bank. Under the agreements, Israel maintains the right to send armed forces into Palestinian areas and controls the areas between Palestinian enclaves.

Pandit Nehru: Nehru, Jawaharlal (1889-1964), Indian nationalist leader and statesman who was the first prime minister of independent India (1947-1964) and a leader of the Nonaligned Movement during the Cold War. Nehru was born in Allahbad, the son of Motilal Nehru, a wealthy Brahman lawyer whose family had originally come from Kashmir, and Swarup Rani Nehru. After private tutoring, Nehru went to Britain with his family. When his family left in 1905, Nehru stayed to attend the Harrow School and then Trinity College at the University of Cambridge, where he studied science and read widely. After studying law at the Inner Temple in London, he returned to India in 1912 and practiced law for several years without enthusiasm. In 1916 he married Kamal Kaul, and in 1917 they had a daughter, Indira. In 1919 Nehru joined the Indian National Congress, a political organization working for greater autonomy for India, which was then a British colony. Nehru became devoted to the organization's new leader, Mohandas Gandhi. Gandhi reorganized the Congress in this period and recruited able lieutenants, among them Nehru. Nehru brought his father into active cooperation with Gandhi, and father and son worked together in the nationalist cause during the 1920s. Nehru was also active in the Allahbad municipal government. Guided by Gandhi, he gradually learned about rural India and became an effective speaker to both Western-educated sophisticates and Indian peasants. In time, Nehru's popularity was second only to Gandhi's. During this period he was imprisoned many times for civil disobedience. His longest detentions occurred between 1932 and 1935, and 1942 and 1945. While in prison, he wrote his major books, *Toward Freedom* (1936), an autobiography; *The Discovery of India* (1946); and *Glimpses of World History* (1934), a series of letters to his daughter, Indira. He was a talented and expressive writer in English, and he and India's freedom struggle became more widely known

through the extensive circulation of his writings in the West.. By the end of World War II (1939-1945), Nehru was recognized as Gandhi's heir apparent in the Congress. Although he and Gandhi differed somewhat in their views of the world, they remained personally and politically close throughout Gandhi's lifetime. When the British formed an interim Indian government in 1946 preliminary to full independence, by Gandhi's choice Nehru became its prime minister.. As head of the interim government, Nehru participated in negotiations for a united and federated India that were held in 1946 between the British rulers, the Congress, and the Muslim League. The Muslim League was a political organization working to create a separate Muslim state so that Hindus, a majority of the population in India, would not gain control of the entire Indian subcontinent after independence. Nehru opposed the division of India on the basis of religion. He adhered to a secular perspective and believed that all Indians regardless of religious affiliation should be equal citizens of the new nation. The parties were unable to agree on a structure for federation, but the British government moved to turn over power to its Indian successors anyway. Lord Louis Mountbatten, the last viceroy of India, worked out a procedure for the transfer of power, advocating the division of British India between India and Pakistan as the fastest and most workable solution. Nehru reluctantly agreed to the partition. Nehru greatly helped in revising and implementing Mountbatten's plan and became personally close to Mountbatten and his wife, Edwina. At Mountbatten's urging, Nehru agreed to maintain India's membership in the British-sponsored Commonwealth of Nations, setting a precedent for other former British colonies. Nehru became independent India's first prime minister on August 15, 1947, and remained its leader until his death in 1964. Upon taking office he moved to implement moderate socialist economic reforms by means of centralized economic planning, Nehru personally presided over the government Planning Commission that drew up successive five-year plans, beginning in 1951, for the development of India's economy. In the decade and a half after independence, these plans stressed industrial development and national ownership of several key areas of the economy. Nehru also backed plans for community development projects and the creation of many educational institutions. Throughout the Nehru years, India's economy achieved steady growth and its agricultural production increased, though not as rapidly as many hoped. Nehru also encouraged the development of India's nuclear energy program. Nehru served as foreign minister throughout his tenure as prime minister. One of the first foreign policy challenges he faced was a conflict with Pakistan over the princely state of Jammu and Kashmir in October 1947. At independence, Kashmir, bordering on India and Pakistan, had delayed making a decision to join either country. When a small group of Kashmir's majority Muslim population demanded accession to Pakistan, Pakistani troops invaded the area. Kashmir's Hindu ruler, Sir Hari Singh, then signed an agreement conceding the region to India. For political and personal reasons, Nehru believed that it was essential that Kashmir remain

part of India, and he sent troops into the region to support India's claim to it. The United Nations negotiated a cease-fire agreement in January 1949, but no definitive solution was reached on this issue. As the Cold War developed in the 1950s, Nehru shaped a foreign policy of "positive neutrality" for his nation, attempting to defuse international tensions without joining either of the international power blocs led by the United States and the Soviet Union. He became one of the key spokesmen of the nonaligned nations of Asia and Africa, mostly former colonies which, like India, wanted to avoid dependence on any major power. Under Nehru's guidance, India supervised a prisoner exchange at the end of the Korean War (1950–1953) and helped monitor a truce between the French and the Vietnamese at the end of the First Indochina War (1946-1954). At the Bandung Conference of nonaligned Asian and African nations in 1955, Nehru championed India-China friendship and backed the efforts of the People's Republic of China to gain membership in the United Nations. Nehru's government opposed the British-French invasion of the Suez Canal area in 1956 (see Suez Crisis), though he spoke much more softly about Soviet incursions into Eastern Europe. India and China, as Asia's two most populous nations, tried to achieve cooperation, and Chinese premier Zhou Enlai visited India in 1954. From the late 1950s, however, relations between the nations deteriorated over boundary disputes and over India's acceptance of Tibetan refugees, including the Dalai Lama, after China invaded Tibet in 1950. In 1959 Chinese troops occupied territory claimed by both China and India. After diplomatic efforts failed to resolve the dispute, a short border war broke out in 1962 between Indian and Chinese forces in the Himalayas. Indian troops were unprepared for the encounter and were decisively beaten. The Chinese took no additional territory, but continued to occupy the land they had annexed in 1959. India's crushing defeat stimulated a reevaluation of India's defense capabilities, and Nehru was forced to call for the resignation of Defense Minister V.K. Krishna Menon, a close personal friend. Despite his policy of nonalignment, Nehru requested equipment assistance from the American military during this crisis, and it was granted through the offices of Ambassador John Kenneth Galbraith and President John F. Kennedy. The Chinese affair had a devastating personal impact on Nehru, whose health declined rapidly. He saw the border war as a betrayal by a nation for whose place in the world he had fought. In January 1964 Nehru suffered a stroke; he died in May. Two years later, Nehru's daughter, Indian Gandhi, became prime minister of India and held that position for a total of 15 years before she was assassinated by Sikh radicals in 1984. Indira's son and Nehru's grandson, Rajiv Gandhi, also served as India's prime minister, from 1984 to 1989. He was assassinated in 1991.

Paris Conference: After defeating Germany in World War I, the victorious parties found it difficult to agree on the price Germany should pay in war reparations. Leaders from the United States, Britain, France, and Italy met at the Paris Peace Conference in 1919 and drafted the Treaty of Versailles. The

treaty mandated a number of restrictive and compensatory measures for Germany, including massive demilitarization and financial reparations. Representatives at the conference included British prime minister Lloyd George, Italian foreign minister Giorgio Sonnino, French premier Georges Clemenceau, and U.S. resident Woodrow Wilson.

Parliamentary System: A popular political system of democracy

Pathans/Pashtuns: Pashtuns, ethnic group, numbering between 13 million and 15 million, in southeastern Afghanistan and northwestern Pakistan. Pashtuns are also known as Pushtuns or Pakhtuns. Until the term Afghan came to mean any native of Afghanistan, Pashtuns were called Afghans. Pashtuns are the majority of the population in Afghanistan and the largest ethnic minority in Pakistan. Pashtuns are organized into more than 50 tribes, each divided into subtribes, clans, and subclans. The leaders of tribes, known as khans, have limited power. Important matters are usually settled by subtribe and clan chiefs, or by a tribal council. While some clans embrace the Shia sect of Islam, the overwhelming majority of Pashtuns are Sunnis, the largest branch of Islam. Pashtuns have always resisted efforts to impose government control on their society. Traditionally, a social code known as the Pashtunwali ("Pashtun Way" regulated the behavior of Pashtun men. The key principles of this code are honor. Courage, and hospitality. Vendettas, or feuds, between families or whole clans are common among the Pashtuns. Unless a vendetta is settled by a gathering of chiefs, the descendants of those who started the dispute may inherit the vendetta. The Pashtun language, Pashto, belongs to the Iranian branch of the Indo-Iranian languages. It has two main dialects, Kandahari Pashto and Peshawari Pashto, identified with the cities of Kandahar and Peshwar, respectively. Pashto is written in an Arabic script, modified to include certain sounds not found in Arabic speech. The Pashtuns' main modes of livelihood are farming, especially the cultivation of cereal crops, and livestock-raising. A minority of Pashtuns live as nomadic pastoralist, seasonally migrating with their herds in search of pasture. Pashtuns are general strict in their observance of the Islamic custom of Purdah-the seclusion and veiling of women-and women are usually restricted to the home. Pashtuns believe they are descended from a common ancestor named Afghana who lived in what is now Afghanistan in ancient times. Pashtun tradition holds that Afghana was a grandson of Saul, the first king of ancient Israel. Between the 13th and 16th centuries, several Pashtun tribes migrated from Afghanistan to Pakistan, where they established kingdoms. In Pakistan the death of a king frequently led to fighting between the supporters of different potential heris. The Pashtun chieftain Ahmed Shah, who extended his rule from Kandahar, unified the Pashtuns under one government for the first time in 1747. Although Pashtuns dominated the monarchy of Afghanistan from its beginnings until its abolition in 1973, foreign intervention and political intrigue weakened the kingdom of Ahmad

Shah's successors. In the 19th century, Afghanistan became a buffer state between the British Empire, seeking to protect its colonial possessions in Pakistan and India to the southeast, and the expanding Russian Empire to the north (see Russia). In 1893 the British secured the agreement of the Afghan shah (king) to delineate a new border between Afghanistan and present-day Pakistan (then part of British-controlled India). The new border divided Pashtun territory between Afghan and British areas of control. After Pakistan became an independent nation in 1947, the legitimacy of the border was called into question periodically by the Afghan government and by Pashtun tribes whose territories straddled the border. The issue caused tensions between Afghanistan and Pakistan, which insisted on the permanence of the boundary. During the Afghan-Soviet War (1979-1989) Pashtuns were prominent among the members of the mujahideen, Islamic guerrilla groups that formed to fight against the Soviet occupation of Afghanistan and to oppose the Soviet-backed Afghan government. During the war with the Soviets and subsequent civil war, approximately 2 million Pashtuns fled to Pakistan as refugees. The government of president Burhanuddin Rabbani, which came to power when the Soviet-backed government collapsed in 1992, tried to exclude Pashtuns from most important positions. The Taliban, and Islamic fundamentalist movement dominated by Pashtuns, seized the Afghan capital of Kabul in 1996 and soon controlled most of the country. Opposition forces of ethnic Tajiks, Uzbeks, and Hazars formed the Northern Alliance to fight against the Taliban regime. After the Taliban were driven from power in late 2001, during the United States-led war on terrorism, the major ethnic groups of Afghanistan agreed to form a transitional power-sharing government. A prominent Pashtun leader, Hamid Karzai, was named interim leader of Afghanistan.

Pax Romania: In 44 Bc Gaius Julius Caesar, the Roman leader who ruled the Roman Republic as a dictator, was assassinated, Rome descended into more than ten years of civil war and political upheaval. After Caesar's heir Gaius Octavius (also known as Octavian) defeated his last rivals, the Senate in 27 Bc proclaimed him Augustus, meaning the exalted or holy one. In this way Augustus established the monarchy that became known as the Roman Empire. The Roman Republic, which had lasted nearly 500 years, was dead, never to be revived. The empire would endure for another 500 years until Ad 476. The Romans and their empire gave cultural and political shape to the subsequent history of Europe. The emperor Augustus reigned from 27 Bc to AD 14 and ruled with absolute power. He reestablished political and social stability and launched two centuries of prosperity called the Roman Peace (Pax Roman). Under his rule the Roman state began its transformation into the greatest and most influential political institution in European history. During the first two centuries ad the empire flourished and added new territories, notably ancient Britain, Arabia, and Dacia (present-day Romania). People from the Roman provinces streamed to Rome, where they became

soldiers, bureaucrats, senators, and even emperors. Rome developed into the social, economic, and cultural capital of the Mediterranean world. Despite the attention given to tyrannical and often vicious leaders like the emperors Caligula and Nero, most emperors ruled sensibly and competently until military and economic disasters brought on the political instability of the 3rd century Ad.

Plebiscite: Plebiscite, a vote by the electorate of a nation, region, or locality on a specific question. In modern times, plebiscites have been held to determine the wishes of the inhabitants of a country or area as to their choice of sovereignty and have constituted an important political means of self-determination for a number of peoples and nations. The use of plebiscites in this sense originated at the time of the French Revolution, supposedly as an alternative to forcible annexations and wars of conquest. The plebiscites held after 1793, however, in areas including Belgium and the Rhineland, were accompanied by the intimidation of voters in order to assure decisions desired by the French government. As democratic instruments, plebiscites were used after the resurgence of nationalistic sentiments in Europe in 1848. They played a prominent role, for example, in the long struggle for the independence and unification of Italy. In 1852 a notable plebiscite was held in France by Napoleon III to give the appearance of popular approval to the coup d'état by which he had overthrown the republic and established the second empire. In the 20th century, important plebiscites resulted in the separation of Norway from Sweden in 1905 and in the reacquisition of Saarland by Germany in 1935. More recently, they have been used in Africa to learn the preferences of newly independent peoples for their national sovereignty.

Palestine Liberation Organistion: Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO), political body working to create a state for Palestinian Arabs in some or all of Palestine, a historic region now comprising Israel and the Israel-occupied West Bank and Gaza Strip. The creation of Israel in 1948 and the subsequent wars between Israel and Arab nations displaced many Palestinians. Founded in 1964 as a channel for Palestinian demands for a state, the PLO grew in regional and international prominence after Arab armies proved unable to defeat Israel in the Six-Day War of 1967, and Israel occupied the Gaza Strip and West Bank. After years of deep animosity between Israel and the PLO, the two sides signed a series of agreements between 1993 and 1998 that transferred almost all Palestinian towns and cities and most of the Arab population in the West Bank and the Gaza Strip to Palestinian administration. The agreements created an interim body, the Palestinian National Authority (PNA), to administer these Palestinian areas until their final status was determined. In 1994 the PNA took over many of the PLO's administrative and negotiating roles with respect to these territories, while the PLO continued to act as an umbrella group representing Palestinian interests both

inside the West Bank and the Gaza Strip and elsewhere in the world. Despite having entered into diplomatic negotiations, the PLO and Israel remain at odds and are often engaged in periods of profound violence.

PPP: Pakistan Peoples Party, a popular Political party of Pakistan established in 1967 by Mr. Zulfikar Ali Bhutto, The party won first free elections of Pakistan in 1970 with majority in West Pakistan. The party has faced the test of time and is one of the most prominent national political party of Pakistan.

President Daud: On July 17, while King Muhammad Zahir Shah (of Afghanistan) was taking a health cure in Italy, he was deposed by a military coup. Mounted by young officers, the coup was led by the king's cousin and brother-in-law, Lieutenant General Sardar Muhammad Daud Khan. General Daud had been prime minister and de facto ruler from 1953 to 1963, but he had been removed from office when the king reasserted his power and then excluded all members of the royal house from holding government positions. In the wake of the coup, which was undertaken with great precision and produced few fatalities, General Daud proclaimed Afghanistan a republic and himself its first president. In August, General Daud announced the formation of a new 13-member cabinet composed, in the main, of civilians. However, he assumed the posts of prime minister, minister of defense, and minister of foreign affairs. The only minister included from the previous cabinet was Nematullah Pazhwak, who assumed the portfolio of education and relinquished that of the interior. At the time of the coup, all members of the royal family present within the country were detained, but toward the end of July, 14 of them, including Crown Prince Ahmed Shah, were permitted to leave Afghanistan to join the ex-king in Italy.

Presidential System: The constitution of 1958 (of France) is an original combination of what are called the presidential system and the parliamentary system. As in the British system, there is a prime minister responsible to parliament—that is, obliged to resign in case of a motion of censure by the assembly. As in the presidential system, it is the president who wields power and largely determines national policy (such, at least, is the interpretation General de Gaulle has given the equivocal text of 1958). In 1962 General de Gaulle effected a modification of an essential point of the constitution: The president of the republic is henceforth elected by direct universal suffrage, not by a body of some 80,000 electors. This constitutional modification was submitted to the country in a referendum, which the parliamentarians of the traditional parties declared to be contrary to the text of the constitution. Nearly 62 percent of the voters supported General de Gaulle. As a result of the referendum he finally won, at the end of 1962, the battle he had waged against the parties since his return to France.

Q

Qayyum Khan: Khan Abdul Qayyum Khan, a Muslim league and member of Zulfikar Ali Bhuttos cabinet during 1970s.

Quaid-e-Azam/Mohd. Ali Jinnah/Jinnah: Jinnah, Mohammed Ali (1876-1948), Indian politician and longtime leader of the Muslim League. Jinnah became the founding father of Pakistan and its first governor-general (1947-1948). Jinnah was born in Karachi, a city in what is now Pakistan. (At that time, India and Pakistan were part of a British colony known as British India). Although his family, who were Muslim, came from the state of Rajkot in western India, Jinnah's father was a prosperous merchant in Karachi. After being educated in Karachi and Bombay (now Mumbai), Jinnah studied law at Lincoln's Inn in London, England, and was admitted to the bar in 1896. After serving briefly as a magistrate in Bombay, he practiced law in that city and soon rose to the top of the profession. He possessed strong advocacy skills and relied on his rhetorical ability to win many cases. Jinnah's first important contact with political affairs was in 1906, when he acted as private secretary to Dadabhai Naoroji, president of the Indian National Congress, a political organization that was working for Indian autonomy from British rule. In 1913 Jinnah joined the Muslim League, formed to protect Muslim interests against India's Hindu majority, though at the time he still hoped for accord between the two groups. In 1916 he was elected president of the Muslim League and in 1919 became the representative of Bombay Muslims in the Imperial Legislative Council, a national legislative body with limited authority under the British colonial government. In the same year, however, the government enacted the Rowlatt Acts, which gave the Indian colonial authorities emergency powers to suppress so-called revolutionary activities. Jinnah, a staunch nationalist, resigned from the council in protest. In 1920 the Indian National Congress launched the noncooperation movement, a mass campaign to boycott all aspects of British rule in India. Jinnah disagreed profoundly with the movement and resigned from the Congress. Jinnah advocated a moderate approach of cooperation with the British and gradual transfer of power. He continued to believe in the possibility of Hindu-Muslim unity, and worked strenuously toward that end in his second and third terms of office as president of the league. The differences between the Congress and the Muslim League were profound. Moreover, there was a serious personality clash between Jinnah and Mohandas Gandhi, the leader of the Congress. These differences emerged clearly in the Round Table Conference of 1930, where Indians and British members of parliament met to discuss India's political future. Jinnah's frustration at the impossibility of settlement led him to suspend his political activities for four years, during which time he practiced law in England. In 1934 he returned to India on a visit to preside over a Muslim League session and decided that he must remain permanently

in India to look after Muslim interests. The Government of India Act of 1935 transferred considerable power to Indian provincial governments, and in the general elections of 1937 the Congress won a majority in 7 of 11 provinces. The Congress refused to form coalition governments with the Muslim League as Jinnah had proposed. As a result, tensions between Hindus and Muslims grew rapidly. In Hindu-majority provinces, many Muslims felt they were unfairly treated, and at one point Jinnah demanded the appointment of a royal commission to inquire into their grievances. Most Muslims concluded that no legislative weighting or other safeguards could protect them in a united India, where the Hindus would be an overwhelming majority. In March 1940 Jinnah presided over a Muslim League session at Lahore, where the first official demand was made for the partition of India and the creation of the state of Pakistan, in which Muslims would be a majority. During three decades of political life, Jinnah had believed in the possibility of Hindu-Muslim unity, and it was with the utmost reluctance that he came to the view that partition was essential. Having reached this conclusion, however, Jinnah never swerved from it. His tenacity through constitutional discussions between the league, the Congress, and the British government in 1942, 1945 and 1946 made partition certain. During these years Jinnah came to be known as Quaid-i-Azam, or "Great Leader." When Pakistan was created on August 14, 1947, he became its first governor-general, and the title of Quaid-i-Azam was officially bestowed on him by a resolution of the first constituent assembly. Jinnah died of tuberculosis in Karachi in 1948.

R

Rawalpindi: Rawalpindi, city in northern Pakistan, in Punjab Province. Rawalpindi is linked to other major Pakistani cities by rail and by the Grand Trunk Road. With its commanding position at the beginning of the road from Punjab to Kashmir, Rawalpindi has long occupied a place of strategic importance; whoever controlled Rawalpindi controlled this vital overland trade route. The city is an industrial and military center with a petroleum refinery, an ordnance factory, an arsenal, engineering workshops, a steel-rolling mill, gasworks, and a brewery. A college of technology is here. Farmers in the nearby countryside cultivate barely, maize, millet, and wheat, and trade these products through Rawalpindi. The city's water supply is provided by the Rawal Dam, which harnesses the flow of the Kurang River. The Liaquat Gardens and the beautifully landscaped Ayub National Park attract tourists and area residents alike. Rawalpindi, which derives its name from Punjabi word meaning "Village of the Rawals," was inhabited by a community of Hindu ascetics before the town was settled by Sikhs in 1765. The region came under British control in 1849, and Rawalpindi subsequently became the center of operations for the British Northern Army. It was here that the British signed the 1919 treaty confirming the independence of neighboring Afghanistan.

Rawalpindi served as provisional capital of Pakistan from 1959 to 1967, when the seat of government was transferred to the newly built city of Islamabad, located just 14 km (9 mi) to the northeast. The former British military base at Rawalpindi houses the headquarters of the Pakistani Army. Population 1,406,214 (1998).

RCD: In the CENTO area increased economic activities of the arrangement among Turkey, Iran, and Pakistan known as Regional Cooperation for Development (RCD) and the creation of permanent organs, including a secretariat located in Tehran, suggested that increasing cohesiveness among the regional members of regional security organizations may be the future reaction to the roles of the great powers.

Red Cross: Cross, international humanitarian agency dedicated, in time of war, to alleviating the sufferings of wounded soldiers, civilians, and prisoners of war. In time of peace, it renders medical aid and other help to people afflicted by major disasters such as floods, earthquakes, epidemics, and famines and performs other public service functions.

Roosevelt: Roosevelt, Franklin Delano (1882-1945), 32nd president of the United States (1933-1945). Roosevelt served longer than any other president. His unprecedented election to four terms in office will probably never be repeated; the 22nd Amendment to the Constitution of the United States, passed after his death, denies the right of any person to be elected president more than twice. Roosevelt held office during two of the greatest crises ever faced by the United States: the Great Depression of the 1930s, followed by World War II. His domestic program, known as the New Deal, introduced far-reaching reforms within the free enterprise system and prepared the way for what is often called the welfare state. His leadership of the Democratic Party transformed it into a political vehicle for American liberalism. Both in peacetime and in war his impact on the office of president was enormous. Although there had been strong presidents before him, they were the exception. In Roosevelt's 12 years in office strong executive leadership became a basic part of United States government. He made the office of president the center of diplomatic initiative and the focus of domestic reform.

S

Sardari System: Tribal system of Pakistan, abolished by 1973 constitution but it still prevails in different parts of Pakistan.

SEATO: Southeast Asia Treaty Organization (SEATO), alliance of nations to provide defense and economic cooperation in Southeast Asia and the South Pacific area. The alliance was founded on September 8, 1954, less than two

months after agreements reached at the Geneva Conference had paved the way for the French withdrawal from Indochina. The founding members of SEATO were Australia, France, the United Kingdom, New Zealand, Pakistan, the Philippines, Thailand, and the United States. Like the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO), the Southeast Asian alliance was intended to prevent the spread of communism; but unlike the NATO pact, the SEATO agreement did not obligate one member to assist another against a military threat. Although SEATO sanctioned the U.S. military effort in Vietnam, and although several SEATO members sent troops to fight there, SEATO itself played no direct role in the war. France ceased active participation in SEATO in 1967; Pakistan officially withdrew in 1972. With the U.S. withdrawal from Vietnam and the Communist victories throughout Indochina in 1975, SEATO became an anachronism. By mutual consent, the alliance disbanded on June 30, 1977.

Shahanshah of Iran: Shahan Shah of Iran Raza Shah Paharvi participated in international Islamic summit in Feb. 1974 held at Lahore Pakistan. He was ousted out of power by 1989 by Islamic revolution led by Ayatollah Khomeini. He died in CAIRO Egypt during Political Asylum.

Siemens: Siemens AG, manufacturer of medical devices, electronics, and electrical equipment, based in Munich, Germany. Europe's largest producer of electrical and electronic systems, Siemens engineers produced some of the most important technological advances of the 19th and 20th centuries, including the first intercontinental telegraph lines, the first electrical street lighting, the first commercial power station, and the first patented X-ray tube. The company has offices in more than 190 countries.

Simla Agreement: In 1972 Pakistani president Zulfikar Ali Bhutto (formerly the foreign minister) met with Indian prime minister Gandhi at the hill resort town of Simla in northern India to discuss a postwar settlement. Although the third Indo-Pakistani war had not been triggered by events in Kashmir, the unresolved issues surrounding that disputed state weighed heavily in the settlement talks. The two leaders negotiated a settlement that recognized the de facto border in Jammu and Kashmir as the Line of Control (LOC). Both sides agreed to abstain from the use of force to settle the Kashmir dispute, and India agreed to return some 90,000 Pakistani prisoners of war.

Sind/Sindh: on the West Indian states of Gujrat and Rajashtan, and on the south demarcated by the Arabian Sea. Sindh is the southern part of Pakistan, it was an independent state, till 1843 when British required the area and announced it is part of Bombay Presidency in 1937, it was given state of province under the British Government at the time of creation of Pakistan in 1947 Sindh provide the first capital of Pakistan.

1956 constitution dissolved the boundaries of all provinces in West Pakistan and created West Pakistan to establish parity with East Pakistan.

Sindh was established as a province again in its present form in 1970, and has an area of 140,914 sq km (54,407 sq mi). The provincial capital is Karachi. The center of Sindh consists of the valley and delta of the Indus River, which comprises about 40 percent of the province's area; Sindh is named after the river, called the Sindhu in Pakistan. The Kirthar Range of mountains runs north-south down the western side of the Indus Valley; a desert belt borders the eastern side, merging with the Thar Desert (or Great Indian Desert) in the south. The climate is subtropical with hot summers and cool winters. Rainfall is sparse, averaging about 180 mm (7 in) a year, and confined mainly to the Indus Valley area. The population of Sindh is about 30 million (1998), concentrated in the cities and the Indus Valley. About 43 percent of the population lives in urban areas. Karachi is Pakistan's commercial and industrial center, as well as its largest city. Its population was dramatically swollen by Muslim refugees from India at the time of partition from India and independence from the United Kingdom in 1947. Heavy inward migration to Sindh has continued and the population is ethnically mixed. Muhajirs (Urdu-speaking settlers), concentrated in the cities, form one of the largest immigrant groups. The principal languages of the province are Sindhi and Urdu. Islam is the predominant religion. The Indus and its associated canal-based irrigation system is the foundation of Sindh's economy; the majority of people are employed in agriculture. The major crops are wheat, rice, sugarcane, maize (corn), cotton, and oilseeds, Banana and Mango productivity has increased substantially since the 1960s because of greater fertilizer use and the development of better drainage, which has reduced waterlogging and salinity in the soil. Sindh has many orchards producing a wide variety of fruits. Livestock are important. Cattle, sheep, buffalo, and goats are the main animals kept. The concentration of large-scale manufacturing in Karachi has helped make Sindh one of Pakistan's most industrialized areas. The province is a major focus of cotton processing and textile production. The production of cement, fertilizers, vegetable oils, sugar, cars, pharmaceuticals, and petroleum products is also important. Sindh's recorded history dates more than 4,000 years to the Indus Valley civilization (2500-1700 Bc). Major archaeological sites are at Mohenjo-Daro, Amre, and Kot Diji. In the late 500s Bc the region was annexed to the Persian Empire. In 325 Bc it was conquered by Alexander the Great and subsequently incorporated into various empires, including those of the Parthians, Scythians, and Kushanas. In the 3rd century Ad it was reincorporated into the Persian Empire, where it remained until the Arab conquest of 711. From 1526 to 1761 Sindh was part of the Mughal Empire. It was then ruled by a succession of independent Sindhi dynasties until the British annexed the area in 1843. In 1937 Sindh was made a separate province within British India. As part of independent Pakistan, Sindh was incorporated into the province of West

Pakistan from 1955 until 1970, when it was re-established as a separate province.

Sino Russia Dispute: The deep fissure in the Communist world, which the headlines refer to as the Chinese-Soviet split, was clearly the most important international development of 1963. It changed the entire character of the Cold War as the world had known it for almost two decades after the end of World War II. It made possible the limited nuclear test-ban treaty approved by the foreign ministers of the United States, the Soviet Union, and Great Britain in August 1963. Most important, this historic development and its first consequences created a new hope in much of the world, the hope that peace could be strengthened and that thermonuclear catastrophe could be averted. Americans found it difficult at first to accept the reality of deep enmity between the Soviet Union and Communist China. For almost a generation the people of the United States viewed Moscow and Peking [now transliterated as Beijing] as the closest of allies, nations bound by a common hatred of freedom and a common aspiration to impose a world Communist dictatorship upon all peoples and all nations. As late as January 1963-when much discord was already evident between the Soviet Union's Premier Nikita Khrushchev and China's [leader] Mao Tse-tung [Mao Zedong]-President Kennedy, reflecting this widespread American attitude, warned against taking any great comfort from Sino-Soviet differences. The two great Communist powers were quarreling merely over ways of burying the free world, the president declared in his State of the Union message to Congress. Yet barely half a year later, in the summer of 1963, President Kennedy greeted Soviet willingness to sign the limited nuclear test-ban treaty as a possible first step toward real peace. That same summer, the president warned a press conference that in the 1970s an aggressive and powerful Communist China might be the greatest menace to international peace and security. At the time the president spoke, Peking's propagandists were denouncing what they claimed was a Soviet-American alliance against China.

Sino-Indian war: In the late 1950s India began to conflict with China over the ownership of some largely uninhabited land along India's northeastern border in Arunachal Pradesh and in the hill areas of northeastern Jammu and Kashmir. Until that time India's relations with China had been generally amiable, and Nehru believed that the territorial dispute could be solved through friendly negotiations. The difficulty of mapping the area accurately, and the conflicts between the security interests of the two countries, however, proved to be thornier problems that Nehru had anticipated. By 1959 the dispute had begun heating up, and popular pressure not to yield territory to China grew. Nehru's government sent military patrols into the disputed territory. China's answer was to attack in both disputed areas in October 1962, quickly routing an ill-prepared Indian army, and threatening to move virtually unopposed to the plains of Assam. In desperation, India sought

Western and military aid, especially from the United States, which the administration of President John F. Kennedy willingly provided. The fighting ended when China unilaterally announced a cease-fire in late November, continuing to occupy some of the territories it had invaded. The crisis precipitated a drastic overhaul of Indian defenses, including massive arms procurement and the modernization of its armed forces. Also, Defense Minister V.K. Krishna Menon, a powerful neutralist, was ousted from the government at the end of October. This in turn alarmed Pakistan, concerned that its small size and small economic capacity compared with India would condemn it to a permanent position of inferiority on the subcontinent. Nehru died in May 1964. He was succeeded by Lal Bahadur Shastri, who was seen both at home and abroad as a weak successor. Unrest in Kashmir combined with Pakistan's belief in India's weakness, resulted in a short war between the two countries in September 1965. The Soviet Union brokered a cease-fire, and literally hours after it was signed in January 1966, Shastri died in Tashkent, Uzbekistan.

Sir Alec: Douglas-Home, Sir Alec (1903-1995), British statesman and prime minister (1963-1964), born in London, and educated at Eton and at Christ Church College, University of Oxford. He was a Conservative member of the House of Commons (1931-1945, 1950-1951, 1963-1974) and a member of the House of Lords (1951-1963, 1974-1995). Douglas-Home became the 14th earl of Home with the death of his father in 1951. Because of his inherited nobility he was forced to give up his seat in the House of Commons and become a member of the House of Lords. He held several government posts before 1960, when he was appointed foreign secretary. Douglas-Home was knighted by Queen Elizabeth II in 1962, and in 1963 he was chosen by Conservative Party leaders to succeed the ailing prime minister, Harold Macmillan. Since the prime minister had to hold a seat in the House of Commons, Douglas-Home gave up his inherited title and his seat in the House of Lords, and took the name Sir Alec Douglas-Home. He was the last British prime minister chosen through a process involving a secret meeting of senior members of the Conservative party. During his brief tenure as prime minister, Douglas-Home was best known for his knowledge of foreign affairs and for his firm stance against Communism. He was, however, unfamiliar with economics and was unable to improve Britain's worsening fiscal situation during his tenure. A year later, the Conservative Party. From 1970 to 1974 Douglas-Home again served as foreign secretary, this time in the Conservative government of Prime Minister Edward Heath, and in 1974 he was created a life peer as Baron Home of the Hirsel, and rejoined the House of Lords. Lord Home died at his family's ancestral home in Berwickshire, Scotland, on October 9, 1995, at the age of 92.

Sir Shahnawaz Bhutto: (1888-1957) Sir Shahnawaz Bhutto led active public life for nearly four decades and enjoyed high offices such as President District

Local Board, Larkana: member, Bombay legislative council; Minister in Bombay Government; Chief advisor to Governor of autonomous Sindh; Member, Bombay-Sindh Public service Commission, and the Prime Minister (Dewan) Junagadh State. There are a number of achievements to his credit such as Separation of Sindh from Bombay Presidency; initiative in getting the construction of Sukkur Barrage approved by the then British Government of India; and persuading the Ruler of Junagadh to sign instrument of accession of his State to the newly-Created Pakistan. Sir Shahnawaz was Father of Shaheed Zulfikar Ali Bhutto and Grandfather of first Muslim women Prime Minister Mohtarma Benazir Bhutto.

Soekarno/Sukarno: Sukarno (1901-1970), dominant figure of Indonesia's nationalist movement against the Dutch and the country's first president (1945-1968). He was toppled following an attempted coup and held under house arrest until his death. Sukarno was the president of Indonesia from 1945 until 1968, when right wing military leaders took power after a failed Communist coup. Hulton Deutsch. Sukarno was born in the city of Surabaya in eastern Java. At the time, Java and the rest of Indonesia were under Dutch colonial control. Although brought up in the traditional Javanese cultural world, Sukarno was educated in modern Dutch colonial schools. In 1921 he entered the Bandung Institute of Technology to study architecture, graduating in 1926. Sukarno had been increasingly involved in nationalist politics since his teens, when he had boarded in the house of H.O. S. Tjokroaminoto, a leading nationalist politician. It was in Bandung that he decided his future lay in politics, not architecture. By 1926 Sukarno had been married twice, first to Sitti Utari, daughter of Tjokroaminoto, and then, after divorcing her, to Inggit Garnasih. He subsequently married at least four more times, having as many as four wives simultaneously. Though permitted under Islamic law, polygamy was not a common practice in Indonesia, and in the 1950s and 1960s attracted considerable criticism, particularly from women's organizations.

Stalin: Stalin, Joseph (1879-1953), general secretary of the Communist Party of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics (USSR) from 1922 to 1953, the despotic ruler who more than any other individual molded the features that characterized the Soviet regime and shaped the direction of Europe after World War II ended in 1945. Stalin was born Iosif Vissarionovich Dzhugashvili in the town of Gori, Georgia, which at the time was part of the vast Russian Empire. He was the third and only surviving child of a cobbler and a housecleaner. In 1888 Stalin began attending the Gori Church School, where he learned Russian and excelled at his studies, winning a scholarship to the Tbilisi Theological Seminary in the Georgian capital in 1894.

T

Taskhent: Toshkent or Tashkent, city in eastern Uzbekistan, capital of the country and of Toshkent Wiloyat (region). Located in an oasis near the Chirchiq River in a cotton-and fruit-growing region, Toshket is a major industrial and transportation center. It has industries producing machinery, cotton and silk textiles, chemicals, tobacco products, and furniture. A center of Uzbek culture, Toshkent has several large libraries and is the seat of the Uzbek Academy of Sciences and numerous other institutions of higher learning. A subway system was opened here in 1977. The first mention of Toshkent dates from the 7th century Ad, although it was probably founded by the 1st century Bc. The city was conquered, successively, by the Arabs in the 8th century Ad, by Genghis Khan in the early 13th century, and by Tamerlane in the 14th century. It was annexed by Russia in 1865, and a new Russian city was built around the older town. Toshkent succeeded Samarqand as the capital of the Uzbek Soviet Socialist Republic of the Soviet Union in 1930. In 1966 Toshkent suffered heavy damage from an earthquake. Toshkent became the capital of independent Uzbekistan in 1991. Population (1999 estimate) 2,142, 700.

Third World: Third World, general designation of economically developing nations. The term arose during the cold war, when two opposing blocs-one led by the United States (first), the other led by the USSR (second)-appeared to dominate world politics. Within this bipolar model, the Third World consisted of economically and technologically less developed countries belonging to neither bloc. Originated by the Martinique-born Marxist writer Frantz Fanon, the designation was essentially negative and not always accepted by the countries concerned. Although political and economic upheavals in the late 1980s and early 1990s marked the collapse of the Soviet power bloc, "Third World" remains a useful label for a conglomeration of countries otherwise difficult to categorize. The countries of the Third World, containing some two-third of the world's population, are located in Latin America, Africa, and Asia. Politically, they are generally nonaligned (see Nonaligned Movement). Some are moving out of their previous situation and may soon join the ranks of industrialized countries. Others, with economies considered intrinsically incapable of development, are at times lumped together as forming a "fourth world." Political instability caused by precarious economic situations is widespread in the Third World. Democracy in the Western meaning of the term is almost completely absent. Both the Western and the former Soviet blocs have tried to entice the Third World to follow their own examples, but the countries concerned generally prefer to create their own institutions based on indigenous traditions, needs, and aspirations; most choose pragmatism over ideology. It is debated whether China is part of the Third World, with which it once identified itself on racial, cultural, and developmental grounds, proclaiming that the exploited

countries should unite against imperialist forces, both Western and Soviet. After the death of Mao Zedong (Mao Tse-tung) in 1976, however, the Chinese attitude moderated. The Third World displays little homogeneity; it is divided by race, religion, culture, and geography, as well as frequently opposite interests. It generally sees world politics in terms of a global struggle between rich and poor countries-the industrialized North against the backward South. Some nations, such as those of the Organization of Petroleum Exporting Countries (OPEC), have found ways to assert their economic importance as sources of raw materials indispensable to advanced societies, and others may follow suit. Widely advocated within the Third World is a so-called New Economic Order, which through a combination of aid and trade agreements would transfer wealth from the developed to the developing nations.

Trade Pakistan (1970): For the second year in a row, trade among non-Communist nations increased at an exceptionally fast rate. After a 14 percent gain from 1968 to 1969, exports advanced by another 15.5 percent in the first half of 1970, to an estimated annual total of \$270 billion. This record-breaking growth reflected extremely buoyant economic conditions in Western Europe and Japan. The strong expansion also reflected sharp price increases for manufactured products and lesser increases for primary commodities. Prices for manufactured goods were 5 to 6 percent higher for January - June 1970 than in the first half of 1969, while those of crude products were up about 3 percent on the average. The major cause of the advance in crude prices was a more than 20 percent rise in the cost of coffee and a nearly 10 percent increase in the cost of metal ore. Prices for internationally traded cereals, by contrast, trended downward, as did those for wool and other textile fibers. Even in the face of considerable higher prices, however, the volume of goods moving in world trade rose strongly. Following past trends, an overwhelming portion of the growth stemmed from exports of the industrial countries. All but about \$3 billion of the \$36 billion expansion from the first half of 1969 to the same period this year was from the developed countries, further increasing their large share of world trade.

Trieste: Trieste (city, Italy) ancient Tergeste; Serbo-Croatian Trst), city and port, northeastern Italy, capital of Trieste Province and of Friuli-Venezia Giulia Region, on the Gulf of Trieste, at the northeastern extremity of the Adriatic Sea. Trieste has an excellent harbor and extensive freight-handing facilities. Industries include shipbuilding, petroleum refining, and the manufacture of iron and steel products, textiles, machinery, and foodstuffs. The old section of the city is on the lower slopes of San Giusto hill, and the modern section fronts on the harbor. Among the city landmarks are an amphitheater dating from Roman times and the Basilica di San Giusto (5th century). The University of Trieste (1938) is in the city, as is an institute for advanced study in physics (1979). Trieste was built as a Roman port by the emperor Augustus in the 1st century bc. After the dissolution of the Western

Roman Empire in the 5th century ad, it fell to Attila, king of the Huns; in the 6th century it passed to the Byzantine Empire. During the 8th century Trieste was ruled briefly by the Lombards of northern Italy and then passed to the Carolingian, or second, dynasty of Frankish kings. Later it became a free commune. In 1382 Trieste placed itself under the protection of Austria, maintaining that status except for two periods (1797-1805 and 1809-13), during which it was incorporated into French-dominated Italy, until after World War I. In 1719 the Holy Roman emperor Charles VI made Trieste a free port. With surrounding territory, it was constituted a separate crown land in 1867. The Austrian government revoked the free-port privileges of the city in 1891, authorizing instead a free trade zone. As the only Austrian seaport and a natural other for countries of central Europe, Trieste prospered throughout the 19th and early 20th centuries. Italian troops captured the city, long an Italian irredentist center, in 1918, during World War I. In 1919, by the terms of the Allied Treaty of Saint-Germain with Austria, the city, in which the Italian language and culture had long flourished, was assigned to Italy. Although the free trade zone was maintained, Trieste declined as a shipping center under Italian rule, because it was politically cut off from central Europe; industrial growth, however, continued. Yugoslav troops captured the city in May 1945, during World War II. By the terms of the peace signed (1947) by Italy after the war, Trieste and the surrounding area were made part of the Free Territory of Trieste, which was placed under the protection of the United Nations. The territory was divided into Zone A, which included the city of Trieste, and which was under Allied control, and Zone B, under Yugoslav control. Most of Zone A, including the city, was returned to Italian control under the provisions of an agreement between Italy and Yugoslavia, signed in 54 and ratified by treaty in 1975, that allowed it to remain a free port. The rest of the territory was incorporated into Yugoslavia. It became part of Slovenia when the republic declared its independence in 1991. Population (2001 estimate) 215,096.

U

Unitarianism: religious movement that affirms the undivided unity of God, as opposed to the Trinity, and the humanity of Jesus, rather than his divinity. The religion emphasizes personal responsibility and reliance on conscience and reason rather than on doctrine or external authority. Unitarianism traces its roots to Judaism and Christianity.

United Nations: an international organization of all nations.

United States: United States of America, popularly referred to as the United States or as America, a federal republic on the continent of North America,

consisting of 48 contiguous states and the noncontiguous states of Alaska and Hawaii.

V

Veto: Veto in parliamentary government, the executive power, as that of the president of the United States, to abrogate or kill a measure that has already been passed by a legislative body. The word veto is a Latin term that means “I forbid.” According to Article 1, Section 7, of the U.S. Constitution, the president has only limited veto authority since negation of a legislative act can be overridden by a two-thirds majority in both houses of Congress. A presidential veto, unlike that in many states, is comprehensive, applying to all parts of a bill, and the president must communicate to congress the reasons for a veto. In 1996 congress passed the Line-Item Veto Act, which gave the president the power to veto individual items in funding or tax bills. In 1998, however, the Supreme Court ruled that the act was unconstitutional. In the case of a so-called pocket veto, sometimes used for political reasons, a bill fails to become law when the president does not sign it and the Congress happens to adjourn within a ten-day period after its submission to the chief executive. On the other hand, if Congress remains in session and does not receive the unsigned bill from the president within that time, the measure becomes law. The great majority of presidential vetoes throughout American history have not been overridden. For example, of the some 600 vetoes handed down by President Franklin D. Roosevelt in the 1930s and 40s, only 9 were overridden by Congress. The governors of most states in the U.S. have veto powers, which in some cases can be overruled by a simple majority rather than two-thirds of their legislatures. The monarch of Great Britain has long had putative absolute veto power, but this prerogative has not been exercised since 1708. In the Security Council of the United Nations (see Security Council United Nations), each of the five permanent members –France, the United Kingdom, China, Russia, and the U.S.-has veto power over all substantive matters.

Vietnam War: The Vietnam War began in 1954 and continued until 1975. United States troops were involved in combat operations from 1965 to 1973. The United States became involved in Vietnam because American policymakers believed that if the entire country fell under a Communist government, Communism would spread throughout Southeast Asia. This belief was known as the “domino theory.” The U.S. government, therefore, helped to create the anti-Communist South Vietnamese government. This government’s repressive policies led to rebellion in the South, and in 1960 the NLF was formed with the aim of overthrowing the government of South Vietnam and reunifying the country. In 1965 the United States sent in troops to prevent the South Vietnamese government from collapsing. Ultimately, however, the United States failed to achieve its goal, and in 1975 Vietnam was

reunified under Communist control; in 1976 it officially became the Socialist Republic of Vietnam. During the conflict, approximately 32 million Vietnamese were killed, in addition to another 1.5 million to 2 million Lao and Cambodians who were drawn into the war. Nearly 58,000 Americans lost their lives.

Vietnam: Vietnam, officially the Socialist Republic of Vietnam, country located on the eastern coast of the Indochinese Peninsula. Vietnam is bordered on the north by China, on the west by Laos and Cambodia, and on the south and east by the South China Sea. Hanoi is the capital, and Ho Chi Minh City (formerly Saigon) is the largest city. Vietnam is relatively long and narrow, with a varied terrain. The far north and much of central Vietnam are hilly to mountainous. In the north, the highlands slope gradually toward the eastern coast, forming broad plains intersected by numerous streams. The plains are intensely cultivated, and over centuries the Vietnamese have built many dikes and canals to irrigate crops and control flooding. In central Vietnam, the narrowest part of the country, the mountains and highlands extend nearer to the coast, in a few places jutting into the sea and elsewhere dropping sharply to a narrow coastal plain. Southern Vietnam is very low lying, containing the broad, fertile delta of the Mekong River. Like the northern plains, much of the Mekong Delta is cultivated, and there are vast tracts of rice paddies. Vietnam developed as an agricultural society, and the population lived in urban areas. People are increasingly migrating to cities, however, swelling the populations of Ho Chi Minh City, Hanoi, and other places. Vietnam has about 50 ethnic and language groups, but ethnic Vietnamese, or Viets, constitute the vast majority of the population. The original homeland of the Vietnamese people was in the valley of the Red River, a river that originates in southern China and flows through northern Vietnam before entering the Gulf of Tonkin. China conquered the region in the 2nd century Bc, but the Vietnamese successfully restored their independence in AD 939. During the next 1,000 years, Vietnam became one of the most dynamic civilizations in Southeast Asia and expanded southward along the coast.

W

Wali Khan: A Liberal nationalist political leader, former president of National Awami Party and Awami National Party.

West Pakistan: Pakistan, officially Islamic Republic of Pakistan, republic in South Asia, marking the area where South Asia converges with Southwest Asia and Central Asia. The capital of Pakistan is Islamabad; Karachi is the country's largest city. The area of present-day Pakistan was the cradle of the earliest known civilization of south Asia, the Indus Valley civilization (2500-

1700 Bc). The territory was part of the Mughal Empire from 1526 until the 1700s, when it came under British rule. Pakistan gained independence in August 1947. It initially comprised two parts, West Pakistan and East Pakistan, which were separated by about 1,600 km (1,000 mi) of territory within India. In December 1971 East Pakistan seceded and became the independent republic of Bangladesh.

Willy Brandt: Social Democratic party and its candidate for chancellor of West Germany. Unsuccessful in the 1961 and 1965 elections, he became vice chancellor and foreign minister in the “grand coalition” of 1966 he was elected chancellor, and he retained the post in the general election of 1972. In 1974, however, Brandt resigned, assuming responsibility for the infiltration of an East German secret agent who had served on his staff as the aide for party affairs. Brandt was awarded the 1971 Nobel Peace Prize for his work toward the relaxation of tension between Eastern and Western Europe. His policy, known as Ostpolitik, led to the signing of nonaggression pacts between West Germany and both the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics and Poland in 1970. The unimpeded flow of traffic between East and West Berlin was established by treaty in 1971. Brandt’s administration brought West Germany into full participation in the community of nations. After he left office, he was active as president of the Socialist International.

Y

Yahya Khan: The Tashkent Agreement and the Kashmir war, however, generated frustration among the people and resentment against President Ayub. Foreign Minister Zulfikar Ali Bhutto, who opposed Pakistan’s capitulation, resigned his position and founded the Pakistan People’s Party (PPP) in opposition to the Ayub regime. Ayub tried unsuccessfully to make amends, and amid mounting public protests he declared martial law and resigned in March 1969. Instead of transferring power to the speaker of the National Assembly, as the constitution dictated, he handed it over to the commander in chief of the army, General Agha Muhammad Yahya Khan, who was the designated martial-law administrator. Yahya then assumed the presidency. In an attempt to make his martial-law regime more acceptable, Yahya dismissed almost 300 senior civil servants and identified 32 families that were said to control about half of Pakistan’s gross national product. To curb their power Yahya issued an ordinance against monopolies and restrictive trade practices in 1970. He also committed to the return of constitutional government and announced the country would hold its first general election on the basis of universal adult franchise in late 1970. Yahya determined that representation in the National Assembly would be based on population. In July 1970 he abolished the One Unit, thereby restoring the original four provinces in West Pakistan. As a result, East Pakistan emerged

as the largest province of the country, while in West Pakistan the province of Punjab emerged as the dominant province. East Pakistan was allocated 162 seats in the 300-seat National Assembly, and the provinces of West Pakistan were allocated a total of 138. The election campaign intensified divisions between East and West Pakistan. A challenge to Pakistan's unity emerged in East Pakistan when Sheikh Mujibur Rahman ("Mujib"), leader of the Awami League, insisted on a federation under which East Pakistan would be virtually independent. He envisaged a federal government that would deal with defense and foreign affairs only; even the currencies would be different, although freely convertible. Mujib's program had great appeal for many East Pakistanis, and in the December 1970 election called by Yahya, he won by a landslide in East Pakistan, capturing 160 seats in the National Assembly. Bhutto's Pakistan People's Party (PPP) emerged as the largest party in West Pakistan, capturing 81 seats (predominantly in Punjab and Sind). This gave the Awami League an absolute majority in the National Assembly, a turn of events that was considered unacceptable by political interests in West Pakistan because of the divided political climate of the country. The Awami League adopted an uncompromising stance, however, and negotiations between the various sides became deadlocked. Suspecting Mujib of secessionist politics, Yahya in March 1971 postponed indefinitely the convening of the National Assembly. Mujib in return accused Yahya of collusion with Bhutto and established a virtually independent government in East Pakistan. Yahya opened negotiations with Mujib in Dhaka in mid-March, but the effort soon failed. Meanwhile Pakistan's army went into action against Mujib's civilian followers, who demanded that East Pakistan become independent as the nation of Bangladesh.

Yalta: Yalta Conference, World War II meeting (February 4-11, 1945), of United States President Franklin Roosevelt, Prime Minister Winston Churchill of Britain, and Premier Joseph Stalin of the USSR. The conference was held in the vicinity of Yalta, Crimea, in Ukraine. It marked the high point of Allied unity and followed a similar meeting held in Tehran (Teheran), Iran, 14 months earlier; it was devoted to the formulation of Allied military strategy and to negotiations on a variety of political problems. A communiqué, known as the Yalta Declaration, was issued by the conference on February 11. It declared the Allied intention to "destroy German militarism and Nazism and to ensure that Germany will never again be able to disturb the peace of the world"; to "bring all war criminals to just and swift punishment"; and to "exact reparation in kind for the destruction wrought by the Germans." Reference was made to a decision to divide Germany into three zones of occupation and to govern it through a central control commission, situated in Berlin; however, provision was made to invite France "to take over a zone of occupation, and to participate ... [in] the control commission." Provision was made for a reparations commission to work in Moscow. The declaration also announced that a "conference of United Nations" would be held in San

Francisco in April. With respect to the “establishment of order in Europe,” the declaration stated the intention of the signatories to assist liberated countries or former satellites of the Axis powers in Europe in the formation of democratic interim governments through free elections. It confirmed the possession of eastern Poland by the USSR, declaring that by way of compensation, “Poland must receive substantial accessions of territory in the north and west,” that is, at the expense of Germany. An important agreement reached at Yalta but not disclosed until later provided for a Soviet declaration of war on Japan within 90 days of the end of the war in Europe. After the defeat of Japan, the USSR was to receive the southern half of Sakhalin Island, the Kuril Islands, and special privileges on the Chinese mainland. Text of the Yalta agreement was released in 1947.

Z

Zulfikar Ali Bhutto (1928-1979): President and prime minister of Pakistan from 1971 to 1977. Bhutto was a charismatic leader who charted a foreign policy of nonaligned neutrality for Pakistan in the 1960s and 1970s. He was ousted from power in a military coup and subsequently convicted of murder and martyred. Bhutto was born near Larkana, in Sind Province (then part of British India, part of Pakistan since 1947). He was descended from a long-established family of Muslim landlords and politicians. His father, Shah Nawaz Bhutto, became a major figure in Indian colonial politics, receiving knighthood for his work with the British government on issues of Indian self-rule. Bhutto grew up in Bombay (now Mumbai), receiving his secondary education at the elite Doon School. At age 13 he was married to his cousin, an heiress. As a student, Bhutto met Mohammed Ali Jinnah, the future founding father of Pakistan, and participated in the movement to partition India in order to create Pakistan as an independent state for Indian Muslims. Bhutto attended the University of Southern California in Los Angeles from 1947 to 1949 and received a bachelor of arts degree from the University of California at Berkeley in 1950. He then studied law at the University of Oxford, in England, earning a master of arts degree in 1953. In 1951, while still a student, Bhutto married Begum Nusrat Ispahani of Karachi, with whom he had four children. (Bhutto had had no children with his first wife.) After finishing his studies, Bhutto returned to Pakistan, which had won its independence in 1947, and set up a successful legal practice in Karachi. Bhutto had his first major political experience as a member of a delegation to the United Nations (UN), where he addressed the General Assembly in 1957 on India-Pakistan relations. He also chaired the Pakistan delegation to the first UN Conference on the Law of the Sea, held in Geneva, Switzerland, in March 1958. In October 1958 General Muhammad Ayub Khan, commander in chief of Pakistan’s armed forces, took control of Pakistan’s government, imposing martial law and declaring himself president. Bhutto assumed positions of increasing

responsibility in Ayub Khan's government, culminating in his appointment as foreign minister in 1963. Bhutto restructured Pakistan's political commitments to rely less heavily on the West and instead achieve a nonaligned neutrality (see Nonaligned Movement). As part of this policy, he forged closer ties with China. Bhutto pursued a strident anti-India campaign over the disputed territory of Kashmir. A 1965 war with India over Kashmir ended with no gains for Pakistan and humiliated Ayub Khan's government. Nevertheless, Bhutto did not moderate his anti-India in January 1966. Bhutto's fiery speeches made him a well-known and popular figure throughout Pakistan. However, his growing political presence and his critical stance toward the government made his position in Ayub Khan's administration untenable. In 1966 he resigned from his cabinet post. From his new position outside the government, Bhutto began to publicly attack Pakistan's military for mishandling the war. He also criticized the presence of continued restrictions on democratic institutions in Ayub Khan's government. In 1967 Bhutto formed the Pakistan People's Party (PPP) to oppose Ayub Khan's regime. He adopted a uniform similar to those worn by China's Communist Party leaders and called for the introduction of "Islamic socialism" in Pakistan and the commencement of a "thousand year war" against India. Using the title "Leader of the People," Bhutto launched a nationwide tour, agitating against the military dictatorship. He was arrested in connection with these activities in November 1968 and detained for three months. The movement he helped unleash in West Pakistan (coextensive with the country's current boundaries), in conjunction with agitation for greater autonomy taking place in East Pakistan (now Bangladesh), forced the resignation of Ayub Khan in March 1969. Ayub Khan handed power over to the army commander in chief, Agha Muhammad Yahya Khan, who assumed the presidency and re-imposed martial law. The issue of an autonomous East Pakistan continued to plague Yahya's administration. In elections held in 1970, the pro-autonomy Awami League won by a landslide in East Pakistan, capturing enough parliamentary seat to control any government that might be formed. Bhutto's PPP captured the majority of seats in West Pakistan. When Yahya delayed the transfer of power to the newly elected representatives in March 1971, public unrest erupted in East Pakistan. East Pakistani leaders demanded the establishment of an independent nation of Bangladesh, and the Pakistani army cracked down brutally on civilians as well as on armed revolutionaries in East Pakistan. When India intervened in the civil war in December, the Pakistani army was swiftly defeated, and East Pakistan merged as the state of Bangladesh. Yahya Khan resigned, and Bhutto was inaugurated as president and chief martial law administrator on December 20, 1971. In office, Bhutto introduced socialist economic reforms while working to prevent any further division of the country. He nationalized Pakistan's major industries, life insurance companies, and private schools and colleges. Although still a major landholder, dubbed by his opponents the "Raja of Larkana," Bhutto enacted tax relief for the country's poorest agricultural workers and placed ceilings on

land ownership. He countered secessionist movements in all of Pakistan's provinces, lifted martial law in 1972, and pushed through a new constitution in 1973 that recognized Islam as the national religion. Under the parliamentary system established by the new constitution, Bhutto became prime minister. Bhutto's support for democratic processes was uneven. A popular leader, he engaged in meet-the-people tours that attracted huge crowds. However, On the international front, Bhutto resumed implementation of his policy of nonaligned neutrality. He withdrew Pakistan from the British Commonwealth of Nations and from the Southeast Asia Treaty Organization (SEATO), sponsored by the United States. In July 1972 he negotiated the Simla Agreement, which confirmed a line of control dividing Kashmir and prompted the withdrawal of Indian troops from Pakistani territory. To forge closer ties with the Islamic world, in 1974 Bhutto hosted the second meeting of the Organization of Islamic States in the city of Lahore. He used this forum to announce Pakistan's official recognition of Bangladesh. To bolster Pakistan's military defense capabilities, Bhutto laid the groundwork for a nuclear weapons program. During elections held in March 1977, nine opposition parties, united as the Pakistan National Alliance (PNA), ran a popular campaign against Bhutto's PPP. When the PPP won a decisive victory in the parliamentary round of the elections, the PNA accused Bhutto's party of rigging the vote and withdrew in protest from upcoming provincial elections. Widespread street fighting broke out, and opposition politicians were arrested. On July 5 the military, led by general Muhammad Zia-ul-Haq, staged a coup. Zia relieved Bhutto of power, holding him in detention for a month. Upon his release, Bhutto traveled the country amid adulatory crowds of PPP supporters. In September the army arrested Bhutto again on charges of authorizing the murder of a political opponent in 1974. Bhutto insisted that the allegations were false, but the high court in Lahore, packed with Zia's supporters, convicted Bhutto and imposed the death sentence. The Supreme Court approved the judgment by a 4-3 vote, and despite international protests, Bhutto was hanged in April 1979. The Pakistani population was divided in its opinion of Bhutto, the majority of the population supported Bhutto's populist and nationalist programs and viewed him as a martyr for democracy. After Zia died in an airplane crash in 1988, elections brought the PPP back to power, led by Bhutto's daughter, Benazir Bhutto. Bhutto's published works include *The Myth of Independence* (1969), *The Great Tragedy* (1971), *Bilateralism: New Directions* (1976), and *If I Am Assassinated* (1979). Among the collections of his speeches are *Foreign Policy of Pakistan* (1964), *The Quest for Peace* (1966), and *Marching Towards Democracy* (1972)

Glossary of Terms

A

Abide (by)	To obey a rule
Abolished	To officially end something, especially a law or system
Abominable	Extremely bad
Absolve	To formally say that someone is not guilty of something, or to forgive someone
Abstract	Not real; relating to ideas and not real things.
Absurd	Very silly
Abundantly	Existing in large quantities
Abuse	When something is used for the wrong purpose in a way that is harmful or morally wrong.
Abusive	Saying rude and offensive words to someone
Accusation	When you say that someone has done something bad
Acrimonious	Involving a lot of anger, disagreement, and bad feelings
Active	Busy doing a lot of things, or moving around a lot
Acute	Extreme
Adulterate	Debase (esp. foods) by adding other or inferior substances. Spurious.
Adventurist	One having tendency to take risks, esp. in foreign policy.
Advocate	To express support for a particular idea or way of doing things
Affinities	A feeling that you like and understand someone or something
Aflame	In flames
Aggravate	To make a situation or condition worse
Aggressive	Behaving in an angry and violent way towards another person
Ailing	Weak or ill
Alien	Strange and not familiar
Allegation	When you say that someone has done something wrong or illegal, without proof that this is true.
Allegiance	Loyalty and support
Amicably	Done in a friendly way, without arguments
Amity	Friendly, peaceful relations as between nations
Ample	Enough, or more than enough
Amuse	To make someone smile or laugh
Analogy	A comparison that shows how two things are similar
Ancillary	Subordinate
Animosities	When someone hates or feels angry towards
Annoy	To make someone slightly angry

Antagonism	Feelings of strong disagreement or hate
Antics	A playful silly or ludicrous act, trick etc
Anxious	Worried and nervous
Apologize	To tell someone that you are sorry about something you have done
Appalled	To make someone extremely shocked or upset
Appropriated	To take or steal something
Apt	Suitable for a particular situation
Arbitrary	Not based on a system or principles and often seeming unfair
Arbitration	The process of solving an argument between people by helping them to agree to an acceptable solution
Arduous	Needing a lot of effort to do
Arena	A flat area with seats around where you can watch sports and other entertainments
Arouse	To make someone have a particular feeling or reaction
Arrogant	Believing that you are better or more important than other people
Arsenal	A large collection of weapons
Articulate	Able to express ideas and feelings clearly in words
Aspirations	Something you hope to achieve
Assurance	A promise
Atrocious	Extremely bad, violent and shocking
Augment	To increase the size or value of something by adding something to it
Autonomy	The right of a country or group of people to govern itself
Axe	To get rid of something or someone suddenly

B

Backlash	When people react against an idea which was previously popular
Baffle	If something baffles you, you cannot understand it at all
Barely	Only just
Barring	Excepting
Barter	To exchange goods or services for other goods or services, without using money
Be on a collision course	If two people or groups are on a collision course, they are doing or saying things that are certain to cause a serious disagreement or fight between them.
Berserk	Go berserk informal to become extremely angry or violent

Betray	Person to behave in a dishonest or cruel way to someone who trusts you
Bettered	To do something better than it has been done before
Bilateral	Involving two groups or countries
Bleeding us white	Drain (a person, country, etc) of wealth etc.
Blunder	A serious and often stupid mistake
Boast	To talk with too much pride about what you have done or what you own
Bogy	Anything one especially, and often needlessly fears
Bouquet	Flowers that are tied together in an attractive way
Brag	To talk with too much pride about what you have done or what you own
Brilliant	Very good
Brinkmanship	The policy of pursuing a hazardous course of action to the brink of catastrophe
Brute	Someone who behaves in a very violent and cruel way
Buoyancy	Happy and confident, successful or making a profit, floating or able to float
Bury the hatchet	To forget about your arguments and become friends with someone again
Buzzing	To make a continuous sound like a bee

C

Callous	Cruel and not caring about other people
Candid	Honest, especially about something that is unpleasant or embarrassing
Capitulate	To stop disagreeing or fighting with someone and agree to what they want
Capricious	Likely to suddenly change your ideas or behaviour
Carnage	When a lot of people are violently killed or injured
Catastrophe	An extremely bad event that causes a lot of suffering or destruction
Ceiling	Mount a limit on the amount that can be paid for something
Censure	To criticize someone formally for something that they have done
Cessation	When something, especially violence, stops
Chaotic	In a state of chaos
Charter	A formal, written description of the principles, activities, and purpose of an organization
Chauvinist	Man (also male chauvinist) a man who believes that men are better or more important than women, someone who

	believes that their country or race is better or more important than other countries of races
Chisel	A tool with a sharp end that you use for cutting and shaping wood or stone
Circumvent	To find a way of avoiding something, especially a law or rule
Cite	To mention something as an example or proof of something else
Clue	A sign or a piece of information that helps you to solve a problem or answer a question
Cocktail	A mixture of powerful substances
Coerce	To make someone do something that they do not want to do
Collapse	The sudden failure of a system, organization, business, etc
Collateral	Things that you agree to give someone if you are not able pay back money you have borrowed from them
Colossal	Astonishingly great; extraordinary
Communiqué	An official announcement
Compelling	Very exciting or interesting and making you want to watch, listen, etc.
Complacent	Feeling so satisfied with your own abilities or situation that you do not feel that you need to try any harder
Comprehensive	Including everything
Concealed	To hide something
Conceded	Admit that something is true, even though you do not want to
Concerted	Done with a lot of effort, often by a group of people working together
Conciliation	The process of trying to end an argument
Condone	To accept or allow behavior that is wrong
Conducive	Making something possible or likely to happen
Confer	To give someone something, especially an official title, an honour, or an advantage
Conformity	Behaving in the way that most other people behave
Confrontation	A fight or argument
Congenial	Pleasant and friendly
Conjured	To be sworn in a conspiracy
Connotation	That feelings or ideas that words give in addition to their meanings
Conscience	The part of you that makes you feel guilty when you have behaved badly
Consensus	When all the people in a group agree about something
Consign	To get rid of someone or something or to put them in an unpleasant place or situation

Contemplating	To think about intently; study carefully
Contemporary	Existing or happening at the same time as something
Contradiction	A big difference between two things that are said or written about the same subject, or between what someone says and what they do
Contrivances	To think up, scheme, devise, plan
Controversial	Causing a lot of disagreement or argument
Conviction	A strong opinion or belief
Convulsions	A sudden uncontrollable movement of muscles in your body, caused by illness or drugs
Cordial	Polite and friendly
Cussed	Curse, perverse, stubborn
Cynical	Believing that people are only interested in themselves and are not sincere

D

Debts	An amount of money that you owe someone
Decadent	When you do or have things only for your own pleasure or behave in an immoral way
Decimate	To destroy large numbers of people or things
Defiant	Refusing to obey someone or something
Deficit	The amount by which the money that you spend is more than the money that you receive
Delicate	Gentle, soft, light
Derive	To get or receive something from a source
Derogatory	Showing strong disapproval and not showing any respect for someone
Desperate	Feeling that you have no hope and are ready to do anything to change the situation you are in
Destitute	So poor that you do not have the basic things you need to live, such as food, clothes, or money
Détente	When countries become friendly with each other after a period of not being friendly
Detention	When someone is officially kept somewhere and not allowed to leave
Deteriorate	To become worse
Detriment	Causing damage to something
Devious	Clever in a way that is bad and not honest
Devour	To eat something quickly because you are very hungry
Dictator	A leader who has complete power in a country and has not been elected by the people
Digest	To read and understand new information
Discrimination	When someone is treated unfairly because of their sex, race, religions, etc.

Disenchanted	Disappointed with something that you thought was good in the past
Disintegration	To break into a lot of small pieces
Dislocations	If you dislocate a part of your body, the bones move away from their correct position.
Dismembered	To cut the arms and legs off the body of a person or animal
Doldrums	If a business or job is in the doldrums, it is not very successful and nothing new is happening in it.
Drag	To pull something or someone along the ground somewhere, usually with difficulty
Drastic	Drastic action or change is sudden and extreme
Durable	Remaining in good condition for a long time
Duress	If you do something under duress, you do it because someone is forcing you to.

E

Elaborate	To explain something and give more details
Electorate	The people who are allowed to vote in an election
Eloquent	Expressing ideas clearly and in a way that influences people
Embark	To start something new or important
Emphatic	Done or said in a strong way and without any doubt
Endowed	Be endowed with is to have a particular quality or characteristic
Endure	To suffer something difficult, unpleasant, or painful
Ensue	To happen after something, often as a result of it
Entrepreneur	Someone who starts their own business, especially when this involves risks
Envisage	To imagine something happening, or think that something is likely to happen
Equity	When everyone is treated fairly and equally
Eradicate	To destroy or completely get rid of something such as a social problem or a disease
Escort	To go somewhere with someone, often to protect or guard them
Espionage	The activity of discovering secret information about a country or company that is fighting or competing against you
Essence	The basic or most important idea or quality of something
Ethical	Relating to what is right or wrong
Evidently	Obviously, used to say that something can easily be noticed

Exaggerate	To make something seem larger, better, worse, etc than it really is
Exaltation	A feeling of great joy, power, pride
Excess	To do something too much
Excitable	To make someone feel very happy and enthusiastic
Expediency	An expedient action achieves a useful purpose, although it may not be moral
Exploit	To use or develop something for your advantage
Extort	To get money from someone by saying that you will harm them

F

Fantastic	(Informal) very good
Feeble	Extremely weak
Fervent	Showing sincere and enthusiastic beliefs or feelings
Filthy	Extremely dirty
Flagrant	Shocking because of being so obviously wrong or bad
Flimsy	Thin and not solid or strong
Flippant	Without respect or not serious
Flood gates	To make it possible for a lot of people to do something
Flounder	Fail (If a relationship, organization, or plan flounders, it fails or begins to experience problems)
Fluke	Something good that happens only because of luck or chance
Forerunner	an earlier, less developed example
Foresee	to expect a future situation or event
Forfeit	To lose the right to do something or have something because you have done something wrong
Forge	To develop a good relationship with someone or something
Formidable	Hard to handle or overcome
Foster	to encourage a particular feeling, situation, or idea to develop
Fragment	To break something into small parts, or to be broken in this way
Frantic	Fast done in a fast and excited way and not calm or organized
Fraternal	Like or relating to a brother
Freak	Someone who looks strange or behaves in a strange way
Fuss	When people become excited, annoyed, or anxious about something, especially about something unimportant

G

Gamble	To risk money on the result of a game, race, or competition
Geared	To prepare for something that you have to do, or to prepare someone else for something.
Genius	Someone who is extremely intelligent or extremely good at doing something
Gimmick	Something that is used only to get people's attention, especially to make them buy something
Goodwill	Kind, friendly, or helpful feelings towards other people
Grasping	Wanting much more of something than you need, especially money
Grit	The quality of being brave and determined

H

Harness	To control something so that you can use its power or qualities for a particular purpose
Havoc	A very confused and possibly dangerous situation
Hereafter	From now or after this time
Heterogeneous	Consisting of parts or things of different types
Hoodwink	
Horrrify	To make someone feel very shocked
Humanitarian	Connected with improving peoples' lives and reducing suffering
Humiliate	To make someone feel stupid or ashamed
Hurry	To move or do things more quickly than normal or to make someone do this
Hypothetical	A hypothetical situation or idea has been suggested but does not yet really exist or has not been proved to be true.

I

Idealism	The belief that your ideals can be achieved, often when this does not seem likely to others
Imminent	Coming or happening very soon
Impatient	Easily annoyed by someone's mistakes or because you have to wait
Imperative	Something that must happen, exist, or be done
Impersonal	Not being friendly towards people or showing any interest in them
Implications	A result or effect that seems likely in the future
Implore	To ask for something in a serious and emotional way

Imposed	To officially order that a rule, tax, punishment, etc will happen
In Rags	Clothes that are old and torn
Incentive	Something that encourages you to act in a particular way
Inception	The time when an organization or official activity began
Incite	To do or say something that encourages people to behave violently or illegally
Incumbent	Someone who has an official job, especially a political one
Indigenous	Having always lived or existed in a place
Indulge	To let yourself do or have something that you enjoy but which may be bad for you
Inflammatory	Intended or likely to cause anger or hate
Inhabit	To live in a place
Inherit	To receive possessions or money from someone who has died
Inhuman	Extremely cruel
Inimical	Like an enemy, hostile, unfriendly
Insistent	Firmly saying that something is true or must be done
Insult	To say or do something to someone that is rude and offensive
Insurmountable	Impossible to deal with.
Interim	Temporary and intended to be used or accepted until something permanent exists
Intermittent	Stopping and starting again for short periods of time
Intrigues	A secret, clever plan to deceive someone or do something bad

J

Jarring	To move suddenly, hitting something and causing pain or damage
Justice	Behavior or treatment that is fair and morally correct

K

Keen	Very interested or enthusiastic
Kudos	Praise and respect for what you have done

L

Latent	A feeling or quality that is latent exists now but is hidden or not yet developed.
Legacy	A situation that was caused by something from an earlier time

Legitimate	allowed by law
Liberal	Accepting beliefs and behaviour that are new or different from your own
Linger	To stay somewhere for a long time
Linguistic	Relating to language or linguistics
Liquidate	To close a business because it has no money left.

M

Macabre	Grim and horrible
Manifesto	When a political group says publicly what it intends to do
Manipulate	To control someone or something in a clever way so that they do what you want them to do
Marginal	Small and not important
Mediate	To try to find a solution between two or more people who disagree about something
Metamorphosis	A gradual change into something very different
Mighty	Very powerful or successful
Miracle	An event which should be impossible and cannot be explained by science
Mischief	Behavior, usually of a child, which is slightly bad but not serious
Miserably	In a way that causes disappointment or suffering
Misery	Great suffering or unhappiness
Monetary	Relating to money
Monstrous	Very bad or cruel
Morale	The amount of confidence or hope for the future that people feel
Motive	A reason for doing something
Muck up	(Informal) To do something badly, or to spoil something
Multitude	A large number of people or things
Mundane	Ordinary, or not interesting
Mute	Expressed in thoughts but not in speech or writing

N

Nightmare	A very unpleasant experience
Nostalgic	Feeling both happy and sad when you think about things that happened in the past
Notion	An idea or belief
Nurture	To encourage or support the development of someone or something

O

Oath	Under oath, if someone is under oath, they have promised to tell the truth in a law court.
Oblivious	Not aware of something
Obsolete	Not used now
Obsession	Someone or something that you think about all the time
Obstructs	To try to stop something from happening or developing
Onus	The responsibility for doing something
Opt	To choose something or to decide to do something
Ordain	To officially make someone a Christian priest
Oust	To force someone to leave a position of power or responsibility
Outmaneuver	To do something clever that gives you an advantage over someone you are competing against

P

Parity	Equality, usually relating to the money people earn or their position
Passion	A strong belief in something or a strong feeling about a subject
Pathetic	Bad (informal) showing no skill, effort, or bravery
Patience	The quality of being able to stay calm and not get angry, especially when something takes a long time
Peasants	A poor person who works on the land, usually in a poor country
Perishable	To die, food that is perishable goes bad very quickly.
Perjury	The willful telling of a lie while under lawful oath or affirmation to tell the truth in a matter material to the point of inquiry
Perpetual	Never ending
Persistent	Something that continues for a long time or is difficult to get rid of
Persists	If an unpleasant feeling or situation persists, it continues to exist.
Persuade	To make someone agree to do something by talking to them a lot about it
Pique	When someone is annoyed
Plead	To ask for something in a strong and emotional way
Plight	An unpleasant or difficult situation
Plough	A large tool used by farmers to turn over the soil before planting crops
Poised	Ready to do something
Populace	All the people who live in a particular country or place

Posture	The position of your back, shoulders, etc when you are standing or sitting
Potent	Very powerful or very effective
POW	Abbreviation for prisoner of war: a soldier who is caught by enemy soldiers during a war
Pragmatic	Doing things in a practical and realistic way and not using only ideas
Precedent	An action or decision that is used as an example when someone wants to do a similar thing in the future
Precipitate	To make something happen
Preclude	To prevent something from happening
Precondition	What must happen before something else can happen
Predecessors	The person who was in a job or position before
Predicament	A problem or a difficult situation
Prejudice	When someone dislikes a group of people or treats them unfairly because they are a different race, sex, religion, etc.
Preliminary	Done or happening in order to prepare for the main event or activity
Premature	happening too soon or before the usual time
Pretty	Quite, but not extremely
Prevail	To get control or influence
Privilege	An advantage that only one person or group has usually because of their position or because they are rich
Procrastinate	To wait a long time before doing something that you must do
Prognosis	An opinion about the future of someone or something
Projections	A calculation or guess about the future based on information that you have
Proposition	An offer or suggestion, usually in business
Protracted	If an unpleasant situation is protracted, it lasts a long time.
Provoking	To cause a strong and usually angry reaction
Prudent	Wise and careful
Prune	If you prune a tree or bush, you cut off some of the branches or flowers to help it grow better.
Pulsate	To beat or move with a strong, regular rhythm

Q

Quagmire	A difficult and unpleasant situation
Qualitative	(formal) Relating to how good something is and not how much of it there is
Quarrel	To have an argument with someone
Queer	Strange

R

Radical	Believing that there should be big social and political changes
Rake	To earn a large amount of money.
Rampage	To run around or through an area, making a lot of noise and causing damage
Ravage	To damage or destroy something
Reactionary	Being against political or social progress
Reckon	To think that something is probably true
Reconcile	To make two different ideas, beliefs, or situations agree or able to exist together
Recriminatory	To answer an accuser by accusing him in return
Recurring	Happening again or many times
Redress	To correct something that is wrong, unfair, or not equal
Reflection	Formal when you think in a serious and careful way
Regrettable	If something is regrettable, you wish it had not happened and you feel sorry about it.
Rehabilitate	To help someone live a normal life again after they have had a serious illness or been in prison
Reinforce	To make an existing opinion or idea stronger
Relinquish	To allow something to be taken away from you
Reluctance	When someone does not want to do something
Reminiscent	Making you think of someone or something that is similar
Renege	To not do what you said you were going to do
Renew	To arrange to continue an official agreement that was going to end soon
Repatriation	To send someone back to their own country
Repercussions	The effects that an action or event has on something, especially bad effects
Reprisals	Something violent or unpleasant that is done to punish an enemy for something they have done
Repudiated	To refuse to accept or agree with something
Repugnant	Extremely unpleasant
Resent	To feel angry and upset about a situation or about something that someone has done
Resolute	Determined not to change what you do or believe because you think that you are right
Restoration	To make something good exist again
Resurgence	When something starts to happen again or people become interested in something again
Resuscitate	To make someone breathe again when they have stopped breathing

Retaliate	To do something bad to someone because they have done something bad to you
Retort	To answer someone quickly in an angry or funny way
Reunification	When a country that was divided into smaller countries is joined together again as one country
Revenge	Something that you do to punish someone who has done something bad to you
Reverence	A strong feeling of respect and admiration
Revival	When something becomes more active or popular again
Revolution	A change in the way a country is governed, usually to a different political system and often using violence or war
Riddance	Used to express pleasure when you have got rid of something or someone that you do not want
Roughshod	To treat in a harsh, arrogant, inconsiderate manner
Running Amuck	A fact that a lot of people are talking about although they do not know if it is true
Ruthless	Not caring if you hurt or upset other people when you try to get what you want

S

Sabotage	To damage or destroy something in order to prevent an enemy from using it
Sacred	Relating to a religion or considered to be holy
Sacrosanct	Too important to be changed or destroyed
Samples	a small amount of something that shows you what it is like
Sanction	To formally approve of something
Sanctity	The sanctity of life/marriage, etc when something is very important and deserves respect
Sanity	The quality of behaving calmly and showing good judgment
Scarcity	When there is not enough of something
Skeptical	Doubting that something is true or useful
Scratch	(from scratch) If you do something from scratch, you do it from the beginning.
Scruples	A belief that something is wrong which stops you from doing that thing
Secular	Not religious or not controlled by a religious group
Segregation	To separate one group of people from another, especially one sex or race from another
Seizure	when someone takes control of a country, government, etc.
Sentimental	Showing kind feelings such as sympathy, love, etc, especially in a silly way

Severance	To part or break off, as by cutting or with force, cut in two
Shantytown	An area on the edge of a town where poor people live in very simply built houses
Shatter	To break into very small pieces, or to make something break into very small pieces
Sheer	Used to emphasize how strong a feeling or quality is
Shirked	To avoid doing something because it is difficult or unpleasant
Shovel	A tool with a long handle, used for digging or moving things such as soil or snow
Shudder	To shake, usually because you are thinking of something unpleasant
Silly	Stupid
Slam	To close with great force, or to make something close with great force
Slop	If liquid slops about, it moves around or over the edge of its container, and if you slop it about, you make it move around or over the edge of its container.
Slum	A poor and crowded area of a city where the buildings are in a very bad condition
Smolder	To have a strong feeling, especially anger, but not express it
Snap	To suddenly move to a particular position, making a short, loud noise, or to make something do this
Sorrow	When someone feels very sad
Sovereign	A sovereign country or state is completely independent.
Splinter	To break into small, sharp pieces
Spoil	To stop something from being enjoyable or successful
Spontaneous	Happening naturally and suddenly and without being planned
Spree	A shopping/spending, etc spree a short period when someone does a lot of shopping/spending, etc
Squalor	Extremely dirty and unpleasant conditions
Squander	To waste time, money, etc
Stab	To push a knife into someone
Stalemate	A situation in which neither side in an argument can win
Stalwarts	Someone who supports an organization, team, etc in a very loyal way
Stamina	The physical or mental energy that allows you to do something for a long time
Status quo	The situation that exists now, without any changes
Stipulate	To say exactly what must be done
Stride	To walk somewhere with long steps

Subjected	To make someone or something experience something unpleasant
Subjective	Influenced by someone's beliefs or feelings, instead of facts
Subsidize	If a government or other organization subsidizes something, it pays part of the cost of it, so that prices are reduced.
Subsists	To manage to live when you only have a very small amount of food or money
Substandard	Something that is substandard is not as good as it should be
Substantial	Large in amount
Substantive	important or serious
Subtle	Not obvious or easy to notice
Subversive	Trying to destroy the authority of a government, religion, etc
Successive	Happening after each other
Succumb	To not be able to stop yourself doing something
Suspicion	A feeling or belief that someone has done something wrong
Swallow	To accept something unpleasant
Swamp	To give someone more of something that they can deal with
Sympathetic	Showing that you understand and care about someone's problems
Syndrome	A combination of physical problems that often go together in a particular illness

T

Tactical	Relating to tactics, or done in order to achieve something
Tangible	something which is tangible is real and can be seen, touched, or measured.
Tarry	To delay, linger
Temperament	The part of your character that affects your moods and the way you behave
Temperate	Having weather that is not very hot and not very cold
Tenacious	Very determined to do something and not wanting to stop
Territory	Land that is owned or controlled by a particular country
Thrash	Thrash out, To discuss a plan or problem in detail until you reach an agreement or find a solution
Topsy-turvy	Confused or badly organized
Torment	To make someone suffer or worry a lot

Tossing	Toss away/into/on, etc to throw something somewhere carelessly
Tranquil	Calm and quiet
Transcend	To be better or more important than something else
Transit	The movement of goods or people from one place to another
Tread	To be careful what you say so that you do not upset someone
Treason	The crime of doing something that harms your country or government, especially by helping its enemies
Tremendous	Extremely good, very large, great, strong, etc
Trial	A legal process to decide if someone is guilty of a crime
Trivial	Small and not important
Truce	An agreement between two enemies to stop fighting for a period of time
Turmoil	A situation in which there is a lot of trouble, confusion, or noise
Tyranny	When a leader or government has too much power and uses that power in a cruel and unfair way

U

Unanimous	Agreed by everyone
Unilateral	A unilateral action or decision is done or made by one country, group, etc without waiting for others to agree.
Unleash	To suddenly cause a strong reaction
Unscrupulous	Behaving in a way that is dishonest or unfair in order to get what you want
Unswerving	Untenable that cannot be held, defended or maintained
Upheavals	A very big change that causes difficulty or confusion political / social upheaval

V

Vacate	To leave a room, building, chair, etc so that someone else can use it
Vagaries	Sudden changes that are not expected not known about before they happen
Vague	Not clear or certain
Vanish	To disappear suddenly
Vanity	When someone thinks they are very attractive and is too interested in their own appearance
Verbal	Spoken and not written
Versatile	Person having many different skills a versatile player /performer

Vestige	A very small amount of something that still exists after most of it has gone
Viable	Effective and able to be successful a viable alternative to nuclear power
Vibrant	Full of excitement and energy
Victor	The person who wins a fight or competition
Vigilant	Watching carefully and always ready to notice anything dangerous or illegal
Vigorous	Showing or needing a lot of physical energy
Vindicate	To prove that what someone said or did was right after people generally thought it was wrong
Violate	To not obey a law, rule, or agreement
Virulent	(Formal) Criticizing or hating someone or something very much
Vistas	A view, especially a beautiful view that you look at from a high place
Vital	Necessary
Vitiated	To make imperfect, faulty or impure, spoil, corrupt
Volition	The power to make your own decisions
Voluntary	Done or given because you want to and not because you have been forced to

W

Wary	If you are wary of someone or something, you do not trust them completely.
Wayward	Behaving badly in a way that causes trouble for other people
Wedge	To push something into a narrow space
Weird	Very strange
Wholeheartedly	Complete agreement/approval support, etc without any doubts
Wield	Wield influence /power, etc to have a lot of influence or power over other people
Withering	Withering attack/contempt/look criticism or an expression that shows that someone strongly disapproves of someone or something

Y

Yearning	To want something very much with a feeling of sadness
----------	-------------------------------------------------------